

Wood Athenae Oxon. vol.

This first Edition of great rarity. There is a copy in Lincoln College, where the author was educated.

Laurence Johnson who engraved the frontisp. & plates was not known to Vertue, nor is he included in Lord Oxford's Catalogue.

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THE
GENERALL HISTORIE
of the Turkes, from The first
beginning of that Nation to the rising
of the Othoman Familie: with
all the notable expeditions
of the Christian
Princes against
them.

Together with
THE LIVES AND CON-
quests of the OTHOMAN
Kings and Emperours

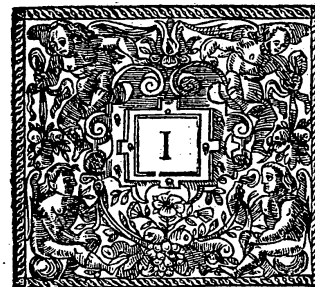
Faithfullie collected out of the
best Histories, both antient and mo-
derne, and digested into one continu-
at Historie Untill this present
Yeare 1603:

BY RICHARD KNOLLES K

Laurence Johnson Sculp.



TO THE HIGH AND MIGHTIE
PRINCE *JAMES*, BY THE GRACE OF
GOD KING OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND,
FRANCE, AND IRELAND,
defendor of the faith, &c.



I may of some, and not without iust cause (most gracious and dread Soueraigne) be imputed vnto me for no small presumption, to present vnto your royall Maiestie (a prince of so great learning and iudgement) these homely fruits of mine endeouours and paines taken in the Generall Historie of the Turks, and strange successe of their great and mightie *Othoman* Empire. Whereunto for all that I was the rather induced, not only by the rare and wonderfull clemencie ioyned vnto many other the great and most resplendent vertues of your heroicall mind; the least whereof, is sufficient to haue cheared vp my weake and feeble spirits; but also by the encouragement of the right Worshipfull my most especiall friend Sir *Peter Manwood* knight, the first mouer of me to take this great Worke in hand, and my continuall and onely comfort and helper therein. Which to doe, I was also the more desirous, seeing diuers little volumes and small parts of the Historie presented vnto the greatest Princes: as the little Treatise of *Pan. Iouius, de Rebus Turcicis*, dedicated vnto the great and mightie Emperour *Charles* the first: and the small Historie of *Caelius Secundus, de Bello Melitensi*, vnto her late sacred Maiestie, of most happie and blessed memorie, the rare Phoenix of her sex, who now resteth in glorie: with diuers others of like sort, by the learned authors thereof still commended some to one great prince of their times, some to others: all filling me vvith good hope, that this whole and continuat Historie of that Northerne and warlike Nation (vvhich in short time by God his appointment hath brought such fatall mutations vpon a great part of the world as former times haue sildome or neuer seene) drawne euen from the first beginning thereof, and continued vnto this present yeare (not together to my knowledge by any one before written) should vvith your most noble Maiestie find no lesse grace and fauour, than hath almost euery part thereof vvith other the foresaid and suchlike most mightie and famous Princes: and the rather, for that your Maiestie hath not disdained in your *Lepanto*, or *Heroicall Song*, vvith your learned Muse to adorne and set forth the greatest and most glorious victorie that euer was by any the Christian confederat princes obtained against these the *Othoman* Kings or Emperors. Besides that, the matter and argument of this Historie and such like (so much concerning

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

cerning the state and good of the Christian commonweale in generall, neuer by any so much impugned or endangered, as by these the naturall & capitall enemies therot) of right vnto none so properly belongerth, as vnto your most excellent Maiestie, with the rest of the Christian princes, sitting at the helme of your Estates; who onely by your vnited forces (the barbarous enemies greatest terror) are able to giue remedie thereunto: in the chiefeſt ranke of whom, your sacred Maiestie for glorie, honour, strength and power (God long preferue the same) is now second vnto none. Thus perswaded and encouraged, I in all humble and dutifull manner doe present vnto your Maiestie these my weake endeouours: which how vnworthie soeuer they be of so great and princely a fauour, as well for the meanenesse of me the Author, as for the plainenesse of the style; yet if for the worthinesse of the matter, or of your owne great and infinit clemencie you vouchsafe them your Maiesties fauourable regard, they shall no doubt liue no lesse fortunat than if they had beene more happily borne and brought to light: seruing (if to no other vse) yet as faire warnings vnto such great ones as God hath here vpon earth exalted aboue the rest vnto the highest degrees of power and of state, for the good gouernment and defence of his church and people. Accept them I beseech you most mightie Monarch into your gracious protection, so shall I (if God spare life) be comforted & encouraged vnder so mightie a fauor to proceed to amend what shall be found amisse, and adde what future times and better helpe shall deserue and minister vnto me for the perfection of this Historie: and according to my bounden dutie incessantly in all humilitie pray vnto the great God of all might and power (by whom all kings and princes raigne) to his glory long to preferue your most royall Maiestie in blessed health and peace to rule and raigne ouer vs and these your great kingdomes, so happily by you vnited: and so likewise (his will so being) your most noble posteritie after you euen to the worlds end.

Your Maiesties most

humble and obedient subiect,

Richard Knolles.



THE AVTHORS INVICTI-
on to the Christian Reader vnto the
Historie of the Turkes
following.



THE long and still declining state of the Christian commonweale, with the utter ruine and subuersion of the Empire of the East, and many other most glorious kingdomes and prouinces of the Christians; neuer to be sufficiently lamented, might with the due consideration thereof worthily moue euen a right stonie heart to ruth: but therewith also to call to remembrance the dishonour done vnto the blessed name of our Saviour Christ Iesus, the desolation of his Church here militant vpon earth, the dreadfull danger daily threatned vnto the poore remainer thereof, the millions of soules cast headlong into eternall destruction, the infinit numbers of wofull Christians (whose grievous groanings vnder the heauie yoke of infidelitie, no tongue is able to expresse) with the carelesnesse of the great for the redresse thereof, might giue iust cause vnto any good Christian to sit downe, and with the heauie Prophet to say as he did of Hierusalem: O how hath the Lord darkened the daughter of Sion in his wrath? and cast downe from heauen vnto the earth the beautie of Israell, and remembered not his footstoolle in the day of his wrath? All which miseries (with many others so great, as greater there can none be) the prince of darkenesse and author of all mischief hath by the persecuting princes of all ages, and auncient heretickes, his ministers, laboured from time to time to bring vpon the Church of God, to the obscuring of his blessed name, and utter subuersion of his most sacred word; but yet by none, no not by them all together so much preuailed, as by the false Prophet Mahomet, borne in an unhappie houre, to the great destruction of mankind: whose most grosse and blasphemous doctrine first phantasied by himselfe in Arabia, and so by him obruded vnto the world; and afterwards by the Sarasin Caliphes (his seduced successours) with greater forces maintained, was by them together with their Empire dispersed ouer a great part of the face of the earth, to the unspeakeable ruine and destruction of the Christian Religion and State: especially in Asia and Affricke, with some good part of Europe also. But the vnitie of this great Mahometane Monarchie being once dissolved, and it diuided into many kingdomes, and so after the manner of worldly things drawing vnto the fatall period of it selfe, in proceſse of time became of farre lesse force than before, and so lesse dreadfull vnto the Christian princes of the West, by whom these Sarasins were againe expelled out of all the parts of Europe, excepting one corner of Spaine, which they yet held within the remembrance of our fathers, untill that by their victorious forces they were thence at length happily remooued also, after that they had possessed the same about the space of seuen hundred yeares. In this declination of the Sarasins (the first champions of the Mahometane superstition, who though they had lost much, yet held many great kingdomes both in Asia and Affricke, taken for the most part from the Christians) arise the Turkes, an obscure and base people, before scarce knowne vnto the world, yet fierce and courageous, who by their valour first assired vnto the kingdome of Persia, with diuers other large prouinces: from whence they were about an hundred threescore and ten yeares after againe expelled by the Tartars, and enforced to retire themselves into the lesser Asia: where taking the benefit of the discord of the Christian princes of the East, and the carelesnesse of the Christians in generall, they in some good measure repaired their former losses againe, and maintained the state of a kingdome at Iconium in Cilicia

(now

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(now of them called Caramania) holding in their subiection the greater part of that fruitfull countrey, still seeking to gaine from the Christians what they had before lost unto the Tartars. But this kingdome of the Turkes declining also, by the dismemb'ring of the same, there slept up among the Turkes in Bythinia one Osman or Othoman, of the Oguzian tribe or familie, a man of great spirit and valour, who by little and little growing up amongst the rest of his countrey-men, and other the effeminate Christians on that side of Asia, at last like another Romulus tooke upon him the name of a Sultan or King, and is right worthly accounted the first founder of the mightie Empire of the Turks: which continued by many descents directly in the line of himselfe, euen unto Mahomet the third of that name, who now reigneth, is from a small beginning become the greatest terror of the world, and holding in subiection many great and mightie kingdomes in Asia, Europe, and Affricke, is growne to that height of pride, as that it threatneth destruction vnto the rest of the kingdomes of the earth: labouring with nothing more than with the weight of it selfe. In the greatnesse whereof is swallowed up both the name and Empire of the Saracens, the glorious Empire of the Greekes, the renowned kingdomes of Macedonia, Peloponessus, Epirus, Bulgaria, Serbia, Bosnia, Armenia, Cyprus, Syria, Egypt, Indea, Tunes, Argiers, Media, Mesopotamia, with a great part of Hungarie, as also of the Persian kingdome, and all those churches and places so much spoken of in holy Scripture (the Romanes only excepted;) and in briefe, so much of Christendome as farre exceedeth that which is thereof at this day left. So that at this present if you consider the beginning, progresse, and perpetuall felicitie of this the Othoman Empire, there is in this world nothing more admirable or strange: if the greatnesse and lustre thereof, nothing more magnificent or glorious; if the power and strength thereof, nothing more dreadful or dangerous: which wondering at nothing but at the beautie of it selfe, and drunke with the pleasant wine of perpetuall felicitie, holdeth all the rest of the world in scorn, thundering out nothing but still bloud and warre, with a full persuasion in time to rule ouer all, presing vnto it selfe no other limits than the uttermost bounds of the earth, from the rising of the Sunne vnto the going downe of the same. The causes whereof are many and right lamentable, but for the most part so shut up in the counsils of the Great, as that for me to seeke after them, were great follie: yet amongst the rest, some others there be, so pregnant and manifest, as that the blind world taketh thereof as it were a generall knowledge, and may therefore without offence of the wiser sort (as I hope) euen in these our nice dayes be lightly touched. Whereof the first and greatest, is the iust and secret iudgement of the Almighty, who in iustice deliuereth into the hands of these mercilesse miscreants, nation after nation, and kingdome vpon kingdome, as vnto the most terrible executioners of his dreadful wrath, to be punished for their sinnes: others in the meane while, no lesse sinfull than they, in his mercie enjoying the benefit of a longer time, calling them vnto repentance. Then, the vncertainetie of worldly things, which subiect to perpetuall change cannot long stay in one state, but as the sea is with the wind, so are they in like sort tossed up and downe with the continuall surges and waues of alteration and change: so that being once growne to their height, they there stay not long, but fall againe as fast as euer they rise, and so in time come to nothing: As we see the greatest Monarchies that euer yet were vpon earth haue done, their course being run; ouer whom, Time now triumpheth, as no doubt at length it shall ouer this so great a Monarchie also, when it shall but then line by fame, as the others now doe. Next to these causes from aboue (without offence be it said) is the small care the Christian princes, especially those that dwelt further off, haue had of the common state of the Christian Commonweales: whereof euen the verie greatest are to account themselves but as the principall members of one and the same bodie, and haue or ought to haue as sharpe a feeling of anothers harmes, as hath the head of the wrongs done vnto the feet, or rather as if it were done vnto themselves: in stead of which Christian compassion and unitie, they haue euer and euen yet at this time are so decided among themselves with endlesse quarrels, partly for questions of religion (neuer by the sword to bee determined,) partly for matters touching their owne proper state and souerainetie, and that with such distrust and implacable hatred, that they neuer could as yet (although it haue beene long wished) ioyne their common forces against the common enemy: but turning their weapons one vpon another (the more to bee lamented) haue from time to time weakened themselves, and opened a way for him to deuour them one after another: where as with their combined forces (the greedie enemies greatest terror) they might long since not onely haue repressed his furie, and abated his pride, but with small danger and much glorie (God fauouring their so honourable attempts) haue againe recovered from him most of those famous Christian kingdomes, which he by force against all right holdeth at this day in most miserable subiection and thralldome; many millions of the poore oppressed Christians in the meane time out of the furnace of tribulation in the anguish of their soules crying in vaine vnto their Christian brethren for reliefe. 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ciuite discord the noble countrey of Gracia perished, when as the father rising against the sonne, and the sonne against the father, and brother against brother, they to the mutuall destruction of themselves called in the Turke, who like a greedie hyon lurking in his den, lay in wait for them all. So perished the kingdomes of Bulgaria, Serbia, Bosnia, and Epirus, with the famous islands of the Rhodes and Cyprus, betrayed as it were by the Christian princes their neighbours, by whom they might haue easily beene relieved. So the most flourishing and strong kingdome of Hungarie (in the reliques whereof, the fortune of the Turkish Empire hath longer stucke than in the conquest of any other kingdome, by it attempted, whatsoeuer) diuided in it selfe by the ambition of princes and ciuile discord, the weaker still calling vnto his aid the mightie power of the Turke, is long since for the most part become vnto him a prey, the poore remainders thereof being at this day hardly defended by the forces of the Christian Emperour and of the princes his confederats, sildome times meeting together with such cheerefulnesse or expedition, as the necessitie of so great a matter requirereth. Vnto which so great a cause of the common decay, may be added the euill choice of our souldiours employed in those warres, who taken up hand ouer head out of the promiscuous vulgar people, are for most part vntained men, serving rather for shew and the filling up of number, than for use, and in no respect to be compared with the Turks Janizaries and other his most expert souldiours, continually euen from their youth exercised in feats of armes. Not to speake in the meane time of the want of the auient martiall discipline, the wholesome preseruation of most puissant armies, which breedeth in the proud enemy a contempt of the Christian forces, with a full persuasion of himselfe, that he is not by such disordered and weakne means to be withstood. But to come neuer vnto the causes of the Turks greatnesse, and more proper vnto themselves, as not depending of the improuident carelesnesse, weaknesse, discord, or imperfections of others: first in them is to be noted an ardent and infinit desire of souerainetie, wherewith they haue long since promised vnto themselves the monarchie of the whole world, a quickie motiue vnto their so haughtie designs: Then, such a rare unitie and agreement amongst them, as well in the manner of their religion (if it be so to be called) as in matters concerning their state (especially in all their enterprises to be taken in hand for the augmenting of their Empire) as that thereof they call themselves Islami, that is to say, men of one mind, or at peace among themselves: so as it is not to be marvelled, if thereby they grow strong themselves, and dreadfull to others: ioyne vnto this their courage, conceiued by the wonderfull successe of their perpetuall fortune, their notable vigilancie in taking the aduantage of euery occasion for the enlarging of their Monarchie, their frugalitie and temperatnesse in their diet and other manner of liuing, their straight obseruing of their auient militarie discipline, their cheerefull and almost incredible obedience vnto their princes and Sultans: such, as in that point no nation in the world was to be worthily compared vnto them: all great causes why their Empire hath so mightily encreased and so long continued. Whereunto may be added the two strongest sinewes of euery well governed commonweale, Reward propounded to the good, and Punishment threatened vnto the offender; where the prize is for vertue and valour set up, and the way laied open for euery common person, be he neuer so meanelly borne, to aspire vnto the greatest honours and preferments both of the Court and of the field, yea euen vnto the neere affinitie of the great Sultan himselfe, if his valour or other worth shall so deserue: when as on the contrarie part the disloyall or cowardly is to expect from the same soueraine power nothing but disgrace, death, and torture. And yet these great ones not contented by such commendable and lawfull means still to extend or establish their farre spreading Empire, if that point once come in question, they stick not in their diuellsish policie to breake and infringe the lawes both of Nations and Nature. Their leagues grounded vpon the law of Nations, be they with neuer so strong capitulations concluded, or solemnitie of oath confirmed, haue with them no longer force than standeth with their owne profit, serving indeed but as snares to entangle other princes in, vntill they haue singled out him whom they purpose to deuour; the rest fast bound still looking on as if their owne turne should neuer come, yet with no more assurance of their safetie by their leagues than had the other whom they see perishe before their faces. As for the kind law of nature, what can be thereunto more contrarie, than for the father most vnaturally to embrace his hands in the bloud of his owne children? and the brother to become the bloudie executioner of his owne brethren? a common matter among the Othoman Emperours. All which most execrable and inhumane murders they couer with the pretended (safetie of their state, as thereby freed from the feare of all aspiring competitors (the greatest torments of the mightie) and by the preservation of the integritie of their Empire, which they thereby keepe whole and entire vnto themselves, and so deliuer it as it were by hand from one to another, in no part dismembred or impaired. By these and such like meanes is this barbarous Empire (of almost nothing) growne to that height of maiestie and power, as that it hath in contempt all the rest, being it selfe not inferiour in greatnesse and strength vnto the greatest monarchies that euer yet were vpon the face of the earth, the Roman Empire only excepted. Which how farre it shall yet farther spread, none knoweth, but he that holdeth in his hand all the kingdomes of the earth, and with his word boundeth in the raging of the sea, so that it cannot further passe. Mowed with the greatnesse

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vesse and glorie of this so mightie and dreadfull an Empire, growne for the most part out of the ruine of the Christian commonweale, with the utter subuersion of many great and flourishing kingdomes, and wofull fall of many moe right puissant and mightie princes, not without grieffe to be remembered: I long since (as many others haue) entered into the heauie consideration thereof, purposing so to haue contented my selfe with a light view of that which might well be for euer of all good Christians lamented, but hardly or neuer remedied; untill that afterwards led with a more earnest desire to know the strange and fatall mutations, by this barbarous nation in former time brought vpon a great part of the world, as also so much as I might see so great a terror of the present time, and in what termes it standeth with the rest, I had with long search and much labour, mixt with some pleasure and mine owne reasonable contentment, passed through the whole melancholie course of their tragicall Historie: yet without purpose euer to haue commended the same or any part thereof vnto the remembrance of posteritie, as deeming it an argument of too high a reach, and fitter for some more happie wit, better furnished with such helps both of nature and art, as are of necessitie requisite for the vndertaking of so great a charge, than was my selfe, of many thousands the meanest. Not vnmindfull also of that which the Poet (keeping decorum) saith in like case, though farre lesse matter, of himselfe:

Virg. Ecl. 3.
scia

Cum canerem reges & praelia, Cynthus aurem
Vellit, & admonuit: Pastorem Tittere pingues
Pascere oportet oues, deductum ducere carmen.

When I did sing of mightie kings, or els of bloudie warre,
Apollo pluckt me by the eare, and said I went too farre:
Besemes a shepheard Titterus his fatlings for to feed,
And for to fit his rurall song vnto his slender reed.

Resides that, so many difficulties euen at the first presented themselves vnto my view, as that to overcome the same, if I should take the labour in hand, seemed to me almost impossible: for beside the sea and world of matter I was to passe through (requiring both great labour and time) full of the most rare example both of the better and worse fortune in men of all sort and condition, yielding more pleasure vnto the reader than facilitie to the writer, I saw not any (among so many as had taken this argument in hand) whom I might as a sure guide or loadstarre long follow in the course of this so great an Historie: many right worthy and learned men (whose memorie my soule honoureth) contenting themselves to haue with their learned penne enrolled in the records of neuer-dying fame, some, one great expedition or action, some another, as in their times they fell out; yea the Turkish Histories and Chronicles themselves (from whom the greatest light for the continuation of the Historie was in reason to haue bene expected) being in the declaration of their owne affaires (according to their barbarous manner) so sparing and short, as that they may of right be accounted rather short rude notes than iust Histories, rather pointing things out, than declaring the same; and that with such obscuritie, by changing the auncient and vsuall names as well of whole kingdomes, countries, and provinces, as of cities, townes, riuers, mountaines, and other places, yea, and oftentimes of men themselves, into other strange and barbarous names of their owne deuising, in such sort, as might well stay an intenteue reader, and deprive him of the pleasure together with the profit he might otherwise expect by the reading thereof; whereunto to giue order, perspicuitie, and light, would require no small trauell and paine. Not to speake in the meane time of the diuersitie of the reports in the course of the whole Historie, such as is oftentimes most hard, if not altogether impossible to reconcile. Notwithstanding all which difficulties, with many others more proper vnto my selfe, hauing with long labour and diligent search passed through the course of the whole Historie, and so in some reasonable sort satisfied my selfe therein, I thought it not vnjust, as well for the worthinesse of the matter, as for the zeale I beare vnto the Christian commonweale, and for the satisfying also of some others my good friends, much desirous of the same, to make prooffe out of the dispersed workes of many right worthy men, I could set downe one orderly and continuat Historie of this so mightie an Empire, with the great and fatall mutation or rather subuersion of many right strong and flourishing kingdomes and states (the proper worke of all mightie rising Empires, still encreasing by the fall of others) wherewith this proud monarchie hath alreadye daunted a great part of the world, being so many and so strange, as that moe or more wonderfull were not cuer to be scene in any of the greatest monarchies of auncient time or memorie, and so together, and as it were vnder one view and at one shew, to lay open vnto the Christian Reader, what I was glad to seeke for out of the desufled labours of many: a worke so long and laborious as might well haue deterred a right resolute and constant mind from the vndertaking thereof, being as yet to my knowledge not vndergone or performed by any: wherein among such

varietie,

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varietie, or more truly to say, contrarietie of writers, I contented not my selfe, as a blind man led by his guide happily of no better sight than himselfe, to tread the steps of this or that one man, going for a while before me, and by and by leauing me againe stumbling in the darke: but out of the learned and faithfull workes of many, according to my simple iudgement to make choice of that was most probable, still supplying with the perfections of the better, what I found wanting or defectiue in the weaker, propounding vnto my selfe no other marke to aime at than the very truth of the Historie; as that which is it selfe of power to giue life vnto the dead letter, and to couer the faults escaped in the homely penning or compiling thereof. Which the better to performe, I collected so much of the Historie as possibly I could, out of the writings of such as were themselves present and as it were eye-witnesses of the greatest part of that they write, and so as of all others best able, most like also to haue left vnto vs the very truth. Such is the greatest part of so much of the Historie set downe, gathered out of the doings of Nicetas Choniates, Nicephorus Gregoras, and Laonicus Chalcocondiles, all writing such things as they themselves saw, or were for most part in their time, and were vnto them done. Such are the wonderfull and almost incredible warres betwixt old Amurath the second, and his foster child, the fortunat prince of Epirus, of the Turks commonly called Scanderbeg, and by that wayward tyrant at his death together with his kingdom deliuered as it were by inheritance vnto his sonne, the great and cruell Sultan Mahomet; all written by Marinus Barletius, himselfe an Epirot, and in all those troublesome times then lining in Scodra a citie of the Venetians ioyning vpon Epirus. Such is the wofull captiuitie of the imperiall citie of Constantinople, with the miserable death of the Greeke Emperour Constantinus Palæologus, and the fatall ruine of the Greeke Empire, written by Leonardus Chienfis, Archbishop of Mitylene, being himselfe then present, and there taken prisoner. Such is the lamentable Historie of the Rhodes, taken for most part out of Ia. Fontanus his three bookes de Bello Rhodio, a learned man, then present and in great credit with Villerius the Great Master, at such time as that famous island, after it had by him and the other worthie knights of the Order bene most wonderfully of long defended, was to the great ruth of Christendome taken by the great Sultan Solymán. Such is the most tragicall Historie of Baiazet, Solymán his youngest sonne, collected out of the notable Epistles of Augerius Busbequius Legationis Turcicæ, he himselfe then lying embassador for the Emperour Ferdinand at Constantinople, and present in Solymán's campe at such time as he himselfe in person went ouer with his armie into Asia, to countenance his eldest sonne Solyman, who succeeded him in his Empire against his valiant younger brother Baiazet: and beside, well acquainted with the great Basses Achmet, Ruitan, Haly, and others, oftentimes mentioned in the Historie following. Such is also the Historie of the taking of the auncient citie of Tripolis in Barbarie from the knights of Malta by Sinan the proud Bassa, written by Nicholas Nicholay lord of Arfeuile, present at the same time with the lord of Aramont, then embassador for the French king vnto Solymán. So might I say also of the miserable spoile of the fruitfull and pleasant islands of the Mediterranean, made by Lutzis Bassa, Solymán his brother in law and great Admirall, with the submitting of the island of Naxos to the Turkes obedience, written by Iohn Critice, at that time duke of the same island. And so likewise of diuers other parts of the Historie, too long to rehearse. But for as much as euery great and famous action had not the fortune to haue in it a Caesar, such as both could and would commend vnto posteritie by writing that whereof they might truly say, They were themselves a great part: many right excellent Generals contenting themselves with the honour of the field, and their glorie there woon, leauing the honourable fame thereof to be by others reported. For lacke of such most certaine authors, or rather (as I before said) eye-witnesses, I gathered so much as I could of that remained, out of the workes of such, as being themselves men of great place, and well acquainted with the great and worthie personages of their time, might from their mouths as from certain Oracles report the vndoubted truth of many most famous exploits done both by themselves and others: as might Paul Iouinius from the mouth of Muleaffes king of Tunes, from Vastius the great Generall, from Auria the prince of Melphis, Charles the Emperour his Admirall, and such others: or els out of the writings of such as were themselves great traueilers into the Turkes dominions, and withall diligent obseruers of their affaires and state, as were the phisitions Pantaleon, Minadoic, and Leunclanius (of all others a most curious searcher of their antiquities and Histories) vnto which great Clarke and some others of that learned profession, we may worthily attribute the greatest light and certaintie of that is reported of a great part of the Turkish affairs. But these in the course of so long an Historie failing also (as by conferring that which is hereafter written, together with their Histories, is easily to be perceived) to perfect that I had taken in hand, I tooke my refuge vnto the writings of such other learned and credible authours, as of whose integritie and faithfulness the world hath not to my knowledge at any time yet doubted: yea for these few late yeares I was glad out of the Germane and Italian writers in their owne language to borrow the knowledge of these late affaires as not yet written in Latin, wherein if the reader find not himselfe so fully satisfied as he could desire, I would be glad by him to be better informed, as being no lesse desirous of others to learn the truth of that I know not, than willing

To the Reader.

to impart vnto others that litle which I know. Thus much I thought good to set downe, to perswade a Christian Reader of the truth of the Historie following, wherein he shall find matter enough to wonder at, and no lesse strange than that whatsoever it is that is written of the greatest monarchies of auntient time, vnto whom for power and maiestie it yeeldeth litle: But so much the more worthy our consideration than they, for that their periods alreadie run, and so their furie ouerpast, this in our time so flourisheth, and as this present so mightily swelleth, as if it would ouerflow all, were it not by the mercie of God first, and then by the iudges of some few of the Christian princes nearest vnto so great a danger with their great charge to their immortal glorie and benefit of the Christian commonweale mightily checked and kept within some bounds and compasse. This Historie for the most part thus as is afore said passed through, and brought to some good perfection, was yet by me againe laid aside; and like ynoung euen as an abortiue fruit to haue perished in the birth before it was growne to perfection, had I not many times fainting in the long and painefull trauell therewith, by my speciall good friend Sir Peter Manwood of S. Stephens in the countie of Kent knight of the honourable order of the Bath; a loue and great fauourer of learning (in whose keeping it so for the most part many yeares in safetie rested) bene still comforted and as it were againe reuiued, and now finally encouraged to take it in hand, and so at length as I might to perfect it: vnto whom (being the onely furtherer, stay, and helpe of these my labours) thou art for such pleasure as thou findest therein (if it be any) in courtiesie beholden. Now what I for my part haue in this my long trauell performed, I leaue it to thy good discretiō to consider, contenting my selfe in so great a matter to haue bin willing to haue done some thing; wishing no longer to liue, than in some measure to be profitable to the Christian commonweale, which long since in my nursing mother house Lincolne Colledge in Oxford, where I was sometime Fellow, I did purpose to performe, as it should please God in time to giue me meanes and occasion: in which mind I hope by the goodnesse & mercie of Christ so long as I liue to continue. Only this fauor (to conclude with) I request of thee That if in this so long and perplexed an Historie by peeces made of so many dierly handled & written by me in a world of troubles and cares, in a place that afforded no meanes or comfort to proceed in so great a worke, thou chance to light vpon some things otherwise reported than thou hast elsewhere read them (as I doubt not but thou maiest) not therefore forthwith to condemne what thou here findest, being happily taken from a more certaine reporter than was that wherunto thou guesst more credit or at leastwise not written by me, as measuring in any thing to preiudice thy better iudgement, but to leaue it to thy good choice in such diuersitie of reports to follow that which may seeme vnto thee most true. By which courtiesie thou maiest hereafter encourage me to performe some other worke to thy no lesse contentment. So wishing thee all happinesse, I bid thee farwell. From Sandwich the last of September. 1603.

Thine in all dutifull kindnesse,
R. KNOLLES.

The names of the Authors whom we especially used in the
collecting and writing of the Historie of the Turks following.

Abrahamus Ortelius.
Achillis Traducci.
Æneas Syluius Pont.
Alcoranum Turcicum.
Antonius Sabellicus.
Antonius Bonfinius.
Antonius Pigafetta.
Antonius Guarnierius.
Augerius Busbequius.
Bernard de Girard.
Blondus Foroliuensis.

Cælius Secundus Curio.
Dauid Chytreus.
Franciscus Sanfouinus.
Henricus Pantaleon.
Jacobus Fontanus.
Ioannes Leunclavius.
Laonicus Chalcocondilas.
Lazarus Soranzi.
Leonardus Chienfis.
Leonardus Goretius.
Marinus Barletius.

**Martinus Chromerus.
Nicephorus Gregoras.
Nicetas Choniates.
Nicholaus Honigerus.
Nicholaus Reufnerus.
Paulus Iouius.
Philippus Lonicerus.
Petrus Bizara.
Sebastianus Monfterus.
Thomas Minadoi.
Theodorus Spanduginus.**

Germanica Continuationes Relationum Historicarum.

{ Andreae Strigeli.
{ Theodori Meureri.
{ Iacobi Franci.



**B THE GENERAL HISTORIE
OF THE TURKES, BEFORE THE RI-
SING OF THE OTHOMAN FAMILIE, WITH
ALL THE NOTABLE EXPEDITIONS OF THE
CHRISTIAN PRINCES AGAINST THEM.**



H E glorious Empire of the Turkes, the present terrour of the world, hath amongst other things nothing in it more wonderfull or strange, than the poore beginning of it selfe; so small and obscure, as that it is not well knowne vnto themselves, or agreed vpon euē among the best writers of their histories, from whence this barbarous nation that now so triumpheth ouer the best part of the world, first crept out or tooke their beginning. Some (after the manner of most nations) deriue them from the Trojans, led thereunto by the affinity of the words *Turci* & *Teucri*; supposing (but with what probability I know not) the word *Turci* or *Turks*, to haue bene made of the corruption of the word *Teu-*

Diners opinio[n]s concerning the beginning of the Turke.

cri, the common name of the Trojans: as also for that the Turks haue of long time inhabited the lesser ASIA, wherein the ancient and most famous citie of TROY sometime stood. No great reason in my deeming: yet giue the authors thereof leaue therewith to please themselves, as well as some others, which dwelling much farther off, borrow, or rather force their beginning from thence, without any probability at al; and that with such earnestnesse, as if they could not elswhere haue found, any so honourable ancestors. Other some report them to haue first come out of PERSIA, and of I wor not what, citie there, to haue taken their name: neither want there some which assume them to haue taken their beginning out of ARABIA, yea and some out of SYRIA, with many other far fet deuises concerning the beginning and name of this people: all seruing to no better purpose, than to shew the vncertainie thereof. Amongst others, Philip of MORNAY, the noble and learned Frenchman in his woorthy worke concerning the trueesse of the Christian religion, seemeth (and that not without good reason) to deriue the Turks together with the Tartars, from the Iewes, namely, from the ten Tribes, which were by Salmanaazar king of ASIRIA, in the time of Oseas king of ISRAEL, caried away into captiuitie, and by him consued into MEDIA, and the other vnpeopled countries of the North, whose going thither is not vnaptly described by *Esdra*, where among the great Herds of shee Tatars in the farthest part of the world Northward, euen at this day, are found some, that still retain the names of Dan, Zabulon, and Nephthali, a certaine argument of their descent: whereunto also the word Tartar or Tatar, signifying in the Syrian tongue remnants or leauings; and the word Turke, a word of disgrace, signifying in Hebrew, banished men; seemeth right well to agree. Besides that, in the Northern countries of RYSSIA, SARMATIA, and LITHVANIA, are found greater store of the Iewish nation than elswhere, and so neerer vnto the Tartarians, still the more; whereunto *Io. Leunclauius* the most curious searcher out of the Turks antiquities and monuments, addeeth as a farther conjecture of the descent of those barbarous northerne people from the Iewes, That in his trauell through LYONIA and LITHVANIA, in the coun-

Diuers opinions
concerning the
beginning of the
Turke.

King, cap. 17.
Hidr, cap. 13.

o. Leuñciau-
s Pandect.
ap. 22.

trie neere vnto the metropolitall citie of RICA, he found there the barbarous people of the Lettoes, quite differing in language from the other country people of the Curoes and Eftoris, no lesse barbarous than themselves; who had alwaies in their mouths as a perpetuall lamentation, which they with doleful moanes daily repeated abroad in the fields, *Ieru, Ieru, Malco, Lon*: whereby they were thought to lament ouer IERUSALEM and DAMASCO, as forgetfull of all other things in their ancient country, after so many wordes of yceres, and in a desolat place so far distant thence. And *Munster* in his description of LIVONIA repeating the like words, reporteth, That this rude people being demanded what they meant by these words so often and so lamentably by them without cause uttered: answered, That they knew no more than that they had beene so of long taught by their ancestors. But to leaue these opinions concerning their beginning, so diuers and vncertaine, and to follow greater probabilities as concerning the place from whence they came: it is vpon better ground thought by diuers others, and those of the best historiographers, That this barbarous nation which hath of late brought such fatall mutations vpon so great a part, not of Christendom onely, but euen of the whole world, tooke

Sebast. Munsterus vniuersalis Cosmographia lib. 3.

Scythia the nation country of the Turks. Pompon. Mel. lib. 1. cap. vi.

Plinius Secundus lib. 6. cap. 7.

The next agree ment betwixt the Turks and Scythians.

When and for what causes the Turks left their ancient and natural seats in Scythia, to seek other in the countries more southerly.

755.

844

Sabellicus Ennead. 9. lib. 3.

their first beginning out of the cold and bare country of SCYTHIA: induced thereunto, both by the authoritie of the greatest Cosmographers, as by most apparant reasons. *Pomponius Mela*, the describer of the world, reckning vp the people neere vnto the great riuer TANAI (the bounder of EUROPE from ASIA Eastward) amongst others maketh expresse mention of the Turks, in these words: *Geloni urbem ligneam habitant. Iuxta Thyrsagete Turceque vastas sylvas occupant alunturque venando. Tum continuis rupibus late aspera & deserta regio ad Arympeos usque permittitur*. The Geloni inhabit a citie of wood. And fast by, the Thyrsagets and Turks possesse the vast Forrests, and liue by hunting. Then, a rough and desart country with continuall rocks, is spaciouly extended euen as far as vnto the Arympeians. *Plinie* also in like manner reckning vp the nations about the fennes of MAOTIS, agreeing with that *Mela* reporteth, saith: *Deinde Euaze, Cottæ, Cicimeni, Messeniani, Costobocci, Choatre, Zige, Dandari, Thyrsagete, Turce, usque ad solitudines altius, conuallibus asperas ultra quos Arympeus qui ad Ripheos pertinet montes*. Next vnto them, are the Euaze, Cottæ, Cicimeni, Messeniani, Costobocci, Choatre, Zige, Dandari, the Thyrsagets and Turks vnto the desarts rough with wooddie vallies: beyond whom are the Arympeians, which border vnto the Riphean mountaines. And *Ptolome* in the description of SARMATIA ASIATICA maketh mention of the Tursi, whom many learned men suppose to haue been the same nation with the Turks. Vnto which ancient testimonies of reuerend antiquitie, adde the manners and conditions of the Turks, their ancient attire, their gesture, their gate, their weapons, and manner of riding, and fight, their language and dialect, so well agreeing with the Scythians: and a man shall find matter enough sufficient to perswade him in reason, that the Turks haue vndoubtedly taken their beginning from the Scythes; whom they in so many things resemble, and with whom of all other nations they best agree.

Now it hath beene no lesse doubted also among the writers of the Turks histories; at what time, and for what causes the Turks (to the trouble of the world) left their naturall seats in the cold country of SCYTHIA, to seek themselves others in more pleasant and temperat countries more Southerly, than it hath beene of their originall beginning. *Blondus* and *Platina*, report them, enforced with a generall want, to haue forsaken their native country and followed their better fortune, in the yeere of our Lord 755: with whom also *Segonius* agreeth in the cause of their departure, but not in the time or place when or whereby they departed. For they (as he saith) issued out of their dwelling places in the yeere of grace 844, by the straits of the mountaine CAVCASVS: whereas the other with greater probability suppose them to haue come forth by the Caspian straits: which the Turks also (as saith *Sabellicus*) affirme of themselves, their ancestors (as they say) being by their neighbours driuen out of the Caspian mountaines. Some others there be that report them to haue forsaken their native country, neither enforced thereunto by necessitie, or the power of others; but for their valour: sent for by the Sultan of PERSIA to aide him in his wars: vnadvisedly supposing that to haue beene the cause of their first coming out, which in deed hapned long time after, as in the proesse of this historie shall appeare. But whatsoeuer the aforesaid causes of want, or of the enemies power, might enforce them vnto, a greater power no doubt it was that stirred them vp, euen the hand of the Almighty, who being the author of all kingdomes vpon earth, as well those which he hath appointed as scourges wherewith to punish the world, as others more blessed; will haue his worke and purpose

A purpose full of diuine maiestie, to appeare in the stirring of them vp from right small beginnings, in the increasing & establishing of their greatnesse and power, to the astonishment of the world; and in the ruine and destruction of them againe, the course of their appointed time once runne. As for the difference of the time of their coming forth, before remembered, it may reasonably be referred vnto the diuers emotions of that people, who being not vnder the command of any one, but of their diuers gouernours, as the manner of that people was, are not to be thought to haue come forth all at once, either for one cause; but at diuers times, some sooner, some later, and that for diuers causes. This people thus stirred vp, and by the Caspian ports passing thence row the Georgian country, then called IBERIA, neere vnto the Caspian sea: first ceased vpon a part of the greater ARMENIA, and that with so strong hand, that it is by their posteritie yet holden at this day, and of them called TVRCOMANIA; of all other, the most true progenie of the ancient Turks. In which great country, they of long, vnder their diuers leaders, in the manner of their liuing most resembling their ancestors, roamed vp and downe with their families and herds of cattell, after the manner of the Scythian Nomades, their country men, without any certaine places of aboad; yet at great vnitic among themselves, as not hauing much to looke for wherfore to striue.

Armenia (now called Turcomania) the first seat of the Turks after their first coming out of Scythia.



The first kingdome of the Turks erected in Persia by Tangrolipix, Chiefeaine of the Selzuccian family: with the successe thereof.



His wandering and vnregarded people, but now the terror of the world, thus first seated in ARMENIA; long time there liued in that wide country, after their rude and woonted manner (from which the Turcoman nation their posteritie in that place, euen at this day: as we said much differeth not) and not onely notably defended the country thus by them at the first possessed, but still inroching farther and farther; and gaining by other mens harmes, became at length dreadfull vnto their neighbours, and of some fame also farther off: wherunto the effeminate cowardise of those delicate people

of ASIA, with whom they had to do gaue no lesse furtherance, than their owne valour; being neuerthelesse an hardie rough people, though not much skilfull or trained vp in the feats of war. The fame of these Turks together with their fortune, thus daily encreasing, and the mightie Empire of the Sarafins as fast declining: which vnder their Chaliphes the successors of the false prophet Mahomet, hauing in lesse than the space of two hundred yceres, ouerspread not onely the greatest part of ASIA and AFRICA, euen vnto GADRES and the pillars of Hercules; but also passing ouer that strait, had ouerwhelmed almost all SPAIN, and not there staying, but passing the Pyrenei had pearced euen into the heart of FRANCE, and diuers other parts of Christendom; as namely, ITALY, SICILY, the famous Iland of the RHODES, with many others of the MEDITERRANEAN: now diuided in it selfe, and rent into many kingdomes, turned their victorious armes from the Christians vpon one another, to the mutuall destruction of themselves, & their empire. Amongst other the Sarafin Sultans which forgetting their obedience vnto their great Chaliph, tooke vpon them the soueraignie of gouernment (which admitteth no partner) was one Mahomet, Sultan of PERSIA, a right great prince, who hardly beset on the one side with the Indians, and on the other with the Chaliph of BABYLON his mortall enemie, praised aid of the Turks his neighbours, who were now come euen to the side of ARAXIS, the bound of his empire: Vnto which his request the Turks easily granted, in hope thereby to find a way for them afterwards to enter into PERSIA, and so sent him three thousand hardie men, vnder the leading of one Togra Mucaler, the sonne of Atikeil, a valiant captaine and cheefe of the Selzuccian

Togro, otherwise
called Tangrolipix
sent to and
the Persian Sul-
tan.

tribe or family; whom the Greeks commonly call *Tangrolipix*, and some others *Selduck* or *Sadock*, names (as I suppose) corrupted of the great family whereof he was descended: By the aide of this *Tangrolipix* (for now we will so call him, as by the name most used) *Mahomet* the Persian Sultan, overcame *Pisafirin* the Chaliph of *BABYLON*, his Arabians being not able to endure the force of the Turkish archers. This war thus happily ended; the Turks desiring to returne home, requested of the Sultan leave to depart, and with a safe convoy to be conducted vnto the riuer *ARAXIS*; and there to haue the passage of that swift riuer opened vnto them; which was by the Persians strongly kept by two castles built vpon each end of the bridge whereby the riuer was to be passed: But *Mahomet* loth to forgoe such necessarie men, by whom he had obtained so great a victorie, and purposing to employ them further in his seruice against the Indians, would by no means hearken vnto their request; but seeming therewith to be discontented, commanded them to speake no more thereof, threatening them violence, if they should more presume to talke of their departure. The Turks therefore doubtfull of their estate, and fearing further danger, secretly withdrew themselves into the desert of *CARAVONITIS*; and for that they were in number but few, and not able to come into the open field against so many millions of the Sarafins, liued as they might by continuall excursions and roads which they made out of the desert Forrest into the countries adjoyning: wherewith *Mahomet* greatly incensed, sent out an armie of twentie thousand men, vnder the conduct of ten of his best captaines against them: who for want of water and other necessaries, doubting to enter the desert, encamped themselves in the side of the Forrest, there to consult what course to take. But *Tangrolipix* who with his Turks lay a great way off in the couert of the woods and mountaines, vnderstanding of the coming of his enemies, and of the manner of their lying; thought it best vpon the sudden by night to set vpon the Sarafins and Persians, if so happily he might overthrow them by policie, whom he was not able to encounter in plaine battell. Vpon which resolution, hauing trauelled two daies long, march in the desert, the third day at night he suddenly set vpon his enemies, lying negligently in their trenches, and by his vnexpected coming, brought such a feare vpon them, that they without longer stay betooke themselves to flight, euerie man shifing for himselfe without regard of others. This victorie so happily gained, and *Tangrolipix* now (beyond his hope) thoroughly furnished, with armour, horses, and abundance of all things needfull for the wars, kept the woods and Forrests no longer as a theefe or out-law, but shewed himselfe in the open field, where daily repaired vnto him numbers of roagues and vagabonds, seeking after spoile; with many other desperat villaines, who for feare of punishment were glad of such a refuge: So that in a short space his armie was growne to be fiftie thousand strong, and so much the stronger, for that they had nothing to trust vnto, more than the valour of themselves. Whilest *Tangrolipix* thus encreaseth, *Mahomet* enraged with the ouerthrow of his armie, in his furie caused all those ten captaines that had the leading thereof, to haue their eies pluckt out, threatening also to attire all the souldiers that fled out of the battell in womens appa-
rell, and so disgraced, to carrie them about as cowards: and withall raised a great armie for the suppressing of the Turks. All things being now in readines, he set forward: when by the way the souldiers whom he had before so threatened to disgrace, suddenly fled to the enemy: with whose coming, *Tangrolipix* greatly encouraged and strengthened, resolved to giue the Sultan battell. And so boldly comming on, met with him at *ISPAHAN*, a citie of *PERSIA*, where was fought betwixt them a most terrible battell, with woonderfull slaughter on both sides. In the heat of which battell, *Mahomet* vnadvisedly riding too and fro to encourage his souldiers, falling with his horse, brake his necke: vpon which mischance both the armies comming to agreement, by common consent proclaimed *Tangrolipix* Sultan in his stead, and so made him king of *PERSIA* and of all the other large dominions vnto that kingdome belonging.

This was the first kingdome of the Turks, begun by the good fortune of *Tangrolipix*, about 214 yeeres after their coming out of *SCYTHIA*, in the yeere also of our Lord 1030; *Constantinus Monomachus* then reigning, or a little before (according to the Turks account) in the reign of *Romanus Argirus*, *Constantine* his predecessour. *Tangrolipix* by rare fortune, thus of a meane captain became king of *PERSIA*, forthwith commanded the garison that kept the bridge ouer the riuer *ARAXIS*, to be remooued, and so free passage to be giuen vnto the Turks his countrey men, at their pleasure to come over: who in great multitudes repaired into *PERSIA*, where they were by the new Sultan well provided for, and by little and little promoted vnto the greatest

- A greatest dignities of that kingdome; the Persians and Sarafins the ancient inhabitants thereof, being by these new come guests now kept vnder, and as it were troden vnder foot. Together with this kingdome, the Turks received the Mahometane superstition, from which they before not much abhorred, as men vsing circumcision: So that hard it is to say, whether the nation doth more; the Persians and Sarafins, by the losse of so great a kingdome, or the Turks, by embracing so great a vanitie.
- Tangrolipix* with his Turks thus possessed of the kingdome of *PERSIA*, held her him selfe therewith long content, but made war vpon his neighbour princes, especially against *Pisafirin* the Chaliph of *BABYLON*, whom hee in diuers battels ouerthrew; and hauing at length slaine him, joynd his kingdome vnto his owne. After that he sent *Cutlu-Muses* his cousin, with an armie against the Arabians, by whom he was ouerthrowne and put to flight. But returning by *MEDIA* he requested of *Stephan* the Greeke emperours lieutenant, leave to passe with his armie by the confines of his country: which his request, *Stephan* not only rejected, but also by strong hand sought to stop his passage; but joyning battell with him, was by the Turks easily ouerthrowne and himselfe taken. So *Cutlu-Muses* returning to *Tangrolipix*, and recounting vnto him the successe of his wars, perswaded him to turne his forces into *MEDIA*, as a most fruitfull countrey, and easie to be subdued. But he highly offended with the ouerthrow giuen by the Arabians, would not hearken vnto him, but raising a new armie in hope of better fortune, went against the Arabians in person himselfe. *Cutlu-Muses* in the meane time fearing the Sultans displeasure, fled with his followers and fauorits: and taking for his refuge *PASAR* a strong citie of the Choras-
mians, reuolted from him; which the Sultan seeming not to regard, held on his intended journey against the Arabians, by whom he was also put to the worst; and enforced with dishonour to returne. After that, he with part of his armie besieged *Cutlu-Muses*, who by the strength of the place and valour of his people, for a great while notably defended himselfe. In the meane time *Tangrolipix* not vnmindfull what *Cutlu-Muses* had before said vnto him, concerning the easinesse of the conquest of *MEDIA* (a countrey (as hee said) defended but by women) sent *Asan* his brothers sonne, furnished the Deafe, with a conuenient armie to invade the same: who entering into the frontiers of that prouince, was there by the emperours lieutenant ouerthrowne, and himselfe with the greatest part of his armie slaine: with which losse the Sultan rather enraged than discouraged, sent *Habramie Alim* his brother, againe with an armie of an hundred thousand fighting men; with which so great a power the emperours lieutenant thought it not good to encounter, vntill he had procured farther aid from the emperour, especially out of *BERIA*, and therefore kept himselfe with such power as he had within his strong and fenced places: which *Alim* perceiuing, and out of hope to draw him vnto battell, coming vp and downe the countrey, at last besieged *ARZEN* an open towne, but full of rich merchants, by whom it was contrarie to his expectation, notably defended for the space of six daies; vntill that at length the Turks seeing no other way to win it, set fire vpon it in diuers places: by force whereof the inhabitants were enforced for safegard of their liues to flie, and to leaue the towne with an infinite wealth to the spoile of the enemy. By this time was *Liparites* gouernour of *BERIA* come with a great power to the aide of the emperours lieutenant in *MEDIA*: whereof *Alim* hauing intelligence, without delay hastened with his armie towards his enemies: and meeting with them a little before night, had with them a cruell fight, wherein the victorie fell vnto the Christians, who had the Turks in chase a great part of the night. Neuerthelesse *Liparites* valiantly fighting in another wing of the battell, was there taken and so carried away prisoner: For whose ransom the emperour sent a great summe of money, with certaine presents to the Sultan; all which he sent backe againe, and frankly set *Liparites* at libertie, wishing him neuer to beate armes more against the Turks. And with him sent the Seriph, a man of great place among the Mahometans, his embassadour vnto the emperour: who comming to *CONSTANTINOPLE*, amongst other things proudly demanded of the emperour to become tributarie vnto the Sultan, and so to be at peace with him for euer. Which his vnreasonable demand, was by the emperour with no lesse disdain scornfully rejected, and the Seriph so dismissed: which contempt of his embassadour the Sultan taking in euill part, as also not a little moued with the death of his nephew and losse of his armie, with all his power invaded the Roman prouinces. But being come as far as *CORINTH* without any notable harme doing, for that the countrey people hearing before of his coming, had in time conueighed themselves with their substance into their strong holds, whereof there

When the Turks
first received the
Mahometane
superstition.

Cutlu Muses
sent by *Tangro-
lipix* against the
Arabians.

Cutlu Muses re-
belleth against
Tangrolipix.

The Turks em-
bassadour con-
demned of the
emperour.

Tangrolipix in-
uaded the em-
perours domin-
ions.

was great store in those countries; and hearing also that the Greeke emperour was raising a great power to come against him at *CESAREA*; not daring to proceed any further, leaving so many enemies behind him, he fleeing in himselfe returned into *MEDIA*, where finding the people all fled into their strong townes, he laid siege vnto *MANTZICHERT*, a citie standing in a plaine champion countrey, but strongly fortified with a triple wall and deepe ditches: This citie he furiously assaulted by the space of thirte daies without intermission, but all in vaine, the same being still notably defended by *Basilus* gouernour thereof, and the other Christians therein. The Sultan wearie of this siege, and about to haue risen, was by *Alan* one of his great captaines, perswaded yet to stay one day, for him to make prooffe in, what he were able to do for the gaining thereof: whereunto the Sultan yeelding, committed the whole charge of the assault vnto him. *Alan* the next day diuiding the armie into two parts, and placing the one part vpon the higher ground, of purpose, with the multitude of their shot to haue ouerwhelmed the defendants; with the other part of the armie, furnished with all things needful for the assault, approached the wals: the Sultan in the meane time with certaine of the chiefe Turks, from an high place beholding all that was done: But this so forward a captaine in the midst of his endeavour lost himselfe, being slaine with a great number of his followers in approaching the wall. His dead bodie knowne by the beautie of his armour, was by two valiant yong men that salied out of the gate, drawne by the haire of his head into the citie; and his head being forthwith cut off, was cast ouer the wall among the Turks: wherewith the Sultan discouraged, and out of hope of gaining the citie, rose with his armie, pretending himselfe with other his vrgent affaires to be called home, and threatening withall, the next spring to returne with greater power, and to do great matters. But not long after, great discord arose betwixt the Sultan and his brother *Habramie Alim*, in so much that the Sultan sought by diuers meanes to haue taken him out of the way: which *Habramie* perceiuing, fled to his nephew *Cutlu Musus*, and ioyning his forces with his, denounced war vnto the Sultan his brother; who meeting with them not far from *PASAR*, ouercame them in plaine battell, wherein *Habramie* was taken, and presently by the commandement of his brother put to death. But *Cutlu Musus* with his cousin *Melech*, & six thousand Turks fled into *ARMENIA*; and by messengers sent of purpose, requested of the emperour *Constantinus Monomachus* to be receiued into his protection. But the Sultan with his armie following them at the heeles, they for their more safetie were glad to flie into *ARABIA*. The Sultan afterwards turning into *IBERIA* did there great harme, spoiling the countrey before him: against whom the emperour sent *Michael Acoluthus*, a valiant captaine; of whose approach the Sultan hearing, and that he would vndoubtedly ere long give him battell (deeming it no great honour vnto him to ouercome the emperours seruant, but an eternall dishonour to bee of him ouerthrown) retired with his armie backe againe to *TAVRIS*, leaving behind him one *Samuch* with three thousand Turks to infect the frontiers of the emperours territories; which both he and other the Turks captaines afterward more easily did, for that *Monomachus* the emperour hauing prodigally spent the treasures of the empire, to encrease his reuenue, had imposed a tribute vpon the frontier countries of his empire, woont before to befree from all exactions: in lieu whereof, they were bound to defend the passages from all incursions of the enemies; but now pressed with new impositions, had dissolved their woonted garrisons, and left an easie entrance for the barbarous enemies into the prouinces confining vpon them: Besides that the emperours immediatly following, and especially *Constantinus Ducas*, abhorring from wars, and giuen altogether to the hoording vp of treasure, gaue little countenance and lesse maintenance vnto men of seruice, which in short time turned vnto the great weakening, and in fine to the vtter ruine of the Constantinopolitane empire. At the same time also the gouernment of the Constantinopolitane empire by the death of *Constantinus Ducas* the late emperour, came to his wife *Eudocia* with her three sonnes, *Michael*, *Andronicus*, and *Constantinus*, all verie yong; whose sex and tender yeeres the barbarous nations hauing in contempt, at their pleasure grievously spoiled the prouinces of the empire, namely, *MESOPOTAMIA*, *CILICIA*, *CAPADOCIA*, yea and sometime as far as *CÆLESIRIA*. The report wherof much troubled the emperesse, & gaue occasion for many that loued her not, to say, That so troubled an estate required the gouernment of some worthie man. Wherefore shee fearing lest that the Senat, making choise of some other, she and her children should be remooued from the gouernment, thought it best for the preservation of her state and her childrens, to make choise of some notable & valiant man for her husband, that

Diffension betwixt Tangrothie and his brother Habramie Alim.

Cutlu Musus fled into Arabia.

Constantinus and lacke of Reward the decay of the Constantinopolitane empire.

Eudocia the emperesse contrarie to her oath desired to marry.

A for her and hers should take vpon him the managing of so weightie affaires. But to check this her purpose (the onely remedie of her troubled thoughts) shee had at the death of the late emperour *Constantine* her husband, at such time as the soueraignie was by the Senat confirmed vnto her and her sonnes, solemnly sworn neuer more to marrie; which her oath was for the more assurance conceiued into writing, and so deliuered vnto the Patriarch to keepe. This troubled her more than to find out the man whom she could thinke worthe of her selfe, with so great honour. Shee held then in prison one *Diogenes Romanus*, a man of great renown & honorably descended; whose father hauing married the neece of the emperour *Romanus Argirus*, and aspiring to the empire, being conuicted thereof, slew himselfe for feare to be enforced by torments to bewray his confederats. This *Diogenes* was by the late emperour *Constantine*, for his good seruice against the Scythes (who then much troubled the empire) highly promoted, with most honourable testimonie in the charters of his promotions, That such honours were bestowed vpon him, not of the emperours meere bountie, but as the due rewards of his woorthie deserts. Norwithstanding after the death of the emperour, he sicke of his fathers discafe, and swelling with the pride of ambition, sought by secret meanes to haue aspired vnto the empire: Whereof the emperesse hauing intelligence, caused him to be apprehended and brought in bonds to *CONSTANTINOPLE*, where being found guiltie of the foule treason, and so committed to safe keeping, was shortly after brought forth to the iudgement seat againe, to receiue the heauie sentence of death. In which wofull plight, standing as a man out of hope and now vnterly forlorne, he mooued all the beholders with a sorrowfull compulsion: For beside that he was a man of exceeding strength, so was he of incomparable feature and beautie, adorned with many other rare qualities and vertues answerable thereunto: wherewith the emperesse mooued with the rest, or pearced with a secret good liking, is hard to say, reuoked the sentence of condemnation readie to haue beene pronounced vpon him, and gaue him pardon. And shortly after hauing set him at libertie, sent for him as he was going into *CAPADOCIA* his natie countrey, and made him generall of all her forces, with a full resolution in her selfe to marrie him, and to make him emperour, if shee might by any meanes get the writing out of the Patriarches hand, wherein her oath for neuer marrying againe, was comprised. For the compassing whereof, she entred into a deepe deuice full of feminine policie with one of her Eunuches, whom she purposed to vse as her pander for the circumuenting of the Patriarch. This craftie Eunuche instructed by his mistresse, comming to the Patriarch *Ioannes Xiphilinus*, a man both for his place and integritie of life much honoured, told him in great secret, That the emperesse had so far set her good liking vpon a yong gentleman, a nephew of his called *Barda* (then a gallant of the court) as that she could be content to take him to her husband and to make him emperour, if shee might by his holinesse be perswaded, that she might with safe conscience do it, and by him be discharged of the rash oath she had vnadvisedly taken, neuer to marrie againe, whereof hee had the keeping. The Patriarch, otherwise a contemner of worldly honours, yet mooued with so great a preierment of his nephew, promised the Eunuch to do therein whatsoeuer the emperesse had desired, which he accordingly performed. And so sending for the Senators one by one, in whose good liking the matter chiefly rested: he with much grauitie propounded vnto them the dangerous estate of the common weale, with the troubles dayly encreasing, and the continual feare of forreine enemies, not to be repressed by the weake hand of a woman, or the authoritie of yong children, but requiring (as he said) the valiant courage of some woorthie man. After that, hee began to find great fault with the rash oath which the emperesse had taken a little before the death of her husband, neuer to marrie; and vnterly condemning the same, as contrarie to the word of God, and vnjustly exacted of her, rather to satisfie the jealous humour of the emperour her late husband, than for any good of the common-weale: he in fine perswaded them, that the vnlawfull oath might be reuoked, and the emperesse set at libertie at her pleasure, by their good liking to make choise of such a man for her husband, as might better vndertake so weightie affaires of the empire, more fit for a man, than for so tender a lady and three yong children. The greater part of the Senat thus perswaded by the Patriarch, and the rest with gifts and promises ouercome by the emperesse; the Patriarch deliuered vnto her the writing she so much desired, & discharged her of her oath: wherupon shee forthwith calling vnto her certaine of her secret friends, married *Diogenes*, whom she caused to be proclaimed emperour. Now thought *Eudocia*, after the manner of women, to haue had her husband (whom she euen from the bottom of dispaire had exalted

Diogenes Romanus of a prisoners by the emperesse made generall of her armie.

Eudocia married Diogenes Romanus and proclaimed him emperour.

ted vnto the highest tpe of honour) in all things loyall and pliant: whereunto he for a while at the first forced himselfe, but afterwards (being a man of a proud nature, and haughtie spirit) became wearie of such obseruance, and began by little and little to take euery day more and more vpon him. And for that the imperiall prouinces in the East, were in some part lost, and the rest in no small danger, he aswell for the redresse thereof, as for his owne honour, and to shew himselfe an emperor indeed, and not the seruant of the emperesse, left the court and passed ouer into ASIA, although it were with a small armie and euill appointed: for why, it was no easie matter for him to furnish out the armie with all things necessarie, which by the sloth and sparing of the late emperours, had to the great danger and dishonour of the empire, bene vtterly neglected. Neuerthelesse the Turkish Sultan, who at the same time with a great power invaded the prouinces of the empire, hearing of his coming, and that he was a man of great valour, and doubting what power he might bring with him, retired himselfe; and diuiding his armie, sent the one part thereof into the South part of ASIA, and the other into the North, which spoiled all the countrey before them as they went, and suddenly surprising the cite of NEO-CESARIA, sacked it, and so laded with the spoile thereof departed. But the emperor vnderstanding thereof, and not a little greened therewith, drawing out certaine bands and companies of the best and most readiest souldiers in his armie, and with them coasting the countrey to get betwixt the Turks and home, yed therein such expedition, that he was vpon them before they were aware, and so suddenly charging them, brought such a feare vpon them, that they tooke themselves to their heeles, leauing behind them for haist, their baggage and cariages, with all the prisoners and bootie they had before taken at NEO-CESARIA, and in their late expedition: yet was there no great number of them slaine, for that the Christians forewaried with long trauell, were not able far to follow the chace. From thence taking his way into SYRIA, he sent part of his armie to MELITENA, and carried himselfe from ALEPPO, a great bootie both of men and cattell. At which time also the cite of HIERAPOLIS was yeilded vnto him, where he shortly after built a strong castell. But whilst he there staid, newes was brought vnto him that the other part of his armie which he had sent away, was ouerthrowne by the Turks, for the releefe of whom, he rose with all haist and matched towards them: but being in number faire inferior vnto his enemies, hee was by them as hee lay encamped, enclosed round in such sort, as that it was thought almost impossible for him to haue escaped. At which time also the gouernour of ALEPPO, traiterously revolted from him, and joynd his forces with the enemy, making now no other reckoning, but assuredly to haue taken him. But whilst the Turks thus dreame of nothing but of a most glorious victorie, and were in mind diuiding the spoile; the emperor without so much as the sounding of a trumpet, suddenly issuing out of his trenches, when they least thought he durst so haue done, and resolutely charging them home, put them to flight, & had of them had a notable victorie, had he thoroughly prosecuted the same. After that, hauing taken diuers townes he came to ALEXANDRIA in CILICIA, and there all about in the countrey billeted his armie, because of the approach of winter, and so returned himselfe to CONSTANTINOPLE. The next spring the Turks, according to their vsuall manner invading the frontiers of the empire, did much harme about NEO-CESARIA: whereof the emperor aduertised, went thither with his armie, and quickly repressing their furie, tooke his journey to the riuer EUPHRATES, where leauing part of his armie with *Philaretus* for the keeping of those frontiers, he himselfe retired Northward into CAPADOCIA. But after his departure, the Turks setting vpon *Philaretus*, put him to flight with his garrisons: and taking the spoile of the frontiers entred into CAPADOCIA, wasting all as they went: and afterwards turning into CILICIA, sacked ICONIUM a rich and populous cite. Whereof the emperor vnderstanding, at SEBASTIA, made towards them: but hearing by the way that they had ransacked the cite, and were for feare of his coming already retired, he sent *Chatagurio* gouernour of ANTIOCH, with part of his armie to MOPSIPHESTIA to stop the Turks of their passage. But they in the plaines of THARSVS were before distressed by the Armenians, and stript of all their rich prey: and hearing farther of the approach of the emperours power, fled by night, and so escaped: which the emperor vnderstanding, and hauing now well quieted those prouinces, and the yere far spent, returned againe to CONSTANTINOPLE. But after his departure, the Turks againe invading the frontier prouinces, he sent *Manuel Comnenus*, a valiant yoong man, generall against them; who so preuailed, that the emperor enuying at his honour, tooke from him a great part of his armie, and sent him with

The prouinces
of the empire
spoiled by the
Turks.

The Turks dis-
comfited by Di-
genes the emper-
our.

- A with a small power into into SYRIA. But as he was vpon his way, he was by the Turks entrap-
ped neere vnto SEBASTIA, and there taken, most part of his armie being at the same time
ouerthrowne and slaine; with which losse, the emperor troubled, made great preparation to
go himselfe in person against his enemies; who encouraged with the former victorie, ceased
not to infect his territories. In the meane time, by great fortune came *Manuel Comnenus* home,
together with the Turke that tooke him, who being fallen into the displeasure of the Sultan, fled
vnto the emperor with his prisoner, of whom he was honorably entertained. All things now in
a readinesse for so great an expedition as the emperor had in person purposed; he set forward
and after long trauell hauing passed CESAREA, he encamped at a place called CRYAPEA;
where for seuer execution done vpon certaine mutinous souldiers, one of the legions of his ar-
mie rose in mutinie against him: whom for all that he quickly pacified with the terror of the
rest of his armie, which he threatened to turne vpon them if they proceeded to forget their dutie.
After that, remoouing to THEODOSOPOLIS, he diuided his armie, and sent *Rufinus* one of
his best captaines, with one part thereof against *Ghiat*, and another part hee sent to besiege
MANTZICERTS, retaining with himselfe the rest; being of no great strength. The Turks in
MANTZICERTS finding themselves not able long to hold out, fell to composition, and
yeilded the city. But shortly after, the souldiers left there in garrison for the keeping thereof, going
out to seeke for forage, were by the Turks suddenly oppressed: which the emperor vnderstand-
ing, sent thither one *Nicophorus Bryennius*, with certaine companies to relieue the cite; who en-
counting with the Turks, and finding himselfe too weake, sent vnto the emperor for aid; who
not knowing the strength of the enemies, blamed him of cowardise, yet sent vnto him *Nicophorus*
Basilius with part of his armie; who joyning his forces with *Bryennius*, and giuing the Turks
battell, put them to flight. But following too fast vpon them vnto their trenches, and *Bryennius*
making no great haist after, he had his horse slaine vnder him, and so on foot heauily laded with
armour, and not able to shift for himselfe, was there taken and brought to the Sultan: who ho-
nourably entreated him, and oftentimes questioning with him concerning the emperor; and
shewing him his owne power, examined him also of the emperours.
- Tangrolipix was now dead, and the Sultan now in field against the emperor, was *Acan* his
son, a man of great wisdom and discretion: who considering the doubtfull euent of battell, sent
embassadours vnto the emperor to entreat with him of peace. But he (persuaded by some of
his captaines, that this motion made by the Sultan for peace, proceeded but of a meere feare and
distrust he had in his owne power, or else to gaine time vntill some greater strength came) had
small regard of the embassadours or their message, but proudly willed them to tell their masters.
That if he were desirous of peace, he should get him farther off; and leaue the place wherein hee
lay encamped, for him to lodge in. And so without other answer commanded them away.
Now had the emperor (as is before said) sent away part of his armie by *Rufinus* against *Chliat*,
whom he now sent for in haist againe: but he hearing of the approach of the Sultan, by the per-
suasion of *Tarchomates*, one of his captaines, was retired for his more safetie backe into the Ro-
main frontiers, leauing the emperor destitute of his helpe. At which time also, a companie of
the Scythians which serued in the emperours campe, revolted vnto the Turks; not without
some suspition, that the rest of their fellowes which remained, would ere long do the like. Ne-
uerthelesse the emperor presuming of such strength as he had, or carried headlong with his
owne fortune, resolved to giue the Turks battell, and therefore putting his men in order, set vp-
on them. Who somewhat troubled with the emperours so sudden a resolution, as being yet in
some hope of peace: yet hauing put themselves in order of battell, receiued the enemies charge
still giuing a little ground, as men not greatly desirous either to fight or to flie. This fight con-
tinuing long, and the day now declining, the emperor doubting lest the Sultan should send
part of his armie to assault his campe (from which he was now drawne somewhat far, and had
left the same but weakly manned) caused a retreat to be sounded, and so began orderly to retire
himselfe with them that were about him: which others a far off in the battell beholding, and
supposing him to haue fled, began themselves to flie a maine. Of which so shamefull flight and
sudden feare *Andronicus* (the sonne of *John Duas*, the late emperor *Constantine* his brother,
and by him created *Cesar*, who with his sonnes secretly enuied at the honour of *Diogenes*) was
the cause. For he commanding a great part of the armie, gaue it first out vnto such as were about
him, that the emperor fled: and to encrease the feare, turning his horse about, fled towards the
campe

Diogenes with
a great ar-
mie against the
Turks.

Acan the Sult-
an sendeth em-
bassadours vnto
Diogenes for
peace.

John Duca a
notable Traitor,
cause of the
flight of the em-
perours armie.

campe as fast as he could: after whom all the rest most disorderly followed: which the emperor beholding, and therewith not a little troubled, made a stand, labouring in vaine to haue staid the rest. For now the Turks encouraged with the sudden flight of the Christians, began hardly to pursue them, as men already ouerthrown by the hand of God: whom for all that, the emperor with such as yet stood with him, for a space notably resisted. But being forsaken by the greater part of his armie, and oppressed with the multitude of his enemies, being wounded himselfe, and his horse slaine vnder him, he was there taken all embriued with his owne blood, and the blood of his enemies, of whom he had wounded and slaine many. The Sultan advertised of his taking, at the first beleeued it not, supposing it rather to haue beene some other great man: vntill that he was both by them whom he had but a little before sent embassadour vnto him, and by *Basilacius* one of his captaines then prisoner with him, assured that it was vndoubtedly he, which *Basilacius* brought before him to see if he knew him, fell downe prostrat at his feet, as before his dread lord and soueraigne. The emperor brought before the Sultan, and humbling himselfe in such sort as best befecmed his heauie fortune, the Sultan presently tooke him vp and thus cheerfully spake vnto him: *Greene not noble emperor (said he) at thy misbap, for such is the chance of war, ouerwhelming sometimes one, and sometimes another: neither feare thou any harme, for I will use thee not as my prisoner, but as an emperor.* Which he accordingly did, presently appointing him a princely pavilion, with all things answerable to his estate, setting him oftentimes at his owne boord, and for his sake enlarging such prisoners as he required. And after he had thus for certaine daies honourably vsed him, and discoursed with him of many things, he concluded a perpetuall peace with him, vpon promise of a marriage to be made betwixt their children, and so with a safe conuoy sent him away with greater honour than was at an enemies hand to haue beene expected. The emperor in Turkish attire, which the Sultan had bestowed vpon him, comming to *THEODOSOPOLIS*, there staid for the curing of his wounds, & afterwards accompanied with the Sultans embassadours, set forward toward *CONSTANTINOPLE*. But all was now there changed: for vpon the report of his captiuitie, *John the Cesar*, with *Pselus* one of the cheefe Senators, and others of the same faction, which alwaies enuied at the honour of *Diogenes*, presently tooke the imperiall government from *Endocia* the emperesse, and thrusting her into a monasterie which there had built neere vnto *PROPONTIS*, set vp *Michael Ducas* her eldest sonne, emperor, in steed of *Diogenes*: whose simplicitie, *Cesar* his vnkle, abusing with the rest, did now what they list. And hearing that *Diogenes* was now contrarie to their expectation, set at libertie by the Sultan, and comming towards the imperiall citie, sent out letters euerie way in the new emperours name, vnto all the gouernours of the prouinces whereby hee was to passe, not to receiue him as emperor, or to doe him any honour: which *Diogenes* vnderstanding, staid at the castle of *DOCLIA*, whether some of his friends with such power as they were able to make, reformed vnto him. Against whom, *Cesar* with the contrarie faction first sent his sonne *Constantine*, and after that *Andronicus* his eldest sonne, both *Diogenes* his mortall enemies, with a great armie: by whom *Diogenes* with his friends and followers, were ouerthrown and discomfited. *Diogenes* himselfe flying to the citie of *ADANA*, was there hardly besieged by *Andronicus*, and in the end glad to yeeld himselfe, vpon condition, that he should resigne the empire, and so for euier after to lead a priuat life. For whose safetie, certaine of the cheefe of the clergie sent of purpose from *Michael* the emperor, gaue their faith. So *Diogenes* all attired in blacke, yeelded himselfe to *Andronicus*: by whom hee was brought to *COTAI*, then the metropolitall citie of *PHRIGIA*, there to expect what further order should be taken for him from the court: during which time, he fell sicke, being as many supposed secretly poysoned. But whilst he there lay languishing, an heauier doom came from the yoong emperor, That he should haue his eies put out: which was forthwith in most cruell manner done; the clergie men that had before for his safetie gaged their faith, crying out in vaine against so horrible a crueltie. Thus deprived of his sight, he was conueighed into the island of *PEROTA*, where his eies for lacke of looking to, putrifying, and wormes breeding in them, with such an odious smell as that no man could abide to come nigh him, he in short time after died, when he had reigned three yeeres, eight months. All which miserie was thought to haue hapned vnto him through the malice of *Cesar*, without the knowledge of the yoong emperor his nephew.

Diogenes the emperor taken by the Turks.

Endocia the emperesse depoynted by the traitour John Ducas, Pselus, and others.

Diogenes the emperor taken prisoner by Andronicus.

The miserable death of Diogenes the emperor.

Axan the Sultan seeking revenge the death of Diogenes.

Axan hearing of the miserable end of the late emperor *Diogenes*, was therewith much grieved, and the more, for that the league which he had to his good content so lately made with him, was

A was thereby come to naught: wherefore in reuenge thereof, he with great power invaded the imperiall prouinces; not for spoile and bootie onely, as in former time, but now to conquer and to hold the same. Against whom *Michael* the emperor sent *Isaack Comnenus* his lieutenant, with a great armie: who meeting with the Turks, and joyning battell, was by them ouerthown with all his army, and taken prisoner: and glad afterwards for a great summe of money to redeeme himselfe. After which ouerthrow, the emperor sent his vnkle *Cesar* with an other armie against them, who was by *Rufelius*, that had before reuolted from the emperor, ouerthrown at the riuer *SANGARIVS*, and taken prisoner: whom he for all that, shortly after set at libertie againe, and joyning with him against the Turks, were both together by them discomfited and taken prisoners, but afterwards redeemed; *Cesar* by the emperor, and *Rufelius* by his wife. This *Rufelius* was a notable traitour, who joyning with the Turks did what he list in the prouinces of the empire in the lesser *ASIA*: for the repelling of whom, the emperor sent *Alexius Comnenus*, a yoong man, but verie politike and couragious; who secretly practising with the Turks that were great with *Rufelius*, had him at last by them for a summe of money betraied into his power: who forthwith sent him to *CONSTANTINOPLE* to the emperor, by whom he was imprisoned, but afterward set at libertie and employed against *Bryennius* and his brother, then vp in rebellion against the emperor.

But to come neerer vnto the Turkish affaires. *Cutlu-Muses* who with his cousin *Melech* and others were for feare of *Tangrolpis* their cousin fled into *ARABIA*, as is before declared, now in the beginning of the raigne of *Axan*, returned: and as the enuious competitor of his kingdom, hauing raised a great power of their friends and partakers, were now ready to haue tried the matter with him by plaine battell. Against whom also the Sultan on the other side had brought into the field his whole forces, and was now readie likewise to haue encountered them neere vnto the citie of *ERBS*. But whilst the Turks thus diuided, stood ready to destroy themselves, the Caliph of *BABYLON* (from whom though the Turks had taken all temporall soueraignie, yet in matters of religion still held him in great reuerence and esteeme, as their cheefe bishop, and the successeur of their great prophet) considering that nothing could be more dangerous vnto his sect and religion than that ciuile dissention, the late confusion and vtter ruine of the Sarafin empire, and authoritie of the Caliphs; and fearing the like effect in these new Sarafines, now the cheefe stay of the Mahometane superstition: setting aside all his pontifical formallitie, whereby he was bound not to go out of his owne house, came with all speed, euen as the armies were now ready to joyne battell, and thrusting himselfe into the middest betwixt them; what with the reuerence of his person, what with his effectual persuasion, wrought so much and preuailed so far with both parties, that they were content to lay downe their weapons, and to stand to his order and judgement: which was, That *Axan* the Sultan should still enjoy his kingdom and territories, whole and entire vnto himselfe as he did: and that *Cutlu-Muses* and his sonnes, aided by him, and so inuading the prouinces of the Constantinopolitane empire, should thereof subdue so much as they could vnto themselves, and to be thereof accounted the onely lords and gouernours. Which order as it was vnto the Turks, and for the maintenance of the Mahometane superstition, verie wholesome & commodious; so was it vnto the Christian common weale and religion most dangerous and hurtfull, as in proceesse of time by prooffe it appeared. For by this meane, in short time after, *Cutlu-Muses* with his cousin and sonnes subdued all *MEDIA* with a great part of *ARMENIA*, *CAPADOCIA*, *PONTVS*, and *BYTHINIA*, and so a great part of the lesser *ASIA*. By the aid of this *Cutlu-Muses* & the fauour of the souldiers, *Nicephorus Botomates* aspiring vnto the empire of *CONSTANTINOPLE*, displaced his master the emperor, *Michael Ducas*, after he had reigned six yeeres and six months; and in the habit of a munke thrust him into an abbey: which vsurper by the iust judgement of God, was at length required euen with the same measure, and in like manner serued by *Alexius Comnenus*; who thrusting him out, succeeded himselfe in the empire. Much it was that this *Cutlu-Muses* with his sonnes and kinsmen did for the enlarging of the Turkish empire, by the helpe of the great Persian Sultan: whose forces, together with their owne, in diuers countries conducted by these worthy leaders his nigh kinsmen, and doing great matters, gaue occasion for themselves to be accounted Sultans, though in deed they were none, neither their names such as are by some ancient writers and some others of later time also reported; but vnto the Turks themselves, by those names, either for Sultans, vnknewen. Out of these great commanders, all borne of the Selzuccian family,

Cutlu-Muses with his sonnes and kinsmen take up arms against Axan the Sultan.

Amost hurtfull order for the Christian common weale.

The ground of the error of diuers writers about the successours of Tangrolpis, otherwise of them called Sadoch.

family bath *Aithonus*, and others following his report, deriued their *Dogrissa*, *Alpasalemus*, *Melecl*, and *Belchiaroc*, whom they suppose to haue orderly succeeded *Zadot*, otherwise called *Tangrolpix*, in the Turkish empire, and to haue done great matters: whereas both by the report of the Turks themselves, and the relation the Greeks, it appeareth plainly, *Axan* (more truly called *Ax-Han*, that is to say, the White king) to haue beene the sonne of *Tangrolpix*, and to haue succeeded him in the empire: and that by him the emperor *Diogenes* was taken, and not by *Alpasalemus* as they vainely imagine. As for *Alpasalemus*, whom the Turks by that name know not either any thing of his doings, it seemeth to haue beene a name corrupted of *Alpam Sallarius*, the brother of *Tangrolpix* and *Habrami*, and not his sonnes sonne as they would haue it. In like manner *Melecl* also seemeth to haue beene forged of *Melech* the sonne of *Habrami*, *Tangrolpix* his brother, and not of *Alpasalemus*, as some without any good ground report. Whom they finding to haue beene all great men in the Selzuccian family, with some others also, haue both corrupted their names, and giuen vnto them an imaginarie soueraintie and succession in the Turks first empire, such as becase that the Turks themselves acknowledge not, is easily to be refelled out of the histories of the Greeks, who had with them still much to doe. Wherefore leauing these supposed princes of the Turks, with their imaginatie succession, and doings, vnto the authors thereof, following more certainties, to returne againe vnto the course of our historie. *Axan* the Sultan at the same time that he had by the mediation of the Chaliph (or not long after) fallen to agreement with his cousin *Cutlu-Muses*: to encrease the honour of his nation and the bounds of his empire, gaue vnto *Ducat* and *Melech*, two of his high kinsmen, the government of *DAMASCO* and *ALEPPO*, with that part of *SIRIA* which joyneth vnto them, of purpose that way to entrench vpon the Aegyptian Chaliph, who then had vnder his iurisdiction all as far as *LAODICEA* in *SIRIA*; yet not with so large priuiledges as had *Cutlu-Muses*, vnto whom and his posteritie he had yeilded the absolute honour of a Sultan or king, ouer such countreys and prouinces as they should winne from the Christians: but vnto these others his kinsmen, he gaue the government of the aforesaid cities of *DAMASCO* and *ALEPPO* in the frontiers of his dominion in *SIRIA*, conditionally that they should still remaine his vassals, and hold of him as of their foueraigne, whatsoever they had: who neuertheless in short time mightily preuailed vpon the Aegyptian, still increasing the Turkish territorie with the losse of the Saracens, whose name together with their empire, was now by the Turks almost quite driuen out of *ASIA*.

But these proud branches of the Turkish empire, thus ouerspreading the lesser *ASIA*, with the greatest part of *SIRIA*, were in short time after by the mercie of God, and the valour of the most Christian and religious princes of the West, cut shorter, and brought againe into some better order. The full discourse whereof, worthie eternall memorie, by others inrolled in the ancient records of fame, I purpose not at large to follow, but in brieue to touch, for the orderly continuation of the present historie, hastning to the doings of this victorious nation of later times, wherein we are to make a longer stay, as more pertinent vnto the dangerous estate of the present time.

It fortuned that whilest *Cutlu-Muses* and his sonnes, supported by the Sultan *Axan* their kinsman, thus mightily preuailed against the Christians in the lesser *ASIA* on the one side, and *Melech* with his cousin against the Aegyptian Caliph in *SIRIA* on the other: that one *Peter* a French Heremite mooued with a deuout zeale, according to the manner of that time, went to visit the sepulcher of our Sauour, with the other holy places at *IERUSALEM*: who comming into *SIRIA*, then for the most part possessed by the Turks and Saracens, diligently noted by the way as he travelled, the manners and fashions of these barbarous nations, their government, their cities, their power and strength; but aboue all, the grievous miseries of the poore oppressed Christians, that there liued in most miserable thraldome amongst them, without hope of release: all which, he in the habit of a poore pilgrim, at libertie safely viewed, in the midst of these miscreants, being withall a little low hard fauoured fellow, and therefore in shew more to be contemned than feared. Yet vnder such simple & homely feature, lay vnregarded a most subtil sharp and piercing wit, fraught with discretion and sound iudgement, still applying to some good vie what he had in his long and painfull trauell most curiously obserued. He comming to *IERUSALEM*, and performing his deuotions there, saw the grievous miserie of the poore deuout Christians, so great and heauie, as that greater or more intollerable could none be: wherewith not a

*Peter a French
heremite goeth on
pilgrimage to
Ierusalem.*

*The description
of Peter the
Heremite.*

A little grieved, he entred into a deepe discourse thereof with *Simon* the Patriarch and Abbot of the monasterie of the Christians (there before built by certaine deuout Italian merchants) and with the master of the Hospitallars, by whom he was fully enformed thereof, as of whatsoever else he required. After much graue conference, it was at length agreed vpon amongst them, That the Patriarch and the Grand-master, should in their owne, and the names of the other oppressed Christians, write their letters vnto the Pope and the other Christian princes, concerning their miseries; and to craue their aid for the recouerie of those holy places out of the hands of those cruell infidels: of which letters, the deuout hermit promised himselfe to be the trustie carrier, and of their petitions the most carefull soliciter. Whereupon the Patriarch and Grand-master in the name of the poore oppressed Christians, wrote their letters vnto this effect:

*We the citizens of the Holy citie, and countrey men of Christ Iesus, daily suffer those things which Christ our king suffered but once, in the last daies of his mortalitie. We are dayly buffeted, scourged, and pierced: euerie day some of vs are brained, beheaded, or crucified. We would flie from citie to citie vnto the remotest parts of the earth, and remooue out of the middle of that land, where Christ our Saviour wrought our redemption, to lead a poore exiled and vngaynt life; were it not impetie to leane the land (sacred with the birth, doctrine, death, resurrection, and assention of our Saviour) without inhabitants and priests: and that there should first lacke such as would endure death and martyrdom, than such as would inflict the same: and that there should not be which would willingly die for Christ, as in battell, so long as there were any that would fight against them. These things truly we most miserably suffer: yet was there a time when as our ancestors feared no such thing, either to themselves or their posteritie. And now perhaps the Christian kingdomes of the West, line likewise without the least suspicion of feare: but let them bee mooued by our example and testimonie. The strength of the Turks is dayly encreased, & ours diminished: The continuall gaining of new kingdoms giueth them courage: They haue already deuoured the whole world, in hope. The forces of the Turks are fiercer and stronger than the forces of the Saracens, their policies deeper, their attempts more desperat, their endowments greater, and their successe fortunater. Yet haue the Saracens attempted both *ROMES*; they haue besieged *CONSTANTINOPLE*, and haue wasted not only the Sea coasts of *ITALY*, but euen the heart of the land also. Then why should the kingdomes of the West presume themselves to stand in safetie and out of all perill, when as the chiefe fortress of the world haue becme so endangered? What may the rest of Christendome promise vnto it selfe, (eing that *IERUSALEM* (the seat and spectacle of the Christian religion) hath beene besieged, taken, sacked, rased and triumphed vpon? Seeing that of the Christian profession, remaine but the poore and weake reliques, in comparison of the ancient whole bodie? This land, which is dayly besprinkled with our blood, yea the blood it selfe crieth out for reuenge. And we your most humble suppliants, prostrate at your feet, call vpon the helpe, aid, mercie, faith and religion, of you most blessed Father, of the kings, princes and potentates; Christians not in name and profession onely, but in heart soule and spirit. Before the tempest thunder, before the lightning fall vpon you, auert from you and your children the storme hanging ouer your heads: defend vs your poore suppliants: deliuer your religion from most wicked and accursed slauerie. You shall in so doing, deserue immortall fame, and God shall requite your so great valour in this world with terrestriall kingdomes, and in the world to come with eternall blisse, whose sacred inheritance you shall haue defended from the rage of hell.*

With these letters, and plentie of other secret instructions, the deuout hermit returning into *ITALY*, and comming to *ROME*, deliuered his letters vnto *Urban* the second of that name, then Pope, with a full discourse of the miseries of the Christians vnder the Turkish thraldome, which he had seene at *IERUSALEM*; and other places as he trauelled; requesting his holy care for the redresse thereof: with whom he so preuailed, that shortly after, he calling a Councell at *CLAREMONT* in *FRANCE*, among other things, propounded the miserie of the poore oppressed Christians at *IERUSALEM*, as an especiall matter to be considered of. And hauing caused the aforesaid letters, directed vnto him and the other Christian princes, to bee openly read in the Councell, wherunto three hundred and ten bishops were then out of diuers parts of Christendome assembled, with the embassadours of all countreys, much mooued the whole assembly to compasion: at which time also the hermit, whose flowing eloquence fully counteruailed what wanted in his feature, standing vp in the midst of the Councell, deliuered his

C
message

*The Councell at
Claremont in
France.*

message in the name of the afflicted Christians, with their heauie gronings and teares : which as they could not be in letters expressed, so were they not hardly by the religious hermit (as by him who hauing both lately seene, both the miserie of the men, and desolation of the places, and at the heart touched with the greife thereof) so liuely represented, as that it mooued the whole assembly with the like sympathie of heauinesse and greife. Which the Pope perceiuing, tooke thereupon occasion to enter into a large discourse concerning that matter, with many effectual reasons perswading the fathers and princes there present, of the necessitie of so religious a war to be taken in hand, for the deliuerance of their oppressed brethren out of the thraldome of the infidels; and now as well with their present decree, as afterwards at their returne home into their countries, by all means to further the same. Which notable perswasion, with the heauie complaint of the hermit, and the equitie of the cause, so much mooued the whole counsell and the rest there present, that they all as men inspired with one spirit, declared their consent by their often crying out, *Deus vult, Deus vult*, God willet it, God willet it: which words so then vttered by way of applause, was in the great and most sacred expedition following, much vsed of the deuout Christians, as the fortunate signall of their cheerfull forwardnesse, euen in their most dangerous enterprises. Strange it were to tell, and hardly to be beleued (but that the ancient histories beare witnesse of the like) how far in one daies space the report of this religious decreed war, was by flying fame disperfed.

The Counsell dissolved, and the reuerend fathers returning euery man home into his owne country; it pleased God by their effectual perswasions so to worke with the rest of the Christian princes, and people in generall, that in all countries and prouinces in Christendome, were shortly to be seene men of all sorts in great number, with red crosses on their breasts (the cognifance of that sacred expedition) readie of themselves to spend both life and goods for the defence of the Christian religion, and recouerie of the Holy land. The number of whom is of diuers diuersly reported, but of most supposed to haue bene three hundred thousand fighting men: of whom the chiefe commanders were *Godfrey Duke of LORRAINE*, with his two brethren *Enslace* and *Baldwin*, all of the honourable house of *BULLION*; *Hugh* surnamed the Great, brother to *Philip* then the French king; *Raymond* and *Robert*, earles of *FLANDERS*; *Robert* duke of *NORMANDIE*; *William* the Conquerours sonne; *Stephan de Valois* earle of *CHARTERS*; *Adam* bishop of *PORDIE*, the Popes legat; and *Peter* the hermit, not to be numbered amongst the least, as chiefe author of this most famous expedition: vnto whom many other honourable princes joyned themselves as partakers of their trauels, though not with like charge.

The first that set forward in this expedition, was one *Gualter Senfauier*, a noble gentleman, with a great band of men: not long after whom, followed *Peter* the hermit, with fortie thousand mo: who both, traouelling thorow *GERMANIE*, *HUNGARIE*, and *BVLGARIA*, were glad oftentimes, especially in the further part of *HUNGARIE* and *BVLGARIA* to open themselves a way with the sword; and so with much labour, and no lesse losse, came at length to *CONSTANTINOPLE*: where they were not greatly welcome vnto the emperor *Alexius Comnenus*, who guiltie vnto himselfe of the vnlawfull meanes whereby he had extorted the empire from *Nicephorus* his predecessour, had that expedition of the Christians into the East, in distrust, as purposed against himselfe: vntill that fully resolved to the contrarie, by the hermit and others; and that a far greater power was coming after, for the inuasion of the Turks and recouerie of the Holy land, he was content to relieue them now wearie of their long trauell: & afterward to make room for the that were to come, shipped the ouer the strait of *BOSPHORVS* into *ASIA*; who marching forward into *BITHYNIA*, encamped their armie in the country not far from the cite of *NICE*. In the meane time *Godfrey* with his brethren, and diuers other princes that had joyned themselves vnto him, with the Germanes and Loranis, and the greatest part of the armie, followed the same way that the hermit had taken before him. At which time also *Hugh* the French kings brother, with the Legate, the two *Roberts*, (the one duke of *NORMANDIE*, and the other earle of *FLANDERS*) and the rest of the French commanders, passing ouer the mountaines into *ITALY*, came to *ROME*, with a wonderful great armie: where taking their leaue of the Pope, because they would be lesse troublesome vnto the cities and countries whereby they were to passe, they diuided their great armie into three parts; whereof the one part went to *BRINDVSIVM*, and the other to *BARY*, and the

An expedition agreed vpon by the Counsell, for the reliefe of the Christians oppressed in the Holy land.

The first commanders of the Christians in this expedition were the they said.

A the third to *HYDRUNTVM*, vnto whom also *Bohemund*, one of the great princes of *APULIA*, joyned himselfe with twelue thousand good souldiers that followed him: From these three ports the Christian armie departing, and crossing the *ADRIATIKE*, arrived in safetie at *DURACHIVM*, and nigh thereabout, vpon the coast of *DALMATIA*: from whence they trauelled by land thorow *MACEDONIA* to *CONSTANTINOPLE*, where they met with the duke *Godfrey*, and the rest of the armie: whom also at the first, *Alexius* the emperor is reported to haue but coldly entertained, as jealous of his owne state; vntill that better perswaded of their designements and good meaning towards him, confirmed by many rich presents sent vnto him from these strange princes, he joynd with them in league: whereto it was agreed, That the emperor during the time of this expedition, should furnish them with new supplies of men, armour, victuals, and whatsoever else they should want: in regard whereof, the princes on the other side, promised to restore againe vnto the empire, what prouinces, countries, or cities they should happily gaine out of the hands of the Turks and Saracins, the cite of *IERUSALEM* onely excepted: which agreement was afterward on the suspicious emperours part, but slenderly performed: Neuertheless this league so made, he graunted them passage; and so transported them ouer the strait into *ASIA*; onely *Bohemund*, for an old grudge betwix the emperor *Alexius* and his father, would not come to *CONSTANTINOPLE*, but marching with his armie thotow the vtter per *MISIA* and *THRACIA*, came sooner than any man had thought vnto the strait of *HELLESPONTVS*, and so passed.

Now had *Gualter*, and the hermit *Peter*, with their armie, lyen two months in the countrey about *NICE*, expecting the coming of the rest of the Christian princes: for why, they thought it not good, before their coming, to attempt any thing against the enemy, whom they knew to lie not far off verie strong. But the common souldiers, wearie of so long lying, and naught doing, and pinched with some wants; and withall disliking of *Gualter* their chiefe commander, and the hermit *Peter*, of whose integritie and holinesse they had a greater opinion than of his prouesse and direction; rose vp in mutinie, and displacing *Gualter*, made choice of one *Raymond*, a valiant German captain, for their generall: by whose conduct they tooke *EXOXVM*, a towne of purpose forsaken of the Turks. For they long before vnderstanding what a tempest of war was growing vpon them out of *EVROPE*, sought by all meanes to cut off these that were already come ouer, as the forerunners of a greater armie following, and therefore had left them this towne, as a bait to traine them out of their trenches. And after that the Christians were thus possessed of the towne, hauing laid certain strong ambushes, they draue out certaine herds of cattell the more to allure them: all which, certaine companies of the Christians brought in without any losse, the Turks still winking thereat. With which boote the Christians encouraged, went out (three thousand of them) to take in a little towne not far off, who were by the Turks cut off and slaine euery mothers son, as they were about to haue diuided the spoile: which other throw reported into the towne, discouraged euen the chiefe commanders of the armie, so that they resolved no more to try the fortune of the field, before the coming of their friends. Neuertheless the common souldiers, condemning them of cowardise, chose them a new generall, one *Godfrey Burrell*, whom they now requested not, but enforced to go out to reuenge the death of their fellows: which their rashnesse not long after turned to their owne destruction. For ten thousand of them going out of *EXOXVM*, to forrage the countrey, were by the Turks entraped, and almost all slaine, except some few which by speedie flight escaped. The Turks prosecuting their victorie, laid hard siege to them in the towne also, vntill they had partly with famine, and partly with the sword consumed the most part of them. The hermit with the poore remainder of his armie tooke his refuge to *CINITE*, a towne not far off, before abandoned by the Turks, where with much adoe he defended himselfe, vntill the coming of duke *Godfrey*, and the rest of the princes.

Castell Musas the Turke was now dead, hauing left vnto his son *Sultan Salyman* many large countries & prouinces, altogether gained from the Christians in *ASIA*, whom he held in great subjection & thraldome. This warlike prince hauing discomfited and almost brought to naught the hermits forces, was no lesse careful for the withstanding of the great armie following, which now being come into *BITHYNIA*, & lying before *NICOMEDIA*, remouing thence laid siege to the cite of *NICE*, called in ancient time *ANTAGONIA* of *Antigonus*, the son of *Philip* that built it, and afterwards *NICA*, of *Nica* the wife of king *Lisimachus*. In this cite dwelt ma-

Godfrey duke of Bullion and the other Christian princes met together at Constantinople.

Nice besieged by the Christians.

1097

ny deuout Greeks, Christians; but in such thralldom vnto the Turks, as that they could not do any thing for the deliuerie of themselves. This siege endured longer than the Christian princes had at the first supposed: who although they to the vttermost of their power, forced the citie on three sides, yet was it still notably defended; new supplies still coming from the Turks by the lake of *Ascanius* joyning vpon the other side of the citie. But after that the Christians possessed of the lake, began on that side also to lay hardly vnto the citie, the Turks discouraged, and seeing themselves beset round with their enemies, yeelded vp the citie the fift of Iuly, in the yeere 1097, after it had bene fiftie daies besieged. But whilst the Christians thus lay at the siege, the Turks assailed that quarter of the campe where the Legat lay; by whom they were notably repulsd, and with great losse enforced to retire vnto the mountaines. In this citie amongst the rest of the Turks, was taken *Solyman* wife, with two of her children, whom the princes sent prisoners to *Constantinople*. This citie so woon, was according to the agreement before made, restored vnto *Alexius* the emperour, whose fleet had in that siege done good seruice, by taking the lake from the Turks.

The citie of *Nice* thus woon, the Christian princes remoouing thence with their armie; and marching thorow the countrey, came the fourth day after vnto a riuer which watered many rich pastures: where, as they were about to haue encamped for the comodiousnesse of the place; and refreshing of the armie, suddenly newes was brought into the quarter where *Bohemund* lay, now busie in casting vp his trenches, That the Turks with a great army were ready euen at hand to charge him. For *Solyman* hauing raised a great power of his owne, and aided by the Sultan of *Persia* his kinsman, was now come with an armie of three score thousand strong, to giue the Christians battell: of whose approach *Bohemund* aduertised, left the fortifying of his trenches, and putting his souldiers in array, set forward to meet him, sending word to the rest of the princes that lay a far off, to be readie as occasion should require, to relieue him. These two armies conducted by their most resolute chieftaines, meeting together, joyned a most fierce and terrible battell, where in a short space the Turks lay slaine vpon heapes, in such sort that they serued the Christians in steed of bulwarks. But whilst *Bohemund* thus preuaileth in the battell, certaine of the Turks horsemen wheeling about, brake into *Bohemunds* campe; (not as then altogether fortified, & but slenderly manned) where among the women, & other weake persons there left, they raised a great tumult & outcry, to the great appauling of them that were fighting in the battell: which *Bohemund* perceiuing, withdrew himselfe with certaine companies vnto the campe, from whence he with great slaughter repulsd the enemy. But returning againe into the battell, he found there a great alteration: for his souldiers whom before he had left, as it were in possession of a most glorious victory, were now so hardly laid vnto by the Turks, as that they were ready to haue turned their backs and fled. Neuerthelesse by his comming in, the battell was notably restored, and againe made doubtfull: when the enemy perceiuing how much the assailling of the campe had troubled the Christians in battell, sent out certaine troupes of horsemen againe to assault the same: and had not failed vndoubtedly to haue taken it, being as aforesaid not yet fortified, had not *Hugh* the French kings brother come in good time to the rescue: who comming in with thirtie thousand horsemen, after he had relieved the campe, entering directly into the battell, was notably encountered by a squadron of fresh soldiers of the Turks, by them of purpose reserved for such euent. There began a battell more terrible than the first, with most doubtfull victorie. But at the length, the Turks wearie of the long and cruell fight, and seeing most of their fellows slaine, began by little and little to giue ground, and so retired into the mountaines, which were not far off. In this battell which continued a great part of the day, were slaine of the Turks fortie thousand, and of the Christians about two thousand. The next morning *Bohemund* with the French kings brother, came againe into the field, in such order, as if they should presently haue giuen or receiued battell: where after they had staid a great while, and saw no enemy to appeare, they fell to the honest buriall of their dead: which were easily known from the Turks, by the red crosses vpon their garments, the cognisance of their sacred warfare. *Solyman* flying with the remainder of his armie, notably dissembled his losse, giuing it out that he had got the victorie: yet by the way as hee went, he burnt vp the countrey villages, and destroyed or carried away whatsoever else he thought might stand the Christians in any steed, if they should further follow after him, leauing nothing for them but the bare ground.

After this victorie, *Bohemund* and the Christian princes, without resistance matching through

- A through the hot and drie countreys of the lesser *Asia*, came to *Antiochia*, a citie of *Pistidia*, which they tooke with small labour: & so marching vnto *Iconium* the principal citie of *Cilicia*, neere vnto the mountaine *Taurus*, were there also of the citizens courtcouly receiued, where they staid certaine daies for the refreshing of the armie. From thence they set forward toward *Heraclea*, where a great power of the Turks were reported to be assembled. But they together with the garrison souldiers vpon the approach of the victorious armie of the Christians forooke the citie and fled. The citizens being Christians (as they were yet generally in all the prouinces of the lesser *Asia*, but in great subjection to the Turks) and now rid of their cruel masters the Turkish garrisons; came forth, and meeting the princes, gladly yeelded themselves with their citie vnto them, as vnto their deliuerers. Here the Christian princes fully instructed of the great feare and desperation of the Turks, who now in no place durst abide their comming; for the more speedie taking in of those countreys but lately oppressed by the Turks, diuided their armie into two parts, leauing the one part thereof with *Baldwin* and *Tancred* in *Cilicia*, for the full subduing thereof (who in short time tooke the cities of *Tarsus*, *Edissa*, and *Manvssa*, with all the rest of the countrey, the Turks not daring any where to abide their comming:) the other part of the armie in the meane time entering into the lesser *Armenia*, tooke the same from the Turks, which the princes gaue to one *Palmuriz* an Armenian, who had in that expedition done them great seruice. From thence they tooke their way into *Capadocia*, which they also subdued, driuing out the Turks in euery place, and tooke the cities of *Cesarea* and *Socor*, where they staid a few daies for the refreshing of the armie: with like success they passed through the rest of the prouinces of the lesser *Asia*, of late possessed by the Turks, still chasing them out before them, and setting at libertie the poore oppressed Christians of those countreys. Whereof *Solyman* (crauing aid of *Axan* the Persian Sultan his cousin) grievously complained by his letters to him directed in this sort. *The famous citie of Nice, with the countrey of Romania, which we by your aid and power haue gotten from the kingdome of the Greeks, and of your bountie possessed: the Christians of the kingdome of France haue againe taken from vs.* Thus was the late erected kingdome of the Turks in the lesser *Asia*, by these valiant Christian champions againe brought low, and they glad to retire themselves farther off into the mountaines and more Easterne countreys, vntill this heat was ouerpast; and that they, taking the benefit of the troubled state of the Greeke empire (afterwards rent in sunder by ambition and ciuile discord, the ruine of the greatest monarchies) recovered not onely their former state, but became also dreadful vnto the Greeke emperours themselves: vpon whom they dayly gained in one corner or other, still maintaining the honour of their estate, vntill the rising of the *Othoman* familie, as in the processe of this historie shall God willing be declared.
- These victorious princes then, and to the worlds end famous, not contented to their immortal praise, to haue thus driuen the Turks out of the lesser *Asia*, and recovered so many countreys; bound themselves, as well the princes as the common souldiers, by solemne oath; neuer to return againe into their countreys, vntil they had accomplished that sacred war, with the conquest of the Holy citie. So mounting together the high mountaine *Taurus*, and descending thence as into another world, they came to the citie *Maresia*, which they tooke without resistance, the Turks there in garrison, being by night before for feare fled: where the Christians for the refreshing of themselves, certaine daies staid. In the meane time *Robert* earle of *Flanders* with a thousand men at armes, was sent out to giue summons vnto a citie called *Artasia*, about fiftie miles distant from *Antioch*: when as the citizens beholding the ensignes of the Christians, suddenly tooke vp armes against the Turks there in garrison, which had of long holden them in subjection, and preuailling vpon them, slew them euery mothers sonne: whose heads they presented vnto the earle, and receiued him into their citie. The Turks to reuenge the death of their friends, and to recouer againe the citie before the comming of the rest of the armie, sent out about ten thousand men out of *Antioch*; forthwith was assembled a great power of them to haue hindered the further proceedings of the Christians: and being come neere to *Artasia*, they sent before certaine stragling companies, of purpose to draw the new come Christians out of the citie, lying in the meane time in ambush with the rest, of purpose to entrap them. With these stragling companies, the Flemings sallying out lustily, encountered, & easily put them to flight; the Turks in deed flying of purpose to bring them within the danger of the other, lying in Ambush. After whom the Flemings eagerly following, were before they were aware enclosed

A small battell fought between the Turks and the Christians.

Antioch in Pisidia taken by the Christians.

Heraclea yielded.

Sultan Solyman his letters vnto the Persian Sultan Axan.

The Christians bind themselves by oath, neuer to returne vntill they had wonne the Holy citie.

Solyman fleeth.

C ij

closed

closed round with their enemies, and there had vndoubtedly perished, had not the citizens being Christians, presently sallied out, and right woorthily relieved them.

Shortly after the Christian princes marching forward with their armie, were encountered by the Turke at the riuer **ORONTES**, who had there thought to haue staid their farther passage: with whom **Robert** duke of **NORMANDIE**, who had the leading of the vaunguard, had a hard conflikt, vntill that the Turks discouraged with the sight of the armie still comming on, forooke the bridge, and betooke themselves to flight. So the Christians passing the riuer, came and encamped with their armie before the famous cite of **ANTIOCH** the one and twentieth day of October, in the yeere 1097: the gouernour whereof vnder the Persian Sultan, was one **Cassianus** (of some also honoured with the name of a king) who at the comming of the Christians, had with him in the cite seuen thousand horsemen, and twentie thousand foot of the Turks, with great store of victuals, and all manner of other prouisions necessarie for the defence thereof. This cite called in ancient time **EPIDAPHANE**, or **EPIPHANE**, and of the Hebrewes, **REBLATHA**, sometime the seat of the Sirian kings, and afterwards the Metropolitall cite of **STRIA**, hauing vnder it an hundred and fiftie bishops (famous for many things, and amongst others, for that it was the seat of the blessed Apostle **Saint Peter**, and first place whereas the professours of the Christian religion tooke the name of Christians) is situate vpon the riuer **ORONTES**, about twelve miles from the sea, and was then strongly fortified both by nature and art, being compassed about with a double wall; the vttermost whereof was of hard stone, and the other of bricke, with 460 towres in the same, and an impregnable castle at the East end thereof, whereunto was joyning a deepe lake, comming out of the great riuer which watered the South side of the cite. Round about this strong cite (one of the most assured refuges of the Turks) although it were in circuit great, lay the Christian princes encamped, except on that side which being defended with the high broken mountaines, is not there to be besieged. Vpon whom the Turks out of the cite, during the time of the siege, made many a fierce & desperat fall, being stil by the Christians most valiantly repulled: especially at the bridge which the Christians had made of boats for their more commodious passage too and fro ouer the riuer. In this fort was the siege continued, vntill the beginning of Februarie, with many a bloodie skirmish. At which time such abundance of raine fell, as that hardly could a man find any place to lie drie in: and the scarcitie of victuall grew so great in the campe, that many (horrible it is to say) to assuage their hunger, were glad to eat the dead bodies of their late slaine enemies. In these extremities, many died of hunger and cold; yea their horses also perished for want of meat, so that in the whole campe were scarcely left two thousand horses fit for seruice, the rest being either all dead, or brought so low, as that they were altogether vsueruiceable. These miseries daily increasing diuers men of great account whom no terror of the enemy could haue dismayed, began secretly to withdraw themselves out of the campe, with purpose to haue stolne home; among whom were **Peter** the heremit, author of this war, and **Tancred** the nephew of **Bohemund**, who taken by the way, and brought backe with the rest as fugitiues, were sharply reprooued by **Hugh** the French kings brother, as cowards, and traitors to their brethren and fellow souldiers, and so enforced to take a new oath for their fidelitie and perseuerance. **Bohemund** in the meane time going to **ARETHUSA**, a towne not far off, by good fortune cut off a great part of the Turks there in garrison: who after their vsual manner falling out to haue cut off the forrages of the Christians, were now themselves caught tardie: whereby the country for a time was more open for the distressed Christian souldiers to seeke abroad for reliefe. But this libertie so lately gained, lasted not long; when newes was brought vnto the campe, That the Turks in great number out of the prouinces about **ALEPPO** and **DAMASCO**, were comming to the reliefe of their besieged friends in **ANTIOCH**. Neuerthelesse the Christians trusting vnto their owne strength, & the strength of the place wherein they were encamped, lay still, and at their comming so encountered them that they slew 2000 of them, and put the rest to flight: In which conflikt the Christians got great store of prouision & victuals, which the Turks had thought to haue put into the cite. The heads of the slaine Turks the Christians set vpon stakes before the cite, to the more terror of the defendants. This ouerthrow of the Turks, wherein **Cassianus** had lost his eldest sonne; with others of his best capitaines, so daunted the besieged, that they requested a truce for a time of the Christian princes: which granted, they of the cite came oftentimes into the campe, and they of the campe likewise into the cite: **Cassianus** still expecting reliefe from the Persian Sultan. Whilst the Christian princes were thus

Antioch in Syria besieged by the Christians.

The description of the famous cite of Antioch.

A thus busie in **ASIA**, the Venetians with a great fleet of two hundred gallies scouring the seas, vnder the conduct of **Henric Contarenius** the bishop, and of **Vitalis** the dukes sonne, meeting with the gallies of **Pisa** at the **RHODES**, and falling out with them, had with them a great fight, wherein the Venetians hauing the vpper hand, tooke eightene of their gallies, and in them five thousand souldiers: whom they seeing to be marked with the red crosse, the cognifiance of the sacred warre, they presently set at libertie together with the gallies, detayning onely thirtie of the better fort as hostages. After that, the Venetians sayling into **IONIA**, tooke the cite of **SMYRNA**, and spoiled all along the coasts of **LYCIA**, **PAMPHILIA**, and **CILICIA**, before for feare abandoned by the Turks.

B The truce before taken betweene the Turks and the Christians at the siege of **ANTIOCH**, being in short time after broken by the death of one **Vollo** a French man, slaine by the Turks: the war was againe begun, and the cite more hardly laid vnto than before. At which time the gouernour who in the time of this long siege, which had now continued nine months, had lost most part of his best souldiers, was glad for the defence of so great a cite to vse the seruice of diuers Christians, then dwelling in the cite. Amongst whom was one **Pirrus**, a citizen of great reputation, vnto whom he had committed the guarding of a tower, called the two Sisters, but afterward saint **Georges** tower. This **Pirrus** had secret intelligence with **Bohemund** prince of **TARENTVM**, with whom he agreed to giue him there entrance into the city, vpon condition, That he should of the other Christian princes procure the gouernment of the cite vnto himselfe; and that he, with the rest of the Christian citizens in the cite might be at his hands well vsed: VVhich thing being easily obtayned, and all things agreed vpon, **Bohemund** with his souldiers were by night by **Pirrus** let into the cite, who made way for the rest of the armie to enter. The cite thus taken, many of the Turks fled into the castell, the rest were put vnto the sword, man, woman, and child; and amongst them also many of the Christians, the furious souldiers taking of them no knowledge. Great wealth was there found, but small store of victuals. **Cassianus** the late gouernour flying out of the cite to saue himselfe, in wandring through the mountaines, fell into the hands of the Christian Armenians, who lately thrust out of **IERVSALYM** were fled thither for refuge, by whom he was there slaine. In the cite were slaine about ten thousand persons. Thus was the famous cite of **ANTIOCH**, which the Turks had long before by famine taken from the Christians, againe recovered the third day of Iune, in the yeere of our Lord God 1098. The poore oppressed Christians in **IERVSALYM** hearing of this so notable a victorie, gaue secret thanks vnto God therefore, and began to lift vp their heads in hope that their deliuerie was now at hand. Of this victorie, the princes of the armie by speedie messengers and letters certified their friends in all countries, so that in short time the fame thereof had filled a great part of the world. Amongst others, **Bohemund** prince of **TARENTVM**, vnto whom the cite was deliuered, sent the joyfull newes thereof vnto **Roger** his brother prince of **APULIA**: whose letters, as the most certaine witnesses of the historie before reported, I thought it not amisse here to set downe.

Antioch besieged vnto the Christians.

Cassianus gouernour of Antioch in flying slaine.

1098

I suppose you to haue vnderstood, by the letters of your sonne **Tancred**, both of the great feare of some of vs, and the battels which we haue of late with our great glorie fought: But concerning the truce, and the proceeding of the whole action, I had rather you should be certified by my letters; than the letters of others. King **Cassianus** had required a time of truce: during which, our souldiers had free recourse into the cite, without danger, vntill that by the death of **Vollo** a Frenchman, slaine by the enemy, the truce was broken. But whilst it yet seemed an hard matter to winne the cite, one **Pirrus** a citizen of **ANTIOCH**, of great authoritie and much deuoted vnto me, had conference with me concerning the yielding up of the cite; yet vpon condition, That the gouernment thereof should be committed to me, in whom he had reposed an especiall trust. I conferred of the whole matter with the princes and great commanders of the armie, and easily obtained that the gouernment of the cite was by their generall consent allotted vnto me. So our armie entring by a gate opened by **Pirrus**, tooke the cite. Within a few daies after, the towne **ARETHVM** was by vs assaulted, but not without some losse and danger to our person, by reason of a wound I there received. I assure you much of the valour of your sonne **Tancred**, of whom I and the whole armie make such account and reckoning, as is to be made of a most valiant and resolute generall. Farewell from **ANTIOCH**.

The letters of Bohemund prince of Tarentum, to his brother Roger prince of Apulia, concerning the winning of Antioch.

Whilst the Christians thus lay at the siege of **ANTIOCH**, **Corbanas** (the Persian Sultan his lieutenant)

Edessa in vaine
besieged by the
Turks.

lieutenant) with a great armie besieged **EDDESSA**, with purpose after the taking thereof, to haue G
relieved the citie of **ANTIOCH**. But this citie being notably defended by *Baldwin* left there of
purpose with a strong garrison for the defence thereof; the Turke fearing in the meane time to
loose **ANTIOCH**, the safest refuge of the Turke in all those parts, rise with his armie and set for-
ward against the Christians: where by the way it was his fortune to meet with *Samsadulus*, *Cas-*
siann his sonne, but lately fled from **ANTIOCH**, by whom he vnderstood of the losse of the
citie, and by what means the same was most like to be againe recouered: vpon which hope,
Corbanas with his mightie armie kept on his way, with a full resolution to set all vpon the for-
tune of a battell. Whose comming much troubled the Christians; for that although they were
possessed of the citie, yet was the castell still holden by the Turke. Neuerthelesse leauing the earle
of **TRIOLIS** in the citie with a competent power for the keeping in of them in the castell, H
they tooke the field with the whole strength of the armie, and so in order of battell expected the
comming of their enemies: who courageously comming on as men before resolved to fight,
joynd with them a most terrible and bloodie battell. Neither were they in the citie in the mean
time idle; for that the Turke in the castell hauing receiued in vnto them certaine supplies from
Corbanas, sallied out vpon them that were left for the safeguard of the citie, and had with them a
cruell conflict. Thus both within the citie and without was to be seene a most dreadfull fight of
resolute men, with great slaughter on both sides: yet after long fight and much effusion of blood,
the fortune of the Christians preuailed, the Turke began to giue ground, and afterwards be-
tooke themselves to plaine flight, whom the Christians hardly pursuing, made of them a woo-
derfull slaughter. In this battell were slaine of the Turke above an hundred thousand, and of the
Christians about foure thousand two hundred. There was also taken a great prey: for besides
horses and other beasts for burden, were taken also siue thousand camels with their lading. The
next day, being the 28 of Iune, the castell was by the Turke (now despairing of releife) yielded vp
vnto the Christians.

Corbanas the
Sultans licen-
tiant, with a
great armie
commeth to re-
couer againe the
citie of Antioch.

ANTIOCH thus taken, *Hugh* the French kings brother, surnamed the Great, was sent from
the rest of the princes to **CONSTANTINOPLE**, to haue deliuered the citie vnto *Alexius* the
emperour, according to the agreement before made. But he, guiltie in conscience of his owne
foule dealing with them, vnto whom he had sent no reliefe at all during the long and hard siege
of **ANTIOCH**; neither performed any thing of that he had further promised, and therefore
knowing himselfe hated of them; had in distrust to great an offer of the princes, so euill defer-
ued, and therefore refused to accept thereof. Whereupon *Bohemund* by the generall consent of
the whole armie was chosen prince, or (as some call him) king of **ANTIOCH**.

Bohemund cho-
sen prince of
Antioch.
The plague in
the Christian
armie.

After this long siege and want of victuals, ensued a great plague in the armie of the Christi-
ans, the Autumne following, whereof it is reported fiftie thousand men to haue died, and
amongst them many of great account. But the mortallitie ceasing, the Christians, in Nouember
following, by force tooke **RVGIA**, and **ALBARIA**, two cities, about two daies journey from
ANTIOCH: where dissention arising betwixt *Bohemund* & *Raimond*, who of all others only en-
treated at his preferment vnto the principalltie of **ANTIOCH**: *Bohemund* for the common causes
sake, gaue way vnto his aduersarie, & retired with his soldiers backe againe to **ANTIOCH**; after
whom followed the duke *Godfrey*, and the earle of **FLANDERS** with their regiments. The rest
of the princes wintered some at **RVGIA**, some at **ALBARIA**, from whence *Raimond* made fun-
drie light expeditions further into the enemies countrey: But the spring approching, the Christi-
an princes with all their power tooke the field againe. *Bohemund* with them that remained with
him, departing from **ANTIOCH**, besieged **TORTOSA**. *Raimond* in the meane time with the
rest, besieging the citie of **TRIOLIS**: who become much more insolent than before, by rea-
son of some fortunate roads he had made vpon the enemies the last winter, ceased not still to ma-
ligne *Bohemund* and his proceedings: matter enough to haue diuided the whole power of the
Christians, & to haue turned their weapons vpon themselves: which *Bohemund* wel considering,
rise with his armie; and because he would not with his presence trouble the proceeding of the
religious war, retired himselfe to **ANTIOCH**. After whose departure, *Godfrey* and the earle of
FLANDERS, tooke **GABELLA**, a citie about twelue miles from **LAODICIA**, and from thence
returned againe to the siege of **TORTOSA**, whether *Raimond* came also with his armie, hauing
before driuen the gouernour of **TRIOLIS** to such composition as pleased himselfe, and to
furnish him with such things as he wanted. Thus was **TORTOSA** hardly on three sides besieged
by

Dissention arising
vpon emulation
betwixt *Bohe-*
mund and
Raimond.

A by the Christians, but so notably defended by the Turke, that after three months hard siege the
Christians were glad to depart thence: and marching alongst the sea side, spoiled the countrey
about **SIDON**. But forasmuch as that citie was not easily to be woon, they left it, & encamped
before **PTOLEMAIS**, which they also passed by: the gouernour thereof sending them out victu-
als, with such other things as they wanted; and vpon summons giuen, promising to yeeld the ci-
tie after they had once woon the citie of **IERYSALEM**. From thence they came to **CHARRA-**
RIA in **PALESTINE**, where they solemnly kept the feast of **WHISONTIDE**, and so to **RAMA**,
which they found for feare forsaken of the Infidels. Marching from **RAMA**, and drawing neere
to **IERYSALEM**, they in the vanguard of the armie, vpon the first desecring of the Holy citie,
gaue for joy diuers great shouts and outcries, which with the like applause of the whole armie
was so doubled and redoubled, as if therewith they would haue rent the verie mountaines and
peared the highest heauens. There might a man haue seene the deuout passions of the most
woorthie and zealous Christians, vttered in right diuers manners: Some, with their eyes and
hands cast vp towards heauen, called aloud vpon the name and helpe of Christ Iesus; some, pro-
strat vpon their faces, kissed the ground, as that whereon the Redeemer of the world sometime
walked; others, joyfully saluted those holy places which they had heard so much of, and then
first beheld: In briefe, euery man in some sort expressed the joy he had conceiued of the sight of
the Holy citie, as the end of their long trauell.

The exceeding
joy of the Chris-
tians vpon the
first desecring of
the Holy citie.

This most ancient and famous citie, so much renowned in holy writ, is situat in an hillie
countrey; not warded with any riuer or fresh springs, as other famous cities for most part be;
neither yet was it well seated for wood, or pasture ground: But what wanted in these, and such
other benefits of nature, was by the extraordinarie blessings of the most highest, so supplied, as
that the Iewes there dwelling, so long as they kept the ordinances of the Lord, were of all other
people in the world iustly accounted the most happie and fortunate. Yet in those so blessed
times, was this citie for the sinne of the people oftentimes deliuered into the enemies hand, and
the glorie thereof defaced: as well appeareth by the whole course of the historie of holy Scrip-
ture, as also by the ancient and approoued histories as well of the Iewes themselves, as others.
Neuerthelesse, it still rise againe (though not in like glorie as before in the time of king *Dauid*,
Salomon, and the other next succeeding kings) and so was still repleoted by the Iewes, vntill that
at last according to the foretelling of our Sauour Christ, it was with a great and of all others
most lamentable destruction, vtterly rased and destroyed by the Romans, vnder the leading of
Vespasian the emperour, and his noble sonne *Titus*, fortie yeeres after our Sauour his precious
death and passion. Sithence which time, it was neuer vntill this day againe repaired, or yet well
inhabited, by the Iewes; but lying buried in the ruines of it selfe, all the raigne of *Domitian*, *Ner-*
ua, and *Trajan*, vntill the time of the great emperour *Aelius Adrianus*, it was againe by him re-
edified about the yeere 136, and after the name of him called **ÆLIA**; who together with the
name changed also in some part the ancient situation of the citie. For whereas before it was sea-
ted vpon the steepe rising of an hill, in such sort that towards the East and the South it ouerloo-
ked the whole ground, hauing onely the temple and the castle called **ANTONIA**, in the highest
part of the citie: *Adrian* translated the whole citie vnto the verie top of the hill, so that the place
where our blessed Sauour suffred his most bitter passion, with the sepulcher wherein he was
also laid, and from whence he in glorie rise againe, before without the citie, were then enclosed
within the walles thereof, as they are at this day to be seene. Yet for all that the emperour being
dead, in procelle of time this new built citie recouered againe the ancient name of **IERYSALEM**,
whereby it hath euer since, and is at this day yet known. This citie so reedified, the emperour
first gaue vnto the Iewes, whom he afterwards againe thrust out for their rebellion, and gaue it
to the Christians to inhabit: ouer whom, one *Marke*, first bishop of the Gentiles there, had the
charge: But forasmuch as the Romane emperours were at that time altogether idolaters and
persecutors of the poore Christians, the church also at **IERYSALEM**, with others endured sun-
drie and many grieuous persecutions, vnder the emperours *Antoninus Commodus*, *Seuerus Alex-*
iminus, *Valerianus*, *Aurelianus*, *Dioclesianus*, and *Maxentius*, vntill that at length *Constantine*
the Great conuerted vnto the faith of Christ, about the yeere of Grace 320, suppressing the Pa-
gan idolatrie, gaue generall peace vnto the afflicted church: whereby the Christian church at **I-**
ERYSALEM, for the space of three hundred yeeres after, happily flourished vnder the Greeke em-
perours, vntill the time of the emperour *Phocas*; who hauing most cruelly slaine the good empe-
rour

Ierusalem re-
edified by the
great emperour
Aelius Adrianus.

A breife dis-
course of the
state & situate
of the Holy citie
of Ierusalem,
from the destruc-
tion thereof,
vnder *Vespasian*,
vntill the emperour
Titus his
sonne, vntill it
was againe
recovered out of
the hands of the
Infidels by *God-*
frey of Bullion
and the other
Christian prin-
ces of the West.

our *Maurice* with his children, and so possessed himselfe of the empire, gaue occasion thereby vnto *Chosroe* the Persian king, in reuenge of the death of *Maurice* his father in law, with all his power to invade *SIRIA*: who as a tempest bearing downe all before him, tooke also by force the citie of *IERUSALEM*, hauing that yeere, which was about the yeere six hundred and ten, slaine almost an hundred thousand christians. But *Phocas* the usurper being by them of his guard most cruelly slaine, and *Heraclius* succeeding in his steed, *Chosroe* was by him againe driuen out of *SIRIA*, and the Holy citie againe recouered, about the yeere 624. In these great wars against the Persians, *Heraclius* had vsed the helpe of the Arabians, called *Scenite*, a warlike people of *ARABIA DESERTA*, altogether giuen to the spoile: who, the wars now ended, expecting to haue received their pay, were contrarie to their expectation, and without all reason rejected by them that should haue paid them, with verie foule and contumelious words; as, that there was not money enough to pay the Christian soldiers of the Latines and the Greeks; much lesse those vile dogs (whom they so called, for that they had but a little before received the damnable doctrine of the false prophet *Mahomet*, the great seducer of the world, who euen in that time flourished.) Vpon which discontentment they at their returne revolted from the empire, and joyined themselves vnto their great prophet, and so afterwards vnto the Caliphs his successors, extending his doctrine, together with his soueraigntie to the vttermost of their power: and that with so good successe, that in short time they had ouerrun all *EGYPT*, *SIRIA*, the land of promise, and taken the Holy citie. With these (the disciples of *Mahomet* and his successors, the Sarafins, for so now they would be called) the Greeke emperours ensuing, had for certaine yeeres diuers conflicts, with diuers fortune, for the possession of *SIRIA*. But at length wearied out, & by them ouercom, they left the aforesaid countries wholly vnto their deuotion. Hereby it came to passe, that the Sarafins for the space of 370 yeeres following held those countries, with many others, in great subjection, oppressing still the poore Christians in *IERUSALEM* with most grieuous tributes and exactions: vnto whom they yet left a third part of the citie for them to dwell in, with the temple of the Sepulcher of our Sauour, and mount *SION*; not for any deuotion, either vnto them, or those places, but for that it yeilded them a great profit by the recourse of deuout Christians travelling thither: reseruing in the meane time vnto themselves, the other two parts of the citie, with the temple of *Salomon*, before reedified by the Christians. Now whilst the Sarafins thus triumph in the East, and not in the East onely, but ouer a great part of the West also, contenting themselves with such tributes as they had imposed vpon the subdued nations and countries: vp start the Turks, a vagrant, fierce, and cruell people; who first breaking into *ASIA* (as is before declared) and by rare fortune aspiring vnto the kingdome of *PERSIA*, subdued the countries of *MESOPOTAMIA*, *SIRIA*, with the greatest part of the lesser *ASIA*, and *IVDEA*, together with the Holy citie: who both there and in all other places held the poore oppressed Christians in such subjection and thralldom, as that the former government of the Sarafins seemed in comparison of this to haue beene but light and easie. Neither was there any end or release of these so great miseries to haue beene expected, had not God in mercie by the weake meanes of a poore heremit, stirred vp these most woorthie princes of the West to take vp armes in their defence, who hauing with their victorious armies recouered the lesser *ASIA*, with a great part of *SIRIA*, were now come vnto this Holy citie.

Tierusalem besieged by the Christians.

The gouernour of *IERUSALEM* vnderstanding by his espials, of the proceedings of the Christians, had before their approach, got into the citie a verie strong garrison of right valiant souldiers, with good store of all things necessarie for the holding out of a long siege. The Christians with their armie approaching the citie, encamped before it on the North; for that towards the East and the South, it was not well to be besieged, by reason of the broken rocks and mountaines. Next vnto the citie lay *Godfrey* the duke; with the Germans and *Loranois*; neere vnto him lay the earle of *FLANDERS*, and *Robert* the Norman: before the West gate lay *Tancred*, and the earle of *THOLOVS*: *Bohemund* and *Baldwin* were both absent, the one at *ANTIOCH*, the other at *EBUSSA*. The Christians thus strongly encamped; the fift day after gaue vnto the citie a fierce assault, with such cheerfulness, as that it was verily supposed, it might haue beene euen then woon; had they beene sufficiently furnished with scaling ladders: for want whereof, they were glad to giue buer the assault and retire. But within a few daies after, hauing supplied that defect, and provided all things necessarie, they came on againe afresh, and with all their power gaue vnto the citie a most terrible assault, wherein was on both sides seene great valour; po-

licie,

A licie, & cunning, with much slaughter, vntill that at length the Christians wearie of the long fight, and in that hot country, and most fetuent time of the yeere fainting for lacke of water, were glad againe to forsake the assault, and to retire into their trenches: onely the well of *Siloe* yeilded them water, and that not sufficient for the whole campe; the rest of the wels which were but few, being before by the enemy either filled vp or else poysoned.

B Whilst the Christians thus lay at the siege of *IERUSALEM*, a fleet of the Genowais arrived at *IOPPA*; at which time also a great fleet of the Egyptian Sultans lay at *ASCALON*, to haue brought reliefe to the besieged Turks in *IERUSALEM*: whereof the Genowais vnderstanding, and knowing themselves too weake to encounter them at sea, tooke all such things out of their ships as they thought good, and so sinking them, marched by land vnto the campe. There was amongst these Genowais diuers enginers, men (after the manner of that time) cunning in making of all manner of engines fit for the besieging of cities: by whose device, a great moouing tower was framed of timber and thick planks, couered ouer with raw hides, to saue the same from fire: out of which the Christians might in safetie greatly annoy the defendants. This tower being by night brought close vnto the wall, serued the Christians in steed of a most sure forresse in the assault the next day: where whilst they sturue with like valour and doubtfull victorie on both sides, from morning vntill midday, by chance the wind fauouring the Christians, carried the flame of the fire into the face of the Turks, wherewith they had thought to haue burnt the tower; with such violence, that the Christians taking the benefit thereof, and holpen by the tower, gained the top of the wall: which was first footed by the duke *Godfrey*, and his brother *Eustace*, with their followers, and the ensigns of the duke there first set vp, to the great encouraging of the Christians; who now presing in on euery side, like a violent riuer that had broken ouer the banks, bare downe all before them. All were slaine that came to hand, men, women, and children, without respect of age, sex, or condition: the slaughter was great, and the sight lamentable, all the streets were filled with blood, and the bodies of the dead, death triumphing in euery place.

C Yet in this confusion, a woonderfull number of the better sort of the Turks, retiring vnto *Salomons* temple there to do their last deuoiure, made there a great and terrible fight, armed with dispaire to endure any thing; and the victorious Christians no lesse disdainig, after the winning of the citie, to find there so great resistance. In this desperat conflict, fought with woonderfull obstinacie of mind, many fell on both sides: but the Christians came on so fiercely, with desire of blood, that breaking into the temple, the foremost of them were by the prelle of them that followed after, violently thrust vpon the weapons of their enemies, and so miserably slaine. Neither did the Turks thus oppressed, giue it ouer, but as men resolute to die, desperately fought it out with inuincible courage, not at the gates of the temple onely, but euen in the midst thereof also, where was to be seene great heaps, both of the victors and the vanquished, slaine indifferently together. All the pavement of the temple swam with blood, in such sort, that a man could not set his foot, but either vpon some dead man, or ouer the shooes in blood. Yet for all that, the obstinate enemy still held the vaults and top of the temple, when as the darkness of the night came so fast on, that the Christians were glad to make an end of the slaughter, and to sound a retreat. The next day (for that proclamation was made, for mercie to be shewed vnto all such as should lay downe their weapons) the Turks that yet held the vpper part of the temple, came down & yeilded themselves. Thus was the famous citie of *IERUSALEM* with great bloodshed, but far greater honor, recouered by these woorthie Christians, in the yeere 1099, after it had beene in the hands of the infidels about foure hundred yeeres.

E The next day after, hauing buried the dead and cleansed the citie, they gaue thanks to God with publicke praiers, and great rejoycing. The poore Christians before oppressed, now overcome with vnexpected joy, welcomed their victorious brethren with great joy and praise; and the souldiers embracing one another, sparing to speake of themselves, freely commended each others valour. Eight daies after, the princes of the armie meeting together, began to consult about the choice of their king: amongst whom was no such difference, as might well shew which was to be preferred before the others. And although euery one of them for prowesse and desert, seemed woorthie of so great an honour; yet by the generall consent of all, it was giuen to *Robert* duke of *NORMANDIE*: who about the same time hearing of the death of the Conquerour his father, and more in loue with his fathers new gotten kingdome in *ENGLAND*, in hope thereof, refused the kingdome of *IERUSALEM*, then offered vnto him: which at his returne he found

The Genowais contra the siege.

A most reuell and bloody fight betwixt the Christians and the Turks, euen in the Temple of Ierusalem.

1099

found possessed by *William Rufus* his younger brother, and so in hope of a better refusing the *G* woofle, vpon the matter lost both.

Godfrey duke of Buillon by the generall consent of the Christian armie chosen first king of Ierusalem.

After whose departure, *Godfrey* of *Buillon* duke of *Lorraine* (whose ensigne was first displaid vpon the wals) was by the generall consent both of the princes and the armie, saluted king. He was a great fouldier, and endued with many heroicall vertues, brought vp in the court of the emperour *Henrie* the fourth, and by him much employed. At the time of his inauguration, he refused to be crowned with a crowne of gold: saying, That it became not a Christian man, there to were a crowne of gold, where Christ the sonne of God had for the saluation of mankind, sometime wore a crowne of thorne. Of the greatest part of these proceedings of the Christians, from the time of their departure from *Antioch* vntill the winning of the Holy citie, *Godfrey* by letters briefly certified *Bohemund*, as followeth.

Godfrey of Buillon to Bohemund king of Antioch, greeting.

After long trauell, hauing first taken certaine townes, we came to IERUSALEM: which citie is enuironed with high hills, without riuers or fountaines, excepting onely that of Solomons, and that a verie little one. In it are many cisterns, wherein water is kept, both in the citie and the country thereabout. On the East are the Arabians, the Moabits, and Ammonits: on the South, the Idumeans, Aegyptians, and Philistians: Westward alongst the sea coast lie the cities of PTOLEMAIS, TIRVS, and TRIPOLIS: and Northward, TIBERIAS, CESAREA, PHILIPPI, with the country DECAPOLIS and DAMASCO. In the assault of the citie, I first gained that part of the wall that fell to my lot to assaile, and commanded Baldwin to enter the citie: who hauing slaine certaine companies of the enemies, broke open one of the gates for the Christians to enter. Raymond had the citie of David, with much rich spoile, yeelded vnto him. But when we came vnto the temple of Solomon, there we had a great conflict, with so great slaughter of the enemy, that our men stood in blood aboue the ancles: the night approaching, we could not take the upper part of the temple, which the next day was yeelded, the Turks pittifully crying out for mercie: and so the citie of IERUSALEM was by vs taken, the sixteenth of Iuly, in the yeere of our redemption 1099, 39 daies after the beginning of the siege, 409 yeeres after it fell into the hands of the Saracins in the time of Heraclius the emperour. Besides this, the princes with one consent saluted me (against my will) king of IERUSALEM: who although I feare to take vpon me so great a kingdome; yet I will do my deuoir, that they shall easily know me for a Christian king, and well deseruing of the vniuersall Faith. But lone you me as you do. And so farewell from IERUSALEM.

Whilest these things were in doing at *IERUSALEM*, such a multitude of the Turks, and Saracins their confederats (now in their common calamitie all as one) were assembled at *Ascalon* (a citie about fife and twentie miles from *IERUSALEM*) to reuenge the injuries they had before receiued, as had not before met together in all the time of this sacred war. Against whom, *Godfrey* (the late duke, and now king) assembled the whole forces of the Christians in those countries, and leauing a strong garrison in the new woon citie, set forward: and meeting with them, joynd a most dreadfull and cruell battell, wherein (as most report) were slaine of the Infidels an hundred thousand men, and the rest put to flight. The spoile there taken, far exceeded all that the Christians had before taken in this long expedition. *Godfrey* after so great a victorie, returning to *IERUSALEM*, gaue vnto God most humble thanks. The rest of the princes returned either to their charge, as did *Bohemund* to *Antioch*, *Baldwin* to *EDessa*; *Tancred* into *GALLILEY*, wherof he was created prince: or else hauing now performed the vttmost of their vowes, returned with honour into their owne countries. This was of all others the most honourable expedition that euer the Christians tooke in hand against the Infidels; and with the greatest resolution performed, for the most part, by such voluntary men, as mooued with a deuout zeale, to their immortall praise, spared neither life nor liuing in defence of the Christian faith and religion; all men woorthie eternall fame and memorie. Not long after ensued a great pestilence (the readie attendant of long war and want) wherof infinit numbers of people died, and among the rest *Godfrey*, the first Christian king of *IERUSALEM*, neuer to be sufficiently commended: who with the generall lamentation of all good Christians, was honourably buried

An hundred thousand Turks and Saracins slaine.

Godfrey of Buillon first Christian king of Ierusalem, death of his figure.

ried in the church of the sepulchre of our Sauour on the mount *CALVERIE*, where our Sauour suffred his passion: in which the Christian kings succeeding him, were also afterwards buried. He departed this life the eighteenth of Iuly, in the yeere of our Lord 1100, when he had yet scarce raigned a full yeere. Whose tombe is yet at this day there to be seene with an honourable inscription thereupon.

After the death of *Godfrey*, the Christians made choice of *Baldwin* his brother, countie of *EDessa*; who leauing his former gouernment to *Baldwin* surnamed *Burgensis*, his neere kinsman, came to *IERUSALEM* honourably accompanied, and was there by the Patriarch on Christmas day with all solemnitie crowned king, in the yeere 1101. He aided by the Venetians and Genowais at sea, and by *Bohemund* king of *Antioch* by land, tooke from the Infidels the citie of *CESAREA STRATONIS*, standing vpon the sea side; and ouerthrew certaine companies of the Aegyptian Sultans at *RAMA*. But vnderstanding that the Christian princes of the West were coming to his aid with a new power; he glad thereof, went to meet them, and safely conducted them to *IERUSALEM* alongst the sea coast, by the cities of *BERYTUS*, *SIDON*, *TIRE*, and *PTOLEMAIS*, all yet holden by the enemies. At which time the Turks at *Ascalon* hauing receiued great aid from the Arabians and Aegyptians, invaded the country about *RAMA*: where betwixt them and the Christians was fought a most cruell battell, wherein the Christians receiued a most notable ouerthrow; many of their great commanders being there slaine; and among the rest *Stephen* earle of *CHARTERS* (but lately returned home from the former expedition, and now come backe againe) and *Stephen* earle of *BVRVONDIE* and *THOLOVS*: yea the king himselfe hardly escaped the enemies hands, and after many dangers came at length to *IOPPA* after it had bene constantly before reported him to haue been in that battell also slaine. Who hauing there in hast repaired his armie, came againe speedily vpon his enemies, fearing as then nothing lesse; and ouerthrew them with such a slaughter, as that they had small cause to reioyce of the former victorie. Neither were the rest of the Christian princes in the other parts of *SIRIA* and *PALESTINE*, in the meane time idle, but sought by all meanes to enlarge their territories. *Tancred* prince of *GALLILEE*, hauing raised a great power, tooke *APAMEA*, the Metropolitane citie of *CÆLESYRIA*, and after much toile vpon also the citie of *LAODICEA*. *Baldwin* also gouernour of *EDessa* besieging the citie of *CARRAS*, had brought the besieged Turks to such extremitie, that they were about to haue yeelded the citie: when suddenly hee was set vpon by a great armie of the Turks sent from the Persian Sultan, for the reliefe of the besieged; and being there ouerthrowne, was himselfe there taken, with *Benedict* the bishop, and one *Ioscelin* his kinsman: who after fife yeeres captiuitie, found means with the Turke that had taken them, to redeeme themselves, to the great offence of the Persian Sultan, & of the Sultan *Solyman*.

King *Baldwin* after the late victorie, liued for a season at some good rest in *IERUSALEM*, vnmolested by his enemies: but knowing his greatest safetie among such warlike people, to consist in armes, he vpon the sudden raised the whole strength of his kingdome, and laid siege to *PTOLEMATS*, otherwise called *ACON*, a citie of *PHœNICIA* standing vpon the riuaige of the sea; where he found such resistance, that he was glad to raise his siege and depart, hauing done nothing more than spoiled the pleasant places without the citie. By the way in his returne backe againe, it fortuned him to meet with certaine companies of the enemies aduenturers, by whom he was in a skirmish mortally wounded, although he died not thereof in long time after: for albeit that the wound was by his surgeons healed vp, yet was the griefe thereof so great, that at length it brought him to his end. Yet he notwithstanding the former repulse, the next yeere, encouraged by the coming of the Genua fleet, laid hard siege againe to *PTOLEMAIS*: both by sea and land, which after twentie daies siege was by composition yeelded vnto him.

Shortly after, the gouernour of *ALERPO* with certaine others of the Turks great captaines in those quarters, hauing joynd their forces together and so invaded the country about *Antioch*, were by *Tancred* (whom *Bohemund* at his departure into *ITALY*, had left gouernour of that citie) notably encountered and put to flight. At which time also the Caliph of *AROPYT* sending great forces both by sea and land against the king of *IERUSALEM*, was in both places discomfited, at land by the Christians, and at sea by tempest.

Bohemund in the meane time, with a great armie of voluntarie men, and others (wherein he is reported to haue had fife thousand horse, and fortie thousand foot) returning towards the Holy land, in reuenge of many injuries done by *Alexius* the emperour, vnto the soldiers of

Baldwin countie of Edesse, and brother to Godfrey second king of Ierusalem.

1100

1101

King Baldwin mortally wounded.

Ptolemais won by King Baldwin.

this sacred war, contrarie to his faith and promise to them before given : by the way landed his men in EPIRVS, and grievously spoiled the countrey about DIRRACHIUM, part of the emperours dominion. Neither made he an end of spoiling, vntill he had enforced the emperour for redresse of so great harmes, to make peace with him; and againe by solemne oath to promise all securitie and kindnesse, vnto all such Christian souldiers as should haue occasion to trauell too or fro through his countreies, during the time of this religious war. After which agreement hee put to sea againe, and so returned for IERUSALEM. But whilest he staid at ANTIOCH, hee shortly after there died in the yeere 1108, leauing the principalltie thereof vnto his yoong sonne Bohemund, a child vnder the tuition of his nephew Tancred.

Bohemund dieth
at Antioch.

1111
Sidon woon.

Yet were the cities of BERYTVS, SIDON, and TYRE, amongst the sea coast, in the enemies possession : for the gaining whereof, Baldwin the king raised a great armie, and so came and laid siege to BERYTVS, which after many sharpe assaults he at length woon, the three and twentieth day of Aprill in the yeere 1111, and put to sword most part of them that he found therein. The same yeere also he, assisted by a fleet sent vnto him out of NORWAY, besieged the citie of SIDON : which the citizens seeing themselves now beset both by sea and land, at length yeelded vnto him by composition, the nineteenth day of December. After which victorie he dismissed the fleet, and returned himselfe in triumph to IERUSALEM. Now of all the famous cities alongst the sea coast of PHENICIA and PALESTINE, from LAODICEA to ASCALON, was onely the citie of TYRE that remained in the hands of the enemies : which citie Baldwin also hardly besieged; neuertheless, it was so well defended by the Turks, that after he had all in vaine lyeen before it by the space of foure months, he was glad to rise with his armie and depart.

It fortuned, that within two yeeres after, the Turks with a mightie armie sent from the Persian Sultan, invaded the countrey of CELESYRIA, where spoiling all before them as they went, they came and encamped vpon the sea coast neere vnto TYBERIAS. Against whom Baldwin gathered the whole strength of his kingdome, with whom also Tancred (who now reigned in ANTIOCH, the yoong Bohemund being dead) with the countie of TRIPOLI, and the rest of the Christian princes, joyned their forces : who altogether marching forward, came and encamped, not far from the enemie, being in number far more than they. Mendus generall of the Turks armie (for so I find him called) vnderstanding of their approach, sent out certaine companies of his men to skirmish with them : against whom the Christians also sent out others; who encountering them, easily put them to flight, being before commanded so to do, of purpose to draw the Christians into the danger of a greater strength, lying in ambush to intrap them : which according to the Turks desire fell out. For the Christians fiercely pursuing the flying enemie, fell into the ambush, and so before they were well aware, were beset on euerie side with their enemies : vnto the rescue of whom, other companies of the Christians comming in, and others likewise from the Turks, both the great armies were at length drayn into the field, where betwixt them was joynd a most fierce and terrible battell, with great slaughter on both sides. But at length the multitude of the Turks preuailling, the Christians were put to the worse, and so glad to flie : after whom the fierce enemy hardly followed, not without great slaughter. In which flight the king himselfe hardly escaped, with Arnolphus the Patriarch. Whilest Baldwin was thus busied abroad, the Turks & Saracins from ASCALON, came & besieged IERUSALEM, being then but weakly manned : but hearing of the kings comming, & that the armie of the Christians dayly increased with new supplies out of the West by sea, they retired home againe, hauing burnt certaine storehouses full of corne, and spoiled such things as was subiect to their furie.

Long it were to recount all the hard conflicts and combats this king had with the Saracins and Turks, which for breuitie I passe ouer, contented to haue briefly touched the greatest. In the last yeere of his raigne, hauing for certaine yeeres before liued in some reasonable peace, he made an expedition into AEGYPT, where he with much difficultie woon PHARAMIA, a strong citie vpon the sea coast, which he joynded vnto his owne kingdome. After that he went to the mouth of the riuer NILVS, and with great admiration, learned the nature of that strange riuer. And hauing therein taken abundance of fish, returned into the citie, and there with the same feasted himselfe with his friends. But after dinner he began to feele the griefe of his old wound; and growing thereof sicker and sicker, returned with his armie toward IERUSALEM, where by the way neere vnto a citie called LARIS, he died (to the great griefe of all the Christians) in the yeere 1118. His dead bodie being brought backe vnto IERUSALEM, was there roially buried,

neere

neere vnto his brother Godfrey, after he had reigned eightene yeeres : whose sepulchre is yet there also to be seene, fast by the sepulchre of his brother.

The late king thus dead and buried, the Christians with one consent made choise of his cousin Baldwin surnamed Brugenis, gouernour of EDESSA : who by the name of Baldwin the second, was the second of Aprill in the yeere 1118, solemnly crowned king of IERUSALEM. He was of stature tall and well proportioned, of countenance comely and gracious, hauing his haire thinnie and yellow, his beard mingled with some gray haire hanging downe to his breast; his colour fresh and liuely for one of his yeeres. He was a man of great courage, and therefore no lesse redoubted of his enemies than beloued of his subjects, who had in him repored great hope both for the defence and enlarging of that new gained kingdome. Against him the same Sommer the Caliph of AEGYPT, aided by the king of DAMASCO and the Turks, in reuenge of the losse he had in the expedition the yeere before receiued, raised a great power to inuade him both by sea and land. Against whom Baldwin also opposed himselfe with his whole strength, and so came and encamped within the sight of his enemies. In which sort, when both armies had lyeen the one facing the other by the space of three months, they both rose : the Christians fearing the multitude of the Turks, and the Turks the valour of the Christians, and so retired without any notably thing doing.

This yeere died Alexius the Greeke emperour, who euen from the beginning of this sacred war, secretly repined at the good successe of the Christians in SYRIA, although his empire were thereby greatly enlarged : after whome succeeded Calo Ioannes his sonne, who all the time of his raigne right worthily defended his territories in the lesser ASIA against the inuasion of the Turks.

Not long after, Gazi one of the greatest princes of the Turks in the lesser ASIA, with the king of DAMASCO, and Debeis king of ARABIA, joyning their forces together, with a great armie inuading the countrey about ANTIOCH, came and encamped not far from ALEPPO : against whom Roger prince of ANTIOCH, not expecting the comming of Baldwin and the other Christian princes his confederats, but presuming of his owne strength, went forth with greater courage than discretion, whereunto his successe was answerable : for encountering with them at too much ods, he was by them in a great battell ouerthrowne, wherein he himselfe was slaine with most part of his armie. Of which so great a slaughter, the place wherein this battell was fought, was afterward called, The field of Blood. But whilst the Turks after so great a victorie, carelessly and at pleasure roame vp and downe the countrey, Baldwin setting vpon them, ouerthrew them with a great slaughter, and so put them to flight. After this victorie gained by the Christians the fourteenth of August, in the yeere 1120, king Baldwin in great triumph entered into ANTIOCH, and so joynded that principalltie vnto his owne kingdome.

The yeer following, the Turks with another armie, inuaded the same countrey againe : for repenting of whom, whilst Baldwin with the other Christian princes were making their preparations, it fortuned that Gazi their great commander suddenly died of an Apoplexie; vpon whose death they retired without further harme doing. Neuertheless the next Spring, the king of DAMASCO aided by the Arabians, entered againe with a great power into the countrey about ANTIOCH, and there did some harme : for the Antiochians now destitute of their owne prince, and Baldwin (who had taken vpon him their protection) being far off, and otherwise busied at IERUSALEM, were much more subiect vnto the inrodes of their enemies (still at hand) than before when they had a prince of their owne still present amongst them. But Baldwin aduertised thereof, was making towards them with a puissant armie, sooner than they had thought it could haue bene possible. Of whose approach the Turks vnderstanding, retired againe out of the countrey : after whom, the king thinking it not good to make further pursuit, turned a little out of the way, and tooke by force GARAZB, one of the strongest castles of the kings of DAMASCO, built but the yeere before; which becaule it was not without great charge and danger to be holden, he rased downe to the ground.

Baldwin notwithstanding that hee had many times thus honourably repulsed his enemies, wisely considering how he was on the one side beset with the Turks, and on the other side with the Saracins (which yet reigned in AEGYPT, the kingdome of IERUSALEM lying as it were in the mouth of them both) thought it good betime to pray aid of the Christian princes of EUROPE, and to that purpose had sent diuers his ambassadors vnto diuers of them, but especially

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vnto

Baldwin Brugenis chosen
king of ierusalem.

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1120

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vnto the Venetians; whom of all others he thought fittest at his need to yeeld him reliefe by sea. It fortuned in the meane time, that *Balas* the Persian Sultan with a great armie of the Turks, inuaded the countrey about *Antioch*, whereof *Baldwin* vnderstanding (although he certainly knew he should ere long receiue aid from the other Christian princes his friends, but especially from the Venetians, & might therefore with great reason haue protracted the war vntil their coming, yet being therewith much moued, or else his destinie so requiring) raised such forces as he had of his owne, and without longer staying for his friends, with greater courage than good speed, set forward: and so joyning battell with the enemy, was therein ouerthrowne, with the greatest part of his armie, and himselfe taken prisoner in the fight, with certaine other of his best commanders; who altogether were carried away captiues vnto *Carras*.

Ierusa besieged
by the Saracins.

Vpon the report of this ouerthrow, and taking of the king, the Caliph of *Aegypt*, on the other side tooke occasion with all his power to inuade the kingdome of *Ierusalem*; and hauing in himselfe purposed the utter ruine thereof, beside the great armie which he sent thither by land, which lay encamped not far from *Ascalon*, he put to sea an huge fleet also, of seuen hundred saile, for the distressing of the sea townes, which he well knew were not otherwise to be wooit: This fleet of the Sarasin kings (for *Aegypt* with the kingdomes of *Tynes* and *Morocco* were yet in possession of the Saracins) arriuing at *Ioppa*, there put a shore their land forces, and hardly besieged the towne both by sea and land. But whilst they thus lay in great hope to haue woon the towne, *Dominicus Michael*, duke of *Venice*, stirred vp by *Calixtus* then bishop of *Rome*, was come to *Cyprus* with a fleet of two hundred saile, for the reliefe of the Christians in *Syria*, and the Holy land: And hearing of the distresse of *Ioppa*, nothing dismayed with the number of the enemies fleet, hasted thither, and came so suddenly vpon them, that he had (as some report) ouerthrowne them, before they could put themselves in order, or be in readinesse to fight: or as some others say, after a great and doubtfull fight, hauing sunke or taken a great number of them, and put the rest to flight, he obtained of them a most glorious victorie. With like good fortune also, were the Saracins ouerthrowne in a notable battell at land, neere vnto *Ascalon*, by the lord *Euface*, vnto whom the defence of the kingdome was committed after the taking of the king, who not long after so great a victorie died.

Ioppa relieved (as is aforesaid) the duke of *Venice* travelled by land to *Ierusalem*, where he was honourably receiued by *Guarimund* the Patriarch, and the confederation before made betwixt king *Baldwin* & the Venetians, vpon the same conditions solemnly againe renewed.

Tyre besieged
by the Christians.

The Saracins thus notably discomfited both by sea and land, and the Christians thereby not a little encouraged, and joyning their forces together with the Venetians, came and the first of March laid siege vnto the ancient and strong cite of *Tyre*: which they hauing beset both by sea and land, gaue thereunto many a sharpe assault: which the Turks as men fighting for their liues, and wiues, right valiantly repulsed. In which sort the siege was continued longer than the Christians had at the first thought should haue needed: yet at length, after foure months siege, the Turks fore weakened with often assaults, and hardly pinched with want of food, all their store being spent, yeelded the cite by composition. Thus was the cite of *Tyre* (the most famous port of *Phoenicia*) yeelded vnto the Christians the nine and twentieth of Iune, in the yeere 1124. The third part of this cite was giuen vnto the Venetians, according to the composition made betwixt them and the kings of *Ierusalem*, That of all such cities as were by their helpe woon from the Infidels in *Syria*, they should haue a third part, with one street, and free traficke in all the rest of the cities of the kingdome of *Ierusalem*. Shortly after was king *Baldwin* set at libertie for the ransom of an hundred thousand ducats, after he had bene eightene moneths prisoner among the Turks.

The duke of *Venice* hauing now spent almost three yeares in this sacred expedition, & well confirmed the state of the Christians in *Syria*, returning home, by the way tooke the islands of *Chios*, *Rhodus*, *Samos*, *Mitylen*, and *Andrus*, with the cite of *Modon* in *Peloponessus*; all places belonging vnto the Greekes empire. Which hee did in reuenge of the injuries done by the emperour, in the time of his absence, who enuying at the successe of the Christians in *Syria*, as had his father *Alexius* before him, had in the absence of the duke, infected the territories of the Venetians, for the which he was now justly requited with the losse of a good part of his owne.

Baldwin also not vnmindfull of the injuries vnto him before done by the Turkes, in requital thereof,

thereof inuaded the countrey about *Damasco*; and there in three notable battels ouerthrew the king, and spoiled the countrey: wherein he tooke so great a prey, that therewith he redeemed his daughter, whom he had at the time of his deliuerance left in hostage with the Turks for the payment of his ransom. He also ouerthrew the Saracins at *Ascalon*, who aided by the Caliph of *Aegypt*, had sundrie times inuaded the countrey about *Ierusalem*. And so hauing well repressed his enemies, for a space liued in peace.

Not long after, *Hugh Paganus* first master of the Templars, (an order of knights first begun in the raigne of this *Baldwin*) before sent to craue aid of the Christian princes of the West, against the Turks and Saracins, returned with a great number of zealous Christians, ready to lay downe their liues for defence of the Christian faith and religion: with whom *Baldwin* and the other Christian princes of *Syria* joyning their forces, set forward and besieged *Damasco*; the regall fear of the Turks in those quarters. But such was the strength of this cite, with the valour of the defendants, and contagiousnesse of the aire, that the Christians (the heavens as it were then fighting against them) were glad to raise their siege in vaine begun, and so to retire.

Whilst things thus passed in *Syria*, *Fulke* countie of *Tyren*, *Mayn*, and *Anio*, a man almost of threescore yeeres, hauing as he thought best disposed of his things at home, had for deuotion sake taken vpon him an expedition into the Holy land. In the time of which his preparations, embassadours came vnto him from king *Baldwin*, offering him in marriage *Melisenda* (or as some call her *Margaret*) his eldest daughter, with the succession into the kingdome of *Ierusalem* in dowrie, if he should suruiue the king; and in the meane time to content himselfe with the cities of *Tyre* and *Ptolemais*: of which offer he accepted, and so held on his journey before intended. It fortuned about three yeeres after, that the king fell dangerously sicke, and feeling his death drawing on, hauing laid aside all regall dignitie, caused himselfe to be remooued out of his owne palace, into the Patriarchs house, which was neerer vnto the temple of the Sepulchre: and there calling vnto him *Fulke* the countie, his sonne in law, with his daughter, and his sonne *Baldwin*, then but two yeeres old, in the presence of the Patriarch, and diuers other princes & great commanders, commended vnto them the gouernment and defence of the kingdome, appointing *Fulke* to succeed him. And taking vnto himselfe the habit and profession of a monk, if he should haue longer liued, presently after gaue vp the ghost the two and twentieth day of August, in the yeere 1131; whereof he reigned with much trouble thirteene yeeres, and was solemnly buried in the temple vpon mount *Caluarie*, with the other two kings *Godfrey* and *Baldwin*, his predecessors.

The kings funerall ended, the princes of the kingdome with one accord made choise of *Fulke* the old countie, earle of *Anio*, for their king: who the sixteenth day of September, was with all solemnitie by *William* the Patriarch crowned in *Ierusalem*. This man in the beginning of his raigne, besides his troubles abroad, was also vext with domesticall and intestine discord: *Pontius* countie of *Triopolis*, seeking by force of armes to haue rent the dukedome of *Antioch* from the kingdome: and *Hugh* countie of *Ioppa*, for feare of due punishment for his treason, joyning himselfe with the Saracins of *Ascalon*, and so with them infesting the territories of *Ierusalem*, to the great hurt of the Christian state, and aduantage of the infidels. Which troublesome broiles were yet afterwards by the king, partly by force, partly by the mediation of the Patriarch & other princes (who seeing the danger like thereof to ensue, had entreated themselves) well againe appeased. Vengeance yet neuertheless still following both the aforesaid traitours: *Pontius* being shortly after slaine by the Turks, and *Hugh* dying in exile.

Besides these domesticall troubles, the Turks also inuaded the countrey about *Antioch*, where they were by the sudden comming of the king ouerthrowne, with the losse of their tents, and exceeding great riches. And that nothing might be wanting vnto the disquieting of the state of that new erected kingdome, not long after, *John* the Constantinopolitan emperour (together with the empire, inheritor also of his fathers malice, against the proceeding of the Christians in *Syria*) with a puissant armie passing through the lesser *Asia*, and by the way taking by force *Tarsus* the metropolitall cite of *Cilicia*, with the whole prouince thereunto belonging, came and besieged *Antioch*; which *Fulke* but a little before had together with *Constance*, the daughter and heire of the late duke of *Antioch*, giuen in marriage to *Raymond* countie of *Poitv*, for that purpose sent for out of *France*. But in this so dangerous a state of that Christian kingdome, the other zealous Christian princes interposed themselves as mediators

*The death of
Baldwin the first
king of Ierusalem.*

diatours betwixt the emperour (pretending the same to belong vnto his empire) and *Raymund* G that was in possession thereof. And in fine brought it to this end, That *Raymund* for the present submitting himselfe vnto the emperour, should from thenceforth hold his dukedome of him as of his lord and foveraigne: vpon which agreement the emperour returned vnto *TARSUS*, where he wintred, and so afterwards vnto *CONSTANTINOPE*.

Much about the same time, *Sanguin* one of the Turkes great princes, invading the countrey about *TRIPOLIS*, besieged the castell of *MONTE-FERRAND*: vnto the reliefe whereof, *Fulke* comming with his armie, was by the Turkes ouerthrown; and for the safegard of his life, glad to take the refuge of the castell, the countie himselfe being in that battell taken prisoner. After which victorie, the Turkes laid harder siege vnto the castell than before: the besieged in the meane time being no lesse pinched within with famine, than pressed without by the enemy. In this the kings hard distresse, the other princes hauing raised the whole power of the kingdome, were comming to his reliefe: whereof the Turke vnderstanding, offered of himselfe to giue them all leaue freely to depart, and to set the countie at libertie, so that they would deliuer vnto him the castle: of which his offer they gladiy accepting, yeelded vp the strong hold, and so departed. The king by the way meeting with the armie, thanked his friends for their forwardnesse, and so returned to *IERSALEM*.

Ca's Joannes
v. Grecke em-
perour seeketh
to recover the
city of Antioch

About foure yeeres after, *John* the Constantinopolitan emperour, with a great armie came againe into *SYRIA*, with purpose to haue vnted the famous cite of *ANTIOCH* vnto his empire, and so to haue made a way into the kingdome of *IERSALEM*, whereafter hee had now a good while longed. But comming thither, in hope to haue found the Cilicians and Syrians readie to haue receiued him, he was deceiued of his expectation, being shut out by the Latins, and not suffred to enter, but vpon his oath, and that with some few of his followers; and so after due reuerence done vnto him, quietly to depart without any stir or innouation in the city. In reuenge of which disgrace, at his departure he gaue the suburbs of the city as a prey vnto his greedie souldiers; pretending the same to be done for want of victuals: who made hauocke of whatsoeuer came to hand, not sparing the verie fruit trees, but cutting them downe to dresse their meat withall. Hauing thus vnder colour of necessitie, reuenged the disgrace receiued, he returned into *CILICIA*, and there wintred: where one day for his disport, hunting of the wild boare; and hauing wounded him with his boare speare, the wild beast therewith enraged, and with all his force bearing forward vpon the weapon, forced the emperours hand backward vpon the point of a poysoned arrow, that was hanging in a quier at his backe, and so was therewith lightly wounded. Neuerthelesse, as light as the wound was, such was the strength of the poyson, that the griefe thereof still increasing, and his hand and arme more and more swelling, there was no remedie to be found, but that his arme must be cut off; which desperat and vncertaine cure he abhorring, and in the extremitie of his paine oftentimes pleasantly saying, That the Greeke empire was not to be gouerned with one hand: ouercome with the strength of the poyson died. In whose place succeeded his yongest sonne *Emanuel*, *Alexius* and *Andronicus* his two elder sonnes being both dead at his setting forth vnto this so vnhappy expedition.

T's death of
Ca's Joannes
the Grecke em-
perour.

The miserable
death of Fulke
king of Ierusalem.

It fortuned about this time also, the kingdome of *IERSALEM* being now at peace, that *Fulke* the king with the queene his wife, lying at the cite of *PTOLEMAIS* in the time of Autumne, it pleased the queene for her disport, to walke out of the cite, vnto certaine pleasant fountaines thereby in the countrey; for whose companie the king would needs go also, with certaine of his courtiers, where by the way it chanced that certaine boyes running along the field, put vp an hare that was sitting in a furrow: after which, all the courtiers on horsebacke galloped a maine, with notable outerie and hallowing. Amongst the rest, the king to be partaker of the sport, forcing his horse to the vtermost of his power, in the midst of his course fell, together with his horse foundring vnder him, and in falling, chanced to fall with his head vnder the horse: with whose waight, and the hardnesse of his saddle, he was so crushed, that the braines came out both at his nose and eares. In this pitifull case being taken vp for dead, and with great heauinesse carried backe; he yet breathing, lay speechlesse three daies, and so died the thirteenth of Nouember, in the yeere of Grace 1142. His dead bodie afterwards brought to *IERSALEM*, was there with great magnificence, and the generall lamentation of all his subjects, buried with the other kings his predecessours.

Now had the late king left behind him two sonnes, *Baldwyn* about the age of thirteene yeeres, and

A and *Almerike* about the age of seuen. Of the elder of these two, the Christian princes made choice, who by the name of *Baldwyn* the third, was together with *Melesinda* his mother, partner with him in the kingdome, vpon Christenmas day with great solemnitie crowned king of *HE-RUSALEM*, in the yeere 1142. About which time *Sanguin* the Turke, taking hold of the discord betwixt *Raymund* prince of *ANTIOCH*, and *Joscelin* countie of *EDESSA*, came and with a great power besieged *EDESSA*, the countie being at the same time absent: And did so much, that at length he tooke the cite by vndermining of it, where the bloodie Turke exercised all manner of crueltie vpon the poore Christians in the cite. By the losse of this famous cite, so large a territorie fell againe into the hands of the Turkes, as that three archbishops were thereby drawne from the church of *ANTIOCH*. The Turke encouraged with this victorie, straightwaies after besieged *COLOGNBAR*, another strong towne of the Christians: where one night drinking liberally with his friends, he was by one of them in his drunkennesse stabbed, and so slaine, and the siege raised. In whose stead *Noradin* his sonne succeeded.

Baldwyn, in the first yeere of his raigne, recovered from the Turkes the castle of *SOBAE*, a strong hold beyond *JORDAN*, which hee notably fortified, for the defence of that side of his kingdome against the incursions of the Turkes. But the next yeere vndertaking an expedition against the king of *DAMASCUS*, he was by *Noradin* the Turke, the kings sonne in law, so hardly beset in his returne, as that it was accounted a thing miraculous, how he with his armie escaped his hands.

C The report of the losse of *EDESSA* with the miseries there endured by the Christians, being bruted through all parts of Christendome, greatly moued the Christian princes of the West. Whom *Eugenius* the third, then bishop of Rome, ceased not both by himselfe and by his Legates to stirre vp to take that sacred warre in hand. And therein wrought so effectually, that almost in euerie prouince of Christendome preparation was made for the reliefe of the distressed Christians in *SYRIA*. Of all others, *Conrade* the third then emperour of *GERMANYE* was most forward, who aided by the Germane princes and others, with an incredible number of voluntarie men out of all parts of Christendome, had raised a most puissant armie, and therewith set forward on this sacred expedition. Of this his deuout purpose he had before certified *Emanuel* the Greeke emperour, through whose countries hee was to passe, crauing that hee might by his good fauour so doe, and for his money to be relieued with victuals, and other such things as hee should haue need of for himselfe or his people; promising in most quiet and peaceable manner to passe, without any harme doing vnto his territories or subjects. All which the Greeke emperour, commending his zeale, seemed in most large tearmes willingly to condiscend vnto. Neuerthelesse he inwardly repined thereat, wishing indeed no better successe vnto the Christians in this so honourable an expedition, than did the infidels themselves, as by the sequell of his doings well appeared. For *Conrade* with his populous armie, indeed a terrour vnto the Greekes, entering into the frontiers of the Constantinopolitane empire, found all things in shew friendly (for why *Emanuel* had before giuen out strait command, that good store of victuals and all other necessities should be readie at all places to be sold as the armie was to passe:) but they were not farre come into the countrey, but that in the taile of the armie still followed certaine strong companies of the Greekes, to keepe the souldiers from stragling from their ensignes, roming about in the countrey, now and then cutting them short, as they tooke them at aduantage. And still the further that they travelled, the more it was to be seene in the countenances of the discontented Greekes, how vniwelcome guests they were. Yet still on they went through the countries of their dissembling friends, little differing from open enemies, vntill they came to *PHILIPPOPOLIS*: in departing from whence, such contention rose betwene them that were in the reuerard of the armie, and the Greekes that followed them, that it was like to haue come to plaine battell, had not those broiles, by the discretion of some of the wiser sort, been in good time appeased. So marching on they came to *ADRIANOPELE*, & in a few daies after to the plaine called *CHEROBACH*, through which the riuier *MELAS* hath his course; which in Summer being almost drie, in Winter or any other great downefall of water, right suddenly ouerfloweth his bankes, and so drowneth the whole countrey, that then it seemeth no more a riuier, but a sea; and swelling with the wind, is not to be passed ouer, but by great boats: This riuier then suddenly rising by night, by reason of the great raine that then fell, in such abundance, as if the flood-gates of heauen had ben opened, so ouerflowed the place wherein the armie lay encamped vpon the side thereof, that with the violence

Conrade third
emperour of Ger-
manie taketh
upon him an
expedition into
the Hoggland.

violence of the water were carried away: not onely manie weapons, saddles, garments, & such other the souldiours necessities: but euen the horses and mules, with their burdens, yea and great numbers of armed men themselves also, a most miserable and lamentable thing to behold. Many valiant men there fell without fight, and died no man killing them: to be tall, helped riot; neither did valour stand them in any stead, they perished like hay, and were carried away like chaffe, with such outcries and lamentation, that they which saw it, verely said, That the wrath of God was broke into the campe: such a suddaine inundation had ouerwhelmed all: that happie was hee could make shift for himselfe, without regarding one another. This misfortune sore troubled the emperor with his whole armie. Neuertheless, the water being againe fallen, and all put in so good order, as in such a confusion was possible, he marched on vnto the imperiall cities which the suspicious and malicious Greeke, had before notably fortified and so strongly manned with armed men glistning upon the wals, in such sort as if it should haue presently been assaulted.

Comrade's com-
paign met his
vs enter into
Co. faintly

Comrade approaching the cite, was not suffered to enter, but perswaded by the Greeke emperor forthwith to transport his armie ouer the strait, with promise to supplie his wants with what- soeuer he should require. Which was done with such hast, as if nothing had beene farther to haue been regarded, but onely to haue them shipped ouer: in which seruice the Greekes spared no labour, or kind of vessel, that might serue to transport them. The Greeke emperor in the meane time, by men secretly appointed for that purpose, keeping account of the number that passed, vntill that they wearied with the multitude, ceased farther to number them. But when they were once shipped ouer, then began the couert mallice of the Greeke emperor forthwith to appeare. For besides that they trusting vnto his promises, had brought little or no provisions ouer with them, the country people by his appointment brought nothing vnto them to sell, as before: and they of the townes and cities shut their gates against them as they marched, not affording them any thing, but at an extreame rate, for which they would first receiue their money by ropes cast downe from the wals, and then deliuer them what they pleased therefore; yea and oftentimes bought at all. Amongst many other vile practises, not becoming Christians, the malicious Greekes, to poyson the souldiours, mingled lime with the meale which they sold vnto the armie, whereof many of the hungrie souldiours greedily feeding, died. Whether the Greeke emperor were priue thereto, or no, is not certainly knowne; but certaine it is, that he caused counterfeit money to be coined, of purpose to deceiue them: and in breefe, that there was no kind of mischief to be practised against them, which either hee himselfe deuised not, or set not others to deuise; to the intent that their posteritie, terrified by this so vnfortunat expedition, might for euer be afraid to take the like in hand againe. And that nothing might be wanting that mallice could deuise, he had secret intelligence with the Turkes themselves, concerning the strength of the armie, plotting vnto them the meanes how the same might best be defeated: whereby it came to passe, that some part thereof was by Pamplano, a capitaine of the Turkes, overthrowne neere BATHIS, and many slaine. But attempting to haue done the like vnto that part of the armie that marched through PHRIGIA, they were themselves ouertaken in their own deuise, and overthrowne, with a great slaughter. After which, the Turkes in great number, to stay the Christians further passage, kept the riuer of Mæander, encamping vpon the farther banke of that winding riuer, with a most huge armie. There these worthy Christians right well declared, that it was but their patience, that the Grecian legions that had before so long followed them, with their countries and cities they had passed by, were not vnto them become a prey. For the emperor comming vnto the riuer side, where was neither bridge nor boat to passe ouer, and finding the great armie of the Turkes on the other side, readie to giue him battell if hee should aduenture the riuer, with their archers standing vpon the verie banke side: he retired a little out of the danger of the floud, and there encamping, commanded his souldiours to refresh themselves and their horses that night, and to be readie against the next morning to ioine battell with their enemies they were so farre come to seeke for. Little rest serued him that night, early in the morning before day he arose, and arming himselfe, put his whole armie in order of battell: as did also the enemy on the other side of the riuer, with their battalions orderly placed, and their archers vpon the banke side, readie to giue the first charge vpon the Christians, if they should aduenture to come ouer. Both armies thus standing in readinesse the one in sight of the other, and nothing but the winding riuer betwixt them, the emperor before resolved to fight, with cheerefull countenance and speech encouraged his men as followeth:

That

That this expedition was of vs taken in hand, for Christ his sake, and for the glorie of God, and not of man, you know right well fellow souldiours. For, for this cause hauing contemned a pleasant life at home, voluntarily seperated from our neere and dearest friends, we endure miseries in forren countries; we are exposed vnto dangers; we pine with hunger; we quake with cold; we languish with heat; we haue the earth our bed, the heauen our covering: and although we be noble, famous, renowned, rich, ruling ouer many nations; yet weare we alwaies our gorgets as necessarie bonds, and are with them and our armor loaded, as was the greatest seruant of Christ, Peter, surcharged with two chaines, and kept with foure quaternions of souldiours. But these Barbarians (diuided from vs by this riuer) to be the enemies of the crosse of Christ, whom we of long haue desired to encounter wishall, in whose blood (as Dauid saith) we haue vowed to wash our selues: Who is there that knoweth not, except he be altogether blockish, and will not with open eyes see, nor open eares heare? If we wish to ascend straight way into heauen, (for neither is God vnjust, that he knoweth not the cause of this our journey, or will not in recompence giue vnto vs the immortal fields, and shade dwellings of Paradise, which hauing forsaken our owne dwellings, haue chose rather for his sake to die than to liue) if we call to remembrance what things these men of vncircumcised hearts do commit against our friends and countrymen, if we remember what grievous tortures they inflict vpon them, or if we be any thing touched with the compassion of their innocent blood, vnworthily spilt; stand now courageously and fight valiantly, and let not any feare or terror daunt vs. Let these Barbarians know, that by how much Christ our master and instructor doth excell their false prophet and seducer, author of their vaine impietie; so much are we superiours vnto them in all things. Seeing therefore we are an holy campe, and an armie gathered by the power of God, let vs not cowardly lose our selues, or feare for Christ his sake honourably to aduenture our liues. For if Christ died for vs, how much more right is it that we for him should die also? vnto this so honourable an expedition, let vs also giue an honourable end: let vs fight in Christs name, with a most assured hope of an easie victorie. For none of them (I trust) shall be able to abide our force, but shall all giue way, euen to our first charge. But if we shall die (which God forbid) there shall be an honourable place of our buriall, where soeuer we shall for Christ fall. Let the Persian archer for Christ his sake, strike me, I will die in an assured hope; and with that arrow, as with a chariot, I will come vnto that rest, which shall be to me deerer than if I should with a base ordinarie kind of death in my sinnes end, my daies in my bed. Now at length let vs take reuenge of them, with whose impure feet our kinsmen and Christian brethren troden downe, are gone into that common sanctuarie, in which Christ our Saniour, equall and associat to his father, is become a companion of the dead. We are those mightie men, we all haue drawne our swords, which stand about the lively and diuine sepulchre, as about Solomons bed: wherefore we that be free borne, let vs take out of the way these Agarens, the children of the bondwoman; and let vs remooue them as stones of offence out of the way of Christ: whom I know not why, the Grecians feed up as greedie wolues to their owne destruction, and with shame sat them with their blood; when as with courageous minds and thoughts befitting wise men, they ought so to haue bene driuen from their prouinces and cities, as rauening wild beasts from their flocks. Now for as much as this riuer, as it seemeth, is not, but by some aduenture to be passed ouer, I my selfe will shew you the way, and be the first that shall take it. Let vs, served together, forcibly breake into the riuer, and we shall well enough ride through it. I know that the water beaten backe by our force, will be as a stand, and breake the course, returning as it were backward. By not unlike meanes the Israelits in antient time on foot passed ouer IORDAN, the course of the riuer being staid. This attempt shall be spoken of in all posteritie; it shall by no tract of time be worne out or forgotten, but still remaine in fresh remembrance, to the great dishonour of the Turkes, whose dead bodies overthrowne at this riuer, shall lie like a mountaine, and be scene as a Trophy of our victorie, vnto the worlds end, and our immortal praise and glorie.

Hauing thus said, and the signall of battell giuen, euery man hauing before by deuout praiere commended himselfe vnto almightie God: he was the first that put spurs to his horse, and tooke the riuer; after whom followed the rest, so close, and so forcibly, with such a terrible outerie, that the course of the water, being by the force of their horses staid, and as it were beaten backe towards the fountaine, the whole armie passed ouer with lesse trouble than was feared. And then charging the Turkes, already discouraged to haue seene them so desperately, and contrarie to their expectation, to haue passed the riuer; after some small resistance put them to flight, wherein such infinit numbers of them fell, the Christians like fierce lyons pursuing the chace, that all the val-

The Turke
overthrowne
by the Christians
with a wonder-
full slaughter.

Nicetas Choniates Annals primo sermo a Manuele Comneno Imperatore gestat, fol. 139. Icorium in uaine besieged by the Christians

lies ran with blood, and the fields were couered with the bodies of the dead. Many of the Italians were wounded with the Turks arrowes, and but few or none slaine. But what a multitude of the enemies there fell, the sundrie and hugie heapes of bones, to be compared vnto great hills, did long time after well declare; whereat euerie man that trauelled that way did woorthily wonder, as did I my selfe (saith *Nicetas Choniates*) in reporting this historie. Not much vnlike that, is reported of the Cimbers, slaine by *Marinus* in such number, that of their bones the countrey people about *MARCELLIS* where the field was fought, long time after made wals for the defence of their vineyards.

After this so great a victorie, the Christians without resistance came to *ICONIUM*, the chiefe seat of the Turkish kings in the lesser *ASIA*, which they hardly besieged. Neuertheless, such was the strength of the citie, being strongly fortified both by nature and art, together with the valour of the defendants; that lying there long, they little preuailed, pressed in the meane time with greater extremities and wants in the campe, than were the besieged in the citie: whereupon ensued such a mortalitie, people daily without number dying in the armie, that the emperour was glad to raise his siege and to returne into his countrey. The chiefe cause as well of this so great a mortalitie, as of the ouerthrow of so notable an action, most men ascribe vnto the malice of the Greeks; who not without the priuie of their emperour (as it was commonly bruted) mingled lime with the meale which they brought to sell into the armie, whereof the hungrie souldiers desirously feeding, were therewith poysoned, and so miserably died. Of the certaine time of this journey of the emperours into *ASIA*, authors agree not; howbeit most refer it vnto the yeere 1146.

1146

This expedition, though not so fortunat as was at the first well hoped of, yet profited the Christian common weale in this, That the Turks therewith thoroughly busied, and doubtfull of the euent thereof, *Baldwin* in the meane time fortified *GAZA* (sometimes a famous citie of the Philistines, but as then ruinous) which serted as a most sure bulwarke for the defence of that part of his kingdome toward *EGYPT*; and also for the distressing of *ASCALON*, the onely refuge of the Egyptians, then left in that countrey: which strong citie standing vpon the sea side, he with all the power of his kingdome afterward besieged both by sea and land; vnto the reliefe whereof, the Caliph of *EGYPT*, after it had bene sixe moneths by the Christians besieged, sent a strong fleet of three score and ten gallies. At which time also on the other side *Noradin* the Turke, who had now got into his hand all the kingdome of *DAMASCO*, to withdraw the Christians from the siege of *ASCALON*, besieged *PANEADA*, from whence he was by the valour of the citizens repulsed, as was also the Caliph's fleet at sea, and the siege at *ASCALON* continued. Where at length the Christians after long batterie had made a breach in the wall, but giuing thereunto an assault, they were with great losse of their men repulsed, and the breach againe by the enemy repaired; who to the greater despite of the Christians, hanged ouer the walles in roapes the dead bodies of their slaine: with which spectacle, the chiefe commanders of the armie were so moued, that they with all their power returned againe to the assault, with a full resolution to gage thereon their whole forces: which they so couragiously performed, that the besieged discouraged with the great slaughter of their men, and now with true valour overcome, craved parley: and so couenanting that they might with their liues in safetie depart, agreed to yeeld vp the citie, which they accordingly performed. The spoile of the citie was giuen to the souldiers, and the government thereof vnto *Abnericke*, the kings brother, earle of *IOPPA*. By this victorie, great securitie was gauiued vnto that side of the kingdome, the enemy hauing now no place left in those parts whereon to set his foot.

The honourable expedition of Lewis the French king, by the malice of the Greeks, and enuie of other Christian princes of Syria, frustrated and brought to naught.

About the same time also (or as some write euie at the same time together with the emperour) *Lewis* the French king, the eight of that name, tooke vpon him the like expedition for the reliefe of the Christians in the Holy land: who setting forward with all the chivalrie of *FRANCE*, and accompanied with diuers other great princes, with a right puissant armie came to *CONSTANTINOPLE*, where he was by *Emanuel* the emperour honourably receiued, with all the outward shewes of fained courtesie that could be deuised. But hauing passed the strait and landed in *ASIA*, he found nothing answerable to that the dissembling Greeke had before most largely promised. And to distress him the more, was by false guides before corrupted by the emperour, conducted through the most desolate and barren countreys, where by the way a wonderful number of his souldiers perished of hunger and thirst: many of them also being cut off in the

Damascus besieged by Lewis the French king.

the strait and difficult passages, or as they straid from the armie by the Greeks themselves, appointed by the malicious emperour for that purpose. Yet after many dangers passed, and his armie sore wasted, he came at length into *SYRIA*, and laid siege vnto *DAMASCO*, the royall seat of *Noradin* the Turkish king; which he so notably impugned that the defendants were almost out of hope to be able for any long time to hold him out. Neither had it otherwise hapned, had not enuie the inseperable attendant of all honourable actions, frustrated so great an hope: for the besieged Turks being brought to great extremitie, and now euie at the point to haue yeelded the citie, certaine of the Christian princes of that countrey, vnderstanding that the king had promised the government of that so famous a citie vnto *Philip* earle of *FLEANDERS*, if it should be woen; and secretly grudging to haue a stranger preferred before themselves; corrupted also (as some say) with the Turks gold, fraudulently persuaded the king to remooue from that part of the citie where he lay and might in fine haue taken the same; vnto another far stronger: where, after he had lyen a great while, struiuing with no small extremities, he was inforced for want of victuals, to raise his siege and to depart. And so without any thing done woorth the remembrance, returned againe into *FRANCE*, detesting the verie name of *Emanuel* the Greeke emperour; by whose sinister dealing, so notable an expedition was brought to be of none effect, to the great discouraging of all other Christian princes for taking the like againe in hand.

1147

Now had the state of the Christians in *SYRIA* for certaine yeeres after the aforesaid expeditions, rested in good peace: when *Noradin* the Turke (moued with some injuries done by the Christians vnto the Turks and Arabians, who by the leaue of king *Baldwin* dwelt in the Forrest of *LYBANVS*) came and straightly besieged *PANEADA*, a citie of the Christians there by: vpon whom the Christians in the citie, now brought vnto great extremitie, made a most desperat sally, and had with the Turks a sharpe and cruell fight: but oppressed with the multitude & enforced to retire, they were so hardly pursued, that the Turks together with them entered the citie, and put to sword all that came in their way. Neuertheless, the greater part of the citizens (by good fortune) had in good time before retired themselves into the castle, which was of great strength, and there stood vpon their guard. Of whose distress, with the taking of the citie, *Baldwin* hearing, raised a great armie, & so set forward to relieue the. But *Noradin* hearing of his coming, & doubtfull of his owne strength, after he had take the spoile of what he could, set fire on the citie, & so departed. The citizens thus deliuered, repaired againe the wals of the citie, the kings power still defending them. *Noradin* with his power all the while lying close in the woods not far off, still awaiting the offer of some good opportunitie to take the Christians at aduantage, which shortly after fell out according to his owne desire: For the king doubting no such matter, but supposing him to haue been quite gone, hauing at his returne sent away all his footmen, followed after himselfe accompanied onely with his horsemen, and they also not verie strong: but as he was passing the riuer *IORDAN*, he was suddenly set vpon by *Noradin* and the Turks, and after a sharpe conflict ouerthrowne. The king himselfe with some few hardly escaped to *SAPHET*, a towne thereby; most part of his nobilitie being there either slaine or taken prisoners: amongst the rest, *Bertrand* of *BLANQUEFORT*, mastet of the Templars, with diuers others of great name fell at that time into the enemies hands, and so were carried away prisoners.

Paneada taken and sacked by the Turks.

Paneada againe repaired by the Christians.

After this victorie, *Noradin* strengthened with new supplies from *DAMASCO*, came againe and besieged *PANEADA*, in good hope that the citizens discouraged with so great an ouerthrow of the king, and out of hope to be by him relieued, would now either yeeld the citie, or else not be able long to hold it out. But the king contrarie to his expectation, had in shorter time than was thought possible, raised a great power; and aided by the prince of *ANTIOCH* and the countie of *TRIPOLIS* was marching to the reliefe of his citie: of whose approach *Noradin* vnderstanding, although he had made diuers breaches in the wals, & brought the citizens almost vnto vter despair, vnto with his armie and departed. And so *Baldwin* hauing now twice relieued the besieged citie, returned also to *IERUSALEM*.

Many an hard conflict with the Turks had this young king afterwards, during the fortunate time of his raigne: wherein that troublesome kingdome happily flourished amidst the miscreants, all which to recount, were long and tedious. Yet among other things, it is woorth the remembrance, how that *Noradin* the Turke, then king of *DAMASCO*, besieging *SUBTA*, a castle belonging to the kingdome of *IERUSALEM*, was in a set battell by *Baldwin* ouerthrowne and put to flight, with the losse of the greatest part of his armie. King *Baldwin* had before married

ried

ried *Emanuel* the Greeke emperours neece: and now the same emperour by *Guido Stephanus*, and *Trissilus* his embassadours, requested to haue giuen him againe in marriage one of the kings nigh kinswomen. Vnto whom the king after mature deliberation had concerning that matter, offered him *Matilde*, an honourable ladie, the sister of the countie of *TRIPOLIS*; whom the emperour refused: and afterward by the consent of the king, made choice of *Mary* the daughter of *Raymund* prince of *ANTIOCH* lately dead. Which the countie of *TRIPOLIS* taking in cuill part, in reuenge thereof, by certaine men of warre whom he put to sea, grieuouly infected the frontiers of the emperours dominions. Now during the time, that the marriage was in solemnizing, the king made his abode at *ANTIOCH*, at which time he fortified the castle of *PONTISFER* vpon the riuer *ORONTES*, against the incursions of the enemies. But lying there, he according to his wonted manner, to prevent sicknesse, vpon the approach of Winter tooke physicke of *Barac* a Iew, the countie of *TRIPOLIS* his physician. After the taking whereof, he fell presently into the bloudie flux, and afterward into a consumption: whereby it was verely supposed, that he was poysoned by the Iew, and the rather, for that some little part of the same medicine that was left, being giuen to a dog, he thereof in short time died. The king thus languishing in paine, to change the aire, remooued first to *TRIPOLIS*, & afterward to *BERYTUS*; where he departed this trouble some life, to liue with his Sauour Christ in blisse for euer. His dead bodie was afterward with the generall mourning of his subjects conueied to *HIERSALEM*, and there solemnly entered by the bodie of his father. He departed the 13 of Februarie in the yeere of grace 1163 when he had reigned 21 yeeres. He was a man so gracious, that not onely his friends, but euen the infidels themselues (as it is reported) lamented his death. Inasmuch that *Noradin* king of *DAMASCO*, his antient enemy, being incited by some of his captaines to inuade his kingdome at such time as his funerals were in solemnizing, refused so to doe, answering, That compassion and regard was to be had of the just sorrow of the Christians his subjects; for that they had lost such a king, as the like was hardly againe to be found in the world.

The death of
king Baldwin
ruined by his
enemies.

1163

It should among
the Turks in the
esse of his.

Masut the Sul-
tan's eldest sonne
was three sonnes.

But leauing the kingdome of *HIERSALEM*, with the greater part of *SYRIA*, thus victoriously gained from the infidels: let vs for the orderly continuation of our historie, againe returne to see the proceedings of the Turkes at the same time in the lesser *ASIA* also: wherein they yet held the state of a kingdome, though not so great as before the coming of the princes of the West into those countries. After the death of *Sultan Solymán* (with whom duke *Godfrey* and the other Christian princes had much to doe as they passed into *SYRIA*) as is afore said, one *Muhamet* succeeded him: betwixt whom and *Masut*, Sultan of *ICONIUM*, great discord arose, which at length brake out into open warre, to the farther weakening of that late shaken kingdome. For the maintenance of which quarrell, as profitable for his state, *John Comnenus* the Greeke emperour, gaue aid to *Masut* against his enemy *Muhamet*. Neuerthelesse in short time the two infidels (professing both one superstition) became friends, and joyning their forces, ouerthrew the emperour with his whole armie, as he lay at the siege of *ICONIUM*, at which time he himselfe with much adoe escaped by flight. *Masut* afterwards hauing got into his hands the whole kingdome of the Turkes, at the time of his death deuided the same amongst his three sonnes: Vnto *Chasibhan* his eldest sonne hee gaue *ICONIUM* his cheefe citie, with the townes and prouinces subiect thereunto: Vnto *Iagupasan* his other sonne (or rather as some will haue it, his sonne in law) he allotted *AMASIA* and *ANCYRA*, with the fruitfull country of *CAPADOCIA* and the places adioyning: But vnto *Dadune* his other sonne (or sonne in law) hee gaue the great cities of *CESARIA* and *SEBASTIA*, with the large countries thereabouts, all sometime part of the Greeke empire, but then the portions of the Turkes. Long it was not after this deuision of the kingdome, but that these brethren after the manner of ambitious men, forgetting of the bonds both of loue and nature, fell at discord among themselves; the Sultan seeking the destruction of *Iagupasan*, and he likewise of him, and that not by secret meanes, but euen by open force of armes. *Emanuel* the Greeke emperour in the meane time wishing the destruction of them both, heartely reioycing thereat, and by his embassadours secretly animating the one against the other, yet in open shew more fauouring the part of *Iagupasan* than of the Sultan, by whose aid he obtained against him many a notable and bloudie victorie: insomuch, that the Sultan wearie of the quarrell, was glad not onely by his embassadours to seeke the emperours fauour, but euen in person himselfe to go and meet him, as he came with his armie out of *SYRIA*, and

and so to accompanie him vnto *CONSTANTINOPLE*, where he was together with the emperour most honourably receiued, with all the signes of joy and triumph that could possibly be deuised. The emperour no lesse reioycing to be sued vnto by so great a prince, than did the Sultan at his so honourable entertainment.

Among other quaint deuises of many, for the solemnizing off so great a triumph, there was an active Turke, who had openly giuen it out, that against an appointed time he would from the top of an high tower in the tilt-yard, flie by the space of a furlong. The report whereof had filled the citie with a woonderfull expectation of so strange a noueltie. The time prefixed being come, and the people without number assembled; the Turke according to his promise, vpon the top of the high tower shewed himselfe, girt in a long and large white garment, gathered into many plites and foldings, made of purpose for the gathering of the wind: wherewith the foolish man had vainely perswaded himselfe to haue howered in the aire, as do birds vpon their wings, or to haue guided himselfe as are ships with their sailes. Standing thus howering a great while, as readie to take his flight; the beholders still laughing, and crying out, Flie Turke, flie, how long shall we expect thy flight? The emperour in the meane time dissuading him from so desperat an attempt: and the Sultan betwixt feare and hope hanging in doubtfull suspence what might happen to his countymeian. The Turke, after he had a great while howered with his armes abroad (the better to haue gathered the wind, as birds do with their wings) and long deluded the expectation of the beholders: at length finding the wind fit, as he thought for his purpose, committed himselfe with his vaine hope vnto the aire: But in steed of mounting aloft, this foolish *Icarus* came tumbling downe headlong with such violence, that he brake his necke, his armes and legs, with almost all the bones of his bodie. This foolish flight of the Turke gaue such occasion of sport and laughter vnto the vulgar people, alwaies readie to scoffe and jest at such ridiculous matters, that the Turkes attending vpon the Sultan, could not walke in the streets vnderded; the artificers in their shops shaking their armes with their tooles in their hands, as did the Turke, and still crying out Flie Turke, flie: whereof the emperour hearing, although he could not chule but thereat smile himselfe, as not ignorant of the scoffes and taunts of the vulgar people; yet in fauour of the Sultan, who was not a little grieued therewith, he commanded such their insolencie to be restrained.

Another foolish
Icarus.

Nicetas Choni-
ates rerum
ab imperac.
Manuele
Comneno ge-
star. lib. 3. fol.
143.

The solemnitie of the triumph ouerpassed (which by an ominous earthquake at the same time happening, was somewhat obscured) the emperour to shew his wealth, and to gratifie the Sultan, gaue vnto him many rich and royall presents, with such a masse of treasure, as that he much woondered thereat. In requital whereof, and in token of his thankfulness, he againe honoured the emperour with the name of his Father, and rearming himselfe by the name of his Sonne, promised to restore vnto him the citie of *SEBASTIA*, with the territorie thereunto belonging, then part of *Dadune* his inheritance. Neuerthelesse, all this was nothing else but meere dissimulation, as afterward by prooffe appeared. For returning home, hee thrust *Dadune* indeed out of *SEBASTIA*, which he spoiled with the countrey thereabout; but forgetfull of his promise, kept it wholly to himselfe: and by force tooke also from him the citie of *CESARIA*, with the countrey of *AMASIA*, by him before but lately possessed. In like manner, he bent his forces also vpon *Iagupasan* his other brother, who in the very preparation of those wars died: by whose vntimely death the citie of *ANCYRA*, with all his dominions in *CAPADOCIA*, fell into the Sultans hands. Who now possessed of all his fathers kingdom, and swelling with pride, forgetting all former curtesies, inuaded the emperours territories, and tooke from him the citie of *LAODICEA* in *PHRYGIA*, where he did great harme; as also in the countrey thereabouts, killing the people as he went, or else carrying them away with him captiues. For the repressing of which outrages, the emperour with a strong armie passed ouer into *ASIA*, and there in the frontiers of his territories fortified *DORILEVM* against the incursions of the Turkes. In performing whereof, he to the example and stirring vp of others, carried the first basked of stones himselfe vpon his shoulders; and vfed such farther diligence, that in short time the citie was compassed about with strong wals, and deepe ditches, maugre the Turkes, who ceased not with continuall alarms and skirmishes to haue hindred the worke. With like care and for like purpose he also fortified *SVELVM*, another strong hold: and leauing in either place a strong garrison, returned againe to *CONSTANTINOPLE*. Neuerthelesse the Turkes ceased not with continuall inroads to do what harmes they might vpon the frontiers of the empire, though not altogether

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with

ried *Emanuel* the Greeke emperours neece: and now the same emperour by *Guido Stephanus*, and *Trissinus* his embassadours, requested to haue giuen him againe in marriage one of the kings nigh kinswomen. Vnto whom the king after mature deliberation had concerning that matter, offered him *Matilde*, an honourable ladie, the sister of the countie of *TRIPOLIS*; whom the emperour refused: and afterward by the consent of the king, made choice of *Mary* the daughter of *Raymond* prince of *ANTIOCH* lately dead. Which the countie of *TRIPOLIS* taking in euill part, in reuenge thereof, by certaine men of warre whom he put to sea, grieuouly infected the frontiers of the emperours dominions. Now during the time, that the marriage was in solemnizing, the king made his abode at *ANTIOCH*, at which time he fortified the castle of *PONTISFER* vpon the riuer *ORONTES*, against the incursions of the enemies. But lying there, he according to his wonted manner, to preuent sickness, vpon the approach of Winter tooke physicke of *Barac* a Jew, the countie of *TRIPOLIS* his physician. After the taking whereof he fell presently into the bloudie flux, and afterward into a consumption: whereby it was verely supposed, that he was poysoned by the Jew, and the rather, for that some little part of the same medicine that was left, being giuen to a dog, he thereof in short time died. The king thus languishing in paine, to change the aire, remooued first to *TRIPOLIS*, & afterward to *BARYTUS*; where he departed this troublesome life, to liue with his Saviour Christ in blisse for euer. His dead bodie was afterward with the generall mourning of his subjects conueied to *HIERSALEM*, and there solemnly entered by the bodie of his father. He departed the 13 of Februarie in the yeere of grace 1163 when he had reigned 21 yeeres. He was a man so gracious, that not onely his friends, but euen the infidels themselves (as it is reported) lamented his death. Inasmuch that *Noradin* king of *DAMASCO*, his antient enemy, being incited by some of his captaines to inuade his kingdome at such time as his funerals were in solemnizing, refused to doe, answering, That compassion and regard was to be had of the just sorrow of the Christians his subjects; for that they had lost such a king, as the like was hardly againe to bee found in the world.

The death of
Long Baldwin is
mentioned by his
countie.

1163

In second among?
the Turks in the
lesser Asia.

After the Sultan
can definitely his
kingdom amongst
his three sonnes.

But leauing the kingdome of *HIERSALEM*, with the greater part of *SYRIA*, thus victoriously gained from the infidels: let vs for the orderly continuation of our historie, againe returne to see the proceedings of the Turkes at the same time in the lesser *ASIA* also: wherein they yet held the state of a kingdome, though not so great as before the coming of the princes of the West into those countries. After the death of *Sultan Solymán* (with whom duke *Godfrey* and the other Christian princes had much to doe as they passed into *SYRIA*) as is afore said, one *Muhamet* succeeded him: betwixt whom and *Masut*, Sultan of *ICONIUM*, great discord arose, which at length brake out into open warre, to the farther weakening of that late shaken kingdome. For the maintenance of which quarrell, as profitable for his state, *John Comnenus* the Greeke emperour, gaue aid to *Masut* against his enemy *Muhamet*. Neuerthelesse in short time the two infidels (professing both one superstition) became friends, and joyning their forces, ouerthrew the emperour with his whole armie, as he lay at the siege of *ICONIUM*, at which time he himselfe with much adoe escaped by flight. *Masut* afterwards hauing got into his hands the whole kingdome of the Turkes, at the time of his death deuided the same amongst his three sonnes: Vnto *Chizashlan* his eldest sonne hee gaue *ICONIUM* his cheefe citie, with the townes and prouinces subiect thereunto: Vnto *Iagupasan* his other sonne (or rather as some will haue it, his sonne in law) he allotted *AMASIA* and *ANCYRA*, with the fruitfull country of *CAPADOCIA* and the places adioyning: But vnto *Dadune* his other sonne (or sonne in law) hee gaue the great cities of *CESARIA* and *SEBASTIA*, with the large countries thereabouts, all sometime part of the Greeke empire, but then the portions of the Turkes. Long it was not after this deuision of the kingdome, but that these brethren after the manner of ambitious men, forgetfull of the bonds both of loue and nature, fell at discord among themselves: the Sultan seeking the destruction of *Iagupasan*, and he likewise of him, and that not by secret meanes, but euen by open force of armes. *Emanuel* the Greeke emperour in the meane time wishing the destruction of them both, heartely reioycing thereat, and by his embassadours secretly animating the one against the other, yet in open shew more fauouring the part of *Iagupasan* than of the Sultan, by whose aid he obtained against him many a notable and bloodie victorie: inasmuch, that the Sultan wearie of the quarrell, was glad not onely by his embassadours to seeke the emperours fauour, but euen in person himselfe to go and meet him, as he came with his armie out of *SYRIA*, and

and so to accompanie him vnto *CONSTANTINOPLE*, where he was together with the emperour most honourably receiued, with all the signes of joy and triumph that could possibly be deuised. The emperour no lesse reioycing to be sued vnto by so great a prince, than did the Sultan at his so honourable entertainment.

Among other quaint deuises of many, for the solemnizing off so great a triumph, there was an actiue Turke, who had openly giuen it out, that against an appointed time he would from the top of an high tower in the tile-yard, flie by the space of a furlong. The report whereof had filled the citie with a woonderfull expectation of so strange a noueltie. The time prefixed being come, and the people without number assembled; the Turke according to his promise, vpon the top of the high tower shewed himselfe, girt in a long and large white garment, gathered into many plites and foldings, made of purpose for the gathering of the wind: wherewith the foolish man had vainely perswaded himselfe to haue howered in the aire, as do birds vpon their wings, or to haue guided himselfe as are ships with their sailes. Standing thus howering a great while, as readie to take his flight; the beholders still laughing, and crying out, Flie Turke, flie, how long shall we expect thy flight? The emperour in the meane time dissuading him from so desperat an attempt: and the Sultan betwixt feare and hope hanging in doubtfull suspense what might happen to his countryman. The Turke, after he had a great while howered with his armes abroad (the better to haue gathered the wind, as birds do with their wings) and long deluded the expectation of the beholders: at length finding the wind fit, as he thought for his purpose, committed himselfe with his vaine hope vnto the aire: But in steed of mounting aloft, this foolish *Scarus* came tumbling downe headlong with such violence, that he brake his necke, his armes and legs, with almost all the bones of his bodie. This foolish flight of the Turke gaue such occasion of sport and laughter vnto the vulgar people, alwaies readie to scoffe and jest at such ridiculous matters, that the Turkes attending vpon the Sultan, could not walke in the streets vnderided; the artificers in their shops shaking their armes with their tooles in their hands, as did the Turke, and still crying out Flie Turke, flie: whereof the emperour hearing, although he could not chafe but thereat smile himselfe, as not ignorant of the scoffes and taunts of the vulgar people; yet in fauour of the Sultan, who was not a little grieued therewith, he commanded such their insolencie to be restrained.

Another foolish
Scarus.

Nicetas Choniates retum
ab imperat.
Manuele
Comneno ge
stat. lib. 3. fol.
143.

The solemnitie of the triumph ouerpassed (which by an ominous earthquake at the same time happening, was somewhat obscured) the emperour to shew his wealth, and to gratifie the Sultan, gaue vnto him many rich and royall presents, with such a masse of treasure, as that he much woondered thereat. In requitall whereof, and in token of his thankfulness, he againe honoured the emperour with the name of his Father, and tearing himselfe by the name of his Sonne, promised to restore vnto him the citie of *SEBASTIA*, with the territorie therunto belonging, then part of *Dadune* his inheritance: Neuerthelesse, all this was nothing else but meere dissimulation, as afterward by prooffe appeared. For returning home, hee thrust *Dadune* indeed out of *SEBASTIA*, which he spoiled with the country thereabout; but forgetfull of his promise, kept it wholly to himselfe: and by force tooke also from him the citie of *CESARIA*, with the country of *AMASIA*, by him before but lately possessed. In like manner, he bent his forces also vpon *Iagupasan* his other brother, who in the very preparation of those wars died: by whose vntimely death the citie of *ANCYRA*, with all his dominions in *CAPADOCIA*, fell into the Sultans hands. Who now possessed of all his fathers kingdom, and swelling with pride, forgetting all former curtesies, inuaded the emperours territories, and tooke from him the citie of *LAODICEA* in *PHRYGIA*, where he did great harme; as also in the country thereabouts, killing the people as he went, or else carrying them away with him captiues. For the repressing of which outrages, the emperour with a strong armie passed ouer into *ASIA*, and there in the frontiers of his territories fortified *DORILEVM* against the incursions of the Turkes. In performing whereof, he to the example and stirring vp of others, carried the first basket of stones himselfe vpon his shoulders; and vfed such farther diligence, that in short time the citie was compassed about with strong wals, and deepe ditches, maugre the Turkes, who ceased not with continuall alarms and skirmishes to haue hindred the worke. With like care and for like purpose he also fortified *SVELVM*, another strong hold: and leauing in either place a strong garrison, returned againe to *CONSTANTINOPLE*. Neuerthelesse the Turkes ceased not with continuall inroads to do what harmes they might vpon the frontiers of the empire, though not altogether

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with

Ynkindesse be-
cause the emper-
our and the
Sultan.

with so good successe as before, being many times cut off by the garrisons of the late fortified townes: which grieuances still encreasing, caused the emperor to expostulate with the Sultan, as with an vnthankfull man, and forgetfull of so great kindnesse before done vnto him, as the establishment of him in his kingdome came vnto: who with no lesse vehemencie vpbraided him againe with vnconstancie and breach of promise, as well for fortifying the aforesaid places contrarie to the league betwixt them, as for that hauing promised much more, he had thereof performed nothing. Thus vnkindnesse dayly growing vpon euerie trifle, as it commonly falleth out among men of great spirit, and jealous of their owne honours: it was dayly expected when the matter should fall out into open & bloodie war; both of them being men of great valour, and apt to reuenge the least iniurie to them offered. Yet was it the Sultans manner warily to manage his wars by his politike and expert capitaines: whereas the emperor being of an hotter nature, and couragious about measure, commonly in all his great expeditions aduentured his owne person, without respect what danger might thereof ensue vnto himselfe or his state. Long it was not but that the emperor fully resolved to be reuenged of so many wrongs done vnto him and his subjects by the Turks, raised the whole power of his empire both in EVROPE and ASIA, in such sort as if he had therewith purposed, not onely to haue raised to the ground ICONIUM, the regall seat of the Turkish Sultan, but euen vtterly to haue destroyed the whole nation of the Turks. Thus with a most puissant and populous armie, well appointed of all things necessarie, he passed ouer into ASIA, and so in good order marching through PHRYGIA, LAODICEA, CHONAS (called in ancient time PASSAS) S. ARCHANGEL, LAMPIS, CÆLENAS (where the head of the great and famous riuer MÆANDER riseth, whereinto the riuer MARSYAS falleth) and from thence to CHONIA, he with cull lucke, and woofe speed, passed by MYRIOCEPHALON, an old ruinous castle, ominous by the name thereof, as by the event in short time after it prooued. And albeit that he marched verie circumspectly, still intrenching his armie in euerie place where he lodged; yet could he make but small speed, by reason of the multitude of his cariages, and of the base people that attended the same. The Turks in the meane while oftentimes shewing themselves in troups; and in places of aduantage, skirmishing sometime with one part of the armie and sometime with another, but neuer daring to aduenture the fortune of a iust battell: yet by such meanes were the victuals of the armie oftentimes cut off, and the passages for the emperor made verie dangerous. And the more to distresse the Christians in their long triuall, they found the countrey before them of purpose destroyed by the Turks, and the water in many places poysoned, whereof the Christians vnadvisedly drinking, fell into many grieuous diseases, especially the flux, and thereof died in great number. The Sultan in the meane time, although he had in readines a right puissant armie of his owne, & had procured great aid from the Persian Sultan his kinsman and chiefe supporter: yet fearing the doubtfull event of war, and loath to aduenture his whole estate vpon the fortune of a battell, fought by his embassadours (sent for that purpose) to grow to some peace with the emperor, and that vpon such honourable conditions, as by the wiser sort were thought not to bee at any hand refused: which large offers, the Sultan as desirous of peace, made vnto him not once, but againe and againe; which the emperor neuertheless (reposing great confidence in his owne power, and prickt forward by the gallants of the court, better acquainted with the braue triumphs of peace than the hard wars of the Turks) proudly rejected; and so dismissing the embassadours, scornfully willed them to tell their master, That he would giue him answer vnto his requests vnder the wals of ICONIUM. Which caused the Sultan, now out of all hope of any reconciliation to be made betwixt the emperor and him, with all his power to take the straits of ZIBRICA; whereby the armie of the Christians, departing from MYRIOCEPHALON must of necessitie passe. The entrance into these straits was by a long valley, on either side enclosed with high mountaines, which toward the North rising and falling according as the hills gaue leaue, opened into diuers large vallies, which by little and little growing againe straighter and straighter, with high and craggie rocks hanging ouer on either side, and almost touching one another, gaue vnto the painefull traveller a most hard and difficult passage.

The emperor
in great perple-
xities.

Into this so dangerous a valley, the emperor not fearing the enemies force, desperately entered with his armie, hauing neither provided for the clearing of the passages, or safetie of his cariages, in no other order than as if hee had marched through the plaine and champain countrey, although it were before told him (that which he shortly after, but too late, saw) that the

enemie

enemie had strongly possessed both the straits and the mountaines, to hinder his farther passage. The vanguard of his armie was conducted by John and Andronicus, the sonnes of Angelus Constantine, accompanied with Macroductus Constantine and Lapardas Andronicus: In the right wing was Baldwin, the emperours brother in law; and in the left Maurozomes Theodorus: After them followed the drudges and scullions, with an infinit number of carters and other base people, attending vpon the cariages, with the baggage of the whole armie: Next vnto these came the emperor with the maine battell, consisting for the most part of right valiant and worthie souldiers: The rereward was shut vp by Andronicus Contostephanus, with a number of most resolute men. They were not faine entered into these straits, but that the Turks from the mountaines and broken cliffes, shewed themselves on euery side, deliuering their deadly shot from the vpper ground vpon the Christians below, as thicke as haile. Neuertheless the sonnes of Angelus with Macroductus and Lapardas, and the vanguard, casting themselves into a three square battell in forme of a wedge, with their targuets in manner of a penthouse cast close together ouer their heads, and their archers on euery side lustely bestowing their shot amongst the thickest of their enemies, by plaine force driue them out of the straits they had before possessed, and caused them to retire farther off into the mountaines; and so hauing made themselves way, with little or no losse passed those dangerous straits: vntill that at length hauing recovered the top of an hill, very commodious for their purpose, as the case stood, they there staid, and presently encamped themselves. And happily, with like good fortune might the rest of the armie haue passed also, had they in like order, and with like courage, presently followed after. But failing so to doe, and troubled with the multitude of their cariages, which could not possibly make any way through those strait and rough passages (but troubled themselves one another, as also the whole armie) they were from the vpper ground miserably ouerwhelmed with the multitude of the Turkish archers, whose arrowes fell as thicke vpon them from the mountaines, as if it had been a perpetual tempest or shoure of haile, to the great disordering & dismay of the whole armie: which the Turks quickly perceiving, and therewith encouraged, in great numbers came downe from the mountaines where they had before houered ouer the heads of the Christians, and forcibly entering the plaine ground, and comming to handy blowes, first ouerthrew the right wing; where Baldwin himselfe seeking to restore his disordered companies, and to stay the furie of the enemie, (now raging in the blood of the Christians) with a troupe of valiant horsemen breaking into the thickest of them, as became a worthie capitaine, was there compassed in with the multitude of his enemies, and slaine, together with all his followers, and the greatest part of the whole wing by him commanded. With this victorie the Turkes were so encouraged, that comming down with all their power, they stopped all the waies whereby the Christians were to passe, who as men coup'd vp in those dangerous straits, were not able either to defend themselves, or to helpe one another: but inclosed as deere in a toyle, and one troubling another, were the cause both of the destruction of themselves and others. For by reason of the straitnesse of the place, neither could they that were before, retire, either they that were behind in the rereward, come forward to relieue the one the other, as need required: the cariages also, which were many, and in the middle of the armie, seruing them to no other purpose than to the hurt of themselves. There were the beasts that serued for burden, together with the souldiours, ouerwhelmed with the Turkes shot, the vallies lay full of dead bodies, the riuers ran mingled with the blood of men and beasts, in such terrible manner, as is not by pen to be expressed. For the Christians not able either to goe forward, or retire, were there in those straits slaine like sheepe: if any courage or sparke of valour were by any shewed against the enemie, fighting at so great aduantage, it was but lost, seruing to little or no purpose. And to increase these miseries, the Turks in scorn shewed vpon the point of a lance the head of Andronicus Bataza, the emperours nephew, who comming with an armie out of PAPHLAGONIA, and HERACLEA PONTICA, against the Turks of AMASIA, was now by the way by them ouerthrowne and slaine. The report whereof, confirmed by the sight of his head, and the consideration of the desperat danger wherein the whole armie presently stood, so troubled the emperor that hee was at his wits end: and with drie teares (if it may be so said) dissembling his inward greefe, as one out of comfort, stood doubtfull which way to turne himselfe. For the Turks hauing suffred the vanguard to passe, with all their power charged the emperours maine battell, as his cheefe strength, nothing doubting, but that hauing once ouerthrowne it, they should easily and at pleasure ouerthrow the rest. Oftentimes

The miserie of
the Christians
by the Turks
inclosed in the
straits.

The emperor
in great perple-
xities.

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had

The desperate
solution of the
emperor.

had the emperor attempted to haue driuen the enemy out of those straits, and so to haue opened a way for his armie to haue passed, but all in vaine, the power of the Turkes still increasing, and they at great aduantage notably maintaining the passages before by them taken. Neuertheless, seeing no lesse danger in staying still, than in going forward, he with a few of his best souldiers, armed with despair, and resolu'd to die (vnto which kind of men nothing is terrible) set forward directly vpon his enemies, willing the rest with like resolution every man to make for himselfe the best shift he could. And so with many wounds and sturdie blows both giuen & receiued, he by plaine force and might of hand brake through the thickest of his enemies, and so escaped out of those straits, as out of a trap. But yet not without many wounds receiued in his person, and himselfe so wearied as that he was not able to lift vp his helmet, being beaten close to his head, and in his targuet were found sticking thirtie of the Turkes arrowes or thereabouts, the manifest tokens of his danger. The other legions seeking to follow the emperor (for other way they had none) were on every side hardly assailed by the Turkes, and infinite numbers of them slaine; beside many others that perished in those straits, ouerborne and troden to death by their owne fellows. Yea such as had the fortune to escape out of one of these perillous straits, were forthwith slaine in the next: for this so dangerous a passage through the mountaines, was deu'd (as is aforesaid) into seuen vallies, which giuing faire and broad entrances, the farther a man went, grew still straiter and straiter, all which straits the Turkes had before strongly possessed. At which time also, the more to increase the terror of the day, the light sand raised with the feet of the men and horses, was with the violence of a most tempestuous wind which then blew, carried so forcibly and thicke, that both the armies grappling together, as if it had been in the darkenesse of the night, killed whomsoever they met withall, without respect of friend or foe, by which error many were euen of their owne friends slaine. In every place lay great heapes of the Turkes slaine together with the Christians, and with them great numbers of horses and other beasts for carriage, so that those vallies where this bloodie conflict was, seemed to bee nothing els but a large burying place of the Turkes and Christians with their horses: But the greater number was of the Christians that perished, and they not altogether of the common sort, but euen of the bravest capitaines, and the emperours nearest kinsmen. The violence of the wind ceasing and the day clearing vp, there was of all others to be seene (a most wofull spectacle) men yet aliue, some wounded, some whole, couered some to the middle, some to the necke, with dead carcasses, in such sort, as that they were not able with any struggling to get out: who with their hands cast vp towards heauen, with ruthfull voices cried out for helpe to such as passed by; but all in vaine, for every man possessed with the common feare, and by their danger measuring their owne, passed by them without compasion, as more carefull of their owne safetie, leauing them yet liuing as men to be numbered among the dead.

The emperor in
danger to haue
been taken, makes
his defende
himselfe.

The emperor himselfe, as a man almost now spent, being got out of the danger, stood a while to breath himselfe vnder the shaddow of a wild pear tree, without any page or man to attend him; whom a poore common souldior espying, and moued with compasion, came vnto him, and offering him the best seruice he could, helped him vp with his helmet, and buckled vp his armour, which before hung dangling here and there about him: when in the meane while a Turke comming in vpon him, had taken his horse by the bridle, in hope to haue led him away prisoner: whom for all that, the emperor as wearie as hee was, with the truncheon of his broken lance which he had yet in his hand, stricke downe to the ground, and so cleau'd himselfe of him. Presently after came also another sort of the stragling Turkes, readie also to haue seized vpon him and to haue taken him prisoner, of whom he slew one with the aforesaid horsemans staffe, and with his sword stricke off the head of another of them, and so kept them off vntill that by the comming in of ten of his owne souldiors hee was relieved. Departing thence with purpose to haue joined himselfe vnto the legions that were gone before in the vauward, hee had not gone farre but that he was much troubled by other Turkes that hee met, and the heapes of the dead bodies that lay in his way: yet at last, hauing with much labour and more danger passed those straits, and a river running thereby, being glad in many places to ride ouer the dead bodies of his owne people, and some other of his owne souldiors now resorting vnto him; he there saw *Iohn Catagene*, a noble and right valiant gentleman that had married his necce, fighting alone against a great number of the Turkes, to be compassed in and slaine; whom he was no way able to relieve. Which Turkes also seeing him passe by, followed after him as after a most rich prey, in hope

hope to haue either presently taken or slaine him: whom neuertheless hee (encouraging the small companie he had about him) notably repul'd; and so sometime marching forward, and againe as occasion required, making a stand, came at length long looked for but most welcome, vnto the legions that were gone before, not so sorry for their owne hard estate, as carefull of his danger.

But before he could come to those his legions, he readie to faint for thirst, commanded water to be brought him out of the river that ran fast by; which after he had tasted, and by the vnplesant tast thereof, perceiued the same to be infected, he ferring a deepe sigh, said, *O how unfortunately haue I tasted Christian blood*: whereunto an audacious and malapert souldior there present, and more bitter than the cruell time it selfe, replied; *Emperour, thou didst not now, thou didst not now, I say, first, but long since, and oftentimes, drinke the blood of the Christians, euen vntill thou wast drunke againe, at such time as thou didst with most grievous exactions vex and deuour thy poore subiects*. Which reprochfull speech the emperor put vp in silence, making as if hee had not heard it. With like patience he also forbore the same rayling companion, at such time as he seeing his treasures hardly beset and in danger to be taken by the Turkes, to animate his souldiors, willed them to doe what they could to rescue the same, and to take it for their labour. *This treasure* (said this impudent fellow) *should before haue been giuen vnto thy souldiors, rather than now when as it cannot be recovered but with great danger and bloodshed: and therefore, if thou be a man of valour, as thou wouldest bee accounted, and as the present case requireth, valiantly charge the Turkes* (now readie to carrie it away) *thy selfe, and so recover thine euill gotten goods*. Whereunto the emperor answered no more but, *Good words souldior*, and so put it vp, as did *Dauid* the railings of *Shimei*. Shortly after the comming of the emperor vnto these legions of his vanguard (the onely remainder of his armie that was left whole and vnbroken) came also *Andronicus Comostephanus*, who had the leading of the rereward, with diuers others of great place, who had by good fortune escaped the furie of the Turkes. The miseries of that day (not well to be expressed) being ended by the comming on of the night, the Christians sat in the campe oppressed with a generall heauinesse, leaning their heads vpon their elbowes, and considering the present danger wherein they were, scarcely accounted themselves among the liuing: the Turkes in the meane time to increase their feare, all the night running about the campe, & crying aloud vnto such of their countymen in the campe, as had abjured their religion, or for other respects had taken part with the imperials, that they should that night get them out of the campe, where-as otherwise if they staid vnto the morning they should be all but lost men. In this so great an extremitie the emperor not knowing what to do, calling together his chiefe commanders, declared vnto them the desperate danger they were in, together with his resolution: which was, secretly himselfe to flie, and to leaue the rest, every man to make what shift he could for himselfe. Which his base determination, so foule as fouler could not be, they all wondering at, as proceeding from a distraught mind: and by chauce ouerheard by one of the common souldiors, that stood without the tent, the same souldior fetching a deepe sigh, in detestation thereof, cried out with a loud voice, *What meanes the emperor*: and so turning himselfe vnto him, said: *Art not thou hee that hast thrust vs into this desolat and strait way, and cast vs headlong into destruction? and hast as it were in a mortar enclosed vs in these rockes and mountaines, readie as it were to ouerwhelme vs. What had we to doe with this vail of mourning, and mouth of hell? Wherefore came wee into these mischieuous and rough straits? What can wee particularly complaine of the Barbarians, which in these inextricable windings and straits haue thus entangled and beset vs? Is it not thou that broughtst vs hither? And wilt thou now as sheepe appointed to the slaughter, thy selfe betray vs?* With which so sharpe a reprehension the emperor thoroughly pierced, changed his former determination for flight, resolu'ing now to stand by it, whatsoeuer happened. But what should hee now doe beset with his enemies, still readie to deuour him? helpe he saw none, either in himselfe or to be expected from others; nought remained but death and despair. In this extremitie, all mans helpe now failing, it pleased the most mightie (which chastiseth and healeth againe, which striketh and yet giueth life, and suffereth not the staffe of the sinners alwaies to rage into the portion of the iust) with mercifull eye to looke downe vpon these distressed men, and with an vnwonted kind of clemencie to touch the Sultans heart, in such sort, as that he which but the other day stood in dread of the emperor, and now hauing him as it were in his power, was overcome with his miserie: or as in times past hee by *Husai* ouerthrew the counsell of *Achitophell*, and

The malapert
speech of an
insolent souldior to
the emperor.

The great patience
of the emperor.

The fearfull resolution
of the emperor.

A sharpe reprehension
of a common souldior vnto
the emperor.

changed the mind of *Abſolon* to follow ſuch aduiſe as ſhould bring him to deſtruction: ſo then G alſo he turned the mind of the Turkiſh Sultan, that (perſuaded by certain of the chiefe men about him, who in time of peace had uſed to receiue great gifts and preſents from the emperor) he of his own accord by his embaffadors offered peace vnto the emperor, before that he in ſo great diſtreſſe ſued vnto him for any; & that vpon the ſelfſame conditions they had made their leagues before. The Turks in the meane time ignorant of the Sultans reſolution, early in the morning were ready to aſſault the emperours campe, in hope at once to haue ouerthrowne his whole power; and with a barbarous outcrie ſtill riding about it, came ſo nigh, that with their arrowes they ſlew diuers of the Chriſtians within their owne trenches: Againſt whom the emperor ſent out *Iohn* the ſonne of *Conſtantinus Angelus*, and after him *Macrodocus Conſtantinus*, but to little or H no purpoſe. In the meane time came one *Gabras*, a man of the greateſt reputation among the Turkes, embaffadour from the Sultan, by whole commandement the Turks ceaſed farther to aſſault the campe. This *Gabras* comming vnto the emperor, and after the manner of the Barbarians, honouring him with reuerence done euen downe to the ground: Firſt preſented him with a goodly horſe, whole furniture was all of ſiluer, as if it had beete for triumph, and a faire two edged ſword. Afterwards falling into a large diſcourſe concerning a peace to be made, and with many kind words, as with an enchantment, appeaſing the emperours heauineſſe conceiued of his late loſſe; he among other pleaſant conceits then vttered, ſeeing the emperor in a rich roab of yellow ouer his ſhoulder, told him, That that colour was not fit for war, as ominous and portending euill lucke: whereat the emperor a little ſmiling, gaue it him with the fortune thereof: and receiuing the horſe and ſword ſent him from the Sultan, ſigned the peace. Amongſt other conditions of the peace (which the dangerousneſſe of the time ſuffred not the emperor curi- I ouſly to examine; one was, That *DORILEVM* and *SVBLEVM* before by him fortified, and the ground of this vnfortunate war, ſhould be againe raiſed. Peace thus beyond all hope being concluded, and the emperor deliuered of a great feare, purpoſed another way to returne home to auoid the ſight of the ſlaine: yet was he by his guides, euen of purpoſe as it was thought, lead backe the ſame way, to behold with his eyes thoſe miſerable ſpectacles of the ſlaine, which could not with any teares be ſufficiently lamented: for the ſtraits were made plaine, the vallies were K raiſed into hills, and the foreſt lay couered with the carcafſes of the ſlaine: no man paſſed by, but with heauineſſe and griefe, calling by name vpon their friends and familiars there loſt. Ha- uing againe paſſed thoſe dolefull ſtraits, the Turks were againe in the taile of the armie: for it was reported, that the Sultan repenting himſelfe to haue ſuffered his enemies ſo to eſcape out of his hands, had giuen leaue vnto ſuch as would, to purſue them, but followed not himſelfe with his whole power as before; for moſt of the better ſort of his ſouldiers loaded with the ſpoile, were now returned home. Yet theſe that followed after the armie, ſlew many, eſpecially ſuch as were weake or wounded, and ſo vnable to follow the reſt: although the emperor to helpe the matter, had for the repulſing of them, placed the beſt of his captaines and ſouldiers in the rearward. Being come to *CHONAS*, and now out of feare of his enemies, he gaue vnto euerie one of his hurt ſouldiers money to pay for the curing of their wounds, and to bring them into their coun- L ties. And comming to *PHILADELPHIA*, there ſtaid for the reſieſhing of himſelfe after ſo great miſeries. In his returne he raiſed *SVBLEVM* according to his promiſe, but not *DORILEVM*: whereof the Sultan by his embaffadors complaining, he answered, That what he had, enforced thereunto by neceſſitie, promiſed, he greatly forced not to performe. In reuenge whereof, the Sultan ſent out one of his moſt valiant captaines, called *Atapacke*, with foure and twentie thou- ſand good ſouldiers, choſen out of his whole armie, with ſtrait charge to waſte and deſtroy all the emperours prouinces and townes, euen vnto the ſea ſide, without ſparing man woman or child; and in token thereof, to bring with him ſome of the ſea water, an oare, and ſome of the ſea ſand: who according to his charge, ſpoiled *PHRIGIA* with the cities along the riuier *ME- ANDER*, euen vnto the ſea ſide. And ſo returning with a rich prey, by the way ſpoiled what be- fore he had left vtouched. But in paſſing the riuier *MEANDER*, when he feared leaſt, he fell in M to the hands of *Iohn Batza* the emperours nephew, and of *Ducas Conſtantine*, a moſt valiant captaine, of purpoſe ſent againſt him by the Emperour with a great power; where he was by them ſlaine together with all his armie, and the rich bootie hee had taken all againe recovered. Many other hard conflicts paſſed after this betwixt the Imperials and the Turks, the one continually ſeeking to auoy the other; all which for that therein nothing fell out much woorth the remembrance,

The emperor
returneth.

The emperor
a together per-
ſon ſent out
with the ſea
water to the Sul-
tan.

Atapacke with
his armie
ſlaine.

remembrance, I for breuitie willingly paſſe ouer. In theſe endleſſe troubles died *Emanuel* the Greeke emperor, when he had by the ſpace of eight and thirty yeeres woorthily gouerned that great empire, hauing in the time of his ſickneſſe but a little before his death taken vpon him the habit of a monke, in token he had forſaken the world. All the time of his raigne he was no leſſe jealous of the Chriſtian princes of the VVelt than of the Turks in the Eaſt, and therefore euer delt with them vnkindly. In time of war he was ſo laborious, as if he had neuer taken felicitie but in paine; and againe in peace ſo giuen ouer to his pleaſure, as if he had neuer thought of any thing elſe. After whoſe death the Turkiſh Sultan, without reſiſtance inuading the frontiers of the empire, tooke *SOZOPOLIS* with diuers townes thereabout in *PHRIGIA*; and long beſieged the famous citie of *ATTALIA*, and ſo dayly encroched more and more vpon the prouin- ces of the empire, joyning the ſame vnto his owne, which was no great matter for him to doe, the Greeke empire being then no better gouerned than was the chariot of the Sunne (as the Poets ſaigne) by *Phaeton*, far vnfit for ſo great a charge: for *Alexius Comnenus*, otherwiſe cal- led *Porphyrogenitus*, being then but a child of about twelue yeeres old, ſucceeding his graue father in the empire, after the manner of children altogether following his pleaſure; his mother with his fathers kinſmen and friends, who about all things ought to haue had an eſpecial care of his education, neglecting the old emperors truſt in them repoſed, followed alſo their owne delights, without regard of the ruine of the common weale. Some enamoured with the beautie of the young empreſſe, gaue themſelues all to brauerie, and the courting of her: other ſome in great au- thoritie with no leſſe deſire in the meane time, with the common treaſures filled their emptie co- C fers: and a third ſort there was (of all the reſt moſt dangerous) who neither reſpecting their ſenſuall pleaſure, neither the heaping vp of wealth, looked not ſo low, ayming at the verie empire it ſelfe. As for the common good, that was of all other things of them all leaſt regarded. Amongſt theſe third ſort of the ambitious, was one *Andronicus*, the couſin of the late emperor *Emanuel*, a man of an haughtie and troubleſome ſpirit, whom he the ſaid emperor *Emanuel* had for his aſpi- ring, moſt part of the time of his raigne kept in priſon, or elſe in exile, as he now was, being by him not long before, for feare of raiſing of new troubles, confined to liue far off from the court at *OENUM*: who now hearing of the death of the emperor *Emanuel*, of the factions in court, *Andronicus* *applies* of the childiſhneſſe of the young emperor *Alexius*, giuen wholly to his ſports; and the great men put in truſt to haue ſeene to his bringing vp and to the gouernment of the empire, ſome like bees to flie abroad into the countrey, ſeeking after money as the bees do for honie; ſome others in the meane time like hogs, lying ſtill and ſatiating themſelues with great and gainefull offices, wallowing in all exceſſe and pleaſure, to haue no regard of the honour or profit of the common weale: thought it now a fit time (in ſuch diſorder of the ſtate) for him to aſpire vnto the empire, after which he had all his life time longed. That he was generally beloued of the Conſtantino- politans, yea and of ſome of the nobilitie alſo, he doubted not: for them he had long before by his popular behauiour gained, together with the diſtruſt of the late emperor, jealous of his eſtate; which as it coſt him his libertie, ſo miſſed it not much but that it had coſt him his life alſo: but now that he was dead, wanted nothing more than ſome faire colour for the ſhadowing of his ſoule purpoſe. Amongſt many and right diuers things by him thought vpon, was a claule in the oath of obedience which he had giuen vnto the emperor *Emanuel* and *Alexius* his ſonne, *Ambition con- red with the* (which oath he had deliuered vnto him in writing) That if he ſhould ſee, heare, or vnderſtand of any thing dangerous or hurtfull to their honour, empire, or perſons, he ſhould forthwith be- tray it, and to the vttermoſt of his power withſtand it: which words (not ſo to haue becne wrested) as beſt ſeruing for his purpoſe, he tooke firſt occaſion for to worke vpon. And as he was a ſtout and emperourly man, thereupon writ diuers letters vnto the young emperor his cou- ſin, vnto *Theodoſius* the Patriarch, and other ſuch as he knew well affected vnto the late empe- rour *Emanuel*: wherein among other things which he wiſhed to be amended in the preſent go- uernment, he ſeemed moſt to complaine of the immoderat power and authoritie of *Alexius*, then preſident of the Council: who in great fauour with the young emperor, and more inward with the empreſſe his mother that was ſuppoſed to ſtand with her honour, ruled all things at his pleaſure, in ſo much, as that nothing done by any the great officers of the empire, or by the em- perour himſelfe, was accounted of any force, except his approbation were thereunto annexed: whereby he was growne vnto ſuch an exceſſiue pride, hauing all things in his power, as that no man could without danger, as vpon the venomous *Baſiliſke*, looke vpon him. Of which his *exceſſiue*

Andronicus de-
parteth from
Oenum towards
Constantinople.

excessive and insolent power *Andronicus* by his letters now greatly complained, mooued thereunto (as he would haue it beleued) with the care he had of the yong emperours safetie, which could not (as he said) long stand with the others so great power, which he therefore (as in due bound) wished to be abridged: aggrauating withall the infamous report of *Alexius* his too much familiaritie with the emperesse, which first muttered in court, afterwards flew (as he said) throughout the whole world. The reformation of which things, as tending to the danger of the person of the emperour, and dishonour of the state, he forsooth as one in conscience bound, with great grauitie and eloquence (being a verie learned man) both in open speech and writing most earnestly desired: and thereby so wrought, as that he was generally accounted for a man of great experience (as indeed he was) and a faithfull counsellor to the state, a thing much to haue bene wished. Wherefore leauing *Oenum*, the place whereunto he was by the emperour *Emanuel* in a sort banished, traouelling towards *Constantinople*, he gaue it out in euerie place where he came, what he had sworne, and what he would for his oaths sake do: vnto whom men desirous of the change of the state, & such as gaue credit vnto the report long before giuen out, That he should at length become emperour; flockt in great numbers, as birds about an owle to see him, and with vaine praises to chatter about him. In this sort he came as farre as *Paphlagonia*; in euerie place honourably receiued, as if he had bene a deliuerer of his countrey sent from God. And in the imperiall citie he was not longed for of the vulgar people onely, as their light and load star: but diuers of the nobilitie also by secret messengers and letters, perswaded him to hasten his comming, and to take vpon him the gouernment; assuring him that there would be none to resist him, or to oppose themselves against his shadow, but all readie to receiue him: Especially *Atalie* the yong emperours sister by the fathers side, with her husband *Cesar* (who being a woman of a great spirit, and grieuing much to see her fathers empire made a prey vnto *Alexius* the president, and the emperesse her stepmother, whom she naturally hated) had raised a great and dangerous tumult in the citie against them both, which was not without much bloodshed appeased: and now ceased not by often and most earnest letters (to her owne destruction and her husbands, as it afterwards fell out) to pricke forward *Andronicus* and to hasten his comming: who by letters and messengers dayly comming vnto him from the court, still more and more encouraged, leauing behind him the countrey of *Paphlagonia*, came to *Heraclia* in *Pontus*, and still on towards the imperiall citie, with great cunning and dissimulation winning the hearts of the people as he went. For who was so sponie hearted, whom his sweet words and abundant teares flowing from his gracious eies, as from two plentifull fountaines downe by his hoarie cheeks, might not haue mooued? All that he did or desired was (as he said) for the common good and libertie of the emperour. By which meanes he had drawne vnto him a wonderfull number of the rude countrey people by the way as he came. But comming into *Bythina*, he was by *Iohn Ducas* gouernour of the great citie of *Nice*, shut out as an enemy to the state, and so at *Nicomedia* also. Neuerthelesse, passing by those cities, he held still on his way, vntill at length he was nere vnto a castle called *Charace*, encountered by *Andronicus Angelus*, sent with a great power against him, by the great president *Alexius*; who otherwise as an effeminate man giuen ouer to his pleasure, spending the greatest part of the night in rioting by candle light, and most part of the day in his bed, with courtaines close drawn as if it had bene night; yet doubtfull now of the comming of his enemy, left nothing vndone which he thought might helpe for the assuring of his estate. Many of the nobilitie of whom he stood in doubt, he gaied vnto him by meanes of the emperours mother: who by her rare beautie, sweet words, and gracious behauiour, as with a line drew all men vnto her: Other some he ouercame with gifts and great summes of money, whereof he now made no spare: And so wrought the matter that no man of any account or marke, went ouer to *Andronicus*. Whoneuerthelesse with such followers as he had, joyning battell with *Angelus* (sent against him, as is before said) ouerthrew him and put him to flight. Wherewith *Alexius* much troubled, in great displeasure and without reason, called *Angelus* (now fled to *Constantinople*) to an account for the money deliuered vnto him for the defaying of the charges of that vnfortunat war: who seeing his misfortune to be so taken as if he had framed it himselfe, and of purpose betrayd the armie committed to his charge; by the counsell of his six sonnes, being all men of great valour and wisdome, first tooke the refuge of his owne house: but finding himselfe there in no safetie, with his wife and his said sonnes (two of which came afterwards to be emperours) presently

presently fled ouer the strait to *Andronicus*: Who seeing of him comming towards him, is reported to haue vsed this text of Scripture, *Behold I will send mine Angel before thy face, to prepare thy wayes*, alluding to his name of *Angelus*, as the presage of his good successe. Wherefore encouraged with the coming of these noblemen his kinsmen, he without longer stay marched directly vnto the sea side, and there a litle about *Chalcedon* encamped almost right ouer against *Constantinople*: causing many great fires (more than needed) to be made in his armie, to make it seeme vnto them of the citie greater than indeed it was; and with the sight thereof to keepe the citizens in suspence, with the doubtfull expectation of some great matter to ensue. Wherein he was no whit deuiued; for they hauing him now as it were in sight, leauing their worke, ran some to the sea side, some vp to the hills & high towers to behold his armie a far off, willing with their friendly looks, if it had ben possible, to haue drawne him ouer the strait into the citie. *Alexius* knowing himselfe not able by land to encounter with so strong an enemy (for now some which on foot could not goe ouer to *Andronicus*, were secretly in heart already with him, other some thought themselves sufficiently to shew their fidelitie vnto the emperour, if sitting still at home, they should take part with neither: for so haue subtil heads & aspiring minds for the furtherance of their desires taught the common people both to say & thinke) thought it best by sea to auert the present danger: And therefore commanded all the emperours gallies (being before rigged vp and readie) to be strongly manned and put to sea, for the keeping of *Propontis* and the strait of *Bosphorus*, that *Andronicus* should not that way passe. Now had hee determined to haue made especiall choice of some assured friend of his owne for to bee generall of this fleet, as he had done of the captaines and masters, being all his owne kinsmen or domesticall seruants: but as he was about to haue so done, *Contostephanus* (surnamed the Great captaine) opposed himselfe against it, challenging that place as due vnto himselfe, before all others: So that overcome by his authoritie (which it was no time for *Alexius* now to dispute) he was glad to commit the charge and trust of the whole fleet vnto him, as generall. Thus hauing (as he thought) made the sea sure, he sent ouer vnto *Andronicus*; as from the emperour (for all was done in his name) one *George Xiphilinus*, with letters and other instructions, wherof the effect was, To command him forthwith in peace to returne vnto the place from whence he came; and not farther to trouble the state: promising him in so doing, the emperours fauour, with many great honors and preferments to bee afterward bestowed vpon him; which otherwise might turne to his vtter destruction. Which letters *Xiphilinus* hauing deliuered, and done his message, is reported to haue secretly aduised *Andronicus* to proceed in his purpose, and not in any case to yeeld to that which was of him required: wherewith *Andronicus* encouraged, proudly rejected the graces offered, and willed the messenger to tell them that sent him, That if they would haue him to returne vnto the place from whence he came, they should first displace the proud president *Alexius*, and call him vnto an account for the villanies he had done; Then the emperours mother they should deprive of her honours, and shut her vp as a Nun into some cloyster, there to learne to amend her life; And last of all, that the emperour according to his fathers will, should take vpon himselfe the gouernment, and not be ouertopt by others, by whose too much authoritie, his maiestie & honour was (as he said) too much impaired. But within a few daies after, *Contostephanus*, the great captaine and generall, carried ouer all the gallies to *Andronicus*, leauing nothing but their names for the president in his rolls to looke vpon: whose reuolt about all other things encouraged *Andronicus*, and cast *Alexius* enen into the bottom of despaire. For now *Andronicus* his friends flockt together in the citie, not secretly as before, but openly in all places: and such as wished a change in the state, impudently scoffing at *Alexius*, passed ouer the strait to *Chalcedon* in great numbers to *Andronicus*, where hauing filled their eyes with the beholding of his goodly person, his cheerefull countenance, and reuerend age, and their eares with his sweet words and great promises, returned home merrie and joyfull as if they had been in some terrestriall paradise, filling the citie with his praises. After that *Andronicus* his two sonnes, *Iohn* and *Stannell*, with diuers others, whom the president had cast in prison, were set at libertie, and other of his chiefe fauourits laid fast in their roomes: As for *Alexius*; the president himselfe, with all his friends and faction in the court, they were taken and committed to the keeping of the guard: a right strange alteration. But about midnight *Alexius* himselfe was secretly conueyed out of the court vnto the Patriarchs house, & there kept with a stronger guard than before. A wonderfull change and worth the marking, a man so honourably borne, but yesterday in greatest honour attended vpon

Andronicus en-
campeth in sight
ouer against Con-
stantinople.

Xiphilinus sent
ouer to Andro-
nicus, dealing
with subtilty in
dissuading his mes-
sage.

The proud an-
swer of Andro-
nicus.

Contostephanus
remitteth to An-
dronicus.

Alexius in de-
spaire.

Alexius and his
friends appre-
hended.

A strange al-
teration.

Alexius brought
to Andronicus,
bath his eyes
put out.

The meeting of
the Patriarch
& Andronicus.

Andronicus felt
out the
scent.

upon with many thousands, all at his command, hauing the power to spill or saue: to day in bonds, in disgrace, in miserie and despair, and not so much as a page to wait vpon him. Which he taking very grieuouly, yet complained of nothing more, than that they which had the keeping of him, would not suffer him to sleepe nor take any rest. Of whose miserie, the Patriarch taking pittie (although he had of him very euill deserued) yet cheered him vp with comfortable words, perswading him with patience to endure his hard fortune, and not with such speeches as fitted not his present state, to prouoke his keepers to vse him euill. Within a few dayes after early in a morning, he was brought out of the Patriarchs house, and set vpon a very little bad jade, and so with a ragged clout vpon the top of a reed in manner of an ensigne, carried before him in derision, was brought to the sea side; and there cast into a little boat, was so brought to *Andronicus*, by whose commandment, with the generall consent of the nobilitie, he for his euill government shortly after had his eyes put out. This was the miserable end of the immoderat power, or rather of the insolent soueraigntie of *Alexius*: who, had hee with more moderation and vigilancie governed, might both haue kept *Andronicus* out of the cite, and himselfe from so great miserie; hauing at his command all the emperours treasure, his galleies, with most part of the strength of the empire. Now came the noble men ouer apace to *Andronicus*: the last that came, was the reuerend Patriarch *Theodosius*, with the chiefe of the cleargie: of whose approach, *Andronicus* hearing, went out of his tent to meet him, and falling downe (as great as he was) flat at his horses feet, and in a while after arising againe, kissed the Patriarks foot, calling him, The emperours fauour. The louer of vertue, The defender of the truth; and comparing him with the famous father *Iohn Chrysostome*, omitted not any honourable title he could possibly deuise to giue him. But the deuout Patriarch, that had neuer seene *Andronicus* before, hauing now well viewed him, and marked his sterne countenance, his subtil nature, his craftie and dissembling manners, his exceeding stature, being almost tenne foot high, his stately gate, his proud looke, his continuall seueritie, and melancholic silence: as it were pitying them that to their owne destruction had called such a man in, said: *Hitherto I haue heard, but now I haue also seene, and plainly knowne*: and fetching a deepe sigh, adioyned thereunto that saying of the Prophet *Dauid*: *As wee haue heard, so haue we also seene*. In which words, he couertly quipped the dissembled meeting and submission of *Andronicus*: and withall called to remembrance the words of the emperour *Emanuel*, wherewith he had many times so painted forth *Andronicus* vnto the Patriarch, as if hee would most liuely haue represented him vnto his view.

All things in the cite and in the pallace set in order according to *Andronicus* his mind, by his two sonnes, and leaue giuen vnto the emperours friends to come ouer vnto him, and to be acquainted with him; at length *Andronicus* himselfe departing from *DAMALUM*, in a gallee crossed the strait, oftentimes by the way merrily singing that saying of the heavenly Psalmist: *Returne my soule into thy rest, because the Lord hath done well vnto thee, hauing deliuered my life from death, mine eyes from teares, and my feet from falling*. The emperour with his mother *Xene*, then lay not in the pallace at *CONSTANTINOPLE*, but at another princely house of his in the countrey neere vnto *PHILOPATIUM*, as *Andronicus* had appointed: whether *Andronicus* first went, and comming vnto his presence, most humbly prostrate before him, with sobbing and teares, as his deceitfull manner was, kissed his feet. As for the emperesse his mother, he lightly saluted her, and as it were but for fashion sake, not dissembling in his countenance the old grudge he bare against her. And so without longer stay went vnto his tent provided for him not farre off, round about which, all the great noble men had pitched their tents also, flocking vnto him as chickens seeking for refuge vnder the hens wings. Hauing there staid with the emperour a good while, he was desirous to goe vnto the imperiall cite, and to see the late Emperour *Emanuel* his countess graue. Where entering into the monasterie of our Ladie, where he was buried, and comming to his tombe, hee wept bitterly, and roared as it were mainly out. So that diuers of the flanders by, ignorant of his dissembling nature, by way of admiration said: *O what a wonderfull thing is this! O how he loved the Emperour, his cousin, although his fierce and cruell persecutor!* And when one of his kinsmen would haue pulled him from the tombe, saying that he had torrowed for him ynough; he would not be remoued, but requested them to suffer him yet a little to tarry by the tombe, for that he had something in secret to say vnto the dead. And so with his hands cast vp and close together, as if he had prayed, and his eyes fast fixed vpon the tombe, he moued his lips, and secretly said something, but what, no man could tell. Some said it

was

was some charme or incantation. But others more pleasantly conceited, said, (and as it afterward appeared more truly) that *Andronicus* did then triumph ouer the dead emperour *Emanuel*, and reuell with his ghost, with these or like words: *I haue thee now fast, my cruell persecutor, by whome I haue been driuen vnto many great extremities: and hauing wandred almost all the world ouer, haue thereunto bene made by thee a common by-word. But now this tombe rising up with seuen tops; and prison, out of which thou canst not start, holdeth thee oppressed with a dead sleepe, out of which thou shalt not be awaked, but by the founding of the last trumpe. And now will I be reuenged of thy posteritie, and satisfie my selfe as a lyon with a fat prey; and take sharpe reuenge of all the wrongs thou hast done mee, when I haue once possessed my selfe of this royall citie.*

After that, visiting all the emperours stately houses, but staying in no place long, hee disposed of all matters of state, according to his owne pleasure. Vnto the young emperour hee allowed hunting, and other his vaine delights, with keepers joyned vnto him, to watch not onely his going in and out, but also that no man should talke with him of any matter of importance. For all the government of the state he tooke vnto himselfe: not for that he wished so well therunto, about others, but so to driue from the court all them of the contrary faction to himself, that were able to doe any thing, and had before borne some sway. The fouldiers, whose helpe he had vsed in aspiring to the gouernment, he rewarded with great bountie; all great offices & preferments he bestowed either vpon his owne children, or other his great fauourits; diuers of the nobilitie, of whom he liked not, were by him in short time diuied into exile: some were by him deprived of their fight, & some others cast in prison, not knowing any cause why, more than that they were by him secretly condemned for that they were of the nobilitie, or had done some good seruice for the state, or excelled for their personage, or some other thing that grieved *Andronicus*, or els for the sparke of some old displeasure which yet lay hidden as fire taked vp in the ashes. So that the state of that time began to grow most miserable: & the trecherie, euen of men neereft in blood, seeking the destruction one of another, for to serue their own turns, or to gratifie *Andronicus*, most horrible: not only one brother betrayed another, but euen the father his son, & the son his father, if *Andronicus* would haue it so. Some accused their neereft kinsmen, that they had desired *Andronicus* his proceedings; or that without regard of him, they more fauored *Alexius* the yong emperour, then, a great offence. Yea (such was the mischief of the time) that many in accusing others, were themselves accused; & charging others of treason against *Andronicus*, were themselves charged by them whom they accused, & so clapt vp both together in one prison. Neither were they of the nobilitie only, which were enemies to *Andronicus*, thus hardly dealt withall; but euen some of his great fauorits and followers also: For some whom but yesterday he had vsed most kindly, and enroled amongst his best friends, vpon them to day he frowned and tyranized most cruelly: so that you might haue seene the same man the same day (as it is reported of *Xerxes*, his admirall) to be crowned and beheaded, to be graced and disgraced. In so much, that the wisest sort deemed *Andronicus* his praifings, to be the beginning of a mans disgrace; his bountie, his vndoing; and his kindnesse, his death. The first that tasted of his tyrannie, was *Mary*, the daughter of *Emanuel* the emperour, who for the hatred she bare vnto *Alexius* the late president, and the emperesse her mother in law, had (as is aforesaid) about all other, wished for his comming: but was now by one *Pterigionites* (sometime an Eunuch of her fathers, corrupted by *Andronicus*, hauing in his aspiring mind purposed the vtter destruction of all *Emanuel*s posteritie) cunningly poysoned; as was her husband *Cesar*, who liued not long after her, poysoned also (as was supposed) with the same cup that his wife was. Now amongst others of the late emperours house, none had cuer stood more in his light, than had the faire emperesse *Xene*, the yong emperours mother, whom now he ceased not most bitterly (though wrongfully) to accuse, as an vtter enemy both vnto the emperour and the state; making as if he would leaue all, and againe depart, if he were not remooued from the emperour her sonne: and by his running so incensed the giddy headed vulgar people against her, that they came flocking vnto *Theodosius* the good Patriarch, ready to teare him out of his clothes, if he consented not vnto the remoouing of the emperesse, as *Andronicus* had desired. So a counsell being called of such his fauorits and others, as were not like indifferently to heare her cause; but assuredly to condemne her: the guiltlesse emperesse after many things falsely laid to her charge, was accused of treason: as that she should by her letters haue solicited *Bela*, king of *HUNGARY*, her brother in law, to inuade *BRANITZOR* & *BALLIGRABE*, two strong places belonging to the empire: Whereupon she was condemned, and shamefully cast

Andronicus taketh vnto him the government.

Andronicus sympathizeth.

A miserable state of a commonweale.

Mary the daughter of Emanuel with her husband Cesar, poysoned by Andronicus.

Xene the emperesse accused of treason, and condemned.

Dangerous to
speak the truth
to a tyrant.

A wicked coun-
sell.

The miserable
death of the
empress.

cast into a most filthie prison nere vnto the monastier of S. DIOMEDE. Amongst other noblemen called vnto this wicked counsell, were *Leo Monastierites*, *Demetrius*, *Tornicus*, and *Constantinus Petrenus*: who not yet altogether deuoted to *Andronicus*, being asked their opinions concerning the emperesse, said, They would be glad first to know, Whether that counsell against his mother, were called by the emperors consent or no? With which speech, *Andronicus* appeared to the heart as with a sword, in great rage start vp and said, These are they which encouraged the wicked president to all his villanies, lay hands vpon them. Whereupon they of his guard in threatening manner shooke their weapons and swords at them, as if they would euen presently haue slaine them: And the tumultuous common people, catching them by their cloaks as they came out, pulling them some one way, some another, were so fierce vpon them, as that they had much adoe to escape out of their hands with life. Now lay the faire emperesse (but the other day one of the greatest princes of the East, and honoured of all her subjects) in great miserie and dispaire, scorned euen of her base keepers, euerie houre expecting the deadly blow of the hangman. Yet was not the crueltie of *Andronicus* against her, so any thing assuaged, but greening that she yet breathed, shortly after assembled againe the former counsell, the ministers of his wrath, demanding of them, What punishment was by law appointed for such as betraied any towne or prouince of the empire? whereunto answer being giuen in writing, That it was by the law, death: he could no longer hold, but that he must in great choller breake out against the poore emperesse, as if it had ben she that had done it. And therupon the wicked counsellors crying out with one voice, that she was to be taken out of the way, as they had before agreed: by & without longer stay, a damned writing was subscribed by the yoong emperor her son, as if it had ben with the blood of his own mother, whereby she was (I abhor to write it) most vnworthily condemned to die. The men appointed to see this most horrible and cruell execution done, were *Manuel*, *Andronicus* his eldest son, & *Georgius Augustus*, his neere kinsman; who both dismaied at the very mentioning of the matter, not regarding the emperors command, said plainly, That they neuer before consented vnto the death of the emperesse, but had cleane hands of so hainous an offence, and therefore would now much lesse see her innocent bodie dismembred in their sight. At which v unexpected answer *Andronicus* much troubled, with his fingers oftentimes pluckt himselfe by the hoarie beard, and with burning eies casting sometime vp his head, & sometime downe, sighed at his owne most miserable tyrannicall estate, fretting inwardly that they which were nearest vnto him, whom he thought he might euen with a becke haue commanded to haue done any mischief, abhorring his crueltie should refuse to doe the thing he so much desired to haue done: yet repressing his anger for a while, within a few daies after he againe commanded her to be strangled; which was accordingly done by *Constantinus Tryphichus*, and *Pterigionites* the vngracious eunuch; by whose helpe he had before poysoned *Mary* the emperors daughter, with *Cesar* her husband, as is before declared. Thus perished this great emperesse, cruelly strangled in prison, by these two wicked men, the mercilesse executioners of *Andronicus* his wrath. Her dead bodie lately adorned with all the graces of nature, euen vnto the admiration of the beholders, was without more adoe secretly raked vp in the sand fast by the sea side: a poore sepulchre for so great a person.

What might not *Andronicus* now do to others, that durst thus cruelly to deale with the yoong emperours owne mother, and neere friends? yet was all couered vnder the pretence of the common good, and safetie of the state and empire. And the more to shadow *Andronicus* his secret purposes, as not proceeding of any priuat or hidden malice, or aspiring humour, from which he of all men would seeme most free; and the more to manifest his deuotion and loyalty vnto the yoong emperor his cousin, he was the onely persuader vnto the rest of the nobilitie, to haue him solemnly crowned (which as yet by reason of his tender age he was not); & at the time of his coronation, with his owne shouldders supported him vp, as he was (after the manner of that solemnitie) carried vnto the great church, and so backe againe; the *Crocodils* teares still plentifully running downe his aged face, as if it had bene for exceeding joy: which many of the meaner sort beholding, and deeming thereof the best, highly commended his kindnesse, accounting the yoong emperor thrice happie, in so graue a gouernour, and faithfull a counsellour; who in loue and kind affection towards him, seemed not inferiour vnto his naturall father: so cunningly had he vnder the vail of pietie, shadowed his most execrable treacherie; as that in the very plotting thereof, he was accounted most louing and kind. But hidden treason, be it neuer

The strepra-
rise of Andro-
nicus in aspiring
to the empire.

so well dissembled, must at length shew it selfe. So *Andronicus* hauing got into his power both the emperor and the empire, and the chiefe friends of the late emperor *Emanuel* being taken out of the way or else driuen into exile, thought it now high time for himselfe to aspire vnto that high soueraintie after which he had so many yeares longed. Wherefore calling together a Countsell of his flatterers & fauourites, whom he had for such purpose promoted vnto the highest places of state (all or most part of the graue counsellors and friends of the late emperor *Emanuel* being now displaced, or otherwise taken out of the way) he as a man onely carefull of the common good, declared vnto them the dangerous state of the empire, by reason of a rebellion raised in *BYTHINIA* at *NIC*, by *Isaack Angelus*, & *Theodorus Catacuzenus*; and another at *PHYLISIA*, by *Theodorus Angelus*; requiring their graue aduice for the suppressing thereof, who not ignorant of their lords purpose (as therof before sufficiently instructed) answered with one consent, That of such great mischiefe, there would be no end, except he were joynd in fellowship of the empire together with *Alexius*, by his grauitie and deepe wisdom to supply what wanted for the good gouernment of the state in the yoong emperor his cousin. At which speech, the by-standers (being in number many, and for the most part the followers of *Andronicus* his flatterers) gaue a great shout, & as if it had bene already granted, with one applause cried out, *Long live Alexius and Andronicus the Greeke emperours*; and that with such a vehemencie, as if they would therewith haue rent the verie heauens. The bruit thereof flying abroad into the citie, forthwith you might haue seene euerie street and corner of the citie full of the vulgar people, with some also of better sort, swarming together like bees, and founding the praises of *Andronicus* (who now was come out of his house into the court, with a world of people following him) and crying out, *Long live the Emperours Alexius and Andronicus*: with which loud acclamation mixt with the heauie sighings of many good men (for all were not mad of that frenzie) the yoong emperor awaked, and seeing the court full of people, and *Andronicus* by them saluted his fellow in the empire: knowing now no other remedie, thought it best to yeeld vnto the time, and so with the rest flattering the old tyrant, welcomed him full sore against his will, by the name of his Fellow and companion in the empire: which he now in dissembling manner seeming vnwilling to take vpon him, and refusing the place offered; was by the rout of his flattering fauourites enforced to his owne great contentment, to yeeld to their request: some of them with both their hands carrying him vp, vntill they had as it were against his will placed him in the imperiall seat, prepared for him fast by the yoong emperor: others in the meane time, no lesse busied in pulling off his priuat attire, and putting vpon him the imperiall robes.

The next day, when this participation of the empire should be published, and they both proclaimed emperours, the name of *Andronicus* was set before the name of *Alexius*: whereof his fauourites (though some others interpreted it otherwise) gaue this reason, That it fitted not with the maiestie of the empire, that the name of a boy should be set before the name of so reuerend, graue, wise, and excellent a man as was *Andronicus* his companion in the empire. Shortly after, *Andronicus* being brought into the great temple to be crowned, then first began to shew vnto the people a cheerfull countenance, and setting aside his sterne looke, after his long deuotion done, filled the vaine peoples heads with many large promises of a more happie forme of gouernment than before. All which prooued nothing but meere dissimulation and deepe deceit, that cheerfulness of countenance and speech serving but for a while to couer his inward and couert most inhumane crueltie. And the more to deceiue the world, the ceremonies of his coronation past, at such time as he should for the consummation and confirmation of all, receiue the sacred and dreadfull mysterie, the pledge of our redemption, not without due reuerence to be named, much lesse with impure hands touched: after he had receiued the bread and taken the cup in his hand, he with a most deuout countenance framed of purpose to deceiue, & his eies cast vp to heauen, as if his soule had there already bene (the fairest maske of hypocritie) swore by those dreadfull mysteries, and most deeply protested in the hearing of the people standing by, that he had taken vpon him the fellowship of the empire, for no other end or purpose but to assist *Alexius* his cousin in the gouernment, and to strengthen his power: whereas his secret meaning was nothing lesse, as shortly after appeared. For after a few daies spent in feigned deuotions for the prosperous beginning of his empire, he forthwith turned his mind vnto other his more secret but most wicked and execrable designs. And hauing about all things purposed the death of the yoong emperor, he called together them of the counsell, his owne creatures and corrupt mini-

sters of his wickednesse, who had now oftentimes in their mouths that saying of the Poet:

*Est mala res multos dominari: vnicus esto,
Rex dominusq;*

An euill thing it is to be ruled by many,
One king and one lord, if there be any.

and that the old age of an Eagle was better than the youth of a Lark: So by the generall consent of that wicked assembly, unworthie the name of a graue counsell, a decree was made, That *Alexius* should as a man vnfit for the gouernment of the state, be deprived of all imperiall dignitie, and commanded to liue a priuat life. Which disloyall decree of the conspirators was yet scarcely published, but that another more cruell, came out of the same forge, That he should forthwith be put to death, as one vnwoorthie longer to liue. For the execution of which so horrible a sentence, *Stephanus Hagiochristophorites* (one of the chiefe ministers of *Andronicus* his villanies, and by him promoted euen vnto the highest degrees of the honours of the court) with *Constantinus Trypsicus*, and one *Theodorus Badibrenus*, captaine of the tormenters, were sent out; who entring his chamber by night, without compassion of his tender age, or regard of his honour, or innocencie, cruelly strangled him with a bow string: which detestable murder so performed, *Andronicus* shortly after comming in, spurned the dead bodie with his foot, railing at his father, the late emperor *Emanuel*, as a forsworne and injurious man; & at his mother, as a common whore. The head was forthwith stricke off from this miserable carcas (the mirrour of honours vnstabilitie) and left for the monstrous tyrant to feed his eyes vpon: the bodie wrapped vp in lead, was in a boat carried to sea, by *Io. Camaterius*, and *Theodosius Chumenus*, two of *Andronicus* his noble fauourits; who with great joy and glee, returned with the same boat to the court, as if they had done some notable exploit. But long continueth not the joy of the mischieuous, vengeance still following them at the heeles, as it did these two; who not long after, with the rest that conspired the innocent emperours death, all or most part of them came to shamefull or miserable end. Thus perished *Alexius* the emperor, not yet full fifteen yeeres old: in the third yeare of his raigne, which time he liued more like a seruant, than an emperor, first vnder the command of his mother, and afterwards of the tyrant which brought him to his end.

Who joyeth now but old *Andronicus*, made young againe as should seeme by his new gained honours: for immediately after the murder committed, he married *Anne* the French kings daughter, (as some report) before betrothed to yong *Alexius*; a tender and most beautifull ladie, not yet full eleven yeeres old, an vnfit match for threescore and tenne. And in some fort as it were to purge himselfe and his partakers of the shamefull murder by them committed, and to stop the mouths of the people, he by much flatterie and large promises, procured of the bishops a generall absolution for them all, from the oath of obedience which they had before giuen vnto the emperor *Emanuel* and *Alexius* his sonne: which obtained, he for a while had the same bishops in great honour, and shortly after in greater contempt, as men forgetfull of their duties and calling. After that, he gaue himselfe wholly vnto the establishing of his estate, neuer reckoning himselfe thereof assured so long as he saw any of the nobilitie, or famous capitaines, that fauoured *Emanuel*, the late emperor or *Alexius* his sonne, aliue: of whom some he secretly poysoned, as *Mari* the emperor *Emanuel* daughter, with her husband *Cesar*; some, for light occasions he deprived of their sight, as he did *Emanuel* and *Alexius*, the sonnes of the great and noble captaine *Iohn Comnenus*; *Andronicus Lapardus*, whose good seruice he had oftentimes vsed; *Theodorus Angelus*; *Alexius Comnenus*, the emperor *Emanuel* his base sonne: Some he hanged, as *Leo Synesius*, *Atanell Lachanus*, with diuers others: Some he burnt, as *Mamalus*, one of the emperor *Alexius* his principall secretaries; all men of great honour and place. For colour whereof, he pretended himselfe to be forrie for them, deeply protesting, that they died by the seruerie of the law, not by his will, and by the iust doome of the Iudges, whereunto he was himselfe (as he said) to giue place; and that with teares plentifully running downe his aged cheekes, as if he had ben the most sorrowfull man aliue. O deepe dissimulation, and Crocodiles teares, by nature ordained to expresse the heauinesse of the heart, flowing from the eies as shoures of raine out of the clouds: in good men the most certaine signes of greatest griefe, and surest testimonies of inward torments,

but

A but in *Andronicus* you are not so, you are far of another nature, you proceed of joy, you promise not vnto the distressed pittie or compassion, but death & destruction! How many mens eies haue you put out? how many haue you drowned? how many haue you deuoured? Most orille nobilitie that fauoured the late emperor *Emanuel* & *Alexius* his son, thus taken out of the way by *Andronicus*, strook such a feare into the rest, that for safegard of their liues, they betooke themselves to flight, some one way some another, neuer thinking themselves in safetie so long as they were within the greedie tyrants reach; whereof shortly after ensued no small troubles, to the shaking of the state of the whole empire. *Isaack Comnenus*, the emperor *Emanuel* his nigh kinsman, tooke his refuge into *CIPRVS*, & kept that island to himselfe. *Alexius Comnenus*, *Emanuel* his brother son, fled into *SICILIA*, & there stirred vp *William* king of that island against *Andronicus*: who with a great army landing at *DYRACHIVM*, tooke the city, & so from thence without resistance passing through the heart of *MACEDONIA*, spoiling the countrey before him as he went, met his fleet at *THESSALONICA*; which famous city he also tooke by force, & most miserably spoiled it with all the countrey therabout, in such sort, as that he brought a great feare euen vpon the imperiall citie it selfe: vnto which so great euils *Andronicus* (entangled with domestick troubles, & not knowing whom to trust) was not able to giue remedie, although for shew he had (to no purpose) sent out certaine of his most trusty ministers with such forces as he could spare. For the majestic of his authoritie growing still lesse & lesse, & the number of his enemies both at home and abroad daily encreasing, & the fauor of the vnconstant people (who now began to speake hardly of him) declining: he vncertain which way to turne himselfe, rested wholly vpon tyrannie, prescribing in his feare, not only the friends of such as were fled, & whom he distrusted, but sometimes whole families together, yea & that for light occasions, sometime those who were the best of his fauourits, whose seruice he had many times vsed in the execution of his crueltie. So that now no day passed, wherin he did not put to death, imprison, or torture, one great man or other. Whereby it came to passe, that the imperiall citie was filled with sorrow & heauinesse, euery man hanging the head, and with silence couering his inward griefe, not without danger to haue been then vttered. Amongst many others appointed to this slaughter, was one *Isaack Angelus*, a man of great nobilitie, whom *Hagiochristophorites* (the chiefe minister of *Andronicus* his tyrannie, and for the same by him highly promoted) suspecting, as one that bare no good will to the emperor; (caule enough of death) came to his house to apprehend him; & finding him at home, after some few hot words, commanded him to follow him. Whereat the noble man making some stay; and abhorring the verie sight of the wretch, as vnto him ominous and fatall: *Hagiochristophorites* himselfe began to lay hands on him, reuiling his followers, that they had not forthwith drawn him out of his house by the haire of his head, vnto the prison by him appointed. For they touched with the honour of the man, and moued with compassion, forced him not, but stood still as beholders. *Isaack* seeing himselfe thus beset, and no way now left for him to escape, resolving rather there presently to die than shortly after to be murdered in prison, drew his sword as the rest were about to haue laid hands vpon him, and at the first blow cleft the wicked head of *Hagiochristophorites* downe to his shoulders: and so leauing him wallowing in his owne blood, and like a desperat man laying about him amongst the rest, made himselfe way through the middest of them. And so embred with blood, with his bloodie sword yet in his hand, running through the middest of the citie, told the people what he had done; and crying vnto them for helpe in defence of his innocencie, fled into the great temple, there to take the refuge of the sanctuarie: where he had not long sit, in the place where the guiltie flying thither for refuge, vsed to sit, & confessing their offence, craue pardon of such as go in and out; but that the temple was filled with the multitude of people flocking thither out of all parts of the citie, some to see the nobleman, some to behold what should become of him: for all men thought that he would before the going downe of the sunne (notwithstanding the reuerence of the place) be drawne thence by *Andronicus*, & put to some shamefull death. Thither came also *Iohn Ducas*, *Isaacks* vncke, and his sonne *Isaack* to increase the tumult; not for that they were any thing guiltie of the death of *Hagiochristophorites*, but for that they had before become furies vnto the suspitious tyrant, for their kinsman *Isaack*. & he likewise for them; by whose trespass they well knew themselves now brought into no lesse danger than if they had been abettors therunto. And beside them also, many other there were, which standing in doubt of their owne estate, & fearing the like might happen to themselves, prickt forward with hard speeches the common people flocking thither, instantly requesting them to stay

F ij

there;

The people in a
tumult
vnto Angellus.

there, and to stand by them now at their need, being so injuriously wronged, whose pitifull complaints moued right many to take part with them. At which time also, no man yet comming from the emperor (being as then out of the citie) to repress the sedition, nor any of the nobilitie opposing themselves, no friend of *Andronicus* appearing, none of his bloodie ministers or officers, shewing themselves, nor any that did so much as speake a good word in his behalfe, or in dislike of the tumult, the boldnesse of the seditious people increased, euery man in so great libertie, saying what he list, and after their rude manner one encouraging another. So spent *Isaack* that long night, not thinking (God wot) of an empire, but still expecting the deadly stroke of *Andronicus*. Yet had he with great entreating, so prevailed, that diuers of the assembly shutting the church dore, and bringing lights into the church, staid there with him all night, and by their example caused some others to stay also. The next morning by the breake of the day were all the citizens flockt againe vnto the temple, cutting the tyrant to the deuill, as the common enemy of mankind, wishing vnto him a shamefull death, and the honour of the empire vnto *Isaack*. At that time by fortune, or rather God so appointing it, *Andronicus* was out of the citie at his pallace of *MELVDIVM*, on the East side of *PROPONTIS*, where he was by nine a clocke at night certified of the death of *Hagiochristophorites*, and of the tumult of the people: yet that night stirred he not, either did any thing more, but by short letters aduised the people to pacifie themselves, and not by foolish rebellion to cast themselves into farther danger. In the morning, *Andronicus* his fauourits began to shew themselves, and to do what they might to haue appeased the tumultuous multitude; yea and presently after came *Andronicus* himselfe, and landed with his imperiall gally at the great pallace in the citie. But with the enraged people, naught preuailed either the persuasions of the one, or report of the presence of the other: for they all as vpon a signall giuen, and as men inspired with one spirit, or stirred vp with the same furie, flockt together into the temple of *SOPHIA*, one encouraging another, and scoffing at such as stood by as idle lookers on, without weapons in their hands, reuiling them, and calling them rotten lymms that had no feeling of the common harme. After that they broke open the prisons, and set at libertie the prisoners, as fittest instruments for the increasing of the tumult, who were not all notable offenders of the dregs of the people, but many of them borne of good houses, and for some light fault, or inconsiderate word (whereof euery man was in those times bound to giue an account) or for some friends offence against *Andronicus*, there laid fast: these of all others most animated the people, in such sort, as that they which before for feare of the danger, did but softly murmure vnto themselves against *Andronicus*, did now openly joyne themselves with the rest of the base seditious. Then might you haue seene some with their swords and targuets, some also in their armour, but the greatest part armed but with clubs and stauies and other such like rude weapons, armed of furie, hastily taken vp in their shops as by chance they came first to hand, running forth in euery place. By this assembly of the most furious and promiscuous people, was *Isaack* hoysed vp, and with a generall applause saluted emperor. At which time one of the sextons of the church, with a ladder tooke downe *Constantine* the Great his crowne of gold (which for a monument hung ouer the holy altar) and set it vpon *Isaack* his head: Which he at the first seemed vnwilling to weare, not for that he was not desirous ynough of the empire, but for that he feared the excreame danger of the matter, and thought those things that were then done, to be but as it were a sick mans dreame, like ynough straight way to vanish; beside that, he feared in so doing, the more to exasperat *Andronicus*: which his vncle *Iohn Ducas* (of whom we haue before spoken, standing by him) perceiuing, plucking off his owne cap, and shewing his old bald head, requested the people, that if his nephew did refuse it, they would set it vpon his. Whereunto the people with a great outcrie answered, that they would no more yeeld their obedience vnto an old bald man, as hauing receiued many harmes from the hoarie haire of *Andronicus*; and therefore for his sake, hated euery old man, more fit for *Charons* boat and his coffin, than for the empire, and especially if he had a forked beard or bald head, as had *Andronicus* and this *Ducas*. Thus was *Isaack* by the tumultuous multitude inuested in the empire. And so royally mounted vpon one of the emperours horses, richly furnished with a saddle and trappings of gold, which they had by chance gotten, was by them brought from the temple vnto the court; *Basilius Camaterus* the Patriarch waiting vpon him, whom the headstrong people had enforced against his will, to confirme with his authoritie what was by them done for the establishing of *Isaack* in the empire. *Andronicus* at his comming to the great pallace, perceiuing first by the confused crie of the tumultuous multitude,

Andronicus in
uaine seeketh to
appease the tu-
multuous people.

Isaack, *Angelus*
by the people in a
tumult saluted
emperor.

Andronicus for-
saken of his flatter-
ing fauourits.

A strange change.

Andronicus the
emperor taken
and brought in
bonds to *Angelus*
this.

Andronicus the
emperor hanged
up by the heales.

Atitude, and afterward by that which he saw with his eyes, how the world went; calling vpon his old friends and flattering fauourits, thought first by their helpe to haue repressed the furie of the rebellious: who as friends of his better fortune, and not of himselfe, were now for the most part shrunk from him; and those which were left, so faintly comming on, as if in his quarrell they had had no mind to spend their liues: with which heartlesse companie, *Andronicus* fearing to oppose himselfe against the furie of the multitude, with his bow and arrowes in his hand, got him vp into the highest tower of the pallace (called *CANTENARIA*) and from thence bestowed certaine shot among the people. But seeing that to bee to no purpose, and better persuaded to doe more with them with faire words, than such vaine words; he from the top of the tower cried aloud vnto them, That if they would hold themselves contented, and depart, he would by their consent resigne the empire vnto his sonne *Manuell*: whereat the people more enraged, spared not to poure forth most reprochfull words in contempt both of himselfe and his sonne. And so furiously brake into the court, by one of the gates called *CAREIA*: which *Andronicus* beholding, and now out of all hope, casting from him all his habillements of honour, and disguising himselfe, fled againe vnto his galleie, accompanied onely with *Anna* his wife, and *Maraptica* his minion, and so returned to *MELVDIVM*, his pallace from whence hee came. *Isaack* but yesterday in the bottome of despaire, and shadowed as it were with the hand of death, by the strange change of fortune to day mounted vnto the highest type of worldly honour, entering the pallace, was there againe with the greatest applause of the people that might bee, saluted emperor. From whence hee forthwith sent out certaine companies of his most assured friends and followers, to apprehend *Andronicus*: who now as a man at once forsaken both of his friends, and of his better fortune, secretly fled with his wife and his paragon before remembered, to *CHILE*, attended vpon onely with a few of his trustie seruants which had of long time serued him before hee was emperor. There taking ship, with purpose to haue fled vnto the *Taurocyrthes* (as not thinking himselfe safe in any province of the empire) hee was twice or thrice by foule weather put backe againe, the wrought sea abhorring (as it seemed) to carrie him that had so polluted it with the dead bodies of the innocent by him slaine; and still threatening (as it were) to deuour him. Thus strangely stayed by foule weather, or more truly to say, by the reuenging hand of the highest: hee was found by such as were sent out to seeke after him; and being by them apprehended, was with two great yron chaines fast locked about his proud necke, and heauie giues vpon his legs, cast into the castle of *ANEMA*: and in that miserable habit shortly after presented to the emperor *Isaack*, yet busied in appeasing and reforming of the disordered citie: where by the way as hee went, he was by the people most shamefully reuiled, and injuriously vsed; some plucking him by the beard, some by the haire of his head, some other in the meane time playing with his nose, and bobbing him in the face, with a thousand other despights done vnto him; especially by such women, as whose husbands he had before murdered or depriued of their sight. Afterward being committed to the hatefull furie of the people, he had his right hand cut off; and was againe committed to the same castle, without meat, drinke, or other comfort: where after he had laine a few dayes, hauing one of his eyes put out, hee was set vpon a foule leane cammell, with his face toward the taile thereof, and so as it were in triumph led through the market place, his bald head all bare, as if it had bene a dead mans skull taken out of a charnell house, in a short old coat; so miserable a spectacle, as might haue exprest a fountaine of teares out of the eyes of a right hard hearted man. But the bedlem and most insolent citizens, especially they of the baser sort, as cookes, coblers, curriours, and such like, flocking about him like bees (without regard that he had but the other day worne vpon his head the imperiall crowne, then honoured by them as a god, and extolled vnto the heauens; that they had not long before solemnly sworn vnto him obedience and loyalty) ran now as men out of their wits, omitting no kind of villanie they could deuise to doe vnto him: Some thrust nailes into his head, some cast durt in his face, some the dung both of men and beasts, some prick him in the sides with spits, some cast stones at him as at a mad dog, and other some opprobrious and despightfull words, no lesse grievous vnto him than the rest. Amongst others, an impudent drab comming out of the kitchen, cast a pot full of scalding water in his face. And in brieft, their outrage so exceeded, as if they had striuen among themselves who should do him the greatest villanie. Hauing thus shamefully as in a ridiculous triumph, brought him into the theatre, they there betwixt two pillars hanged him vp by

the heeles, where hauing suffred all these despitfull indignities, with many moe, not without offence to be named, he with an inuincible courage yet still held his patience, not giuing one euill word: but sometimes saying, *Lord haue mercie vpon me*: and otherwhiles, *Why doe you breake a brused reed?* yet the furious people nothing moued with the calamitie of so great a man, of all others now the most miserable, stripped him of his bad clothes as he hung, and cut off his priuities. One among the rest, to make an end of him, thrust his sword in at his throat vp to the hilt as he hung; other two with their long swords, proued their strength, who could strike farthest into his buttocks. Thus miserably perished this famous emperor, after he had reigned two yeeres. That which was left of his bodie (for many had carried away some peeces thereof) being taken down from the place where he hung, was cast into a base vault in the theatre, where it for a space lay, as the lothsome carcasse of some wild beast, and the miserable spectacle of mans

Nicetas Choniates Annal. lib. 1. fol. 161. col. 4.

fragillitie: for *Isaack* the emperor would not suffer it to be buried. Howbeit afterwards, the furie of the people ouerpasse, it was by some more charitable men remoued thence, and laid in a low vault nere vnto the monasterie of the *Ephori*: which as *Nicetas Choniates* (author of this historie, speaking of the time wherein he liued) sayth, is yet there vndisfolued to be seene. He was a man most honourably descended, of stature tall, and well proportioned: in his countenance far a certaine reuerend majestie, adorned with such notable vertues, as might haue made him worthily to haue been compared vnto the greatest emperors of his stock and familie, had he not obscured the same with too much ambition and crueltie, whereof the one caused him to lead the greatest part of his life in prison or exile, the other brought him vnto such a most shamefull end.

Isaack Angelus his successeur, by the fauour of the people thus exalted vnto the empire, at the first gouerned the same with great lenitie and moderation, as if he had altogether abhorred from the effusion of his subjects blood. But afterwards not a little troubled, both with forraigne enemies, and domesticall rebellion, besieged in the imperiall citie, by such of the nobilitie as thought themselves no lesse worthe of the empire than himselfe: for repressing of which insolencies, and the assuring of his state, he became so seuer in chastising the offenders, and such others as he had in distrust, that he was counted of most men not inferiour in crueltie to *Andronicus* his predecessor; few daies passing without the condemnation or execution of one great man or other, besides them of the meaner sort, of whom he seemed to make no great reckoning: whereby he in few yeeres lost the loue and fauour of his subjects, who before had him

Isaack Angelus the emperor tyrannicall.

Isaack the emperor, who was the cause of his death, by his brother, *Isaack*.

in great honour, and became vnto them no lesse odious than was before *Andronicus*. Vpon which generall dislike of the people, his ingratefull younger brother *Alexius* (by him before for a great summe of money redeemed from the Turks) tooke occasion to rise vp against him, and by the fauour of the souldiours, deprived him together both of the empire and his sight: and hauing put out his eyes, thrust him into a Monasterie, there to liue as it were out of the world, as a man condemned to perpetuall darknesse, after he had reigned nine yeeres and eight moneths, being not yet full fortie yeeres old: Whether it were the reuenging hand of God for the hard measure vsed to *Andronicus*, or not, I leaue it to the wisest to consider; who in his deepe prouidence, wherewith hee best gouerneth all things, would haue a moderation vsed in punishment of our most capitall enemies, as hauing alwaies before our eyes the slipperie state of power and authoritie: & that as all worldly things are subject to change, so by the iust judgement of God it oftentimes falleth out, that what hurt we do vnto others, the same we may receive againe from others. In these so great and strange mutations of the Constantinopolitane empire, (which I haue somewhat more at large prosecuted, not so much for the noueltie of the matter, although it were right strange, as for that out of the losses and ruine thereof, the greatnesse of the

Turkes for the most part grew) *Clizasthan* Sultan of *Iconium*, after the death of the emperor *Emanuel*, found meanes to take from the empire diuers strong townes and castles in the lesser *Asia*, together with a great part of the countrey of *Phrigia*: *Alexius Andronicus*, and *Isaack* the succeeding emperours, troubled with dangers neerer home, hauing nothing to oppose against him, but faire intreatie, and rich presents; so redeeming for a while an vnstirre peace, with no lesse charge, in short time to be renewed againe. This great victorious Sultan (for so he may of right be called) holding in his subjection a great part of the lesser *Asia*, now a man of great yeeres, dying, left behind him foure sonnes, *Masut*, *Coppatine*, *Reucratine*, and *Caichofroes*, all men growne. Amongst whom he deuided his kingdom. Vnto *Masut* he bequeathed *Amasia*, *Ancyra*, *Doryleum*, with diuers other pleasant cities of *Pontus*:

vnto

A vnto *Coppatine* he assigned *Melytene*, *Cesarea*, and the colonie now called *Taxara*: vnto *Reucratine* he allotted *Aminsum*, *Docba*, with some other cities vpon the sea coast: but vnto *Caichofroes*, he left *Iconium* his regall seat, and with it *Lycaonia*, *Pamphilia*, and all the countries thereabouts as far as *Cottianum*. Of these fourte, *Coppatine* long liued not after his father, for whose inheritance *Reucratine* prince of *Docba*, and *Masut* prince of *Ancyra* (his two brethren) fell at variance, and so at last into open war. But *Masut* finding himselfe too weak for his warlike brother *Reucratine*, yeelded vnto him the territories, which he saw he must needs forgo; and glad now to keepe his owne, so made peace with him. *Reucratine* being a man of an ambitious and haughtie spirit, with his forces thus doubled, denounced war vnto his brother *Caichofroes*; who doubting his owne strength, fled vnto the emperor *Alexius Angelus* for aid, as had his father done before him vnto the emperor *Manuel*, although not with like good fortune. For the emperor but of late hauing obtained the empire by the deposing of his brother, and altogether giuen to pleasure, reputing also those domesticall waies of the Turks, some part of his owne safetie; sent him home without comfort, as one strong enough of himselfe to defend his owne quarrell against his brother.

The sonnes of *Clizasthan* at variance among themselves.

Howbeit he was scarcely come to *Iconium*, but that he was by *Reucratine* expelled thence, and driuen to flee into *Armenia*, where he was by *Lebune* king of that country, a Turke also, honourably receiued and courteously vsed, but yet denied of the aid he requested: the king pretending that he was already in leaguer with *Reucratine*, and therefore could not; or as some thought, fearing the dangerousnesse of the matter, would not intermeddle therein. Wherewith the poore Sultan vtterly discouraged, returned againe to *Constantinople*, and there in poore estate, as a man forlorne, passed out the rest of his daies.

Now hauing thus passed through the Turkish affaires in the lesser *Asia*, together with the troubled estate of the Constantinopolitane empire, no small cause of the Turks greatnesse; the course of time calleth vs backe againe before wee passe any further, to remember their proceedings also at the same time, and shortly after, in *Siria*, *Iudea*, *Egypt*, and those more Southerly countries, where these restless people ceased not by all meanes to enlarge their empire, vntill they had brought all those great kingdoms vnder their obedience.

After the death of *Baldwin* king of *Hierusalem*, of whom we haue before spoken, *Americus* his yoonger brother earle of *Ioppa* and *Ascalon*, being then about seuen and twentie yeeres old, was by the better good liking of the cleargie and people, than of the nobilitie, elected king: not for that there wanted in him any good parts woorthie of a kingdom, but for that some of them enuied vnto him so great an honour. Neuerthelesse he was (as we said) by the generall consent of the people elected, proclaimed, and by *Americus* the Patriarch with all solemnitie crowned the seuenteenth day of Februarie, in the yeare of Grace 1163. To begin whose troubled raigne, the Egyptians first of all denied to pay vnto him their woonted tribute. In reuenge whereof, he in person himselfe with a puissant armie entred into *Egypt*; and meeting with *Dargan* the Sultan, ouerthrew him in plaine battell, and put him to flight: who to stay the further pursuit and passage of the Christians, cut the bankes of the riuer *Nilus*, and so drowned the countrey, that the king was glad to content himselfe with the victorie he had already gotten, and so to returne to *Hierusalem*.

Americus first king of *Hierusalem*.

The next yeere, *Americus* was againe drawn downe with his power into *Egypt*, by *Dargan* the Sultan, to aid him against *Saracon*: whom *Noradin* the Turke, king of *Damascus*, had sent as generall with an armie, to restore *Sanaar* the Sultan before expelled, and to depose *Dargan*. In which expedition *Dargan* being slaine, and *Saracon* hauing woon certaine townes, kept them to himselfe: *Sanaar* doubtfull of his good meaning, joynd his forces with *Americus*, and by his helpe expelled *Saracon* out of *Egypt*. But whilest *Americus* was thus busied in *Egypt*, *Noradin* the Turke making an inroad into the frontiers of the Christians nere vnto *Tripolis*, was by *Gilbert Lacy*, master of the Templars in those quarters, and the other Christians, when he least feared, so suddenly set vpon, that he had much adoe by flight to saue himselfe; halfe naked for hast, most of his followers being at the same time slaine. In reuenge of which disgrace, he not long after with a greater power came and besieged *Arcthusa*: For reliefe whereof, *Bohemund* prince of *Antioch*, *Raymund* the yoonger, earle of *Tripolis*, *Calaman* gouernour of *Cilicia*, and *Toros* prince of *Armenia* came with their power. Of whose coming the Turke hearing, raised his siege and departed. After whom these Christian princes eagerly

Noradin the Turke discomfited by the Christians.

gerly following, were by the Turks shut vp in certaine deepe and rotten fennes (whereinto they had vnadvisedly too far entred) and there with a great slaughter ouerthrowne. In which conflict, all the chiefe commanders of the armie were taken, except the prince of ARMENIA, who foreseeing the danger, had retired, after he had in vaine dissuaded the rest from the further pursuit of the flying enemy. The prince of ANTIOCH there taken, was about a yeare after for a great summe of money redeemed; but the countie of TRIPOLIS was after eight yeares strait captiuitie hardly deliuered. *Noradin* after this victorie returning againe to the siege of ARETHUSA, in few daies woon the towne: and encouraged with so good successe, and the absence of the king, laid siege to the cite of PANADE, which was also deliuered vnto him, vpon condition that the citizens might at their pleasure in safetie depart.

At the same time *Saracoon* generall of *Noradin* his forces, tooke from the Christians two castles; the one in the countie of SIDON, the other beyond IORDAN vpon the borders of ARABIA, both in the custodie of the Templars: twelue of whom the king at his returne hanged vpon treason.

Shortly after *Saracoon*, king *Noradin* his great man of war, with all the power of the Turkes, came downe againe into EGYPT, with purpose to haue fully subdued all that notable kingdome vnto his lord and master. Of whose power, *Sanar* the Sultan standing in dread, praied aid of *Ammericus*, promising vnto him beside his yearly tribute, the summe of fortie thousand ducats for his paines. The matter fully agreed vpon, and all things now in readinesse; *Ammericus* set forward with his armie, and encountering with *Saracoon* and his Turkes at the riuer NILVS, ouerthrew him in a great battell: yet not without some losse, for the Turkes in their flight lighting vpon the kings carriages with the whole baggage of the armie, and ouerturning them that had the charge thereof, caried away with them a most rich prey: whereby it came to passe, that as the Christians had the victorie, so the Turkes enjoyed the spoile.

Saracoon after this ouerthrow hauing againe gathered together his dispersed souldiers, tooke his way to ALEXANDRIA, where he was by the citizens receiued: after whom the king following, gaue no attempt vnto the cite, for that he knew to be but vaine, but encamped close by the side of the riuer NILVS, from whence the cite was chiefly to be victualled. Whose purpose *Saracoon* perceiuing, and betime foreseeing the distresse of his whole armie for want of victuals, if he should there long stay: leauing there his sonne *Saladin* (or as some call him his nephew) with a thousand horsemen for the keeping of the cite, secretly by night departed thence himselfe with the rest of his armie: and passing through the deserts, did great harme in the vpper parts of EGYPT.

Saladin left in EGYPT. Of whose departure *Ammericus* vnderstanding, was about to haue followed him, but that he was otherwise perswaded by the Egyptian captaiues to continue his former purpose for the gaining of the cite. Wherefore now after the departure of *Saracoon*, he began to approch the wals, and with diuers engines of war to disturbe the defendants: wherewith the citizens (better acquainted with the trade of marchandize, than the feats of war) discouraged, began now to consule among themselves for the turning out of those troublesome guests whom they had so lately receiued: which *Saladin* perceiuing, certified *Saracoon* his vnde thereof, requesting his speedie reliefe in that his so dangerous estate, and with much intreatie perswaded the citizens for a while to hold it out, vntill he might from him receiue answer: of all which the Christians and Egyptians without, hauing intelligence, laid so much the harder vnto the cite. Gladly would *Saracoon* haue done what hee was by his nephew requested: but perceiuing it to be a matter of no lesse danger than difficultie, he by the means of *Hugh* countie of CESAREA, & one *Arnolphus* another noble Christian, both then prisoners with him, concluded a peace with the king: whereupon the cite was forthwith yeelded vp, and *Saladin* with his Turkes suffred in safetie to depart. At which time also all prisoners were on both sides freely and without ransom set at libertie. Thus *Saracoon* for this time disappointed of his purpose for the conquest of EGYPT, returned backe againe to DAMASCO: and *Ammericus* with great glorie to ASCALON, where he armed with his armie the 21 of September in the yeare 1167.

Saladin left in EGYPT. Of whose departure *Ammericus* vnderstanding, was about to haue followed him, but that he was otherwise perswaded by the Egyptian captaiues to continue his former purpose for the gaining of the cite.

1167

In this late expedition, king *Ammericus* on the one side enflamed with the wealth of EGYPT, and on the other, encouraged with the weaknesse of that effeminate people, resting for the most part vpon forreigne strength; had purposed himselfe to inuade the kingdome, & so if possibly he might to ioyne it to his owne. For colour wherof, it was pretended that the Sultan contrary to his faith before giuen, had secretly fought to ioyne in league and amitie with *Noradin* the Turke, king

A king of DAMASCO. The chiefe stirrer vp of the king vnto this war, was one *Gérbert* master of the Templars; who in respect of the aid by them of his order to be giuen, had obtained of the king, after the victorie gained, to haue the cite of PELVSIVM with all the rich countrey about the same, giuen vnto him and his brethren the knights of the order for euer: Vpon which hope, he contrarie to the mind of many of the knights, for the furtherance of that war, gaged his whole wealth and credit, with all the treasure of his house. So all things now in readinesse, for so great an enterprise, *Ammericus* with his armie set forward in October, and hauing in ten daies passed the sandie desert, came to PELVSIVM; which cite he after three daies siege tooke by force, and put to sword all them that were therein, without respect of age, sex, or condition: which cite he according to his promise before made, gaue vnto the Templars. After that, he began also to besiege CAIRE, at which time his fleet lacked the cite of TAPIVM. In the meane time, *Sanar* the Egyptian Sultan, considering the danger he was in, to satisfie *Ammericus* his greedie desire, offered to pay him twentie hundred thousand ducats to withdraw his forces: and forthwith sent him one hundred thousand, for the ransom of his sonne and his nephew taken prisoners at PELVSIVM: and for the rest to be paid within few daies after, he gaue two of his nephews hostages. Neuerthelesse the payment he deferred from day to day, of purpose in the meane time to raise the whole power of EGYPT, as also to receiue aid from the Turkes by *Saracoon*, which he dayly expected: of whose speedie comming *Ammericus* vnderstanding, left part of his armie at PELVSIVM, & with the rest went to haue met him: but missing him by the way, *Saracoon* with his Turkes came in safetie to CAIRE vnto the Sultan as he had desired. Wherfore *Ammericus* dismayed with the multitude of two so great armies now joynted together, retired backe againe to PELVSIVM, and there taking with him the garrison before left, returned home to IERUSALEM: hauing in that expedition (begun with the breach of faith) laid the foundation of the ruine of his kingdome, as in few yeeres after it by prooffe appeared, by the euill neighbourhood of the Turkes, by that meanes brought downe into EGYPT.

The Sultan of Egypt under the colour of friendship slain by *Saracoon*.

Saracoon the Turke after the departure of *Ammericus*, easily perceiuing a most fit time and opportunity to be offered for him now to obtaine that, which he had in vaine before both sought and fought for; encamped with his armie neere vnto CAIRE, and notably counterfeited himselfe of all others the most deuoted friend of the Sultans: so that betwixt them two passed all the kind tokens of loue and friendship, that could possibly be deuised: the Sultan oftentimes feasting the Turke; and in kindnesse likewise being feasted of him: But at length going as his manner was vnto the campe to visit him, he was by the Turkes slaine. So *Saracoon* hauing brought to passe what he desired, and entering the cite with his armie, was by the great Caliph (from whom the Egyptian Sultans, as from their superiours, the true successours of their great prophet *Mahomet* tooke their authoritie) appointed Sultan, the first of the Turkes that euer enjoyed the same: which royall dignitie he had not possessed fully a yeere, but that he was taken away by death. In whose steed *Saladin* his brothers sonne, by and by stepped vp: who altogether a martiall man, not regarding the reuerend majestic of the Caliph (as had his vncle *Saracoon*, & all the Egyptian Sultans before him) with his horsemen made stricke out his braines; and not so contented, vtterly rooted out all his posteritie, the better to assure himselfe and his successours the Turkes in the possession of his new gotten kingdome: and after that diuided the great treasures of the Egyptians among his Turkes, to encourage them the more to follow him in his warres against the Christians.

How the kingdome of Egypt first fell into the hands of the Saracens, with the notable alterations thereof.

This glorious kingdome so much spoken of in holy Scripture, and renowned of the learned historiographers of all ages, after the ruine of the Romane empire, was sometime part of the Constantinopolitane empire, and a notable member of the Christian common weale; vntill that about the yeere of our Lord 704, the Egyptians wearie of the pride & cotterousnes of the Gracians, reuolted from them vnto the Saracens, whose superstition they also receiued, and so vnder the government of the Saracen Caliphs, the successours of the false prophet *Mahomet* liued about 464 yeares, vntill that now being inuaded by *Ammericus*, they praid aid of *Noradin* the Turke, Sultan of DAMASCO: who vnto their reliefe sending *Saracoon* with an armie, repulsed indeed the Christians, but oppressing their libertie, tooke vnto himselfe the kingdome, which he left vnto his nephew *Saladin*, in whose posteritie it remained vntill it was from them againe taken by the Circassian slanes the Mamalukes: vnder whose seruile government it was holden of long time, vntill that by the great emperor of the Turkes *Selymus* the first, it was againe conquered, and the Mamalukes

gerly following, were by the Turks shut vp in certaine deepe and rotten fennes (whereinto they had vnaduisedly too far entred) and there with a great slaughter ouerthrowne. In which conflict, all the chiefe commanders of the armie were taken, except the prince of ARMENIA, who foreseeing the danger, had retired, after he had in vaine dissuaded the rest from the further pursuit of the flying enimie. The prince of ANTIOCH there taken, was about a yeare after for a great summe of money redeemed; but the countie of TRIPOLIS was after eight yeares strait captiuitie hardly deliuered. *Noradin* after this victorie returning againe to the siege of ARETHUSA, in few daies woon the towne: and encouraged with so good successe, and the absence of the king, laid siege to the citie of PANADE, which was also deliuered vnto him, vpon condition that the citizens might at their pleasure in safetie depart.

At the same time *Saracon* generall of *Noradin* his forces, tooke from the Christians two castles; the one in the countie of SIDON, the other beyond IORDAN vpon the borders of ARABIA, both in the custodie of the Templars: twelue of whom the king at his returne hanged vp for treason.

Shortly after *Saracon*, king *Noradin* his great man of war, with all the power of the Turkes, came downe againe into EGYPT, with purpose to haue fully subdued all that notable kingdome vnto his lord and master. Of whose power, *Sana* the Sultan standing in dread, praied aid of *Almericus*, promising vnto him beside his yearly tribute, the summe of fortie thousand ducats for his paines. The matter fully agreed vpon, and all things now in readinesse; *Almericus* set forward with his armie, and encountering with *Saracon* and his Turkes at the riuer NILVS, ouerthrew him in a great battell: yet not without some losse, for the Turkes in their flight lighting vpon the kings carriages with the whole baggage of the armie, and ouerturning them that had the charge thereof, caried away with them a most rich prey: whereby it came to passe, that as the Christians had the victorie, so the Turkes enjoyed the spoile.

Saracon after this ouerthrow hauing againe gathered together his dispersed souldiers, tooke his way to ALEXANDRIA, where he was by the citizens receiued: after whom the king following, gaue no attempt vnto the citie, for that he knew to be but vaine, but encamped close by the side of the riuer NILVS, from whence the citie was chiefly to be victualed. Whose purpose *Saracon* perceiuing, and betime foreseeing the distresse of his whole armie for want of victuals, if he should there long stay: leauing there his sonne *Saladin* (or as some call him his nephew) with a thousand horsemen for the keeping of the citie, secretly by night departed thence himselfe with the rest of his armie: and passing through the deserts, did great harme in the vpper parts of EGYPT.

Saladin left in EGYPT. Of whose departure Almericus vnderstanding, was about to haue followed him, but that he was otherwise perswaded by the Egyptian captiues to continu his former purpose for the gaining of the citie. Wherefore now after the departure of Saracon, he began to approch the wals, and with diuers engines of war to disturbe the defendants: wherewith the citizens (better acquainted with the trade of marchandize, than the feats of war) discouraged, began now to consult among themselues for the turning out of those troublesome guests whom they had so lately receiued: which Saladin perceiuing, certified Saracon his vnckle thereof, requesting his speedie reliefe in that his dangerous estate, and with much intreatie perswaded the citizens for a while to hold it out, vntill he might from him receiue answer: of all which the Christians and Egyptians without, hauing intelligence, laid so much the harder vnto the citie. Gladly would Saracon haue done what hee was by his nephew requested: but perceiuing it to be a matter of no lesse danger than difficultie, he by the means of Hugh countie of CESAREA, & one Arnolphus another noble Christian, both then prisoners with him, concluded a peace with the king: whereupon the citie was forthwith yielded vp, and Saladin with his Turkes suffred in safetie to depart. At which time also all prisoners were on both sides freely and without ransom set at libertie. Thus Saracon for this time disappointed of his purpose for the conquest of EGYPT, returned backe againe to DAMASCO: and Almericus with great glorie to ASCALON, where he arrived with his armie the 21 of September in the yeare 1167.

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1167

In this late expedition, king *Almericus* on the one side enflamed with the wealth of EGYPT, and on the other, encouraged with the weaknesse of that effeminate people, resting for the most part vpon forreigne strength; had purposed himselfe to inuade the kingdome, & so if possibly he might to ioyne it to his owne. For colour wherof, it was pretended that the Sultan contrarie to his faith before giuen, had secretly fought to ioyne in league and amitie with *Noradin* the Turke,

king

A king of DAMASCO. The chiefe stirrer vp of the king vnto this war, was one *Gerbert* master of the Templars; who in respect of the aid by them of his order to be giuen, had obtained of the king, after the victorie gained, to haue the citie of PELVSIVM with all the rich countrey about the same, giuen vnto him and his brethren the knights of the order for euer: Vpon which hope, he contrarie to the mind of many of the knights, for the furtherance of that war, gaged his whole wealth and credit, with all the treasure of his house. So all things now in readinesse, for so great an enterprize, *Almericus* with his armie set forward in October, and hauing in ten daies passed the sandie desert, came to PELVSIVM; which citie he after three daies siege tooke by force, and put to sword all them that were therein, without respect of age, sex, or condition: which citie he according to his promise before made, gaue vnto the Templars. After that, he began also to besiege CAIRE, at which time his fleet lacked the citie of TAPIVM. In the meane time, *Sana* the Egyptian Sultan, considering the danger he was in, to satisfie *Almericus* his greedie desire, offered to pay him twentie hundred thousand ducats to withdraw his forces: and forthwith sent him one hundred thousand, for the ransom of his sonne and his nephew taken prisoners at PELVSIVM: and for the rest to be paid within few daies after, he gaue two of his nephews hostages. Neuerthelesse the payment he deferred from day to day, of purpose in the meane time to raise the whole power of EGYPT, as also to receiue aid from the Turkes by *Saracon*, which he dayly expected: of whose speedie comming *Almericus* vnderstanding, left part of his armie at PELVSIVM, & with the rest went to haue met him: but missing him by the way, *Saracon* with his Turkes came in safetie to CAIRE vnto the Sultan as he had desired. Wherefore *Almericus* dismaid with the multitude of two so great armies now joynt together, retired backe againe to PELVSIVM, and there taking with him the garrison before left, returned home to HIRUSALEM: hauing in that expedition (begun with the breach of faith) laid the foundation of the ruine of his kingdome, as in few yeeres after it by prooffe appeared, by the euill neighbourhood of the Turkes, by that meanes brought downe into EGYPT.

Saracon the Turke after the departure of *Almericus*, easily perceiuing a most fit time and opportunity to be offered for him now to obtaine that, which he had in vaine before both sought and fought for; encamped with his armie neere vnto CAIRE, and notably counterfeited himselfe of all others the most deuoted friend of the Sultans: so that betwixt them two passed all the kind tokens of loue and friendship, that could possibly be deuised: the Sultan oftentimes feasting the Turke; and in kindnesse likewise being feasted of him: But at length going as his manner was vnto the campe to visit him, he was by the Turkes slaine. So *Saracon* hauing brought to passe what he desired, and entering the citie with his armie, was by the great Caliph (from whom the Egyptian Sultans, as from their superiours, the true successours of their great prophet *Mahomet* tooke their authoritie) appointed Sultan, the first of the Turkes that euer enjoyed the same: which royall dignitie he had not possessed fully a yeere, but that he was taken away by death. In whose steed *Saladin* his brothers sonne, by and by stepped vp: who altogether a martiall man, not regarding the reuerend majestic of the Caliph (as had his vnckle *Saracon*, & all the Egyptian Sultans before him) with his horsemen made stricke out his braines; and not so contented, vterly rooted out all his posteritie, the better to assure himselfe and his successours the Turkes in the possession of his new gotten kingdome: and after that diuided the great treasures of the Egyptians among his Turkes, to encourage them the more to follow him in his warres against the Christians.

This glorious kingdome so much spoken of in holy Scripture, and renowned of the learned historiographers of all ages, after the ruine of the Romane empire, was sometime part of the Constantinopolitane empire, and a notable member of the Christian common weale; vntill that about the yeere of our Lord 704, the Egyptians wearie of the pride & couetousnes of the Grecians, reuolted from them vnto the Saracens, whose superstition they also receiued: and so vnder the government of the Sarafin Caliphs, the successours of the false prophet *Mahomet* liued about 464 yeeres, vntill that now being inuaded by *Almericus*, they praied aid of *Noradin* the Turke, Sultan of DAMASCO: who vnto their reliefe sending *Saracon* with an armie, repulsed indeed the Christians, but oppressing their libertie, tooke vnto himselfe the kingdome, which he left vnto his nephew *Saladin*, in whose posteritie it remained vntill it was from them againe taken by the Circassian slauers the Mamalukes: vnder whose seruile government it was holden of long time, vntill that by the great emperor of the Turkes *Selymus* the first, it was againe conquered, and the

Mamalukes

The Sultan of Egypt under the colour of friendship slaine by Saracon.

How the kingdome of Egypt first fell into the hands of the Saracens, with the notable alterations thereof.

Mamaluks utterly destroyed: In the government of whose posteritie, the mightie emperors of the Turks, it hath euer since remained as part of their empire, vntill this day, as in the proceſſe of this historic God willing shall appeare.

1170 *Saladin* thus possessed of the great kingdome of *Egypt*, and all things set in such order as he thought best for the newnesse of his state, with a great armie entred into the land of *Palestine*, in the year 1170, and there besieged *Daron*; which towne he woon, and ouerthrew such as were sent by king *Americus* to haue relieved the same: with which small victorie contenting himselfe, as with the good beginning of his rising fortune, he returned backe againe into his kingdome. Yet was his armie so great and populous, as that the like armie of the *Turkes* had neuer before bene scene in the Holy land. Wherefore *Americus* considering in what great danger he stood, his kingdome now being on both sides beset by the *Turks*, sent out his embassadours vnto the Christian princes of the West, to craue their aid for the defence of that kingdome which their fathers had woon. And for the same purpose went himselfe in person vnto the emperour of *Constantinople*, of whom he was royally entertained, and afterwards sent backe loaded with the promises of great matters, as were also his embassadours from the princes of the West. All which for all that sorted vnto nothing, but vanished into smoake.

1171 The year following, viz. 1171, *Saladin* besieged *Petrea*, the metropolitall cite of *Arabia*: but hearing that *Americus* with a great power was comming to the reliefe thereof, hee raised his siege and retired. As he did also the next year after, hauing in vaine attempted the strong castle of *Mont-Royal*, on the further side of *Jordan*. In like manner also the third year he came againe into the Holy land, and spoiled the countrey beyond *Jordan*: but hearing of the kings comming against him, he forthwith returned againe into *Egypt*. All these light expeditions, this politike prince made not so much for hope of victorie, or to prooue his enemies strength, as to traine his souldiers, especially the effeminate *Aegyptians*, and to make them fitter to serue him in his greater designs.

1173 Shortly after died *Noradin* Sultan of *Damasco*, and in his time a most notable champion of the *Turks*, after he had reigned nine and twentie yeares. Vpon whose death *Americus* forthwith besieged the cite of *Panabe*, in hope to haue againe recouered the same: but he was by the widow of the late dead Sultan, for a great summe of money and the deliuerie of certaine noble prisoners, intreated to raise his siege and depart. So hauing sent away his armie, and travelling with his ordinarie retinue to *Tiberias*, where hee had the summer before bene sicke of the flux, feeling himselfe not well, he returned on horsebacke by *Nazareth* and *Neapolis* to *Hierusalem*, where his old disease increaseth vpon him, he was also taken with a feuer: wherewith after he had bene some few daies grievously tormented, hee requested his physicians with some gentle potion to loose his belly, which was now somewhat staied: which they refusing to do, he commaunded the potion to be giuen him vpon his owne perill, hap thereon what hap should: which being giuen him, and his belly againe loosed, he seemed therewith to haue been at the first well eased; but his wonted feauer with great vehemencie returning, before his weake & spent bodie could be with conuenient meats refreshed, he suddenly died the tenth of Iuly, in the year 1173, when he had reigned about ten yeares. His dead bodie was with the great lamentation of all his subjects, solemnly buried by his brothers. Hee was a most wise prince, and withall right valiant, amongst many most fit for the government and defence of that troublesome kingdome so hardly beset with the infidels, if it had pleased God to haue giuen him longer life.

Baldwin the fourth of that name seventh king of Hierusalem.

Fourte daies after the death of *Americus*, was *Baldwin* his sonne, then a youth about thirtene yeares old, by the generall consent of the nobilitie chosen king, and by *Americus* the Patriarch in the temple with great solemnitie crowned in the year 1173: vnto whom, as not yet by reason of his tender age, fit himselfe to mannage the waightie affaires of the kingdome, *Raymond* countie of *Tripolis* was by the whole consent of the nobilitie appointed tutor to supply what was wanting in the yooing king.

Noradin, Sultan of *Damasco* (dead as is aforesaid) left behind him *Melechala* his sonne, yet but a youth, to succede him in his kingdome. Whose government the nobilitie disdaining, sent secretly for *Saladin* Sultan of *Egypt*, vnto whom at his commaing they betrayed the cite of *Damasco*, the regall seat of the *Turkes* in *Syria*. Whereof *Saladin* possessed, and entring into *Celestria* without resistance, tooke *Heliopolis*, *Emissa*, with the great cite of *Cesarea*:

A *Cesarea*; and in fine, all the whole kingdome of *Damasco*, the cite of *Arrethusa* onely excepted. But thus to suffer *Melechala* the yooing prince to be wronged, and the kingdome of *Damasco* to be joynd vnto the kingdome of *Egypt*, was of the wiser sort thought not to stand with the safetie of the kingdome of *Hierusalem*, lying in the middle betwixt them both. Wherefore the countie of *Tripolis*, gouernour of that kingdome, made out certaine forces to haue hindred his proceeding. At which time also, *Colobed* prince of *Parthia* and *Melechala* his vncle, sent certaine troupes of *Parthian* horsemen to haue aided his distressed nephew, who were by *Saladin* ouerthrowne and almost all slaine, neere vnto *Alippo* where *Melechala* lay. As for the countie of *Tripolis* and the other Christian princes, with whom *Saladin* in the newnesse of his kingdome had no desire to fall out; he appeased them with faire intreatie, and rewards: vnto the countie hee sent freely the hostages, which yet lay for his ranfome at *Emissa*: vnto the other princes he sent rich presents: and therewith so contented them all, that they returned without any thing doing against him. After which time, three or foure yeares passed in great quietnesse, to the great strengthening of him in those his new gotten kingdomes. At length vpon the comming ouer of *Philip* earle of *Flanders*, the Christian princes in *Syria* encouraged, consulted of an expedition to be made into *Egypt*, whereof *Saladin* hauing intelligence, drew downe into that countrey the greatest part of his strength. But *Philip* disliking of that expedition, and the rather for that he saw no great cheerefulness in the countie of *Tripolis* and the rest, thereunto; they with one consent changed their purpose for *Egypt*, and turning their forces quite contrarie way, miserably and without resistance wasted the countrey about *Emissa* and *Cesaria*.

C Whilest the Christians were thus busied in *Calostria*; *Saladin* on the other side tooke occasion out of *Egypt* to invade the kingdome of *Hierusalem*: of whose comming king *Baldwin* hauing intelligence, with such small forces as he had left, hasted himselfe to *Ascalon*. In the meane time *Saladin* with a great armie was entred into the holy land, where burning the countrey before him, and raging in the blood of the poore Christians, hee came and encamped not farre from *Ascalon*; and stricke such a feare vpon the whole countrey, that they which dwelt in *Hierusalem*, were about to haue forsaken the cite: As for the king himselfe, he lay close within the cite of *Ascalon*, not daring to aduenture vpon so strong an enemy. Wherewith *Saladin* encouraged, and out of feare of his enemies, disperſed his armie, some one way some another, to forage the countrey. Which the king perceiuing, secretly with all his power issued out of the cite, if happily so he might ouertake the Sultan vnawares. Neither was he deceived in his expectation: for comming suddainly vpon him, and secretly charging him, he had with him for a good space an hard and doubtfull battell, vntill that the victorie by the power of God, at length enclining to the Christians, *Saladin* with his *Turkes* fled, ouerthrowne with a great slaughter, most part of his great armie being either there slaine, or lost afterward with hunger and cold. This victorie fell vnto the Christians the 25 day of Nouember in the year 1177, not without the mightie hand of God; the *Turke* hauing in his armie about six and twentie thousand horsemen, and the king not past foure hundred horse with some few footmen. After which victorie, *Baldwin* in great triumph returned to *Hierusalem*, and there shortly after with great care and diligence repaired the decayed wals of the cite.

E *Saladin* in reuenge of this ouerthrow, made diuerſe incursions into the frontiers of the Christians, and did great harme, especially in the countrey about *Sidon*. For the repressing whereof, the king put himselfe in armes, and going against him, ouerthrew part of his armie, as they were carying away a great bootie. Of which ouerthrow *Saladin* vnderstanding, came in such hast with the rest of his armie, as if it had been a suddaine tempest vpon the Christians, then in great securitie deuinding the spoile; of whom they slew a great number, and put the rest to flight: In which so suddaine a confusion, *Otto*, grand master of the *Templars*, and *Hugh* the earle of *Tripolis* his sonne in law, were both taken prisoners. The earle himselfe with a few fled to *Tyre*: the king also at the same time was glad to shift for himselfe, and by flight to saue himselfe as he might. After which victorie, *Saladin* besieged a strong castle which the king but the year before had built vpon the banke of the riuer of *Jordan*, and giuen it to the *Templars*, with the countrey round about; which castle *Saladin* tooke by force, and put to sword all that were therein, except some few whom he carried away prisoners. By this victorie *Saladin* became dreadfull vnto the Christians in *Syria*, which caused them, especially such as had any charge, with more vigilancie

Saladin ouerthrowne by king Baldwin.

1177

The Christians deuinding the spoile, ouerthrowne by the Turks.

cie to looke about them. Yet shortly after, a peace was for a time concluded, betwixt the Sultan and the king; whereby their troubled estates breathed themselves, almost the space of two yeares.

But this so welcome a calme was by domestick troubles againe by the kings friends suddenly troubled. For the countie of **TRIPOLIS**, to whom the government of the kingdome was committed, comming towards **HIERUSALEM**, being by the suggestion of his enemies brought into suspicion with the king, as if he had affected the kingdome, was to his great disgrace by the way commanded to stay. The chiefe authors of which discontentment, were the kings mother, a woman of a turbulent nature, and her brother the kings steward; who in the absence of the earle had wrought the kings sickle mind according to their owne appetites. But the rest of the nobilitie wisely foreseeing vnto what great danger that discord might tend; in despite of them, with much labour, caused him to be sent for againe, and so reconciled vnto the king: By which meanes, that dangerous fire of dissention was for that time appeased, which afterwards brake out againe, to the vtter ruine of that kingdome.

Saladin goes
out of Egypt to
Damasco.

Saladin now wearie of the league he had before made with king **Baldwin**, as no longer standing with his haute designs, renounced the same, and raising a great power in **ÆGYP**, set forward toward **DAMASCO**. Of whose comming king **Baldwin** hauing knowledge, with the whole power of his kingdome went to haue met him, not farre from the dead Sea, and there encamped at an old towne called **PETRA**. But **Saladin** turning out of the way, into the kings territorie, came and encamped before **MOUNT-ROIAL**, a castle which **Baldwin** had giuen vnto the Templars, about three daies march from the place where the king lay.

Galilee spoiled,
and the castle of
Bury taken by
the Turks.

There **Saladin** with the spoile of the countie refreshing his armie, now wearie of long travail, set forward againe, and so without resistance arriued with his armie at **DAMASCO**. At the same time the Turks capitaines about **DAMASCO**, **BOSTRUM**, and **EMISSA**, perceiving the frontiers of the Christians thereabout, to be kept but with small strength, passed ouer **JORDAN**, and spoiling a great part of **GALILEE**, besieged the castle of **BURY**, at the foot of **MOUNT-TABOR**, not farre from the cite of **NAIM**; which castle they in few dayes tooke, and hauing there made a great slaughter, carried away with them about five hundred prisoners. **Saladin** being come to **DAMASCO**, called together all the garrisons of that kingdome, and joyning them vnto the forces he brought out of **ÆGYP**, entered into the Holy land: at which time the countie of **TRIPOLIS**, gouernour of the kingdome, lay sicke of a burning feauer. Neuertheless the king encouraged by the knights of the order, went out with his armie against him; and encountering with him nere vnto a village called **FRONTOBERT**, ouerthrew him in a great battell, wherein, and afterward in the flight, most part of the Sultans armie perished. **Saladin** himselfe being glad by speedie flight to escape the danger, and so by long marches to get him againe to **DAMASCO**.

Barons inuain
besieged by the
Turks.

In reuenge of this ouerthrow, **Saladin** hauing repaired his armie, and sent for his fleet out of **ÆGYP**, came and besieged **BERRYVS** both by sea and land: at which time also his brother, whom he had left gouernour in **ÆGYP**, besieged **DARUM**, a strong towne in the vttermost bounds of the kingdome of **HIERUSALEM** towards **ÆGYP**. Both whose forces **Baldwin** being not able at once to repress, by the counsell of his nobilitie thought it best first to relieue **BERRYVS**, as the place of greater importance. And for that purpose set forward with his armie by land, hauing also rigged vp three and thirtie gallies at **TYRE**, for the releefe thereof by sea. Of which preparation **Saladin** vnderstanding, as also of the kings comming (by letters intercepted by his scouts, directed to the besieged, for the holding out of the siege, with promise of speedie reliefe) he presently rose with his armie, and departed: whereof the king being aduertised, retired to **SEPHOR**.

Saladin inua-
ding Melopota-
mia, is himselfe
inuaied by the
king of Hieru-
salem.

Not long after, **Saladin** according to his ambitious nature, desirous about measure to extend the bounds of his kingdome, and seeing the successe of his attempts against the king of **HIERUSALEM** not answerable to his desire, conuerted his forces vnto the countries more eastward: and passing the river **EUPHRATES**, and entering into **MESOPOTAMIA**, partly by force, partly by corruption, got into his hand the cities of **EDESSA**, **CARRAS**, and diuers others. In which time the king of **HIERUSALEM** tooke occasion first to spoile the country about **DAMASCO**, and after that, diuers other places of the Sultans kingdome, making hauock of whatsoever came in his way, and so laded with the spoile of the Turkes, retired to **HIERUSALEM**.

Saladin

Saladin with victorie returning out of **MESOPOTAMIA**, in reuenge of the injuries done vnto him in his absence, marched directly to **ALEPPO**, the strongest cite of the Christians in that part of **SYRIA**, which about all other he longed after: where hee had not long liuen, but that it was by the treason of the gouernour deliuered into his hands, with all the countie thereabouts: wherewith the Christian princes were so discouraged, that they euen then began to feare greater matters to ensue. The prince of **ANTIOCH** sold **TARSVS**, the metropolitick cite of **CILICIA**, to **Rupinus** prince of **ARMENIA**; for that he saw it was not without great charge and danger to be by him defended, being so farre from him, and **Saladin** as it were now slept in betwixt him and it.

Aleppo betraied
vnto the Turke.

At the same time king **Baldwin**, at **NAZARETH** fell sicke of a feauer: the leprosie also his old disease growing dayly more and more vpon him: in so much that despairing of his life, he called vnto him **Guy Lusignan** countie of **IOPPA** and **ASCALON**, vnto whom he had before espoused **Sybilla** his eldest sister, and in the presence of his mother, the Patriarch, and all the chiefe commanders of the souldiers of the sacred war, appointed him gouernour of the kingdome, reseruing vnto himselfe only the title of a king, with the cite of **HIERUSALEM**, and a yearely pension of ten thousand duckats: All which was done to the great disgrace and discontentment of the countie of **TRIPOLIS** the old gouernour.

It was not long, but that **Saladin** hauing breathed himselfe a little, after so great labours, came againe into the Holy land, where he tooke many castles and did infinit harme; in so much that the countie people were glad for feare to forsake their houses and to fle into cities. The Christian armie in the meane time lying fast by at **SEPHOR**, not once moouing, although many a faire occasion were offered: For the chiefe commanders affectionated vnto the countie of **TRIPOLIS**, and enuying at the preferment of **Guy** the new gouernour, were vnwilling to fight, but finding one excuse or other, suffered the enemy at his pleasure to spoile the countie, and so in safetie to depart, which he had neuer before done in those quarters.

Petra in reuenge
besieged by the
Turks.

Within lesse than a moneth after, **Saladin** with a great armie well appointed with all the habiliments of war, needfull for the besieging of a cite or strong castle, came againe into the land of **PALESTINE**; and passing through the countie beyond **JORDAN**, sat downe at last before **PETRA**, in hope by the taking thereof, to haue made his passage betweene **ÆGYP** and **DAMASCO** more safe. Of which his purpose king **Baldwin** hauing knowledge, and taught by the euill successe of late, to what small purpose it was to commit the managing of his wars vnto a generall so euill beloued, and lesse regarded, as was **Guy** his brother in law; sent against him with his armie **Raymund** the countie of **TRIPOLIS**, the old gouernour, whom he had againe restored vnto the government, and displaced **Guy**. Of whose comming **Saladin** hearing, raised his siege after he had lien there a moneth, and so departed.

A little before this expedition, the king still growing sicker and sicker, his foule disease still increasing, by the common consent of the nobilitie appointed **Baldwin** his nephew by his sister **Sybilla**, a child but of five yeares old, to succeed him in the kingdome; and the countie of **TRIPOLIS** to haue the government of the state during the time of his minoritie. This **Sybilla** the kings sister, was first married to **William** the yoonger, marquisse of **MOUNT-FERRAT**, who dying within three months after, left her with child with this his posthumus sonne **Baldwin**, now by his vnkle deputed vnto the hope of the kingdome. After whose death she was married to **Guy Lusignan**, countie of **IOPPA** and **ASCALON**, the late gouernour: who taking in euill part this the kings designement, especially for the government of the kingdome by the countie of **TRIPOLIS**; departed from the court as a man discontented vnto his cite of **ASCALON**: whereof the Patriarch and the princes of the sacred war, fearing (and that not without cause) great danger to ensue, came to the king, then holding a parliament at the cite of **ACON**, most humbly requesting him for auoiding of further danger and the safetie of his kingdome, to receiue againe into his fauour the countie **Guy** his brother in law, and to make an attonement betwixt him and the countie of **TRIPOLIS**. But this their request forced to no purpose, so that the parliament was dissolved without any thing for the good of the commonweale in that point concluded.

Discord in the
court of Hieru-
salem.

After that time the kingdome of **HIERUSALEM** began still more and more to decline. In the old king **Baldwin** (sicke both in bodie and mind) was almost no hope: in the yoong king (yet vnfit for so great a burthen) much lesse: and the dissention betwixt the two counties **Guy** and

G

Raymund

King Baldwin
sends his embassa-
dours vnto the
Christian princes
of the West for
aid.

Raymund with their fauorits, was like enough to bring great harme vnto the state. Besides that, the countie of *TRIPO LIS* seating the power of *Guy* his enemy, was thought to haue secret intelligence with *Saladin* the Turke, in so much that the king was almost in purpose to haue proclaimed him traitour. Wherefore the king now rested onely vpon the counsell of *William* archbishop of *TYRB*, and the masters of the knights of the sacred war: by whose aduise he sent *Heraclius* Patriarch of *HIERUSALEM*, *Roger Molins* master of the knights of *S. Iohns*, and *Arnold* master of the Templars, embassadours vnto *Lucius* the third, then Pope, vnto *Fredericke* the emperour, *Philip* the French king, and *Henrie* the second king of *ENGLAND*; to declare vnto them the dangerous state of that Christian kingdome, and to craue their aid against the infidels. These embassadours comming to the Counsell then holden at *VERONA*, with great grauitie and diligence in the presence of the Pope and of the emperour, declared the hard estate of the Christians of the East, with their humble request vnto them for aid: in such sort that they moued them, with all the princes there present, to compassion. From thence they were by the Pope directed vnto *Philip* the French king, with whom hauing dispatched their affaires, they from him passed ouer into *ENGLAND*, & afterward into *GERMANYE*: and had at length brought their negotiation to so good passe, that in euerie place great preparation was made for a great expedition to be vnderaken against the Turks, for the reliefe of the Christians in the East: with which good newes, the embassadours returning to *HIERUSALEM*, filled the sicke king with the hope of great matters. But greater quarrels shortly after arising betwixt the Pope and the emperour; and sharpe war likewise betwixt the French king and the king of *ENGLAND*, and the other Christian princes also being at no better quiet, the notable expedition that had with the expectation thereof so filled the world, was againe laid aside and quite dashed. Whereof king *Baldwin* vnderstanding both by messengers and letters from his friends, oppressed with grieue and heauinesse, more than with the force of his discafe (a man for his prowesse and painefullnesse not inferior to any his predecessours) died without issue the 16 day of May, in the yeare 1185, being but siue and twentie yeares old, whereof he had reigned twelue. His bodie was afterward with the generall mourning of his subjects, solemnly buried in the temple neere vnto the mount *CALVARY*, together with his predecessours the kings of *HIERUSALEM*.

King *Baldwin* thus buried, *Baldwin* the fift of that name, yet but a boy, was crowned king. But then began the sparks, which had of long lien raked vp & hidden in the ashes, to break out into a great fire: For *Raymund* countie of *TRIPO LIS*, contended the whole gouernment of the kingdome, & tuition of the king, to be due vnto him, by the appointment of the late king & consent of the nobilitie; and did so much, that he had almost obtained it to haue bene confirmed vnto him in open parliament. But *Sybilla*, a woman of a most haughty spirit (sister vnto the late king, & mother vnto the yoong king yet liuing) prickt forward her husband *Guy*, in no case to giue place vnto his competitor *Raymund*: and so animated him, that by the helpe of his owne fauorits, and the countenance of *Boniface* marquisse of *MOVNT-FERRAT*, who euen then was come with a great power into *SIRIA*, he extorted from the nobilitie whatsoever hee desired. But seven moneths were scarce well passed, but that this yoong king *Baldwin* was dead and buried: poisoned (as was reported) by his mother, for the desire shee had of the kingdome her selfe: whose death she with all secretie concealed, vntill she had obtained of the Patriarch and other princes of the kingdome, that *Guy* her husband might be proclaimed king: So by her meanes it was so wrought, that vpon one and the selfe same day, the yoong king *Baldwin* was buried by his vncle, and *Guy* the countie crowned. This yoong king *Baldwin* by reason of his tender yeares and short raigne, is of some not reckoned amongst the kings of *HIERUSALEM*: howbeit, seeing he was by his vncle and the princes of that time, thought woorthy of the kingdome, let him also haue his place amongst the rest, as the eight king of *HIERUSALEM*.

When *Guy* was thus possessed of the kingdome, the countie of *TRIPO LIS* seeing himselfe out of all hope of the gouernment, and highly therewith discontented, did what he might by all meanes to crosse the doings of the king: whose sicke and aspiring mind *Saladin* prickt dayly more and more forward, promising him his helping hand whensoever hee should need; which countie the countie desirously imbraced. For now the fatall period of the kingdome of *HIERUSALEM* drew fast on, and all things tended to destruction, discord raigning in euerie place: which *Saladin* well perceiuing (after that he had compacted with the countie) by messengers sent of purpose, invited the Turks, Saracins, & *Egyptians*, as men agreeing in one and the same religion,

A gion, generally to take vp armes in so fit an oportunitie of the discord of the Christians, assuring them of great prey and spoile, besides the honour of the conquest. The citie of *PTOLEMAIS* was the place by him appointed, where all this power should meet: whether such a multitude of the barbarous Mahometanes (partly for the hatred of the Christian religion, partly for the hope of the rich spoile which *Saladin* had promised them) came flocking out of all places, that in short time there was met together about fiftie thousand horsemen, besides an infinit number of foot. And vnto such as could not safely passe by the borders of *HIERUSALEM*, to them the false countie gaue safe conduct, by the counties of *TIBERIAS*, *NAZARETH*, and *GALILEY*.

All the power of the infidels thus assembled, *Saladin* laid siege vnto the citie of *PTOLEMAIS*: which the Templars and the knights Hospitalers had notably fortified and strongly manned, (as before vnto them giuen by the kings of *HIERUSALEM* to defend against the infidels) and therein now were both the masters of both those honourable orders, with the whole flower of the knights of their profession. Vnto this citie, *Saladin* gaue a most terrible assault vpon May day in the morning, in the yeare 1187; which was by the Christians notably defended, and the enemy with great slaughter still beaten downe. In the heat of this assault, the two great masters falling out, with certaine troupes of their most readie horsemen, assailed the enemies campe, and bearing down all before them, raised there a great tumult: and by and by turning vpon the backs of them, that were assaulting the citie, made there an exceeding great slaughter. Infomuch, that *Saladin* dismayed, first with the confusion in his campe, and now with the suddain danger behind him, was glad to giue ouer the assault, and to turne his whole forces vpon them: where was fought a most bloodie and terrible battell. Amongst others that there fought, the countie of *TRIPO LIS*, now an enemy vnto God and his country, disguised in the habit of a Turke, notably helped the infidels, and meeting with the great master of the knights Hospitalers, vnhorred him, who surcharged with the waight of his armour, and oppressed with the multitude of his enemies, there died. Neuertheless, such was the valour of these woorthie men, and new succour still comming out of the citie, that *Saladin* hauing in that battell, and at the assault, lost fiftene thousand of his Turks, was glad with the rest to betake himselfe to flight. Neither was this so notable a victorie gained by the Christians without blood, most part of the woorthie knights Hospitalers being together with their grand master there slaine.

D *Saladin* by this ouerthrow perceiuing, that by open force he should not be able to doe much against the Christians, thought it good vnto his forces to joyne also pollicie. Wherein the false countie of *TRIPO LIS* was the man he thought best to make choice of, as his fittest instrument to worke by. Him hee compacted withall to seeke for grace at the king of *HIERUSALEM* his hands, as of his dread soueraigne, and after so long discord, to sue to be reconciled vnto him, as now wearie of the Turkes amitie, with whom he should make shew to be vterly fallen out. At which time also (to giue the matter the better grace) *Saladin* of purpose with a great armie came and besieged *TIBERIAS*, a citie of the counties iurisdiction: for the reliefe whereof, the traitorous countie craued aid of the king and the other princes of the sacred warre. Who with an armie, though not great, yet very well appointed, came according to his desire, & encamped neere vnto the fountaine of *SOPHOR*: where they had not long stayed, but that they met with the huge armie of the Turkes, being in number one hundred and twentie thousand horse, and one hundred and sixtie thousand foot: with whome they joyned a most sharpe and terrible battell: which by reason of the extremitie of the heat of the weather (it then being the twelfth of Iuly) and the approach of the night, was againe giuen ouer; both armies (as if it had been by consent) retreating. The next day the battell was againe begun, wherein the Turkes by the treason and shamefull flight of the false countie of *TRIPO LIS*, gained the victorie. In this battell *Guy* the king himselfe, with *Gerard* master of the Templars, *Boniface* marquisse of *MONT-FERRAT*, and diuers others, men of great marke, were taken prisoners. And to say the truth, in this battell was broken the whole strength of the Christians in the East.

F The Christian commonweale by the treason of the false countie thus betrayed vnto the Infidels, *Saladin* without any great resistance had the cities of *PTOLEMAIS*, *BELIS*, and *BERRIVS* deliuered vnto him: in all which places, he vsed his victorie with great moderation, not enforcing any Christian (more than the Latines) to depart thence, but suffering them there still to remaine, as before, yeelding vnto him their obedience, with such tribute as he had imposed vpon them. With like good fortune, he within the space of one moneth tooke all the port townes

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be-

Guy king of
Hierusalem was
then prisoner.

Saladin vsps the
discord of the
Christians, and
beth occasion to
inuide the Holy
land.

Prolemais besieged by Saladin.

1187

Hierusalem be-
sieged.

Hierusalem sa-
ken by Saladin.

betwixt SIDON and ASCALON, alongst the sea coast, excepting only the auncient citie of TYRE; vnto the citie of ASCALON also he laid siege by the space of nine daies: but loath to stay the course of his victorie, by the valour of the defendants resolued there to spend their liues, hee departed thence, and marched directly vnto HIERUSALEM, the chiefe citie of that kingdom. And approaching the same, gaue summons thereunto, perswading the citizens yet whiles they had time to yeeld themselves, together with the citie, vnto his mercie. Which they refusing to doe, he inclosed the same with his armie, and by the space of foureteene dayes laid hard siege vnto it, leauing nothing vndone or vnattempted that might helpe for the gaining thereof. At which time the citizens considering the danger they were in, and that the strength of the kingdom with the flower of their chiuallie were in the late battell lost, and that they were not now to expect any forraigne aid, agreed vpon certaine conditions to yeeld vp the citie: which were, That such Christians as would, might remaine still, with their libertie and goods; and that such as would not, might in safetie depart, with so much of their goods as they could carie vpon their backs. These conditions being by Saladin granted, the holy citie was vnto him deliuered the second of October in the yeare 1187; after it had been by the Christians holden frō the time that it was by Godfrey of BULLON & other Christians woon, about 89 yeares. Saladin entring into the citie, prophaned first the temple of the Lord, conuerting it vnto the vse of his Mahometane superstition, the other churches he vsed as stables for his horses; onely the temple of the sepulchre, was by the Christians for a great summe of money redeemed and so kept vndefiled. The Latine Christians he thrust out of the citie, yet with leaue to carrie with them such things as they were able themselves to beare: who trauiailing with heauie burdens, but much more heauie hearts, some to TRIPOLES, some to TYRE, some to ANTIOCH (for onely these three cities were now left vnto the Christians in SYRIA) were by the false countie of TRIPOLES by the way lightened of their burthens, to the increasing of the heauinesse of their hearts, most of them being by him and his followers spoiled of that little they had by the mercie of their enemies saued in the ruine of their state.

Vnto the other Christians that were naturall Syrians, Greekes, Armenians, Georgians, and such like, Saladin appointed certaine places of the citie for them to dwell in, where some of their posteritie were long time after to be found. All the monumens of the Christians were by the barbarous Mahometanes and Turkes defaced, onely the sepulchre of our blessed Sauour Christ, with the monument of Godfrey of BULLON, and his brother Baldwin, for the reuerence of the men were by them spared. In these so great troubles, about twentie thousand of the Christians perished: amongst the rest, the countie of TRIPOLES was shortly after found dead in his bed, and (as some say) circumcised, a manifest token of his reuolt, not from the king onely, but from the Christian faith also.

HIERUSALEM thus woon, Saladin returned againe to the siege of ASCALON, which after he had by the space of tenne dayes most straitly besieged, was vnto him by composition deliuered: wherein amongst other things agreed vpon for the safe departure of the citizens, was comprised also, that he should freely set at libertie Guy the king, and Gerard master of the Templars, both before taken prisoners, as is before declared; which he afterward performed.

Thus the victorious Turke still vrging his good fortune, departing thence, attempted to haue taken TRIPOLES; but hauing made some prooffe of his owne forces, and the valour of the defendants, he was glad to giue ouer the siege, and to depart as he came. Marching thence with his armie, because he would leaue no place vnattempted, he laid siege vnto the citie of TYRE, where Conrad: marquisse of MONTFERRAT was a little before arriued with Isaack Angelus the Greeke emperours fleet, and a supplie of certaine companies of good fouldiors. Vnto which place were come great numbers of the poor distressed Christians fled from HIERUSALEM, and other places, so that the citie was full of men.

This citie Saladin most furiously assaulted, but was by the Christians notably repulsed, not without the great losse of his best fouldiors. At which time also the admirall of SICILIA dispatched his fleet at sea, and landing his forces, came vnlooked for vpon the backe of him: so that hauing his hands full before by them of the towne, and charged behind by these newcome enemies, he was glad to retire in such hast, as that he left his tents with all that therein was, vnto the spoile of the Christians.

Within a few daies after, Saladin hauing againe repaired his armie, invaded the countrey about

The famous city
of Antioch be-
trayed vnto the
Turkes.

- A about ANTIOCH: with fire and sword destroying whatsoever was subject to his furie, euen to the gates of the citie; but knowing that so strong a citie was not without great charge and long siege to be woon, he thought it good to make prooffe if it might by pollicie or corruption bee gained. Wherein he so cunningly dealt with the Patriarch, that he had by his meanes, the castle (otherwise almost impregnable) for gold betrayed vnto him. By meanes whereof, hee in short time became lord and master of that famous citie, (about ninetie yeares before hardly gained by the whole power of the Christians, after eleuen moneths siege) and with it fiftie and twentie cities, moe that depended of the fortune thereof, with all the prouinces belonging therunto, alwayes deemed to haue been the third part of the kingdom of HIERUSALEM.
- B The losse of this so great a citie, together with the ruine of the whole kingdom, had in short space filled euery corner of Christendome with the heauie report thereof. Wherewith the Christian princes of the West (namely Frederick the Getmane emperour, with Frederick his sonne duke of SUBVIA, Philip the French king, Henry the second, king of ENGLAND, Otto duke of BVRGUNDIE, Leopold duke of AUSTRIA, with many other great princes and prelates of GERMANIE, ITALIE, and other places) not a little moued, as also with the pittifull complaints of the embassadours at the same time sent from the distressed Christians; and the effectuall persuasions of Clement the third then Pope: promised, and all, or most part, indeed made great preparations; which they afterwards, though not all at once (as letted by other occasions) but at diuers times employed for the most part, with the danger of their owne persons against the Turks; for the reliefe of the poore oppressed Christians, and recouerie of the holy land: but with what success, shall hereafter God willing be declared.

Of which so great preparations made against him, Saladin not ignorant, set at libertie Guy the king of HIERUSALEM, whom contrarie to his promise made at ASCALON, hee had now detained a yeare in prison; yet before his enlargement exacting of him an oath, Never by force of armes afterwards to seeke to recouer his kingdom, or to reuenge the wrongs hee had sustained: hoping thereby to stay the comming of the other princes in his quarell. Which oath for all that, the Pope dispensed withall, as extorted by constraint from him, at such time as Saladin had longer detained him in prison than of right he should.

- Guy now at libertie, and yet in mind a king, came to TYRE, but could not be there receiued, the citizens hauing before sworn their obedience vnto Conrad: marquisse of MONTFERRAT, by whom they had been notably defended against the furie of Saladin. Wherefore departing thence with such power as he had, and the dispersed Christians daily repairing vnto him out of all parts of SYRIA, he came and besieged PTOLEMAIS: Where he had not long lien, but that first came vnto him the Venetian fleet, with them also of PISA, and after them the Flemmings with a fleet of fiftie saile, who all joyned their forces together for the winning of the citie. But whilest the Christians thus lay at the siege of PTOLEMAIS, came Saladin with a great armie to the reliefe of the besieged: where betwixt him and the Christians was fought a great bataille, wherein the Christians at the first had the better; but afterward fainting, and readie to flie, had there vndoubtedly receiued a notable ouerthrow, had not Geoffrey Lyssnan, the kings brother, (left for the guarding of the campe) in good time come in with new supplies: and not only staid their flight, but also repressed the farther pursuit of the fierce enemy, now almost in possession of the desired victorie. Neuerthelesse, there were two thousand Christians there slaine, and amongst them Gerard, master of the Templars. Saladin by that which was now done, perceiuing how hard a matter it would be for him by land to relieue his citie, sent for the fleet which he had strongly rigged vp at ALEXANDRIA, and so by force put new supplies both of men and victuals into the besieged citie. Wherewith the Turks encouraged, made often sallies vpon the Christians; and in despite of the Christian religion, whipped the image of Christ crucified, which they had for that purpose, in the sight of the Christians set vp vpon the top of the wall. With the same fleet also he so scoured the seas, that no victuals or new supplies of men could that way without great danger be brought vnto the campe; whereby such scarcitie and want of all things began shortly after to arise among the Christians, that some of them not able longer to indure the famine, fled vnto the Turkes campe, then lying not farre off, crying out for bread. Of which distresse in the campe of the Christians, Saladin knowing right well, both by such fugitiues as daily came ouer vnto him, and by his owne espials, yet made shew as if hee vnderstood nothing thereof: but suddainly rising with his armie (as doubtfull of his owne strength) departed, leauing

his campe full of all manner of victuals. Whereof the Christians vnderstanding, and supposing him to haue for feare been gone indeed, in great numbers halted vnto the forsaken campe, as vnto a most desired prey: where, whilst they were gorging themselves, *Saladin* suddenly returning, and getting betwixt them and home, made of them a great slaughter. Nevertheless, the Christians hauing now lien before the citie six months, continued the siege all the Winter, ouercomming with patience the hardest difficulties, in hope of aid from the other Christian princes, whose comming they expected with the first of the next Spring: during which time, many an hot skirmish passed betwixt them and the Turkes both by sea and land.

1160

*Fredericke the
emperor setteth
forward towards
the Holy land.*

Whilst the Christians thus lay at the siege of *Ptolemais*, *Frederick* the emperor with diuers of the great Germane princes, and others, before resolved vpon an expedition for the recovery of the Holy land, and the reliefe of the distressed Christians in *Syria*: hauing now raised a great armie, furnished with all things necessarie for so long a journey, set forward from *Ratis*: *Boghe*, and so comming to *Vienna*, and passing through *Hungaria*, *Bulgaria*, and *Thracia*, arrived at length at *Constantinople*, where he was by *Isack Angelus* the emperor that then reigned, honourably entertained: but indeed more for feare and fashion sake than for any loue, or godd will: for that he after the suspicious manner of the Greekes, hauing in distrust so great a power of the Latine emperors, withheld rather for his absence, than his presence. And therefore ceased not in what he might to hasten his passage ouer into *Asia*, pretending for the colour thereof, The necessitie the Christians had of his present aid: So the emperor with his armie passing ouer the strait, and without resistance marching through the greatest part of the lesser *Asia*, entered into *Lycania*, where meeting with a great power of the Turkes, that were come from the Sultan of *Iconium* to stay his further passage, hee ouerthrew them in a great battell; and so marching directly on to *Iconium*, tooke it by force, and gaue the spoile thereof vnto his souldiers, in reuenge of the injuries before done vnto his vnckle the emperor *Conrade*, by the Sultan of that citie. Departing thence, and marching through *Cilicia*, he in another battell ouerthrew the Turkes, that hauing taken the straits of the mountaines had thought to haue staied his farther passage into *Syria*. After that he tooke the citie *Philomelia*, which the Sultan had strongly fortified, which he rased to the ground, and put to sword all the people therein, for that they contrarie to the law of nations, had slaine such messengers as he had sent vnto them for the summoning of the citie. In like manner he entered into the lesser *Armenia*, where he took the citie *Meliten*, and subdued all the countrey thereabouts: vnto the reliefe whereof, the Turkes comming with a most huge armie, were by him with an exceeding great slaughter ouerthrowne and put to flight. After that, entering into *Comagena*, and meeting with *Saphadin*, *Saladin* his sonne, with a great armie of the Turkes, he ouerthrew him in the plaine field, and discomfited his whole armie. But whilst he too eagerly pursueth the enemy he had then in chase, his horse foundring vnder him, as he passed the riuer *Saleph*, he was so ouerthrowne, and his foot hanging fast in his thirrop, drawne through the deepe riuer, and almost drowned; and at the farther side of the riuer was so plunged by his horse, at his landing, that he was taken vp for dead. Yet breathing a little, and casting his eyes vp to heauen, with much adoe he vttered these few words, *Lord receive my soule*: and so in the hands of them that tooke him vp, gaue vp the ghost, vnto the great griefe and hindrance of the Christian commonweale: for *Saladin* hearing of his approach, was so afraid of him, as that he began to doubt, not how to keepe that he had before won in *Syria*, but how to defend himselfe in *Egypt*. Thus miserably perished this worthy emperor, the tenth of Iune, in the yeare of grace 1190, being then of the age of seuentie yeares, whereof he had with much trouble reigned eight and thirtie. His dead bodie was caried along with the armie, and afterward with all funerall pompe buried in the cathedrall church at *Tyre*.

*Fredericke the
emperor's sonne
chosen generall
of the Christian
armie.*

Fredericke the emperor thus dead, *Fredericke* his sonne duke of *Suevia*, was by the generall consent of the princes in the armie chosen generall in his steed: vpon whom with the rest of the armie, yet mourning for the death of the emperor, the Turkes gaue a sudden and fierce charge, in hope so to haue ouerthrowne them: But finding greater resistance than they had before supposed, and hauing lost some of their men, they with like speed that they came, retired againe. Now began famine (one of the ordinarie attendants of great armies) to increase in the campe: for why, the Turkes for that purpose had before destroyed, or carried away all that was in the countrey, leauing nothing for the Christians more than the bare ground. Wherefore

Frede-

- A *Fredericke* turning a little out of the way, came to *Antioch*, which was easily deliuered vnto him, and his hungrie souldiers well refreshed by the citizens, being as yet for the most part Christians. But he had not there staied past fifteene daies for the refreshing of his armie, but that the plague (the handmaid of famine and another scourge of the greatest multitudes) began to rage among his souldiers, in such sort, that he was glad with his armie to forsake the citie and to get him abroad againe into the open field: where forthwith newes was brought vnto him, that *Dodequin* generall of such forces as *Saladin* had sent for out of *Egypt* (which were not small) was by great journeis comming towards him: against whom he in good order set forward, with his fathers corse still carried in the midst of his armie. These two armies meeting together, and both willing to fight, joyned a great and doubtfull battell, fortune enclining now to the one side, and by and by to the other; the Christians exceeding their enemies in valour, and they then againe in number. At length the Christians in the vanguard began to retire; and they that seconded them were also hardly charged: when *Fredericke* mindfull of his fathers valour, with a troupe of valiant horsemen brake into the enemies battell, with such force, that the Turkes were glad to giue ground: after whom *Leopold* duke of *Austria* comming presently on with his footmen, brought such a feare vpon the whole armie of the Turkes, that they betooke themselves to speedie flight. In this battell were foure thousand of the enemies slaine, with small losse of the Christians; and about one thousand more taken prisoners, with fifteene of their ensignes. After which victorie, *Fredericke* marching further in *Caelo-Syria*, pacified *Ladicea* then in mutinie, and like to haue been deliuered vnto the Turkes. He also with a little labour tooke *Berythus* with diuers other cities of *Syria*, which before belonging vnto the kings of *Hierusalem*, were now reuolted vnto the Turkes. So afterward comming to *Tyre*, he there solemnly buried his father (dead, as is before said): & from thence certified *Guy* the king (still lying with the other Christian princes at the siege of *Ptolemais*) of his comming: who forthwith sent the Marques of *Mont-Ferrat*, with part of the fleet to transport him with his people that were left, by sea: for that by land he could not so safely haue come, being now but weake, for meeting with *Saladin*; who with a great armie lay still houering about his besieged citie, intentiue to all opportunitie. So was duke *Fredericke* with his souldiers yet left, safely by sea conducted from *Tyre* to the campe at *Ptolemais*, and there joyfully received by the king and the other princes, with the generall applaus of the whole campe.

In the meane time the Turkes sayling out of the citie of *Ptolemais*, had done great harme among the Christians, by whom they were not without some losse againe repulsd. But after the comming of duke *Frederick* and his Germans, it was thought good by the generall consent of all the great commanders in the armie, that the citie should be assaulted round: and to that purpose was euery mans regiment appointed what place to assaile. The king himselfe with the Templars and the Italians from *Pisa*, vndertooke that part of the citie which was toward the sea: vnto duke *Frederick* and his Germans was allotted all betwixt the bridge ouer the riuer *Beie*, and the bishops palace: the Venetians, Genowaies, and knights Hospitalers, were appointed vnto the rest of the wall as farre as the court of *Raymond*: the Friselanders, Flemings, and Hollanders, tooke vp all the rest of the wall vnto the sea side. Thus was the citie at once in euerie side assailed by the Christians, with such furie, as if they had thereon purposed to gage their whole forces; seeking by a thousand wounds, and a thousand kinds of death to haue by their scaling ladders, gained the top of the wals; the Turkes with no lesse courage still beating them down againe. But in the heat of this so dreadfull and desperat an assault, *Saladin* still houering aloofe, came now vpon the sudden & assailed the camp of the Christians, filling the same with feare and tumult: whose charge they that were left for the defence of the same, at the first notably receiued, but finding themselves too weake, began to giue ground; by which means the Turkes tooke certaine tents with some ensignes, and fired some other of the paulions of the Christians, hauing slaine somewhat more than an hundred of the defendants.

- F The Christians in the meane time little preuailling in the assault, & troubled with the danger of their campe, retired to the reliefe thereof. But the Turke perceiuing himselfe too weake for the whole power of the Christians, retired also; yet not with such hast, but that he had there almost lost himselfe. This notable assault was giuen the fourteenth of October: after which many light skirmishes passed betwixt the Christians and the Turkes, but more for bootie than for any other great purpose.

*A great battell
betwixt the
Turks and the
Christians.*

*Ptolemais as-
saulted by the
Christians.*

In the meane time, diuers great princes of the West that had vowed themselves vnto this sacred warre came thither, whose number rather increased the want of victuals than furthered the seruice. At which time also the discord betwixt *Guy* the king (whose wife and children were now dead) and *Conrade* marquisse of *MONT-FERRAT* (who had married *Isabell* the late queenes sister, by whom he pretended a claime vnto the title of the imaginarie kingdome) did much harme vnto the proceedings of the Christians: So pleasing a thing these haughtie stiles be vnto the losie minds of the ambitious. Shortly after the Christians yet lying at the siege, the contagion and famine still encreasing, it fortuned that duke *Frederick* fell sicke of the plague, whereof he died: and with the great mourning of the whole armie, was afterward solemnly buried fast by his father in the cathedrall church at *Tyre*. After whose death the Christians attempted no great matter against the citie, although they were oftentimes by the Turkes prouoked, but lay still strongly entrenched, expecting some greater aid from the princes of the West.

Now all the hope of the Christian affaires in *SIRIA*, and in the land of *PALESTINE*, rested vpon the coming of the two mightie princes, *Philip* the second of that name king of *FRANCE*, and *Richard* the first king of *ENGLAND*: who hauing agreed betwixt themselves, with their combined forces to relieue the distressed Christians of the East; and againe (if it were possible) to repaire the broken state of the kingdome of *HIERSALEM*, were now met together at *MARSEILLES* in *PROVENCE*. From whence the French king first departing with his fleet for *CICILIA*, and with a prosperous gale for certaine daies holding on his course, & now come nigh vnto the island; was by force of a furious tempest suddenly arising, so tossed and tumbled in the deepe, that many of his ships there perished, eaten vp of the sea; others by force of weather driuen vpon the sands and rocks, were there broken all to pieces; and the rest some with their masts broken, some with their tacklings and sailes rent, and all in generall fore weatherbeaten, with much adoe arrived at *MESSANA* the desired port: at which place king *Richard* afterwards (but with better fortune) arrived with his fleet also. Both the kings now met together, resolved there to winter: the French king enforced by necessity so to doe, for the repairing of the late losses he had receiued, as well in his people and prouision, as in his shipping; all which was to be relieved by new supplies out of *FRANCE*: and the king of *ENGLAND* staying to take order for the dowrie of his sister *Joan* (widow of *William* the late king of *CICILIA*) with *Tancred* the base sonne of *Roger*, that had now aspired vnto the kingdome of that island. About which matter great stirs arise betwixt king *Richard* the queenes brother, and *Tancred* the new king, in so much that it was like to haue broken out into open warre, had it not to the good contentment of king *Richard* bene otherwise taken vp, and so the controuersie ended. But whilst these two great kings thus wintered in this fruitfull island, and oftentimes as good friends met together, sometime for their disport, and sometime to confer of their so waightie affaires; the way (as was thought) to haue appeased all former displeasure, and to haue encreased loue: it fell out cleane contrarie, jealousy and distrust, not onely reuiuing the old, but also still raising new quarrels betwixt them, to the great hinderance of the common good by them intended: which may serue for a warning to all great princes, willing to continue in amitie & to hold a good opinion one of another. Neuer to see one the other; or comming so to an interview, nor to conuerse or stay long together: which as it is not often done without the danger of their persons, so can it not possibly be long continued, but that it will engender in themselves as well as in their followers, jealousy, enuie, hatred, and mistrust (as we haue before said) and hereafter in the course of this historie may appeare.

There was an old quarrell betwixt these two great kings, *Richard* and *Philip*, about *Adela* the French kings sister; whom *Richard* hauing before (his father yet living) affianced, had now rejected, as her whom his aged father *Henrie* the second had too familiarly vsed: and in steed of her, to the great disgrace of the French, espoused the ladie *Berengaria*, daughter to the king of *NAVARR*: which indignitie with diuers others, then arising betwixt the French and the English, as then with great heart burning smouldred vp in respect of the common cause then in hand, afterwards brake out againe, to the shamefull overthrow of this most honourable expedition, and lamentable disturbance of both realmes.

Winter past, and the Spring now come, the French king not altogether the best pleased: first loosed from *MESSANA*, and with his fleet in safetie arrived at *PTOLEMAIS*, where he was by the Christians, now the third yeere lying at the siege, so joyfully receiued, as if he had bene

A to them sent with succours from heauen. After whom, shortly after followed also king *Richard*; of whose fleet (by force of weather fore beaten & dispersed) two ships by the rage of the tempest driuen a ground vpon the coast of *CYPRUS*, were by the island people spoiled, and the men that in them had hardly escaped the danger of the sea, with most barbarous inhumanitie, some slaine and some taken prisoners: the rest of the fleet arriving there also, were with like inciuillitie forbidden to land; the Cipriots readie at hand in all places to keepe them off. With which so great an indignitie the king iustly moued; and by force landing his people, with incredible celeritie and successe ouerran the whole island, neuer ceasing vntill he had made a full conquest thereof, and taken *Isaack Comnenus*, commonly called the king of that island, and of some (for what reason I know not) emperor of the Griffons, prisoner: yet was he indeed neither king nor emperor, but being a man of great nobilitie and power, and of the honourable stocke of the *Comneni*, had in the troublesome raigne of *Andronicus Comnenus* the emperor, his cousin, laid hold vpon that fruitfull island, and there tyrannized as a reputed king; vntill that now he was by king *Richard* taken prisoner, and for his vnfaithfull dealing sent fast bound in chaines of siluer into *SIRIA*. The king thus possessed of the whole island, there at *LIMOZIN* married the ladie *Berengaria* the king of *NAVARR*s daughter, brought thither by *Joan* late queene of *CICILIA*, the kings sister. And so disposing as he thought best of all things for the safe keeping of the island, he forthward againe with his fleet towards *SIRIA*. Where by the way he light vpon a great ship of the Sultans, laded with victuals & other warlike prouisions for the reliefe of the besieged; all which became a prey vnto him. So holding on his course, hee at length arrived at *PTOLEMAIS*, where he was by the French king, and the rest of the Christians there lying, most honorably receiued.

Now had the citie of *PTOLEMAIS* bene three yeares besieged by the Christians, and notably defended by the Turkes: during which time many an hot assault and bloodie skirmish had passed betwixt them. And now the eies of all men were fixed vpon the two kings of *ENGLAND* and *FRANCE*, vnto whom all the rest offered their obedience and seruice. The Christian campe was great, composed especially of Englishmen, Frenchmen, Italians, and Almaines; not them that were left of the emperor *Frederick* his armie (for they were for the most part dead, or else returned home againe into their countries) but of such as (moued with the zeale they bare vnto this religious war) came dayly in great numbers thither: as did also many others of diuers nations, desirous in some measure to be partakers of so honourable a war.

These religious and vertuous Christians thus lying at the siege, had with much painefull labour vndermined one of the greatest towres of the citie, called the Accursed Towre, with some part of the wall also, by meanes whereof they were in hope to find a way into the citie. Wherefore all things being now in a readinesse for the firing of the mine, it was thought good by generall consent, that an assault should also at the same time be giuen vnto the citie. And thereupon euery regiment was by lot appointed which part of the wall to assaile, which they all with great courage vndertookey. In the heat of which assault, the aforesaid vndermined towre with some part of the wall (the timber whereon it staid, now burnt) fell down with a great fall, laying open a fair breach for the Christians to enter. Wherewith the Turkes dismayed, forthwith craued to come to parle: which graunted, they for safegard of their liues yielded forthwith to giue vp the citie, and to restore vnto the Christians the Holy Crosse, with two thousand captiues, and two hundred horsemen, such as they should require of all them that were in the power of *Saladin*; besides 200000 Constantinopolitane duckats, to bee by him giuen vnto the two kings, for the cost by them bestowed in the siege. For payment whereof, the Turkes in the citie were to remaine as hostages vnder the safe keeping of the Christians, so that if all the covenants aforesaid were not within fortie daies performed by *Saladin*, they should all for their liues be at the kings mercie. So was this strong citie, after it had been almost three yeares besieged, deliuered vp vnto the Christians the 12 of Iulie, in the yeare 1191. The first that entred were the Germanes of *AUSTRIA*, who as if they had been the only men by whose valour the citie had been won, at their first entrie presumptuously aduanced their ensignes vpon the top of the walls, to the great offence of all the rest of the Christian princes, but especially of king *Richard*, who not vnwoorthely for his princely courage commonly called *Richard Cœur de Lyon*, not brooking so proud an indignitie; caused the ensignes of *Leopold* their duke, to be puld downe, and soiled vnderfoot; which shortly after gaue him occasion of repentance, as shall be hereafter seene.

King Richard reuengeth the iniurie done vnto his people by the Cipriots.

King Richard arriveth at Ptolemais.

An old grudge betwixt Philip the French king and Richard king of England

The two kings possessed of the citie, deuided the same, with all the people and spoile thereof G betwixt them, without regard of the rest of the other noble Christians, that had sustained the whole trauaile of that long siege: for which cause most part of them, seeing themselves so deluded, withdrew themselves from them, & with one consent sent them word, That they would forsake them, except they were made partakers of the gaines, as they had beene of the paines. Which the two kings to content them, promised they should. Howbeit, they delayed so long their promises, that many worthie men, constrained by pouertie, departed discontented from them into their countries.

But long it was not, that this one citie, so lately gained, could containe these two great kings; whom two large kingdomes could not retaine in peace. For albeit that they were in bodie together present, and in one, and that a most honourable action, combined; yet were they in hearts H farre asunder, and their secret designs much different: enuie and distrust still reuiuing vnkindnes past, and ministring new matter of greater discontentments. King Richard, according to his noble nature, was of nothing more desirous, than to haue the warre continued, vntill they had made a full conquest of SYRIA & the land of PALESTINE; and for that cause requested the French king to bind himselfe together with him by solemne oath, there to stay yet three yeares, for the regaining of those countries. But he in mind long before estranged from king Richard, and in his deepe conceit plotting matters neerer home better fitting his purpose, would by no meanes be persuaded so to do; but still found one occasion or other for to colour his departure. And shortly after (as the French Chronicles report) falling extreemely sicke, he requested king Richard and the other Christian princes to come vnto him: vnto whom being come, he in few words declared his purpose of returne, as followeth:

I cannot (my lords) longer endure the inclemencie and intemperature of the aire in this extreame hot season. If my death might profit the Christian Religion, or any one of you, or the Christian commonweale; there should be no distemperature whatsoever, that could seperate me from you, or withdraw me from hence. But more may the life of one absent, serue and profit you, than the death of him present. I must of necessitie depart, yet at my departure I will leaue you five hundred men at armes, and tenne thousand footmen, the flower and choice of all the forces of Fraunce, vnder the conduct of my cousin Odo, duke of BVRGONDIE, vnto whom I will giue pay and intertainment, with a continuall supplie of all things for them necessarie. K

The French king
saweth the
long his hard
labours, and
made his
returne in France.

This excuse of the French kings, king Richard could not take in good part: but said, That it was apparant to all men, that he abandoned the warres in SYRIA, to returne into FRAVNC, for no other end or purpose, but the more easily to inuade the prouinces of GVIEEN and NORMANDIE, now disarmed of their garisons, and so subject to his mallice. Which point hee so virged, that the French king could haue no leaue with his honour to depart, vntill such time as he had by solemne oath bound himselfe vnto king Richard, not to attempt any thing, either by force or fraud against him, or any thing of his, vntill fiftie dayes were expired after king Richard his return home. Which how well it was by the French king obserued, I leaue it to the report of the histories of that time. And so the French king, not to be intreated longer to stay, leauing behind him the aforesaid number of men he had promised, embarking the rest of his armie, and accompanied with three tall ships of the Genowayes his friends, and Ruffin Volta their admirall, departed from PTOLEMAIS to TYRE, the first of August; and two daies after, loosing thence alongst the coast of ASIA, and cutting through the Mediteranean, arrived at length in the mouth of the riuer of TYBER, and from thence went to ROME: where after he had visited Pope Celestine, and the famous places of that most renowned citie, he returned againe to his fleet, and so by sea arrived in sicilie in FRAVNC; hauing in that great expedition, so honourably by him intertained, performed nothing answerable to that the world looked for.

After the French king, followed Leopold duke of AUSTRIA, with his Germans: and not long M after him, the Venetians also, with them of PISA and GENOA. Of whose departure Saladin vnderstanding, and that the Christian forces were thereby much empaiied, refused either to pay the money, or to restore the prisoners, as was promised at the giuing vp of PTOLEMAIS: threatening moreouer to chop off the heads of all such Christian captiues as he had in his power, if the king should shew any extremitie vnto the pledges of the citie. Neuerthelesse, shortly after he sent his embassa-

A embassadours with great presents vnto the king, requesting a longer time for the sparing of his pledges; which his request, together with his gifts, the king refused to graunt or accept. Whereupon Saladin forthwith caused such Christian captiues as were in his power, to be belicaded: which albeit king Richard vnderstood, yet would hee not preuent the time before agreed vpon for the execution of his prisoners, being the 20 day of August: vpon which day hee caused the Turks prisoners, to the number of 2500 (or as the French and Germans write, to the number of 7000) in the sight of Saladins armie to be executed.

The losse of the strong towne of PTOLEMAIS, much empaiied the reputation of Saladin, euen among his owne people; as it commonly falleth out, that the euill successe of a great commander in his affaires, altereth the good will, affection, and opinion, especially of the vulgar sort; B which iudge of all things by the euent. And albeit that his losses were great, and such as much daunted him: yet he thought it best, as the case then stood, to make them greater, and with his owne hands (as it were) to ruinate and ouerthrow such townes and cities as he saw hee could not keepe, rather than to suffer them whole and vndefaced to fall into the enemies hand. So carried headlong with despair, he caused all the townes he had alongst the sea coast in SYRIA and PALESTINE, to be sacked and ruinated, and their wals ouerthrowne; especially such as were of most importance, and like to stand the Christians in stead, namely PORPHIRIA, CESAREA, IOPPA, ASCALON, GAZA, and ELAM, with diuers other castles and citadels in the countries thereabouts; most part whereof were againe by king Richard and the Templars fortified and repeopled, although Saladin in the meane time did what he might to haue letted the same.

C Nothing more hindred the good proceeding of the Christian princes, in this, and other their most honourable expeditions against the Infidels, than the discord among themselves; one still enuying at anothers honour, and every one jealous of his owne. Great strife and heart burning there had beene betwene the two kings of FRAVNC and ENGLAND, during the time they were together in this sacred expedition, to the great hinderance of the same: No lesse contention had there ben betwixt Guy the late king of IERUSALEM, and Conrad marques of MONTFERRAT, about the title of that lost kingdom: whereby the whole power of the Christians in SYRIA was deuided into two factions. Richard king of ENGLAND, Baldwin earle of FLAUNDERS, Henrie earle of CHAMPAINE, the knights Hospitallers of Saint Iohn, the Venetians, and Pisans, taking part with Guy: And Philip the french king, Odo duke of BURGONDIE, Rodolph earle of CLAREMONT, the Templers, the Genowayes, the Lantgraue of THURIN, Leopold duke of AVSTRIA, and Robert countie of NASSAU, taking part with Conrad the marques. But Conrad shortly after the taking of PTOLEMAIS being slaine, by two of the desperate Assassins, or (as some others say) by two desperate russians (suborned thereunto by the prince of TORONE, in reuenge of the dispite done vnto him by the said marques, by taking from him Isabell his espoused wife) as he was walking in his citie of TYRE and doubting no such treason: king Richard seeing now a fit occasion offered for the vtter extinguishing of that claime, and how to intitle himselfe vnto that kingdom; persuaded the aforesaid Isabell (the widow of the late Marques, and in whose right hee had laied claime vnto the kingdom) to relinquish that so troublesome a title, and to take to her husband Henrie earle of CHAMPAINE, his nephew, E vnto whom he gaue the citie of TYRE: Guy the king exclaiming to the contrarie, as of a wrong done vnto himselfe. Shortly after he began also to temper with Guy, persuading him to resigne vnto him that little right and interest hee had in the kingdom of IERUSALEM, and in lieu thereof to receiue at his hands the kingdom of CIPRUS. Which his offer the poore king was glad to accept. By which exchange Guy became king of CIPRUS: and Richard, king of IERUSALEM; which honorable title he afterwards, as some report, vsed in his stile, as did some others his successors the kings of ENGLAND after him. So Guy with all his wealth passing ouer into CIPRUS, took possession of the kingdom, where he long liued not. Neuerthelesse, that pleasant kingdom continued in his familie of the Lusignans, by the space of about 283 yeares afterwards: vntill that at length that familie failing in the posthumus sonne of Iames the bastard, last king of that Island, it fell into the hands of the Venetians: by whom it was holden as a part of their feignorie almost an hundred yeares, vntill that it was in our fresh remembrance again from them taken by Selymus the second, great emperour of the Turks, in the yeare 1571, as in the proesse of this historie shall in due place (God willing) be declared.

Now was king Richard, for the increase of his honour, more desirous than before of the citie

King Richard
marcheth with
his army towards
of Hierusalem.

A notable battell
fought betwixt
king Richard &
Saladin.

of Hierusalem, as the most precious and honourable prize of all that religious warre. And thereupon with all the power of the Christians then at his command, set forward from Ptolemais, and was come on his way as farre as Arsua, a towne situate betwixt Cesarea and Ioppe. In the vauward was king Richard himselfe, with the Englishmen: after whom followed Odo, duke of Burgundie, with his French: and in the rereward Jaques de Auenes, with the Flemmings, Brabanders, and Wallons, who after the death of their countie Philip at the siege of Ptolemais, had put themselves all vnder his regiment. Saladin with a great armie still at hand, and as it were attending vpon them, first with certaine ambuscadoes charged the rereward, and so afterward came on with his whole power: vpon whom Jaques turning himselfe, with his Flemmings, receiued the charge with great assurance, and so long themselves endured the same, vntill the French came in to their succours, and after them the English also. There was fought a notable battell, and great valour shewed both on the one side and the other, but especially by them of the Turkes part; who knew well the purpose of the Christians for the besieging of Hierusalem, and that thereon depended their only hope, and that hee that could hold the same, might almost assure himselfe to carrie away the glorie of that warre. The French and English in that battell honorably stroue who might shew the greatest valour: neither would the Low countrey men vnder Jaques their generall, seeme to bee any thing behind them. This sharpe conflict began about noone, and continued vntill the going downe of the Sunne. King Richard (as some write) was there wounded with an arrow; and Jaques valiantly there fighting, was slaine, hauing sold his life deere, to the great admiration of the infidels, and dying left the victorie vnto the Christians. It is reported, that in this battell were slaine moe Turks and Sarafins than in any one battell within the memorie of man before: of the Christians were not lost any great number, either any man of name, more than the aforesaid Jaques, the valiant generall of the Flemmings.

The next day the Christians remooued to Bethlem, a towne about the mid way betwixt Ioppe and Hierusalem. But Winter now coming fast on, and want of victuals like ynough to increase, the king changing his mind for the siege, returned with the greatest part of the armie to Ascalon, which he that Winter new fortified, the wals thereof being before by Saladin in his despaire demolished: the duke of Burgundie, with his Frenchmen, all that while quietly wintering at Tyre. In the meane time, the power of the Christians was that Winter greatly diminished, some one way departing from the campe, and some another: The Italians for the most part, with them of Pisa (who in these three yeares warres had struen with the Venetians for the honour of their seruice) were now returned home, as were the Venetians themselves also. Neuertheless, Winter now past, and the Spring time come, king Richard took the field againe, and came to Bethlem: where by the way hee met with an exceeding great number of cammels, charged with great store of victuals and munition, sent by Saladin out of Egypt to Hierusalem, all which he tooke. But purposing to haue gone on to the siege of Hierusalem, he was by the backwardnesse of the French glad to change his purpose, and to returne to Ptolemais: for the Frenchmen, perswaded by the duke their generall (who well knew the French kings mind) That if any thing woorth remembrance were done, it was to bee done by them, and that the glorie thereof should wholly redound vnto the king of England, as there in person present, and to his Englishmen; shewed themselves so vnwilling to the siege, as that therein was nothing done; to the great griefe of that worthy prince. At which time also news was brought vnto king Richard, How that Philip the French king (forgetfull of his solemne promise made before his departure out of Syria) had now invaded the countrey of Normandie, and excited earle John (the kings brother, a man of an haucie & aspiring nature) to take vpon him the kingdome of England in his absence: as had before in like case William the yonger brother serued duke Robert his elder brother, then absent at his fathers the Conquerours death, in the first facted expedition vnder Godfrey of Buillon. Wherefore king Richard, beside the present difficulties, fearing least while he was so far off in wars for defence of the Christian commonweale, he might lose his kingdome at home; thought it best to grow to some good end with Saladin, and so to make his returne. But the politicke and warie Sultan, not ignorant of the discord of the Christians, and that their forces daily decayed in Syria; either of the troubled estate of the kings affairs at home in his kingdome, or of his desire to returne; would not hearken to any other conditions of peace, but such as might both for the present, weaken the forces of the Christians in Syria, and discourage

King Richard
purposing to
haue besieged
Hierusalem, by
the backwardnes
of the French en
forced to retire.

King Richard
glad to change
conditions to co
clude a peace
with Saladin,

A discourage others that had a mind to come thither afterward, while they should see that for naught they should trauell to conquer that, which in the end they must of necessity restore againe. The conditions he offered, were, That the Christians should forthwith restore what defect they had woon in those three yeares wars, Ptolemais only excepted; and that from thenceforth for the space of fife yeares the Turks should not in any thing molest the Christians, but to suffer them in peace to liue by them: which hard conditions (for that no better could be had) the King was glad to accept, and so concluded a peace. Whereby the labor and trauell of the two great kings, and so many nations with them, were all become frustrat and vaine; hauing now to no purpose lost their men, their money, their time, their hope, their blood, their long trauell, so that they must now in one houre forgoe; nothing more left vnto the poore Christians in Syria, than the cities of Antioch, Tyre, and Ptolemais.

B This done, king Richard leauing the affairs of Asia vnto the charge of Henrie countie of Champagne his nephew, shipping the greatest part of his people, with his wife Berengaria first for Sicilia and from thence for England, where they in safetie at length arrived, followed shortly after with some few himselfe; where by the way by extremitie of weather, he was in the Adriatique driuen to land vpon the coast of Histria: where traouelling with a small retinue homewards in the habit of a Templar, he was discovered and taken prisoner by Leopold duke of Austria, whom he had before disgraced at the winning of Ptolemais (as is before declared): who now glad to haue him in his power, made prize of him, and sold him to Henrie the emperor, for fortie thousand pounds; by whom he was kept prisoner by the space of a yeare and three months, and then ransomed for the summe of an hundred and fiftie thousand pounds.

C About this time died the great Sultan Saladin, the greatest terror of the Christians: who mindfull of mans fragilitie and the vanitie of worldly honours, commanded at the time of his death no solemnitie to be vsed at his buriall, but onely his shirt in manner of an ensigne, made fast vnto the point of a lance to be carried before his dead bodie as an ensigne; a plaine priest going before, and crying aloud vnto the people in this sort: Saladin Conquerour of the East, of all the greatnesse and riches hee had in his life; carrieth not with him after his death any thing more than his shirt. A fight woorthie so great a king, as wanted nothing to his eternall commendation, more than the true knowledge of his saluation in Christ Iesu. He reigned about sixteen yeares with great honour, and dying left nine sonnes, which were all murdered by Saphradin their vnkle, excepting one called also Saphradin Sultan of Aleppo, who by the fauour and support of his fathers good friends, saued himselfe from the treacherous practises of his vnkle. Of this Saphradin the vnkle, descended Aledin Sultan of Acre, and Coradin Sultan of Damascus and Hierusalem: Saladin his great kingdome being by them now againe rent in pieces.

The death of Saladin in short time bruiet abroad, with the discord amongst the Turks and Sarafins, about his domitions; put Celestinus (then Pope) in good hope, that the cite of Hierusalem might in that change and hurle, be easily againe recovered, and that kingdome established. But when hee had in vaine dealt to that purpose with the kings of France and England (then altogether busied in their wars the one against the other) he perswaded Henrie the sixt, then emperor, to take the matter in hand: who (for that he well could not, or else would not himselfe in person vnder take that long expedition) sent Henrie duke of Saxony his lieutenant with a great armie into Astat vnto whom were joynd two Legats, Conradus Archbisshop of Mentz another of the electours, and Conradus the bisshop of Hainbols. At which time also many other great princes tooke vpon them that holy war, namely, Herman Langraue of Thuringia, Henrie Palatine of Rhenus, Henrie duke of Brabant, Conrad marques of Moravia, Frederick duke of Austria, and Albertus Hapsburgensis, with some others: vnto whom also joynted themselves the bisshops of Breme, Halberstat, and Ratibon, and diuers other great prelates. Who hauing passed through Hungarie and Thracia, and by the Greeke emperor Alexius Angelus relictued with all things necessarie, were by the Gracian ships transported vnto Antioch, and so by land came to Tyre, and from thence to Ptolemais, with purpose to haue gone to relieue the Germans besieged in Tiber; who before their coming were all by treason slaine and the cite rased, wherefore being come to the ruins thereof, they departed thence to Sidon, which they found also abandoned by the Turks. After that they tooke Berithus, which cite they fortified, and so went to

King Richard
returning out of
the Holy land
taken prisoner
by Leopold duke
of Austria.

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H

besiege

besiege **TORONE**; which citie when they had brought vnto the extremitie as that it must needs (as it was thought) either yeeld or bee taken, the **Turkes** came on so fast to the reliefe therof, that the **Christians** were glad to raise their siege and to be gone: which they in garrison at **BERITHUS** perceiuing, & seeing the enemy to approach them, they abandoned the citie, and ioyning themselves vnto the rest of the armie marched all together to **IOFFE**, a little before iui-nated, which they now againe fortified. But the enemy comming to **BERITHUS**, and finding it forsaken rased it downe to the ground, and so in few moneths space was **BERITHUS** both repaired and rased in the yeere 1197.

1197

The **Turks** over-
thrown by the
Christians.

Ioffe repaired
by the **Christians**.

But whilest the **Christians** were repairing the citie of **IOFFE**, the **Turks** proud of that they had done at **BERITHUS**, came now to disturbe also the fortifying of that place. Of whose coming the **Christians** vnderstanding, remooued by night about five miles from the citie, of purpose to draw the **Turks** vnto a conuenient place for battell. The **Turks** thinking them to haue bene fled for feare, sent part of their armie to assaile the citie: and with the other followed after them disorderedly, as if it had bene after men they had had in chase. Vpon whom the **Christians** turning, had with them at the first a sharpe encounter, but afterwards put them to flight: in which conflict certaine thousands of the **Turks** fell; of whom the **Christians** taking the spoile, and hauing put the rest to flight, returned againe vnto the fortifying of the citie. But the joy of this victorie was by the sudden death of two of the greatest princes in the armie, greatly diminished: for the duke of **SAXONIE** hauing in the battell taken great paines in performing the parts both of a woorthie generall and valiant souldier, had ouer heated himselfe, and thereupon without regard of his health taking cold, died of a feauer the fourth day after. The duke of **AUSTRIA** mortally wounded in the battell, died also the night following.

About this time, or not long after, died **Celestinus** the pope, author of this expedition; and **Henrie** also the **Germane** emperour: after whose death great troubles began to arise in **GERMANYE** about the chusing of a new emperour. Whereof the bishop of **MOGUNTIA**, then chiefe commander of the armie of the **Christians** in **SIRIA**, one of the electors, and the other **Germane** princes with him hauing intelligence, could not by any persuation or prayers of the poore **Christians** (in whose quartell they were come) bee perswaded longer to stay, but that needs home they would goe. Indeed home they went the same way that they came. After whose departure the **Turks** tooke **IOFFE**, hauing one of the ports betraied vnto them by one of the citie, at such time as the **Germanes** were in garrison, after the manner of their countrey, vpon **S. Martins** day were carelesly making merrie together in their pots: vpon whom, so furcharged with wine, the **Turks** entring by the port giuen vnto them, put them all with the rest of the **Christians** to the sword, and so afterwards rased the citie downe to the ground: Of which victorie they became so proud, that they had thought without stop to haue driuen the **Christians** quite out of **SIRIA**: but by the coming of **Simon** countie of **MONTFORT** (a most valiant and expert capitaine sent thither by **Philip** the French king with a regiment of tall soldiers, at the instance of **Innocentius Tertius** that succeeded **Celestinus** in the papacie) and by ciuill discord their raigning among the **Turks** themselves for foueraigntie, their furie was repressed, and a peace betwixt them and the **Christians** concluded for the space of ten yeares; during which time the **Turks** promised not to molest the **Christians** in **TYRE** or **PTOLEMAIS**: which hapned in the yeere 1199 (or as some others say 1198.) After which peace so concluded, the woorthie countie returned again with his souldiers into **FRANCE**: with whom we also will repaire into the lesser **ASIA** (whither the course both of the time and of the historie now calleth vs) to see the other greater affaires of the

1199

Turks in those Eastern countie; leaving for a season these poore remainders off so many **Christians** in **TYRE** and **PTOLEMAIS**, now for a while in peace; but to be ere long deuoured of the infidels their enemies; as in the processe of this Historie shall in due time and place appeare.

The



The ruine of the **Turks** first Empire in **Persia**: with the
successe of their second kingdome in the lesser **ASIA**
under the **Adan** Kings.



No kingdome or Empire vpon earth (were it neuer so flourishing or great) was euer yet so assured, but that in the reuolution of time, after the manner of other worldly things it hath as a sicke bodie been subject vnto many strange inuolutions and changes; and at length come to nothing: so fared it now with the **Turkish** empire, which first planted by **Tangrolipix** in **PERSIA** and the other far Eastern countie, increased by **Acan** his sonne, and so by the **Turkish** Sultans their successors (although their names and doings, as too faire off, be not vnto vs all knowne) for the space of one hundred and scientie yeeres continued, must now (I say) giue place vnto a greater power; and settle it selfe elsewhere, the ineuitable destinie thereof so requiring. It fortuned that about this time (when in the space of a few yeeres such mutations as had not before of long bene scene, chanced in diuers great monarchies and states) that the **Tartars** or rather **Tatars**, inhabiting the large, cold, and bare countie in the North side of **ASIA** (of all others a most barbarous, fierce, and needie nation) stirred vp by their owne wants, and the persuation of one **Zingis** (or as some call him, **Cangis**) holden amongst them for a great prophet, and now by them made their leader, and honoured with the name of **Vlu-Chan**, that is to say, the Mightie king (commonly called the great **Cham**) flocking together in number like the sand of the sea; and conquering first their poore neighbours of condition and qualitie like themselves, and easie enough to bee entreated with them to seeke their better fortune, like swarms of grasshoppers sent out to deuour the world: passed the high mountaine **CAUCASUS**, part of the mountaine **Taurus** of all the mountaines in the world the greatest, which beginning neere vnto the **ARCHIPELAGO**, and ending vpon the orientall **OCEAN**, and running through many great and famous kingdomes diuideth **ASIA** into two parts: ouer which great mountaine, one of the most assured bounders of nature, that had so many worlds of yeeres shut vp this rough and savage people, they now passing without number, and comming downe (as it were) into an other world, full of such natures pleasant delights as neuer were to them before scene, bare downe all before them as they went, nothing being now able to stand in their way. Old **Zingis** their fortunate leader dead in this so great an expedition, **Hoccat** his sonne, eldest of his twelue brethren, a man of great wisdome and courage, tooke vpon him his fathers place: who sending part of his great armie for the subduing of the countie **Westward**, turned himselfe with a world of people towards the East: where hauing subdued the **Bactrians** and **Sogdians**, with diuers others he entred into **INDIA**, and subduing that rich countie on both sides the riuer **INDUS**, euen to the East **OCEAN**, there in the countie of **CATHAI** built the famous citie of **CAMBALU**, in circuit eight and twentie miles about; for pleasure and plentie of all things necessarie for the life of man, of all the cities of **ASIA** the chiefe: where the great **Cham** of **TARTARIE** still resiant as in his imperiall citie, commaundeth ouer one of the greatest and strongest empires of the world. In whose kingdome also, in the prouince of **MANGY** more towards the East, hee hath another most famous citie called **QUINSAY**, of all the cities in the world the greatest, in circuit an hundred miles about, as **M. Paulus Venetus** writeth, who himselfe dwelt therein about the yeere 1260. It is situate in a lake of fresh water, and hath in it twelue thousand bridges: of which, some are of such an heighth that tall ships with their sailes vp may easily passe vnder them. In this populous citie the great **Cham** hath for the keeping thereof, alwaies thirtie thousand men in garrison. The **Tartar** kingdome thus planted in **CAMBALU**, **Hoccat** contenting

Kingdomes after
the manner of
other things
haue but their
time to flourish
in, and so againe
decay.

The Turke drive
out of Persia by
the Tartars.

ting himselfe with the rich pleasures of INDIA, afterward manag'd his wars by his lieutenants, G being for the most part his brethren, or other his nigh kinsmen; of whom hee sent out with his armies some Northward, some Westward, and some toward the South: by whom he subdued the the Arachosians, Margians, and diuers other great nations, & entering into PERSIA, subdued the country, with all PARTHIA, ASSYRIA, MESOPOTAMIA, & MEDIA. At this time in the citie BALCH or BELCH, in the country of CHORASAN in the farthest part of PERSIA, reigned ouer the Turks one *Curfumes*, of the Greekes called *Corsantes*; who finding himselfe far too weake to stand before the Tartarians, fled with all his people, leaving vnto them both the citie and the country, which he and the Turks his predecessours had euer since the time of *Tangrolipix* possessed: which citie the Tartars raised and tooke the country to themselves. In this generall flight of the Turks, when as euery man was glad to make what shift he might for himselfe, *Curfumes* their Sultan died, the last of the kings of the *Selzuccian* family that reigned ouer the Turks in PERSIA: whose sonne *Vngan Chan* taking vpon him the leading of such multitudes of Turks as followed his father, seized vpon the great citie of BABYLON, now called BAGADAT, nere vnto the ruines of the old BABYLON: where hauing put to the sword all the inhabitants thereof, he there, and in the country thereabout seated himselfe with the Turks his followers: but long he had not there rested, but that the Tartars hearing thereof, pursued him, tooke him prisoner, & expelled thence all his people. There was at the same time also another kingdom of the Turks at NACHAN a citie in PERSIA, giuing name vnto the country wherein it stood, not farre from CHORASAN: wherein then reigned one *Solyman* of the *Oguzian* family, as had diuers other of his progenitors before him, who terrified with this dreadfull storme so suddenly risen out of the North, and warned by the sudden fall of the *Selzuccian* Sultan & his kingdome, of farre greater fame and power than himselfe or his, fled also with such his subjects as would follow him into the lesser ASIA. But of him and his proceedings more shall bee said hereafter in the rising of the victorious *Othoman* family, as lineally from him descended. After this the Tartars together with their good fortune still extending the bounds of their empire, conquered ARMENIA the greater, with the countries of CHOLCHIS and IBERIA: so that now their empire was become of all others the greatest and most flourishing. This great conquerour (the Tartar) had in his proud conceit purposed to haue subdued all ASIA, and to haue made the sea the onely bounder of his empire: but overcome with the delicacies of INDIA, hauing diuided amongst his people those great provinces and fruitfull countries, with the rich cities and pleasant fields, he so rested, embracing the maners and superstition of the people he had overcome. Long it were and farre from our purpose to recount all the famous victories and conquest of this bare Northern people; suffice it to the historie we haue in hand, that the Turks were by them then driuen out of PERSIA, with the countries thereabouts, and their *Togran* kingdome (as they call it) first founded by *Tangrolipix*, there extinguished, about the yeare of our Lord 1202. The Turks thus driuen out of PERSIA and their kingdome ouerthrowen, retired themselves into the lesser ASIA, possessed by the Turkes their countrymen, long before brought thither by *Cutlu-Muses* and his sonnes (as is before declared) and by them euer since in some part, though with diuers fortune, holden. Where these Turkes now arriuing out of PERSIA vnder the leading of *Aladin*, the sonne of *Kei Husein*, descended also of the *Selzuccian* family in PERSIA, and taking the opportunitee offered them by the mortall discord of the Latines with the Greekes, and the Greekes among themselves, seized vpon CILICIA with the countries thereabouts, and there first at SEBASTIA, and afterward at ICONIUM, erected their new kingdome; which of this *Aladin* is by the Turkes called the kingdome of the *Aladin* kings, although their names were not all so.

Now about this time, and within the course of some few yeares after, such great and strange mutations happened in the Constantinopolitane empire, as had not therein at any time before beene scene: whereby the whole estate of that great empire which sometime commanded ouer a great part of the world, was almost vtterly subuerted, and a fit opportunitee giuen vnto the Turks and infidels for the sure setting of themselves, and establishing of their kingdomes both in SYRIA and the lesser ASIA: which briefly to run thorow shall not be from our purpose; their affaires prospering by these troubles, and their proud and stately empire that now braueth all the rest of the world, being raised out of the ruines of that Christian empire; and at this present triumphing euen in the same imperiall citie wherein these so great innouations hapned through the

A the working of ambitious heads, to the lamentable ruine and destruction of a great part of the Christian commonweale.

Alexius the vsurper, but now emperor, not contented (as is before declared) traitorously to haue deprived *Isaack* his elder brother of his empire and sight together; sought also after the life of the young prince *Alexius*, his brothers sonne, and heire apparent of the empire: who seeing the villanie committed in the person of his father, saved himselfe by flight from the furie of his vncke, and so accompanied with certaine great lords of the Greekes, his fathers friends, fled to craue aid of the Christian princes of the West, whom the Greekes commonly call the Latins. And first he tooke his way to *Philip* the Germane emperor, who had married *Irene* his sister, the emperour *Isaack* his daughter, by whom he was most honourably receiued and entertained. This great ladie, not a little moued with the miserie of her father, and the flight of her brother, ceased not most instantly to sollicite the emperor her husband, not to leaue vnreueged so great a villanie, by the example thereof, dangerous vnto himselfe and others, of like maiestie and state. She declared vnto him, what an execrable indignitie it was, to see her father, the emperor, unworthely imprisoned, deprived of his empire, and sight, and of the societie of men, by his brother, that had by him receiued and recovered his life, his light, and his libertie: and to see the heire apparent of the empire banished by the wickednesse of his vncke, to wander vp and downe here and there like a beggar: a great part of which disgrace, as shee said, redounded vnto her selfe, the daughter of *Isaack*, and sister to the young wandering prince, and to himselfe also the sonne in law, vnto the vnfortunat emperor her father. Moreouer she said, that the murderer *Alexius* durst neuer haue beene so hardie as to commit so great and detestable a villanie, if he had not lightly regarded and contemned the maiestie of the said *Philip*: whom if he had had in any reuerence or honour, or at all feared, he durst not haue attempted so villanous an act. This Greeke ladie, moued with just griefe, with these and such like complaints so preuailed with her husband, that he promised her to be in some part thereof reueged, which he could not for the present performe, letted by the wars he then had with *Otho* his competitor of the empire. At the same time it fortuned, that great preparations were in making in FRANCE and ITALIE, and diuers other places of Christendome, for an expedition to be made against the Turks into the Holy land. The chiefe men wherein were *Theobald* countie of CHAMPAIGNE (a man of great fame, and generall of the Christian D armie) *Boniface* marquisse of MONT-FERRAT, *Baldwin* earle of FLANDERS and HENULT, and *Henrie* his brother earle of S. PAUL, *Henrie* duke of LOVAIN, *Gualter* earle of BREAME, with diuers other noble gentlemen, which to name were tedious; vnto whom resorted also many valiant and deuout Christians out of diuers parts of Christendome, ready to haue spent their liues in that so religious a war: so that now the number of them was great, and the armie right populous. But being thus assembled together, they thought it not best to take their way to CONSTANTINOPLE, through HUNGARIE and THRACE, and so to passe ouer into BITHYNIA; for that the Greekes had still in all former times shewed great vncourtesie vnto the Latins, in passing with their armies that way: and therefore they thought it much better now, by the way of ITALIA to take their journey by sea into the Holy land; and for their transportation, especially to vse the helpe of the Venetians, whom they found much the easier to be intreated, for that by the means also great an armie, they were in hope to scoure the Adriaticke (then much infested by the Dalmatians) as also to recouer IADERA, with some other cities vpon the coast of SCLAVONIA, before reuolted from their state to the Hungarians, as indeed they afterward did. But by the way as this armie was marching out of FRANCE, and come into PIERMONT, the noble countie of CHAMPAIGNE, generall thereof, there fell sick and died, to the exceeding griefe & sorrow of the whole armie: in whose stead, the marquisse of MONT-FERRAT, a man of great nobilitie, and well acquainted with the wars of the East, was chosen generall. This great armie, transported by the Venetians into SCLAVONIA, took IADERA, with diuers other port townes along the sea coast, and hauing there done what the Venetians most desired, was about again to haue ben embarked for SYRIA, and so into the holy land. But the yong prince *Alexius* in the meane time had by himselfe and the noble Grecians (fled with him for feare of the tyrant) so wrought the matter with the Latine princes of the West, especially with *Innocentius tertius* the Pope, with *Philip* the emperor his brother in law, and *Philip* the French king, that they pitying his estate, & induced also with some other considerations more proper vnto themselves, took him as it were into their protection, commending by letters & messengers for that purpose sent vnto the armie (which they might command) the defence

Great preparati-
on made by the
Christians for an
expedition into
the Holy land.

*Alexius cometh
vnto the armie.*

both of himselfe and his cause: who with the commendation of three so great princes, comming G to the armie yet lying at IADERA (expecting but a faire wind for to haue passed into SYRIA) was there of them all most honorably receiued, as the sonne of an emperour, and as became one vnto them so highly commended. And he himselfe also, as one that knew his good, was not in any thing wanting vnto himselfe, but recommended himselfe to their protection, as a poore exiled prince in distresse, yet of a good and liuely spirit, gracious in speech, beautifull to behold, and very yong; and withall, fully instructed by the noble Grecians that were with him, in all things that might serue to further his purpose. And forasmuch as this great armie was composed of diuers nations, especially of the French, Italians, and Venetians, not all to be by one meane moued, he fitted every one of them with such motiues as hee thought might most preuaile with them: Vnto the French he promised to pay the great summes of mony they had borrowed of the Venetians, for the furnishing of themselves in this war: Vnto the Venetians he promised to recompence the for all the injuries they had sustained by the late Constantinopolitan emperours, especially by the emperor *Emmanuel* (who for that they had refused to aid him in his wars against *William* king of SYCILE, did in one day confiscate all the goods of the Venetian marchants within his empire, of a wonderfull value: & afterwards contrarie to the law of nations, shamefully intreated their embassadours sent vnto him, amongst whom was *Henry Dandulus*, now by fortune generall for the Venetians in the armie: who moued as well with the wrong in particular done vnto himselfe, as with the common, desired to be reuenged both of the one and of the other; which although he could not haue of *Emanuel* himselfe, being long before dead, yet was he still desirous to haue it of some one of the Greeke emperours, whosoeuer he were: Vnto the Pope and the Italians, both he and the noblemen with him, had before promised, That the Greeke Church should for euer acknowledge the supremacie of the church of ROME, and from thenceforth submit it selfe therunto, as vnto the soveraigne iudge of all the churches of Christendome: which caused the Pope *Innocentius* by letters, by legates, by embassadours, and by all other meanes possible, to further the cause of the yong prince *Alexius*, so combined with his owne: alleadging the diuersitie of opinions in matters of religion, betwixt the Greekes and the Latines, to haue been the chiefe cause that the Mahometanes had not been long agoe by their vniued forces subdued, or vtterly rooted out. In briebe, the yong prince spared not to promise most bountifull rewards in generall to all that should take his part against his vnle the usurping emperour.

By this meanes, the deuout warre, taken in hand for the reliefe of the poore Christians in SYRIA, was laid aside, and the same forces that should haue bene therein employed, now conuerted against the Greeke empire, to the great weakening of that side of the Christian commonweale, and aduantage of the common enemies; who might then easily haue bene oppressed, had he with the vniued forces of the Christians been on this side charged home, as he was on the farther by the Tartars. The Grecian warre thus resolued vpon, it seemed best vnto the great commanders of the armie, to march directly to CONSTANTINOPLE, as to the head of the Grecian state, and place where the tyrant whom they sought after, was resident. In the mean time it was by them given out through all the Greeke cities which the emperour had strongly manned and fortified for the staying of their passage, that their purpose was not to make warre against the Grecians their friends, but onely to restore their lawfull emperour vnto his former state and honour: And that forasmuch as euery cite and towne in ancient GREECE had appointed rewards, and almost diuine honors vnto such as had deliuered them from tyrants, they should now more fauourably receiue and intreat them that came to restore vnto euery cite, and to euery man in generall, their former libertie and honour. And so vpon the resolution for CONSTANTINOPLE, embarking their armie, and passing through the Ionian sea into the Egeum, and so without let through the straights of Helespontus into Propontis, and entering the straits of Bosphorus Thracius, which deuide EUROPE from ASIA, they came to an anker euen in the face of the cite. In this fleet were two hundred and fortie saile of tall ships, sixtie gallies, seuentie ships for burden, and one hundred and twentie saile of victualers: which all together made a most braue shew, couering that strait in such sort, as that it seemed rather a wood than a part of the sea. Thus for a space they lay facing the cite, attending if happily vpon the comming and sight of so great a fleet, and the report of so puissant an armie as the yong prince *Alexius* had brought with him, any tumult or sedition might arise in the cite. But the warie tyrant had so well provided therefore beforehand, that the citizens although they in heart fauoured the yong prince, and wished him

*A great fleet of
the Latines be-
fore Constanti-
nople.*

him well, yet durst they not once moue or stirre in his quartell. Whilest the fleet thus lay, embassadours came from the isle of CRETE, in two great gallies, with three banks of oares, yeclding vnto the yong prince that goodly island, with all the townes and cities therein: which he forthwith gaue vnto the marquisse of MONTERRAY, generall of the armie, thereby to encourage the other great commanders of the armie to do the vttermost of their deuoir, in hope of recompence and rewards answerable to their deserts and valour.

Before the arriual of this fleet, *Alexius* the emperour had with a great chaine made fast the entrance of the hauen betwixt CONSTANTINOPLE and PERA, and appointed twentie great gallies well manned for the keeping thereof: but a great gale of wind arising, the generall sent out the greatest and strongest ship in the fleet (of her greatnesse and swiftnesse called the Eagle) which with all her sailes vp, carried with a full gale of wind, by maine force brake the chaine, and made a way for the rest of the fleet to enter: which the Greekes in the gallies seeing, for feare fled, leauing the gallies for a spoile vnto the Venetians, by whom they were all taken, but not a man found in them. The hauen thus gained, *Theodorus Lascaris* the emperours sonne in law, was presently readie vpon the shore with a select companie of the brauest gallants of the cite and of the court, to haue hindered the Latines from landing; who running their ships a ground, landed with such cheerefulness and courage, and with such hast, that in one moment you might haue seene them leape out of their ships, take land, enter into the battell, and lay about them like mad men. This hote skirmish endured a great while, for that they were onely footmen that sustained this brunt, for the horses could not so soone be landed, and the Greekes were brauely mounted. All this great fight the Constantinopolitans beheld, with doubtfull hearts expecting what should bee the euent thereof: There were in the cite sixtie thousand of the flower of Greece, which brauely falling out, made the battell much more doubtfull; yet such was the valour and resolution of the Latines, that in fine the Greekes discomfited, were glad to retire themselves againe into the cite; but with what losse, was not certainly knowne: ease it were to guesse, that it was right great; for that the old tyrant *Alexius* discouraged therewith, and doubtfull of his owne state, with *Theodorus Lascaris* his sonne in law, and some few others of his trustie friends (hard to be found in so dangerous a case) the next night following secretly fled out of the cite, carying away with him a wonderfull masse of treasure (which hee against all such euents had caused to bee secretly hidden by his daughter *Irene*, in a monastrie of Nuns within the cite, whereof she was the abbess) and so saved himselfe.

*The Latines by
force enter the
hauen of Con-
stantinople.*

*A hot skirmish
betwixt the
Greekes and the
Latines at their
landings.*

The flight of the tyrant once bruted, the next morning the Constantinopolitans taking the old emperour *Isaack* out of prison, saluted him againe for their emperour, rejoycing greatly for his deliuerance, and the safegard of his life: and after that opened the gates of the cite vnto the Latines, calling and saluting them by the names of the reuengers and sauours of the libertie of the Greekes, as also of the life and maiestie of their emperour; they requested them that they might see and salute *Alexius* their yong prince, whom they had so long desired: and so was the cite of CONSTANTINOPLE, by the submission of the citizens, for that time saved from sackage and spoile. The old emperour thus deliuered, and together with his sonne *Alexius* againe placed in the imperiall seat, gaue the most heartie thanks that possibly he could vnto the Latine princes, for that by their bountie, charitie, and valour, the Greeke empire had bene deliuered out of a long and miserable seruitude: and for his owne particular, that he had receiued of them so great good, that albeit his sight could not be restored to him againe, neuertheless, hee acknowledged his life, his libertie, his empire, his countrey, his sonne, to haue bene vnto him by them restored, and he likewise to them: for which their so great deserts he could not (as hee said) render them condigne thanks, or deuise rewards or honours answerable to their demerits and valour: and that therefore he did ratifie and confirme whatsoever his sonne had before promised vnto them for his deliuerance: and not onely that, but farther promised, That if they were not therewith contented, hee would of his owne bountie giue them better contentment, not meaning they should goe discontented, that had saved his life, and otherwise so highly pleased him. Hereupon this good old emperour began to consult with his friends about the meanes whereby he might satisfie and content the Latines in such things as the yong prince his sonne had vnto them promised. And to the intent that the citizens of CONSTANTINOPLE might the more willingly doe that he was to command them, and the more cheerefully pay such impositions as hee was to lay vpon them, hee intreated all the Latines to retire themselves out of the cite into their

*Isaack the old
emperour taken
out of prison, and
againe saluted
emperour, toge-
ther with, yong
Alexius his sonne.*

their campe or about their ships, which they accordingly did. But the imposition being set downe, and what euerie man was to pay, seemed vnto the Greeks (as men of long accustomed to receiue tribute of others, and not to pay tribute to others) a matter most heauie and intollerable. In this verie instant that this exaction was required, died the old emperour *Isaack*, who hauing of long beene kept in a darke and stinking prison in continuall feare of death, and now deliuered and restored to his empire, could not endure so sudden and vnexpected a change, both of the aire and of his manner of liuing, but so suddenly died.

At this exaction imposed for the contentment of the Latines, the light Constantinopolitans grieuouly murmured and exclaimed, saying, That it was a villanous thing to see the Greeke empire engaged and bound (by a yooing boy) vnto a couetous and proud nation, and so to bee spoiled and bared of coyne: That the great and rich island of *Crete* lying in the midst of the sea, was by him giuen as a gift vnto the Latines: That the cite of *Constantinople* and the Greeke church, had by him beene enforced and constrained to yeeld vnto the See of *Rome*, to receiue the opinions of the Latine church, to submit it selfe vnto the obeisance of old *Rome*, from whence it had once happily departed euer since the time that the empire was by *Constantine* the Great translated thence to them. Thus euerie one said for himselfe, in particular: thus all men said in generall. And therof the noble men in their assemblies, and the vulgar people in their meetings, grieuouly complained: whereupon a great sedition and tumult was raised in the cite. Some presently tooke vp armes, and the common people all enraged ran furiously disordered vnto the palace, with a purpose to haue committed some great outrage vpon the person of the yong emperour *Alexius*: who in that so sudden an insurrection, as might well haue troubled a right constant man, without longer stay resolved vpon a most wholesome and necessarie point for the appeasing of the peoples furie; vnto whom (assembled in a woonderfull multitude) he shewed himselfe from aboue in his pallas, promising them to remaine in their power, and not from thenceforth to do any thing without their aduice and liking; but wholly to depend vpon them: with which good words the people held themselves well content, and so was the tumult for that time appeased. But forthwith the yong emperour considering the iniurie done vnto him, began to burne with the desire of reuenge and to change his purpose. Hee could not together satisfie the citizens and the Latines: for if he would keepe his promise with the Latines, he must of necessitie offend his owne people; neither was there any meanes to bee found to satisfie both the one and the other. But thinking himselfe more bound to keepe his promise with the Latines, whose forces he knew not how to withstand, he sent secretly to request the marques of *Mont-Ferrat*, generall of the armie, to send him about midnight certaine companies of souldiers into the cite, assuring him to receiue them in by a gate nere vnto the pallas, which should be opened vnto them by certaine of his trustie seruants there left for that purpose. Of this plot *Alexius Ducas* (of his birtle browes surnamed *Murzus*, whom of a base fellow the emperour *Isaack* had promoted vnto the greatest honours of the court) was not ignorant, who being a man of an aspiring mind, and in these troublesome times hauing long thirsted after the empire, tooke now this occasion to worke vpon.

The night following, he by his agents, men instructed for the purpose, raised a tumult in the cite, not inferior vnto that which had happened the day before: and at the same instant, as if he had had nothing to do in the matter, came suddenly vnto the yong emperour in the dead time of the night (which he might at all times do, by reason of the great confidence the emperour had in him) and with a sad countenance told him, That the people were vp againe in an vprore, and especially they of his guard, and that they were comming towards him to do him some violence for the loue he bare vnto the Latines. With which vnexpected newes the yong emperour terrified, demanded of him as of his most faithfull counsellor, what were best in that case for him to doe? Who presently embracing him in his night gowne, lead him out by a secret dore into a tent hee had of his owne in the court, as if hee would there haue kept him safe: but far was that from his traitorous thoughts; who departing from him, as if he had gone to appease the tumult, had before taken order, That he should presently after his departure, be cast in bonds, and so be clapt vp into a close stinking prison. Which done, the false traitor openly shewing himselfe, made an oration vnto the people, wherein he shewed himselfe to haue great compassion of the Greeke empire, & of the Greeks his countrymen themselves, especially in that they were gouerned by a youth unfit for the gouernment, who suffered himselfe to be misse-led according to the pleasure

A pleasure of the Latines. And that it was high time for the cite of *Constantinople*, the seat of the Greeke empire, to looke about it, and to haue an eie vnto it selfe, sith it was betrayed & sold by them which ought to preferue and keepe the same: that they had now need of a man that loued his countrey and countrymen, before that which yet remained of the *Græcian* name were vterly extinguished by the Latines.

This his speech, fitted of purpose vnto the humour of the seditious, was receiued with the great outcrie and applause of the windie headed people: Some cried out that hee, and none but he, was to be made chiefe of the common weale that was by them to be established: other some cried as loud to haue him made generall of the armies and forces of the state: but the greatest crie was to haue him chosen and created emperour; whereunto the rest giuing place, hee was by the generall consent of the tumultuous people, without longer stay, chosen and proclaimed emperour.

Alexius the traitour, by no lawfull election or rightfull succession, but onely by the furie of the tumultuous people, thus created emperour; was of nothing more carefull than how to breake the forces of the Latines, of whom onely he now stood in dread. And therefore to begin withall, he first attempted by certaine gallies filled with pitch, flax, brimstone, and such like matter apt to take fire, to haue burnt the Venetian fleet: which gallies so set on fire & carried with a faire gale of wind amongst the fleet, had beene like enough to haue done great harme, had it not by the warinesse of the Venetians bene preuented: who being good sea men, & not vnacquainted with such deuises, easily and without danger auoided the same, by keeping themselves aloofe one from another in the sea. This finenesse forcing to no purpose, he to colour the matter sent certaine messengers to the generall, and other commanders of the armie, to giue them to vnderstand that that which was done for the firing of the fleet, had beene done without his priuie, by the malice of the tumultuous people; and that for his part he would be glad of their fauour and friendship, assuring them likewise of his, and promising them to aid them both with men and money, and whatsoever else they should haue need of in their wars against the infidels. Whereunto an answer was giuen by *Dandulus* the Venetian generall, That he would beleue it, when *Alexis* the sonne of the emperour *Isaack*, whom the Latines had placed in the empire, should assure them thereof, and intreat for the people, vpon whom the fault of that outrage was laid: which answer the more moued the traitorous tyrant, to rid himselfe cleane of the feare of the yong prince, by taking him out of the way; to the intent to hinder the people of the hope and great desire they had to grow to some peace with the Latines, by taking him out of prison, and receiuing him againe for their emperour: For the people (by nature mutable, and not desirous of the good of themselves, but according to the occurrences present, without any great regard of that they haue already done, or ought to haue done) began now to repent themselves of that they had done against the yong emperor *Alexis* in the fauour of the tyrant, and commonly said, That they must find some meanes, whatsoever it were, to remedie their fault together with their troubles. Wherefore *Murzus* fearing this sudden mutation of the people, with his owne hands most villanously strangled the yong prince *Alexis* in prison, hauing as yet not reigned much about six months, and immediately after caused it to be bruited abroad, That the said yong prince despairing of his estate, had as a man desperat hanged himselfe.

The tyrant in vaine hauing thus attempted the burning of the fleet, and still fearing the reuenging sword of the Latines, resolved now by plaine force to meet them in the field, and there to dare them battell. So hauing made readie and armed the whole strength of the imperiall cite, he with cheerefull speech encouraged his souldiers, requesting them valiantly to maintaine and defend their countrey of Greece, the monuments of their fathers, the glorie of their ancestors, their honour present, and the future hope of their posteritie: that hauing before their eyes the wals of their cite, within which they were borne, nourished, and brought vp in hope of great matters, they would haue pitie and compassion of their temples, their wiues, their children, and in no case to suffer them to fall againe into so miserable and wretched a seruitude, but rather to die a thousand deaths. And the more to grace this his enterprise taken in hand for the defence of his countrey (as he would haue the world to beleue it) with the colour of a superstitious deuotion also, hee caused the priests in their ecclesiastike attire and ornaments, to march forth in the armie, with an ensigne, hauing in it displayed the picture of the Virgin *Marie*. So couragiously marching forward, hee first charged that quarter of the campe where *Baldwin*

Alexis brother
to the late
emperour
Isaack.

The Constantinopolitans
in an vprore.

Murzus at
tempteth to
burne the Venetian
fleet.

Murzus his
courageous
souldiers.

Constantinople
hardly besieged.Constantinople
set on fire.

win the countie of FLANDERS lay, where at the first was fought a right fierce and doubtfull bat-
tell. But afterward the alarm running throughout all the campe of the Latines, and new supplies
comming in on euery side, the Greekes were put to the worse, and enforced againe to retire into
the citie, hauing lost a great number of men, together with their superstitious ensigne. It was a
wonderfull thing to see, with what rare agreement the Latines, being of diuers nations, conti-
nued this expedition vnderaken against the Greekes. Seuentie two daies was the citie of CON-
STANTINOPLE straightly besieged by the Latines both by sea and land, without giuing any
time of rest or repose day or night vnto the besieged, fresh men comming still on to the assault,
as the other fell off, and in such sort troubled the Greekes in the citie, that they knew not well
what to doe or which way to turne themselves. The Venetians, vnto whom was committed
the charge to assault that side of the citie which was toward the haven, vpon two great galleies
made fast together, built a strong tower of wood, higher than the wals and rampiers of the town,
out of which they both with shot and fire-works much troubled the defendants, wherewith
they in the time of the assault approaching the wall, by their fine deuises fired that side of the citie:
by the rage whereof, a great number of houses were burnt, with many other stately buildings
and ancient monuments of that famous citie: and had at that present gained a great tower neere
vnto the port, destitute of defenders, had not the tyrant himselfe in good time come with new
supplies to the rescue thereof. In like manner, the French, with the rest, assailed the other side of
the citie by land, where they were to fight not against the defendants onely, but against deepe
ditches, high and strong wals, and bulwarkes also: neuertheless, such was the valour and furie of
the Latines, with the desire of victorie, as that they were not with any difficulties to be dismayed;
but pressing still on, by a thousand dangers, at length after a most sharpe assault they gained one
of the greatest bastillions on that side of the citie, called the Angels tower, and so by plaine force
opened a way both for themselves and the rest into the citie. Wherof *Alexius* vnderstanding,
and stricke with present despaire both of his state and life, the night now comming on, fled with
Euphrosina the emperour *Alexius* his wife, and *Eudocia* her daughter, whome hee had married
when he had reigned about a moneth and 16 daies.

The tyrant, author of all this mischiefe and of the calamities ensuing, thus fled, and the La-
tines furiously entering; the priests and religious men in their surplices, and other ecclesiastique
ornaments, with their crosses and banners (as in solemne procession) met the Latines, and falling
downe at the souldiours feet, with floods of teares abundantly running downe their heauie coun-
tenances, besought them, but especially the captaines and commanders, to remember the condi-
tion of worldly things, and contenting themselves with the victorie, the glorie, the honour, the
empire, the immortalitie of their name, to abstaine from slaughter, from burning, from spoiling
and ransacking of so beautifull a citie: And that seeing they were themselves men, they would also
haue pitie of men: and being themselves captaines and souldiours, they should also haue com-
passion vpon captaines and souldiours; who although they were not so valiant and fortunate as
they were, yet neuertheless were both captaines and souldiours: And that they would keepe and
preserve their citie, whereof (if they ruinated it not) they might haue much more pleasure and
commoditie, than if they should destroy the same, which as it had been the principall seat of the
Greeke empire, so might it now bee of the Latines: That seeing they had thereof had a carefull
regard, as then belonging to another man, they ought now vpon better reason to haue more
care thereof, being their owne: That the authors of all these troubles and mischiefes, *Alexius* the
elder, and *Atirzule*, had already receiued a reward answerable to their follies, in that they were
driven into exile: That they would haue pitie and compassion of an innocent and vnfortunat
multitude of poore people, oppressed and grievously tormented with the often tyrannies of their
murderous lords and gouernours: That in so doing, God the Lord of hostes, the giuer and gui-
der of batels, the God of mercie, would therefore reward them: To conclude, they humbly be-
sought them to pardon their citizens, to put on the hearts of gracious and mercifull lords and fa-
thers, not of enemies and rough masters, of forgivers, not of reuengers: and to vnderstand by
their teares, their miserable estate and woes passed. With this so humble a submission and com-
plaint of the religious, some of the better sort were happely moued: but with the common sol-
diors, breathing nothing but victorie, with their weapons in their hands, and the spoile of an em-
pire in their power, what auailed prayers or teares? euery man fell to the spoile, and in so great
choice and libertie of all things, fitted his owne disordered appetite, without respect of the wrong
or

A or injurie done to others: onely from the effusion of innocent blood they abstained; they whose
liues they sought after, being already fled, together with the tyrant. Other injuries and outrages
(so great as that greater could none be) were in euery place so rife, that euery street, euery lane, euery
corner of the citie was filled with mourning and heauinesse. There might a man haue seene
noblemen earst of great honor, and reuerend for their hoarie haire, with other citizens of great
wealth, thrust out of all they had, walking vp and downe the citie weeping and wringing their
hands, as men forlorne, not knowing where to shroud their heads. Neither staid the greedie
rage of the insolent souldiours within the wals of mens priuat houses, but brake out into the state-
ly pallaces, temples, and churches of the Greekes also, where all was good prize, and nothing de-
dicated to the seruice of God; lest vnpolluted and defaced, no place vnsoiight, no corner vnrisht:
B right lamentable and almost incredible it were to report all the miseries of that time. Some of
the Greeke Historiographers, men of great marke and place, and themselves eye witnesses and
partakers of those euils, haue by their writings complained to all posteritie, of the insolencie of
the Latines at the winning of the citie, to their eternall dishonour: but that disordered souldiours
in all ages in the libertie of their insolent victorie, haue done such outrages, as honest minds ab-
horre to thinke vpon. Thus Constantinople, the most famous citie of the East, the seat and glo-
rie of the Greeke empire, by the miserable ambition and dissention of the Greekes for soveraign-
tie fell into the hands of the Latines the twelfth of Aprill, in the yeare 1204, or after the account
of others, 1200.

Nicetas Chd-
niates, annals
um. fol. 180.

1204

C CONSTANTINOPLE thus taken, and the tyrants put to flight, the princes and great com-
manders of the armie held a counsell, to consider what were best to be done concerning the citie
and the new gained empire: for after so great a victorie, they thought it not good to raise so auen-
cient and important a citie, feared as it were a watch tower vpon the theatre of the world, ouer-
looking both ASIA and EUROPE from the one to the other, as an eye of the vniuersall; and
so commodiously planted, as was no other citie of the world, for the keeping vnder of the ene-
mies of the Christian Religion: but that it were much better to place there a Latine gouernour,
to establish there the Latine lawes and customes; and to vnite the Greeke church as a member
vnto the church of ROME. In which consultation, some were of opinion, not to haue any moe
emperours in Christendome but one; and therefore to make choice of *Philip* the Germane em-
perour, author of this warre, whose wife *Irene* was the onely daughter and heire of the late em-
perour *Isack Angelus*, vnto whom by all right the inheritance of her fathers empire belonged.
D But the greater part, considering that the troubled affaires of GREECE, in so great a change and
newnesse of the empire, had need of the personall presence of a prince, thought it better to make
choice of one among themselves, who there still resiant in that place, might at all times giue aid
vnto the Latines in their sacred warres, taken in hand against the infidels: which opinion as the
better, was approued of them all. The cheefe men in this election of the new emperour, were
Baldwin countie of FLANDERS and HAINAULT, *Henry* his brother, *Lewis* countie of
BLOYS, *Symon de Montfort*, *John de Dammartin*, *Gualter de Brienne*, *Hugh* countie of S. Paul,
E *John* countie of BRENNES, *Bonsface* marquis of MONT-FERRAT, *Stephen* countie of PERCH, and
siue gentlemen of VENICE: vnto whom also were joynd two Bishops of SYRIA, the one of
BETHLEM, the other of PTOLEMAIS, who had oftentimes come to the campe of the Latines
to stirre them vp for the taking in hand of the sacred warre in SYRIA; with two bishops of
FRANCE also, namely of SOISSONS and TROYES in CHAMPAGNE, &c. the abbot of LEMBLEY.
These great lords and prelates assembled into the church of the holy Apostles, after they had
therewith great deuotion craued of God to inspire them with his spirit, for the choice of a good
and just prince: fit for so great a charge; with one consent made choice of *Baldwin* countie of
FLANDERS and HAINAULT for emperour of GREECE: a braue and valiant prince about
two and thirtie yeeres old, who was afterward the sixteenth day of May in the yeare 1204 (or
after the computation of others in the yeare 1205) in the great temple of S. Sophia solemnly
F crowned by *Thomas Maurocenus* Venetian, first Patriarch of the Latines in CONSTANTI-
NOPL. From which time the Greeke church in CONSTANTINOPLE began to receiue
the rites and ceremonies of the Latines, and to acknowledge the supremacie of the church
of ROME.

It was not long after that CONSTANTINOPLE was thus taken by the Latines, but that
they dividing their forces without any resistance, tooke in the most part of the great countries

The Greeke em-
pire divided a-
mongst the Lat-
ins.

himselfe, fled into **THESSALIE**, and from thence vnto *Leo Scurus* (then a man of great fame among the Greekes) who tyrannising at **NAUPLUS**, as had his father before him, was in these troublesome times growne greater by surprising of the two famous cities of **ARGOS** and **CORINTH**: by whose meanes he cunningly entrapped *Alexius Ducas*, surnamed *Murzus* the traitor; and for a secret grudge not commonly knowne, put out his eyes: himselfe an exiled man being a most heauie enemy vnto the other also exiled; and himselfe thrust out of the empire, a deadly foe vnto the other, oppressed with the like calamitie. Shortly after which losse of his sight, he was by chance taken by the Latines, and so brought backe to **CONSTANTINOPLE**, where he was for murdering the young emperor *Alexius*, worthily condemned vnto a strange and horrible kind of death: for, cast off from an high tower, and tumbling heeles ouer head downe, ward, he was with the waight of himselfe, and violence of the fall, crushed all to peeces, and so miserably died: a death too good for such a traitour. Not long after it fortun'd also, that *Alexius* himselfe wandering vp and downe in **THRACIA**, was by the marquisse of **MONT-FERRAT** going against **SCYRVS**, taken and stript of his great treasure, and whatsoeuer else hee had; and so sent away naked, long time after in beggers estate wandered about in **ACHATA** and **PELOPONNESVS**, now farre vnlike that *Alexius* which sometime proudly raigned in **CONSTANTINOPLE**: but such is the assurance of euill gotten honour. He hearing that *Theodorus Lascaris*, his sonne in law, raigned in **ASIA**, and there held the state of an emperor, rejoyced not thereat as a kind father in law, but inwardly greued thereat as an enemy, forie that any other but himselfe should be honoured with the title of the Greeke emperor: in which malicious humour he sayling out of **GREECE** into **ASIA** ouer the *Ægeum*, came secretly vnto the Turkes Sultan *Iathatines* his old acquaintance, then lying at **ATTALIA**, (which famous citie he had not long before taken from the Christians) vnto whom he declared his heauie estate, and how his empire had been rent from him, as well by the Greekes as the Latines; requesting, that by his meanes he might be restored againe into some part thereof, especially that in the lesser **ASIA**, which was by *Theodorus Lascaris*, together with the honour of the Greeke emperor, vnjustly (as he said) detained from him. This *Iathatines*, now Sultan of **ICONIUM**, was the younger sonne of Sultan *Aladin*; who not long suruiuing his father *Cai-Chosroë*, left his kingdome vnto his two sonnes, *Azadin* and *Iassadin*, of the Greekes called *Azatines* and *Iathatines*: where long it was not, but that these two brethren falling out for the foueraigntie (which admitteth no equalitye) *Iathatines* was by *Azatines* his elder brother driuen into exile, and for the safegard of his life glad to flie vnto this *Alexius*, then rainging at **CONSTANTINOPLE**, by whom he was honourably entertained, and as some write, conuerted and baptised. But *Azatines* the Sultan shortly after dying, this *Iathatines* returning home againe, and renouncing the Christian religion, was by the Turkes receiued for their Sultan: of whom the emperor *Alexius* in like extremitie now craueth aid. The Sultan not forgetfull of his owne troubles before passed, or of the kindeesse hee had receiued, and moued with the pitifull complaint of his old friend, together with his large offers, beside that he was in hope to share out some good part of whatsoeuer he got for himselfe; tooke him into his protection, and forthwith sent embassadours to *Lascaris*, threatening vnto him all extremities, except he did forthwith giue place vnto *Alexius* his father in law, vnto whom as vnto the Greeke emperor, those countries which were by him possessed, of right (as he said) appertained. With which vnexpected message, *Theodorus* was not a little troubled, as fearing both the Sultans power, and the inclination of the people to their old emperor. Neuerthelesse, hauing propounded the matter in counsell, and finding the minds of his subjects well affected towards him, and a readinesse in them in his quarrell to aduenture their liues; he encouraged therewith, accompanied onely with two thousand choise horsemen, together with the Sultans embassadour, without farther stay set forward to **PHILADELPHIA**: the Sultan at the same time with *Alexius* (whom he carried with him as a bait to deceive the people withall) and twentie thousand Turkes, besieging the citie of **ANTIOCH**, situate vpon the winding banks of the river **MEANDER**. Which the emperor *Theodorus* well vnderstanding, and that the Sultan by gaining that strong citie (standing vpon the passage of the great river, the bounder of his empire) should open a faire way for himselfe into the heart of **ROMANIA ASIATICA**, to the great hazard of his whole empire, resolved with those few he had, to doe what hee might to relieue his citie. And so setting forward vpon the spur, carrying nothing with him more than a little victuall: and now come neere vnto the citie, sent before the Sultans embassadour, following him

Antioch besieged by Iathatines.

A at the heeles. Who comming vnto the Sultan, and telling him of the emperours approach with so small a power, could hardly perswade him that it was so, although hee bound it with many oathes: yet at length perswaded of the truth of the matter, and that indeed it was so, hee in all haste put his armie in the best order he could vpon such a suddain, but not to his best aduantage, being hindered so to do, by the straitnesse of the place wherein he lay. Of the two thousand select horsemen in the emperours armie, were eight hundred Italians, all most resolute men, who giuing the first charge, brake through the midst of the Sultans armie, disordering his whole battell as they went; after whom followed also the Greekes, though not with like courage: but those Italian horsemen now deuied from the rest, & in number but few, in comming back againe, were by the disordered Turkes, some on horseback, some on foot, so beset on euery side, as that there was no way left for them to passe, but there valiantly fighting were altogether slaine, hauing both before and at the time of their death, made such a slaughter of the Turkes, as is hardly to be beleueed to haue been possible for so few men to haue made. The Greekes also hardly laied to by the Turkes, and discouraged by the slaughter of the Latines, were euen vpon the point to haue fled: when as the Sultan, now almost in possession of a certaine victorie, descrying the Greeke emperor, and trusting to his owne great strength, singled him out, being as readie as himselfe to meet him; when as at the first incounter, the Sultan with his horsemans mase gaue him such a blow vpon the head, as might haue killed a bull, so that the emperor therewith astonied, fell downe from his horse: who yet euen in the fall comming something againe vnto himselfe, and although dismounted, yet quickly recovering his feet, with his faulchion hoxed the hinder legs of the mare whereon the Sultan rid, being a most beautifull beast and of a woonderfull height; which now suddainly faultering vnder him, and so the Sultan tumbling downe as from an high tower, before he could recouer himselfe, had his head cut off by the emperor: which by and by put vpon a lance, and so holden vp, with the sight thereof so dismaied the Turkes, that stricken with a suddaine feare, they presently fled, leauing the victorie vnto the emperor, before more than halfe ouercome: who for all that considering his small number, durst no farther pursue them, but entering the citie, gaue thanks to God for so great a victorie. Vnto whom the Turkes shortly after sent their embassadours, and so vpon such reasonable conditions as it pleased him to set downe, concluded with him a peace. *Alexius* himselfe, author of these troubles, taken in this battell and carried to **NICE**, was by the emperor his son in law, notwithstanding his euill deserts, well intreated and vsed.

Iathatines the Sultan slaine by Theodorus Lascaris the Greeke emperor.

Whilest the Latins thus spend those forces in subuerting of the Greeke empire, which should haue been employed for the releefe of the Christians in **SYRIA**; and that the Greeke emperor *Lyscaris* was thus troubled with the Turkes; the affaires of the Christians in **SYRIA** and the Holy land, grew still worse and worse. Whereof the knights Hospitallers and Templars (the cheefe champions of the Christian religion in those countries) greatly blained *Americus* the king of **CYPRUS**, for that he being so neere at hand, and hauing married *Isabella*, the heire of that kingdome, and so in her right taken vpon him the title of the king of **HERUSALEM**, gaue himselfe wholly to pleasure, doing nothing for the defence or reliefe of the poore distressed Christians, or repressing of the Turkes: who although they were yet in league with the Christians there, and at some discord also among themselves, yet spared not, as occasion serued, still more and more to encroach vpon them, and by building of new castles & fortresses, to cut them short. Of all which things, the aforesaid knights by their embassadours certified *Innocentius* the Pope, requesting his fatherly care for the remedie therof; certifying him withall, That there was yet liuing one *Mary*, the daughter of the marquisse of **MONT-FERRAT**, a ladie of rare beautie, whom they as her tutors, had brought vp in hope of the kingdome; and now were readie to bestow her vpon some such man as he should thinke wortheie of her, together with the right she had vnto the kingdome. Herevpon *Innocentius* discharging *Americus* of the title of the kingdome of **HERUSALEM**, gaue it to *John countie de Brene* of **DAUPHINIE** in **FRANCE**, a man of great fame and valour, then in armes with the other Latin princes against the Greekes. Who now returning home, commended his earldome to his brother, and with such power as he was able to make, setting forward, came first to **VENICE**, where he was royally entertained: and from thence sayling to **CONSTANTINOPLE**, was with like honour receiued by the emperor *Henry*, and so at length the first of September arrived at **PTOLHMAIS** in **SYRIA**, where he was with the great rejoycing and applaue of the people receiued as their king. And the last of the same moneth marrying

John Brene by Innocentius the Pope appointed king of Hierusalem.

1209

the aforesaid ladie *Marie* at *Tyre*, was there together with her with great solemnitie crowned king in the year 1209: which *Americus* the old king of *Cyprus* hearing, shortly after died for griefe. Neither wanted this noble gentleman, thus honoured with the title of a kingdome, some that eniued at his promotion, and therefore commonly called him in diuision, a king, but still with this addition, *Sans Ville*, that is to say, without a towne.

Now was the ten yeares peace before taken betwixt the Turkes and the Christians in *Syria*, at the coming ouer of *Simon* marquisse of *Mont-Ferrat* (as is before declared) almost expired: which had not so much giuen to those poore remnants of the Christians some time of rest and breathing, as had the discord of the Turkes among themselves; which hauing by the space of nine yeares continued betwixt *Noradin* and *Saphadin* for the foueraignetic, was now by the death of *Saphadin* ended. *Noradin* contenting himselfe with the gouernment of *Aleppo*: and *Corradin* and *Meledin*, the two sonnes of *Saphadin*, deuiding their fathers kingdome betwixt them, the one taking vnto himselfe *Damasco* and *Syria*, and the other the great kingdome of *Egipt*, but all enemies vnto the Christians.

Corradin and Meledin deuide their fathers kingdome betwixt them.

About this time also, or not long after, *Innocentius tertius*, yet Pope, summoned a generall counsell to *Lateran*, whereunto besides a multitude of great bishops and other reuerend prelates, repaired also the honourable embassadours of most of the princes of Christendome: vnto whom so assembled, among other things was propounded the dangerous estate of the Christians in *Syria*, and how the same was by the helpe of the Christian princes of the West to bee relieved. Whereunto all the fathers and princes there assembled, easily gaue their consent: and thereupon were some appointed in euery countrey and prouince to publish this decree of the Counsell, for the reliefe of the oppressed Christians, and to stirre vp the deuout people, for the vndertaking of so religious a warre. The chiefe furtherers of this sacred expedition (to be thus taken in hand against the infidels) were the bishops of *Germanie*, especially the three great bishops of *Mets*, *Cullen*, and *Trivers*, whose example moued also many others, all which to rehearse were tedious. Out of *France* also were sent *Henry* the countie of *Nivers*, and one *Gualter*, the kings great chamberlaine, with a great number of the gallant youths of *France*, and so out of diuers other places also: So that at length such a number of men were met together at diuers ports of the *Adriaticke*, as made vp a fleet of two hundred saile: which with a prosperous wind carried ouer into *Syria*, arrived in safetie at *Ptolemais*, the chiefe cite of the Christians, now that *Hierusalem* was lost. After whom followed also *Andrew*, king of *Hungarie*, long before bound both by his fathers commandement and his owne promise, for the vndertaking of that sacred expedition: with whom came also *Lewis* duke of *Bavaria*, and *Leopold* duke of *Austria*, with their forces all well appointed: vnto whom also, *John* king of *Hierusalem* joined himselfe with his power. Great hope and expectation there was of some great matter to haue ben done, now that so great forces of the Christians were thus met together. Who setting forward from *Ptolemais*, & the first day marching into *Gallilee*, by the way met with certaine companies of the Turkes, whom they easily ouerthrew & put to flight. The next day they came to the riuer of *Iordan*, where they also distressed certaine of the Turkes garisons. There the king of *Hungarie* bathing himselfe in the riuer, forthwith (as one discharged of his vow & promise) returned with all his power vnto *Ptolemais*, & so from thence back again into his countie, all the rest of the army of the Christians crying out vnto him to the contrary: who after the kings departure still marching on, came to the mount *Tabor*. But shortly after, winter now coming on, and many of their cattell dying for cold and want of meat, they returned some to *Ptolemais*, some to *Tyre*, and there wintered. King *John* and the duke of *Austria* in the meane time tooke a castle betwixt *Cesarea* and *Capha*, called *The castle of Pilgrims*, from whence they much troubled the Barbarians thereabouts, all that winter. Vpon the appearance of the Spring, and the armie againe met together, it was thought best by all the great commanders (that for so much as the kingdome of *Egipt* was the chiefe maintenance of the Mahometan superstition against the Christians in those parts; and that so long as it stood vpright, they should not be able to do any great matter in *Syria*) to attempt the conquest thereof, as an exploit best becoming their valour, and so great preparations: for that that kingdome being once subdued, the cite of *Hierusalem* with all the land of *Palestine*, would of themselves without more adoe yeeld vnto them. And for as much as the famous cite of *Damia*, called in ancient time *Pelusi*, not much inferiour to *Alex-*

ANDRIA,

ANDRIA, was the first and most commodious port for their purpose, as neere vnto *Syria*, and that by the taking thereof, they should haue a faire entrance into the great riuer *Nile*, with the command of a most rich and pleasant countrey about it: they resolved to begin the warre: and thereupon embarking themselves with all things necessarie for so great an enterprise at *Ptolemais*, and carried with a faire wind, they in short time arrived at the desired port. Now that rich and ancient cite, the key of that side of the kingdome, stood about a mile from the sea, & somewhat distant also from the great riuer, enuironed with a nauigable ditch or cut, drawn out of the *Nile*, in manner of an island as a man commeth from *Syria* by land, and compassed about with three strong stone walls, the worke of the good emperor *Aelius*.

The situation of Damia in Aegyptus.

Pertinax, and of him as some affirme called also *Aliopolis*. At the mouth of this cit, as you should enter vnto the cite, stood a strong watch-towre for the defence thereof, and round about it a number of faire houses in manner of a prettie towne entrenched. Beside that, for the more safetie thereof, the same cut was barred with a great strong yron chaine, in such sort as that it was not possible for any ship, without breaking of the same, to enter. The Christians with their fleet entring the mouth of the riuer, and comming to this cut, by great strength brake the chaine; but thinking so to haue made their passage vnto the cite, they found a greater stay at the watch-towre, which strongly built of square stone, and well stored with warlike engines of all sorts, and a good garison of valiant souldiers, staied their further passage, ouerwhelming them as they approached, with shot, fire, stones, timber, and such like, before provided for that purpose.

The Christians (after the manner of the fight of that time) had vpon certaine flat vessels build certaine high towers of wood for the assailing of the watch-towre: in the approaching whereof, they were not only troubled with the enemy, but with the tumult and stir of their owne people also; some crying that they should yet draw neerer vnto the towre; other some crying out as fast, to haue the bridges cast out, whereby to enter: and the enemy likewise with much clamour encouraging one another for the repulsing of the Christians. So the souldiers hindred the mariners to do their businesse, and the mariners the souldiers. In the midst of this hurly burly and tumult, one of the wooden towers surmounting the rest in heighth, ouercharged with the presse of men, fell, and in falling made such a noise, as if heauen it selfe had fallen, where in a moment (as it were) was presently to be seene a most heauie spectacle: many ouerwhelmed with the falling of the towre lay there crushed to death; some grievously hurt, and yet not dead, lay oppressed with the timber, crying out for helpe; others bruised or hurt, but not ouerwhelmed, for feare of further harme, leapt some into the *Nile*, some aboard the other ships nere by, some crying out of his arme, some of his leg, some of his head or other part of his bodie, to the great discomfort of the rest, in so much that the assault was for that time giuen ouer.

King *John* (as well for his valour as for the title of the king of *Hierusalem*, chosen general of the armie) after he had appeased this tumult, and giuen the charge of them that were maimed or hurt, vnto skillfull surgeons, & buried the bodies of such as were found drowned or ouerwhelmed; with cheerefull speech encouraged the rest of his souldiers, perswading them not to bee discouraged with the accident of the fall of a towre, which was neither to be imputed to their cowardise, or the valour of the enemy, but onely to the chance of war.

In the meane time *Meledin* the Egyptian Sultan, had with a great armie encamped himselfe within the sight of *Damia*, thereby to encourage the besieged, and to fill them with hope of reliefe: sending them oftentimes by the riuer, newes, messages, victuals, souldiers, armour, and whatsoeuer else they wanted. The chiefe cause of his staying there, was to take occasion for the surprizing of the Christians, if any should be offered, either by chance or their owne negligence. Euery day some skirmish or other passed betwixt our men and the Barbarians, our men still carrying away the victorie: yet could these Barbarians neither be drawn forth vnto battell, neither could our men keepe them from victuals; for as much as they had the riuer of *Nile* at command, whereby victuals were out of the vpper part of *Egipt* in great abundance conueighed into the Sultans campe: Whereas on the contrarye part, the same riuer diuiding it selfe into many armes, in some places here and there overflowing, in another cut into many ditches and channels, and in some other pent vp by wals and caufies, gaue vnto our men a thousand displeasures. And therefore seeing that the Sultan would neither giue nor accept of battell, they resolved againe to lay siege to the towre. Wherefore hauing with great cunning, vpon two ships made fast together, framed a towre of most strong timber, equall in heighth vnto the watch-

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towre,

tower, they brought the same neere vnto the Turks tower, and the suburbs adjoining thereunto, after which followed also all the rest of the fleet well appointed for the assault. At which time the all the rest of the armie at land, stood in battell ready ranged, as well to discourage them of the towne, as that the Sultan should not be able to helpe them without the hazarding of battell. There began a fierce and cruell assault; they of the suburbs right valiantly defending themselves against their enemies. Within these suburbs, the tower, and the trenches, dwelt not only Egyptians (the naturall inhabitants of the countrey) but also Arabians, Persians, Syrians, Indians, Moores, and Ethiopians, who were there resiant, for that, that cite was a publike mart wherunto all kind of marchandize were brought from faire out of the remotest parts of the world, and so from thence in like manner transported also: which encouraged them the more to fight for the defence of their liues and goods, the two things which men hold most deare: and in like sort animated our men vnto the assault, as well in the quarrell of the Christian religion, as to enrich themselves with the spoile of those rich nations. The Christians with their ships drew as neere as possibly they could vnto the land, to the intent that vpon the banke of the riuer, they might come to fight hand to hand, and man to man, and so come close vnto their enemies: But the Barbarians on the other side, fought by shot and all other means they could to keepe them farther off, and so from landing.

A desperat
all
of a Christian.

That which most feared the Egyptians, was that as one of our ships by chance ran a ground vpon that side of the riuer where the enemy lay, and being boarded by the enemy, thronging in as fast as he could, and there making a cruell slaughter: one of the Christian souldiers going downe vnder the hatches, made there a great hole, whereby the water abundantly comming in, sunke the ship before the enemy was aware, and so drowned a great number of the Egyptians; together with the Christians. At which time also the high towre built vpon the two ships, joyning now close vnto the watch-tower, and mating the same, dismayed the defendants with the strangeness thereof, as with a miracle, in such sort, that they stricken with a great feare, as now being to fight with a strange, hardie, and cruell kind of men, without any great resistance forsooke the towre and fled. The watch-towre thus taken, and they that should haue defended the same, some slaine, and some fled: they in the suburbs discouraged, and flying away were many of them wounded from aboue out of the watch-towre, but now gained by the Christians. At which time also the other ships landed the souldiers, who entering the suburbs, put all they found there to the sword, euen vnto the last man. There was found great abundance of victuals; but faire greater store of riches, in so much that it seemed to haue beene the spoile of ARABIA, PERSIA, and the rich INDIES.

Damia in
vaine assaulted.

Now yet remained the strong towne of DAMIATA, which was forthwith assaulted by the Christians, more to prooue if in that heat and suddaine feare it would be yeilded, than for any hope they had by force to win it. But hauing done what they could both by scaling and by other engines, they gained nothing but hard blowes and wounds, and so retired. Neuerthelesse, they lodged themselves in the suburbs, and laied a great part of the armie betwixt the Sultan and the besieged cite, to the intent that no supplie or victuals should be brought vnto it; yet both the enemy oftentimes attempted to haue entered the cite, and the besieged to haue sallied out, but both the one and the other were letted to doe what they would haue done, and that not without the great losse of their men: for why, the towne was now on euery side so inclosed by the Christians, as that no man could enter in or out thereof. Whilest the Christians thus lay at the siege, it fortuned that the riuer of NILE swelling with a great Easterne wind, rose aboue the bankes, and so overflowed the places wherein the Christians lay, that they could keepe nothing drie, and that most part of their victuals were therewith spoiled. With which vnseasonable rising of the riuer the Christians not a little troubled, by commandement of Pelagius the Popes legate, gaue themselves to fasting and prayer, by the space of three daies: But the wind falling the fourth day, and the riuer againe decreasing, they gaue themselves more earnestly to prayer than before, thanking the Almighty, that as he had put them in a great feare, so he had in mercie againe comforted them.

Now with long lying began victuals to grow scant in the Sultans campe, so that he was glad to send away halfe of his armie vp againe into the countrey of CAIRE. At which time also it chanced (as if it had beene in an extreme and common danger of the Mahometan superstition) that embassadours sent from Corradin Sultan of DAMASCO and Hierusalem, vnto the prin-

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A ces of the Christian armie, came to sue for peace, both for himselfe and his brother the Egyptian Sultan, promising in regard thereof againe to restore vnto them the Holy crosse, and whatsoever else himselfe, his father, or Sultan Saladin had before taken from them: of which their offer, most part of the armie liked well, saying, That they had therefore taken vp armes for the recouerie of that which had beene before gotten, and gained by the valour of the worthy Christian captaines, and had of late beene taken from them; and to blot out the ignominie of the losse thereof, to the end it should not be said, that they could not leaue whole and entire vnto their children, what their fathers had got; when they had the keeping thereof; neither hauing lost it, be able againe to recouer it: that all these things being restored, there rested not any further occasion of waite, or let to stay them as most victorious conquerours to returne home. Neuerthelesse Pelagius, Pope Honorius his Legat (for Innocentius in the preparation of the wars was before dead at PERUSTUM) with king John, the masters of the knights Hospitalars and Templars, the duke of AUSTRIA, and the Germanis, were of opinion to the contrarie: alleging, That this sacred warre was vnderaken generally against the infidels, and for religions sake against the Mahometan superstition, whereof the kingdome of EGYPT was the chiefe seat and stay; and that therefore they ought especially to impune that. Which perswasion, together with the authoritie of the persuaders, so preuailed, that the Sultans large offers were rejected, and so the embassadours dispatched without any thing obtained of that they came for. Whereupon Corradin feareng that the Christians would at length come to HIERUSALEM, as the place they most desired; and doubting how he should be able to defend the same, forthwith rased the wals thereof, and the more to deface it, ouerthrew and pluckt downe most of the goodly houses, and other stately buildings therein, sparing yet the Tower of DAVID and the Holy Sepulchre; which he is said to haue done at the humble request and intercession of the Christians of diuers countreies, which yet dwelt there mixt with the Turks and Saracens.

A faire offer
unill refused.

Whilest the Christians thus lay at the siege of DAMIATA, the plague began to arise in the campe, whereof so many died, that it began to repent the great commanders of the armie that they had so much harkened to the perswasion of the Legate (a man making no profession of armes) rather than to the sound aduise of others, who by long experience taught the sudden alteration of matters of war, would willingly haue accepted of the Sultans large offers: So began D Pelagius the Legate to be generally euill spoken off. There were now already six moneths past since the beginning of the siege, and the Sultan lying in sight had not with him so great an armie as before, but onely the flower and choice of his people, hauing (as we haue before said) for want of victuals sent away the rest vp againe into the country. Now it fortuned that the Christians, as men wearie of the long siege, stood not so carefully vpon their guard, with watch & ward, as before, but gaue themselves more to ease: which the Sultan perceiuing, drew neerer vnto the towne, in hope vnder the couert of the silent night, to send new supplies vnto the besieged; which companies by him appointed for that seruice, courageously set forward, in hope to haue decciued the Christian sentinels, and so indeed came neere vnto the towne vnscene or discouered. And now the foremost of those companies were already entered the towne; when the Christians perceiuing them, and raising an alarme, put themselves in armes, and so furiously assailed the hindermost of them, and in such sort, that they which were before within, and those that were but now entered, fearing least the enemy in that hurly burly should pell mell enter in with the rest, shut them out of the gates, exposed to the butchery, where they were all presently cut in peeces.

Successes
sent
vnto the besieged.

The Christians encouraged with this victorie, the next day leauing a great part of the armie before the towne to continue the siege, presented themselves before the Sultans campe to giue him battell: who for all that well considering that the losse of a battell might endanger the whole state of his kingdome, would by no means be drawne out of his trenches, but lay still; where-with the Christians, especially the Frenchmen (in their first charge naturally furious) greedily incouraged, attempted to haue forcibly entered their rampiers; but not with successe answerable to their courage. For the Egyptians perceiuing the small number of their enemies, notably requelled them, and in sine enforced them to retire, hauing lost Gualter one of their chiefe commanders, with diuers others: yea king John in assailing the camp, lost many of his men, & grievously burnt in his face, hardly escaped himselfe with life. After which discomfiture they resolued not to thinke of any thing els but of the siege, & about all things to provide that no succours should be brought

vnto

vnto the towne. They in the citie more straitly beset & besieged than before, & now brought vnto extreame necessitie & famine, & out of all hope of reliefe, assembled themselves to consult of their affaires, and what were best for them to doe in so dangerous a state: Some one or other of them by night or otherwise secretly flying into the campe. And that more was, the citie had vnto doubtedly beene yeilded by the greater part, had not the chiefe commanders within mured vp the gates, and commaunded that none of the inhabitants vpon paine of death should come vpon the wals, or rampiers, to the intent they should not get out or cast themselves from aboute vnder the wals into the ditches. The chiefe commanders and captaines went here and there vpon and downe the citie, to searce and view all things, especially the shops and storehouses, where finding small store of Wheat, they deuided it in small portions among themselves: the common people inforced with want, eat whatsoeuer came to hand, were it lawfull or vnlawfull, or forbidden by their superstition, wholsome or vnwholsome, good or bad, salt or fresh, roasted or raw; and so prolonged their liues with such things as they could find. Now the besieged, not able to endure these extremities of the Famine (being the passion that most grievously and often troubleth mankind) they were also attached with the wrath of God: for the Plague (the furie whereof had before attained the campe of the Christians, and afterward quite ceased) was now got into the citie, where it made a great slaughter: which mortalitie day by day in such sort increased, that men were not onely now no more to be found, to visit, comfort, succour, serue, and helpe the sick; but were wanting also to burie them, to draw them out of their beds and houses, and to seperate the liuing from the dead: the streets and houses full of dead bodies, gaue forth a most horrible stinke, with a most grievous and infectious aire: there was not any place cleare from the plague, or any man that could boast that he had not beene attained therewith, or the feare thereof; and remedie was there none. The rage and furie of these two deuourers, the Famine, and Plague, deuoured them without number, chusing rather so to die, than to submit themselves vnto their enemies; or to humble themselves so low, as to craue their fauour. That they within were thus pinched with famine, the Christians knew: but that the plague so raged among them, they knew not. Now the Christians had of purpose cast vp certaine trenches and barricades, for the keeping in of such as the famine should enforce to come out of the towne; thinking that the besieged, to ease their wants, would thrust the baser sort of the people and vnprofitable mouths out of the citie, vnto whom the Christians meant not to giue any passage: for they hauing long before so straitly enuironed the citie, as that no reliefe could be brought vnto it, lay now still expecting when the besieged, enforced by necessitie, should yeeld themselves; and so without losse of any man, to become masters of so strong and rich a towne. It was now more than a yeare that the Christians had thus lien at the siege of DAMIATA, when as certaine of the souldiours vpon a brauerie aduentured with a few scaling ladders to mount the wall: in which doing, finding no resistance, and withall hearing so great silence, as if there had beene no bodie within the citie; they stood still a great while hearkening, but seeing that dumbe silence still to continue, they returned vnto the campe, giuing the captaines to vnderstand how the matter stood; who at the first thought it to be some policie and finenesse of the deceitfull enemy: yet afterward they thought it good to aduenture certaine men, to proue their fortune, and to cause certaine companies well appointed to scale one of the bulwarkes of the citie, in such sort, as if they should haue gone against a puissant enemy, that had had the power to resist them. And hereupon were scaling ladders brought forth, and all things made readie, as for a great assault. So the Christians courageously mounting the ladders, without resistance tooke the bulwarke. But as they were entering farther into the towne, a small companie of the Turkes and Barbarians (all the souldiours that the furie of the plague had left, and they also with the famine and infection of the aire very weake and feeble) met them, and began to make some small resistance, but to no purpose, being forthwith all cut in pieces. Which done, the matter wherewith the gates of the citie were mured, was presently remoued, the gates set open, and the Christians with ensignes displayed let in. But euen at the very entering in at the gates, they were attained with a most greivous and horrible stinke, they saw a faire citie dispeopled, and that which was most fearefull to behold, the streets couered with bodies of the dead, and such a dreadfull desolation, as might moue euen the enemy himselfe to compalsion. The Christians were entred, as men appointed to haue done a great execution, and to haue made the channels run with blood, as men iustly prouoked with the long siege and the paines they had endured; they had their swords and weapons in their hands,

DAMIATA without resistance taken by the Christians.

DAMIATA was surprised by the Christians.

A hands, but found none against whom to vse them: for a man could not enter into any house, or goe into any street, but hee must passe ouer the dead, or others which being not yet altogether dead, were miserably drawing toward their end. Of seientie thousand persons in the citie, were not found about three thousand alieue, and those for the most part yet young children: for all the rest were dead, taken away either with the sword, famine, or the plague; the greatest part whereof lay yet stinking about the ground vnburied. These three thousand that were left, were so maigre and poore, that pitie it was to behold them: vnto whom their liues were graunted, vpon condition that they should make cleane the citie, and burie the dead, which they were three moneths in doing.

B Thus was DAMIATA taken by the Christians the fift day of Nouember, in the yeare 1221, after it had ben more than a yeare by them besieged. The spoile there taken was great, for besides the rich marchandise brought thither from farre, was found great store of gold, siluer, and precious stones. The Christians thus enriched (and the citie made cleane) staid there more than a yeare after, as in a Colonie wherein they had been willing to dwell, forgetfull of their owne countrey. In the beginning of these warres, the princes of the armie had with one consent agreed, That whatsoeuer citie or territorie should by them be taken from the Turkes or Infidels, should be giuen vnto the king of IERUSALEM, whom after the departure of the king of HUNGARIE they had made generall of the whole armie. But now that the citie was taken, Pelagius the legat, pretending, That by the vertue of his legation, it belonged vnto him to dispose of all things taken in that sacred warre, (as a man not vnmindfull of his matter) adjudged the citie from thenceforth to belong vnto the See of ROME: With which indignitie & wrong, the king inwardly discontented (and yet for the authoritie of the Legate, dissembling the matter) withdrew himselfe, and so retired to PTOLEMAIS.

C The yeare following, Pelagius went to see the armes of the Christians to corrupt with rust, and nothing doing: considering the desire and hope he had vtterly to haue ruined the infidels, together with their superstition, commaunded, That euery man should againe take vp armes for the prosecuting of this warre against the Sultan, and the besieging of CAIRE. But for all that, when he had commanded what he would, or could, the souldiours little regarding his command, with one voice cried out, That they would not be commanded by any, but by the king of IERUSALEM onely. So that the Legate, enforced by the souldiours, was glad to send vnto the king, to request him to returne againe vnto DAMIATA, and to take vpon him the charge for the managing of that warre, taken in hand for the defence of the Christian religion: who for all that excused himselfe from so doing, one while by his owne particular affaires, another while by his owne indisposition: yet in fine, pressed and overcome with the prayers and requests of the other Latine princes, he returned to DAMIATA, at the selfe same time that the duke of BAVARIA arrived there with a goodly companie of braue men, brought thither out of his owne countrey, after he had been now from thence ten moneths absent.

D The Legate desirous of the prosecution of this warre, requested and vrged the king, with the rest of the princes and great commanders, without delay to take the field, telling them, That the enterprife of the Holy warre was growne old, and cold, by those long delaias and protracting of the time: and that they which kept wars so far from home, ought to make hast to force the enemy, to take all occasions to lose no time but euer to be doing, and to proue all things for the annoyning of the enemy: and that that was the way, whereby the woorthies of ancient times, both kings and emperours, had gained vnto themselves empires, glorie, greatnesse, and wealth: That it was for them that were invaded and assailed, vpon whose liues depended the safetie of their countrey; their wiues, their children, and goods, to delay and prolong the time as they might, to delude the enemy, to frustrate his designs, to defeat his attempts, and with delaias to dally him off, vntill that hauing thereby weakned his forces, he should together with his courage loose also his hope: CAIRE (he said) to be indeed a great citie, but yet that the greatest cities that euer were, had by warres become great desarts, forced by the power of their puissant and speedie enemies: And that great empires, as were those of the Sultans, ought not to be invaded or assailed by any foraine force, if they were not at the first onset ouerthrowne, or at leastwise so weakned, as that they could not afterwards lift vp their heads or recouer themselves; for otherwise, that they which had prepared a destruction for others, should fall into the same themselves: That it behooued either not to haue attempted or assailed AEGYPT at all; or else now after it had beene

Pelagius the Legat persua-
des the prince
of the Christian
armie to pro-
ceed for the con-
quest of Aegypt.

once

once assailed, not so to giue it ouer before it were conquered. The king of **HIERUSALEM**, whether it were that he were pricked with the grieke, That being called the king of the Holy land, he could not haue the citie of **DAMIATA** (vnder his leading and conduct woon by the Christians come to the sacred war) giuen vnto him by the Legate; or that he had before prouoed that the higher countrey of **EGYPT** was not without great and manifest danger to be attempted; said, That that he would not in any case go: allcasing that honorable and sacred war to haue been taken in hand, onely for the recouerie of the Holy land, and not for the winning of **MEMPHIS**, **BABYLON**, or **THEBES** in **EGYPT**; which after they were taken, would not for any long time continue in their fidelitie or allegiance, and could not possibly be kept by force: Whereas **SYRIA**, by *Godfrey* of **BULLON** and the other great princes his associates, entred into, conquered and possessed; and since his time, by diuers other Christian kings and princes holden, was in right their owne: And that therefore he greatly commended the forwardnesse, the diligence, the courage, the desire, and whatsoeuer thing else *Pelagius* commended: but that hee ought to employ the same in **SYRIA**, and not there where no need was, or from whence no profit was to be drawne or expected. Neuerthelesse the Legat wedded to his owne opinion, by the power of his authoritie, commanded the king of **HIERUSALEM**, the duke of **BAVARIA**, with the rest of the great commanders and capitaines, to take vp their armes and to get them into the field vpon the expedition by him appointed against the Sultan; threatening the paine of the high sentence of excommunication against him or them, that should shew themselves backward or unwilling to doe what he had commanded. So as it were enforced by the Legat, they began with euill will and woofle speed to set forward in August, in the verie hottest time of the yeare. At which time the Sultan beholding the great armie of the Christians, in number about seuentie thousand, retired as a man afraid into such places as he thought best, farther off: which the Legat seeing (as one not acquainted with the feare of war) rejoyced greatly, as if the victorie had bene already more than halfe gained; commending vnto the heavens them that he saw courageously marching forward, saying, That fortune alwaies fauoured the valiant, and that vnto cowards all things fell still out to the woorst. By the way the Christians seized vpon a bridge, which the enimie had made ouer the **NILE**, and cut in peeces such companies as were left for the keeping thereof. So marching on, they drew neere vnto **CAIRE**, and there in the sight of that great and rich citie, encamped: where running vp and downe, the more to terrifie them of the citie, prouoked them to battell, vpbraiding vnto them their lazines, their cowardise, and sloth, brauing them (if they were men) to come out: Yet for all that, they would not so do, but keeping themselves close and couert within the citie, let them alone to brag and boast at their owne pleasure. This siege continued long, of purpose protracted still from day to day by them of the citie: and the great opinion the Christians had of their owne valour, with the small regard they had of their enemies, made them so proud and carelesse, that they remembered no more to take good care of the warre, of their dutie, their watch, or their sentinels: their confidence was in their owne valour and good fortune, not considering or remembering that they were come into **EGYPT**, and that they had put themselves within the trenches, fallies, channels, and cuts, of a deceitfull riuer, which not only brought victuals vnto their enemies, but also fortified them; who by how much they were the lesse valiant and lesse vnderstood of the art of war, the more they vsed of craft and subtiltie for the preserving of themselves. So the craftie enemies drew the Christians out at length, abusing them with many delays and deceits; making semblance of great feare, to make themselves the lesse to be feared; and more contemptible in their doings, to the end that they knowing the passages and straights of the countrey, and reseruing themselves vnto the occasions and advantages both of the time, and of their enemies, might circumuent them and entrap them at such time as they least feared any such matter. The Christians, at all aduenture had encamped themselves in a low ground, within the banks and caues of that fennie countrey, vnder the couert thereof, thinking themselves safe as in their tenthes, against all sudden fallies or attempts of their enemies. But these places wherein they lay, were soft and durty, for so much as the countrey people vsed at their pleasure to water them by channels & flues out of the riuer of **NILE**: which now pluckt vp and opened, the riuer began to rise and overflow all. Then too late they perceived themselves taken as in a grin, without power to defend themselves, or to make any resistance, or by any other meanes to shew their valour. So the riuer still arising and overflowing, gaue vnto the Turks and Egyptians good hope of their wars, and of a victorie more desired than

A than hoped for ouer a warlike and victorious people. All the ground where the Christians lay encamped, was couered with water, so high that the victuals were corrupted, and no place left for a man to stand or lie drie in.

Now at the same time the Egyptians had taken the high places, with the passages vpon the wals and banks in that drowned countrey, to the intent that the Christians should not be able to retire or to saue themselves out of the bogs and marishes couered ouer with water. So was their rash valour and presumptuous confidence in themselves, exposed vnto the enemies shot and furie; and when they would by force haue defended themselves, their hardinesse was overcome by the craftie subtiltie of the weak enimie. Then began euery man to crie out against *Pelagius* the Legat, accusing, condemning, and railing at him: the king himselfe they blamed not, for that he had done his dutie, in dissuading of this expedition, and was contrarie to his good liking himselfe drawn into this warre, the charge whereof he had not without great intricacie taken vpon him: neither might he with his credit well complaine of this misfortune, least in so doing, he might seeme to haue had no comfort in himselfe. But as for the Legate, what counsell could he then giue, what counsell could hee then take for himselfe? They of **VENICE**, **PISA**, and **GENOA**, left at **DAMIATA**, were indeed strong at sea, but how could they come to relieue him at **CAIRE**? And how, or by what forces could the Christians breake out of the banks and flues of the cuts and channels; which winding in and out with a thousand inextricable turnings, inclosed them, beset also on euery side with the victorious enimie. After they had been thus couert vp, and enuironed with the waters three daies, you might haue seenie the poore soldiers in euery place fall downe dead for want of food and sleepe, and so perisha in the water; the like miserable kind of death, the rest were also in short time after to expect: other helpe was there none but to yeeld vnto necessitie, and to accept of such conditions as it should please the proud enimie to propound. Now the Sultan desired not so much their liues, as the libertie of his countrey: and therefore required to haue the citie of **DAMIATA** againe restored vnto him, and all things else in such sort as was before the besieging thereof: and so the Christians without more adoe to depart his countrey. Hard conditions, if a man respect the hope whereupon the Christians had vnderaken this war, and were so come into **EGYPT**, with the toyle by them there endured: but vnto him that will but enter into the consideration of mens affaires, and especially in martiall matters, it will seeme but an accident to be yeelded vnto, the like whereof hath oftentimes happened vnto the greatest men of the world. These conditions (such as they were) were by the distressed Christians accepted of. But when they were brought to **DAMIATA**, and there propounded vnto the Christians there left, a great contention began to arise among them: Some said that they would not accept of them, or surrender the towne, which being kept would be a stay for all the affaires of the Christians in the East, and a most commodious place for them to haue recourse vnto; but being restored and lost, carried away with it all the hope of the Christians, and that therefore it were better to indure all extremities than to receiue such dishonourable and hurtfull a peace. Others of the contrarie opinion said, That they ought not to forsake them that were in danger before **CAIRE**, nor to expose them vnto the butcherie, but to haue a Christian compasion of so many thousands of soules as there lay distressed, seeing they might bee saued by the surrendrie of that one towne: Townes (they said) consisted of the number of men; and not men of the enclosures of wals and ditches. They that were of this opinion, for the deliuering vp of the towne, seeing the other obstinately set downe to the contrarie, withdrawing themselves from the counsell, presently tooke vp armes, and by force entered the houses of them that were of contrarie opinion, and tooke from them their weapons, by that means alid pelforce to constrain them to yeeld to their desire. As soone as they that lay before **CAIRE** (almost drowned in the waters) vnderstood of this dissention at **DAMIATA** about the deliuerie of the towne, they sent them word, That if they would not yeeld the towne vnto the Sultan, they would forthwith send to **PROLEMAIS**, which would not faile to do what should be commanded, to haue it in steed of **DAMIATA** surrendered vnto the Egyptians. So was **DAMIATA** againe yeelded vnto the infidels, and so great labours of the Christians taken at the siege and winning thereof, all lost. That which made the indignitie thereof more tollerable, was that *Melicham* the Sultan, hauing without bloodshed gained so great a victorie, did neither by word or deed any thing in despite or reproch of the Christians, but vfed the with all courtisie, relieuing them also with victuals & such other things as they wanted, & by faithfull guides conducting them in safetie out of the countrey.

Themiseric of
the Christians
in the drowned
land.

Inlike manner also, *Corradin* his brother, Sultan of *DAMASCO*, made truce with the Latins for eight yeares. Whereupon the king of *HIERUSALEM* went ouer into *ITALIE*, and there by the persuation of *Honorius* the Pope, his wife being now dead, gaue his daughter *Toland* (now crowned queene of *HIERUSALEM* in the right of her mother) in marriage to *Fredericke* king of *SICILIA* and emperor of the Latines, the rather thereby to stirre him vp for the taking in hand of the sacred waite. Euer since which time, hee and the kings of *SICILIA* his successours haue beene called kings of *HIERUSALEM*, albeit that they haue euill prosecuted that their pretended right and title, as still busied in more prophane wars against other Christian princes. King *John* afterwards departing from *ROME* for *FRANCE*, was by the way honourably entertained at *PISA*: but arriuing at the French court, he found *Philip* the French king desperately sicke, who by his last will and testament gaue vnto the knights Hospitallers and Templars, sixtie thousand crownes for the maintenance of their warres against the infidels; which money was to their yse, afterward paid vnto king *John*. Who shortly after to discharge himselfe of a vow he had made, to visit the pilgrimage at *COMPOSTELLA*, going into *SPAIN*, by the way married *Berengaria*, the king of *CASTILE* his daughter: and there staying a great while, returned againe into *FRANCE*, where he lay long expecting the setting forward of the emperor *Frederick* his sonne in law, for the recouerie of his wiues right vnto the kingdome of *HIERUSALEM*; which although he solemnly vowed at such time as he with all princely magnificence married the said ladie at *ROME*, yet otherwise letted with troubles neerer home, performed not the same, vntill almost seuen yeares after: all which time the Christians in *SYRIA* enjoying the fruit of the late concluded peace for eight yeeres, liued in great rest and quietnesse; where, so leauing them; vntill the arising of new troubles, let vs in the meane time againe retorne vnto the troubled affaires of the Turkes, Greekes, and Latines, at *CONSTANTINOPLE*, and in the lesser *ASIA*.

The death of
Henry emperor
of Constantinople.

Peter emperor.

Henry the second emperor of the Latins at *CONSTANTINOPLE*, after he had (as is afore said) with much adoe repressed the furie of the Bulgarians and Scythies, his barbarous enemies, and so giuen peace vnto the miserable countrey of *THRACIA*, died, hauing reigned a most troublesome raigne, about the space of cleuen yeares. After whom succeeded *Peter*, countie of *AUSSEBBE*, his sonne in law, third emperor of the Latines in *CONSTANTINOPLE*: who in the beginning of his empire willing to gratifie the Venetians, and to reuenge himselfe of *Theodorus Angelus*, a great prince of *EPHRUS*, competitor of his empire, besieged him in *DIRRACHIUM*; which strong citie, the said *Theodorus* had but a little before surprised, belonging to the Venetian seignorie. At which siege *Peter* the emperor lying, was so cunningly by the wile Greeke vsed, that a peace was vpon most honourable conditiions betwixt them concluded, and a familiar kind of friendship joynd. Insomuch, that the emperor at his request, not well aduised, came vnto him as his guest: who now of his enemy become his hoste, entertained him with all the formalities that fained friendship could deuise. But hauing him now in his power, and fearing no harme, regarding neither the lawes of fidelitie or hospitalitie, he most traiterously slew him, as he was yet in the midst of his banquet. Of whose end, some others yet otherwise report, as that he should by the same *Theodorus* haue been intercepted about the pleasant woods of *TEMBE* in *THESSALIA*, as he was traueilling from *ROME* to *CONSTANTINOPLE*, and so afterwards to haue been by him cruelly put to death. Of whose misfortune, *Tepulus* gouernour of *CONSTANTINOPLE* vnderstanding, for the more safetie of the state in that vacancie of the Greeke empire, made peace with *Theodorus* for fivē yeares, and the Turkes for two. Shortly after came *Robert* (the sonne of the afore said vnfortunate emperor *Peter*) with his mother to *CONSTANTINOPLE*, and there in his fathers stead was solemnly saluted emperor; but not with much better lucke than was his father before him: for shortly after his comming he tooke to wife a faire young ladie, the daughter of a great rich and noble matrone of the citie, but before betrothed vnto a gallant gentleman, a Burgundion borne; with whom the old ladie broke her promise, and more carefull of her daughters preferment, than fidelitie, gaue her in marriage vnto the new emperor. The joy of which so great an honour was in short time conuerted not into a deadly heauinesse, but euen into death it selfe: For the young Burgundion, more enraged with the wrong done him, than discouraged with the greatnesse and power of the emperor, consorted himselfe with a companie of lustie tall souldiours, acquainted with his purpose, and awaiting his time when the emperor was absent, by night entred the court with his desperat followers, and first meeting with the beautifull young empress, cut off her nose and her eares, and afterward threw her old

An horrible outrage committed
vpon the person
of an emperesse.

mother

A mother into the sea: and so fled out of the citie into the woods and mountaines, with those desperat cut-throates, the ministers of his barbarous crueltie. The emperor pierced to the heart with this so great a disgrace, shortly after went to *ROME*, to what purpose was not certainly knowne; but in returning backe againe through *ACHAIA*, he there died, leauing behind him his yoong sonne *Baldwin*, yet but a child, begotten by his first wife, to succeed him in the empire: who by the name of *Baldwin* the second was crowned the first and last emperor of the Latines in *CONSTANTINOPLE*. And for because he was as yet but yoong and vnfit for the gouernment, he was by the consent of the nobilitie affianced, and afterward married vnto *Martha* the yoonger daughter of *John Brenne* king of *HIERUSALEM*, a woorthie old captain (but as then gouernour of *RAVENNA*; which citie, he being certaine yeares before sent for out of *FRANCE* for that purpose, by *Honorius* the Pope, he notably defended against the emperor *Frederick* his sonne in law, but that affinitie was before broken off by the death of the said emperor's wife) who now sent for out of *ITALIE* vnto *CONSTANTINOPLE*, had committed to his charge and protection both the person and empire of the yoong emperor *Baldwin*, now his sonne in law. Which great and heauie charge he for certaine yeares after worthely and faithfully discharged, vntill such time as that *Baldwin* was himselfe grown able to take vpon him the gouernment. Now although the imperiall citie of *CONSTANTINOPLE*, with the countie of *THRACIA*, *THESSALIA*, *MACEDONIA*, *ACHAIA*, *PELOPONNESUS*, and the rest of the prouinces of *GREECE*, were all or for the most part vnder the gouernment of *Baldwin* the emperor, the Venetians, or other the inferiour Latine princes: yet were the oppressed Greekes, the naturall inhabitants thereof, in heart not theirs, as abhorring nothing more than that their forraigne gouernment; but wholly deuoted to their owne naturall princes, *Theodorus Lascaris*, & *Alexius Comnenus*, the one reigning at *NICE* in *BITHYNIA*, and the other at *TRAPEZOND* in *PONTUS*, both called by the Greekes, emperours, and so of them generally reputed. *Lascaris* of the two the better beloued, and by far of greatest power, had during the time of his raigne fought many an hard battell (as is in part before declared) and strongly fortified his cheefe cities against the inuasion of his enemies, as well the Turkes as the Latines: and so hauing as it were erected a new empire in *ASIA*, and there reigned eightene yeares, died, leauing behind him one *John Ducas Batazes*, that had married the faire ladie *Irene* his daughter and heire, to succeed him in the Greeke empire in *ASIA*. This *John* was a man of a great wit and spirit, and of more grauitie, for his yeares, than was *Theodorus* his father in law; neuer vndertaking any thing before he had thereof well considered; and once resolved, not omitting or neglecting any thing for the performance thereof. So that it was not vnwisely said of the Greekes, The planting of this new empire to haue required the celeritie of *Lascaris*, but the stay thereof to haue been the grauitie of *Ducas*. He in the beginning of his raigne, in very short time hauing set all things in good order, greatly augmented his legions, and thooing at a fairer marke than the empire he yet held, euen the imperiall citie it selfe, and the recouerie of all *THRACIA* and *GREECE* out of the hands of the Latines, which could not be done without a fleet at sea, built a great number of gallies in the ports of the lesser *ASIA*. And so hauing rigged vp and manned a strong fleet, and scouring the seas, in one Summer tooke in most of the Islands of the *ÆGEUM*, namely, *LESBOS*, *CHIOS*, *SAMOS*, *ICARIA*, *COOS*, with the famous Island of the *RHODES*, and many others also. And not so contented to haue encreased his empire, the next spring crosing the *HELLESPONT* and landing his forces, first inuaded *CHERSONESUS*; and afterward to terrifie the Latines, foraged the countrey far and neere, euen to the gates of *CONSTANTINOPLE*, no man daring to oppose himselfe against him. At which time also he took many cities & strong towns along the sea coast, as *CALTIOPOLIS*, *SESTUS*, & *CARDIA*, with diuers others therabout, some by force, some by composition, the Greekes almost in euery place yeelding themselves, where they were not so oppressed by the Latines as that they could not helpe him. Now by these proceedings of the Greek emperor in *EUROPE*, was plainly to be seen again the ruin of the Latin empire in the East, all things prospering in his hand according to his hearts desire, *Assan* the Bulgarian king, no small terror both vnto the Latins & the Greekes, moued with the same hereof, by his ambassadors sent of purpose vnto *John* the Greek emperor, offered his daughter *Helena* in marriage vnto yoong *Theodore* his son: of which offer the emperor gladly accepted. For being busied in his greater affaires, he was loth to haue so great a king as was *Assan*, his enemy, able at his pleasure to cal in the Scythians, who with their multitude, as a great flood breaking ouer the bankes, had oftentimes caried away

Baldwin the last
emperor of the
Latines in Con-
stantinople.

John Batazes
made emperor of
the Greekes in
Asia.

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whole

whole countries before them. Wherefore the match agreed vpon, the two great princes by appointment met together about *CHERSONESUS*, where *Helena*, king *Affans* daughter, being then about ten yeares old, was with great joy and triumph solemnly married vnto yong *Theodor* the emperours sonne, much of the same age. Not long after embassadours were also sent vnto the emperour from the Sultan of *ICONIUM*, to confirme and prolong the league betwixt them; for the *Tartars* not contented to haue driuen the *Turkes* out of *PERSTIA* and the faire Easterne countries, began now also to cut them short in their prouinces in the lesser *ASIA*: wherefore the Sultan of *ICONIUM*, fearing least whiles he had his hands full of those his most dreadfull enemies, of themselves too strong for him, he should behind be set vpon by the Greeke emperour, and so thrust out of all, sent these embassadours vnto him for peace; which he for many causes easily graunted. First, for that he foresaw what an hard matter it would be for him to maintaine warre at once both in *ASIA* against the *Turks*, and in *EUROPE* against the *Latines*: then by this warlike nation, as by a most sure bulwarke, to keepe his owne countries safe from the inuasion of the barbarous *Tartars*, vnto whose furie he should himselfe lie open, if the *Turks* were once taken out of their way. Both sufficient reasons for the emperour to yeeld vnto the Sultan, which he did: so was the peace concluded, and the embassadors dispatched. This peace exceedingly comforted and afterward enriched the emperours countries: for now the people generally deliuered of the feare and miserie of continuall warre, began on all hands to fall to their fruitfull labours of peace. Yea the emperour himselfe to the stirring vp of others to the like good husbandrie, caused so much land to be plowed vp for corne, & so many vineyards to be planted, as might plentifully suffice his owne house, and such poore as he daily relieued; with a great ouerplus, which he caused to be carefully laid vp in store. He kept also great herds of cattell, flockes of sheepe, and fowles of all sorts without number. The like he caused his kinsmen & other of the nobilitie to doe, to the intent that euery great man hauing sufficient for his own spending at home, should not take any thing from the poore countreyman, that so euery man contenting himselfe with his owne, might liue in peace without the grievance of others. By which means in a few yeares euery barne and garnarie was full of corne, euery cellar full of wines, euery stable full of cattell, euery storehouse full of victuals: the fields were couered with corne and cattell, and in euery mans yeard were to be seene all kinds of tame fowles, without number. At which time also there flourished a great familie among the *Turkes*: in so much, as that they were enforced to fetch their greatest reliefe from out of the Christian countries. Then might you haue seene euery way full of *Turks*, men, women and children, travelling to and fro into the emperours prouinces for victuals: their gold, their siluer, their other rich commodities, they gaue vnto the Christians for food; a little corne was woorth a good commodity, euery bird, sheepe, and kid, was sold at a great rate: by which means the countrey mens houses were full of the *Turkes* wealth, and the emperours cofers stored with their treasure. The greatnesse of the profit arising of this plentie of the Christians, and penurie of the *Turks*, may hereby easily be gathered, for that of egges daily sold, so much money was in short time gathered, as made the emperesse an imperiall crowne of gold, richly set with most orient pearle and pretious stones of great price; which the emperour called *Onita*, for that it was bought with egge money. Thus flourished the Greeke empire in the lesser *ASIA*, vnder the good emperour *Iohn Ducas*. The *Turks* at the same time declining as fast, daily pilled in one corner or another by the *Tartars*, and consumed with famine at home.

Plentie ensuing
of peace.

An imperiall
croune bought
with egge money.

1227

Fredericke the Germane emperour, had of long time vowed to take vpon him an expedition into the Holy land: for performance whereof, he was hardly called vpon, first by *Honorius* quartus the Pope; and afterward for his long delay, excommunicated by *Gregorie* the ninth: not so much for the zeale they had vnto the sacred warre, as to busie the emperour a farre off in warres abroad, whilest they in the meane time, to increase their owne power, drew from him some one part or other of his empire: which he not without cause fearing, from day to day, and yeare to yeare, delayed the performance of his vow, so much virged by the Pope; by his presence and power, still disappointing all the lye designs of the Popes, conceiued or put in practise against him. But now at length moued, or more truly to say, enforced with the thundering and lightning of Pope *Gregorie*, he resolved to set forward in the yeare 1227. About which time *Iolenta* or *Toland* his wife, the king of *HIERUSALEM* his daughter, died in childbed, being before deliuered of a faire sonne. Now were met together at *BRUNDISIUM* an exceeding great number of courageous

A gious and deuout souldiours out of all parts of Christendome, especially out of *GERMANIE*, vnder the leading of *Lodowicke* Landgraue of *THURINGE*, & *Sigefride* bishop of *ANAGUSTA*; all stirred vp with the fame of so notable an expedition. But whilest they there staid somewhat long, the plague arde among the Germanes, whereof in short time after, both the Landgraue and the bishop died, with many of the other best souldiours. The emperour himselfe was vpon his way as farre as *MALEA*, vpon the farther side of *PELOPONNESUS*, where falling desperately sick of a burning feauer, and put backe with contrarie winds, he returned againe to *BRUNDISIUM*, and there staid a great while after. Then began the Pope againe to fret and fume, and to cast out his excommunications against the emperour, as if it had bene thunder and lightening, accusing him of perjurie, infidelitie, and many other grieuous crimes; of all which the emperour was ready to haue cleared himselfe in an open assemblie of the princes of *GERMANIE*, to haue bene holden at *RAVENNA*, had it not bene by the Pope and the troubles of *LOMBARDIE* disturbed. Neuerthelesse, he by open protestations and writings fully answered all the Popes vnjust accusations wherewith he had been so hardly charged: And yet desirous to performe the expedition by him taken in hand, hauing seen all things in good order, and put himselfe againe in readinesse, he set forward from *BRUNDISIUM* in August in the yeare 1228, leauing the charge of his territories in *ITALIE*, vnto the care of *Reynolds* duke of *SPOLETO*. The Pope displeased, for that the emperour at his departure had neither reconciled himselfe, nor taken his leaue of him; and deeming therein his excommunications and fulminations to be contemned & set at naught, fell into such a rage and choller, that he forbad all the Christian forces that were in *SYRIA* to follow him, or to yeeld to him their obedience; and writ letters also vnto the Sultan, not to come to any agreement with the emperour, or to yeeld vnto him any part of the Holy land: which very letters the Sultan afterwards sent vnto the emperour. Neither yet so contented, immediately after his departure ran vpon his kingdom of *NAPLES*, and so filled all *ITALIE* with troubles. Neuerthelesse the emperour happily arriuing at *PTOLEMAIS*, was there honourably receiued of the Christian forces, notwithstanding the Popes threats and cuffsings. Of whose arriual, Sultan *Meledin* hauing intelligence, and loath to draw so mightie an enemy as was the emperour, vpon him, by his embassadours offered him most honourable conditions of peace: VVhich before he would accept of, he by conuenient messengers sent vnto the Pope, to haue his consent & approbation. But such was his rage, as that he would not suffer the messengers to come into his presence, or vouchsafe to read the emperours letters, being brought vnto him; but like a mad man presently rent them in peeces. All which indignities the emperour neuerthelesse tooke in good part, and concluded a peace with the *Turks* for ten years, vpon these conditions: first, That he should be annointed and accounted king of *HIERUSALEM*: then, That the holy citie, with all the land of *PALESTINE*, should be deliuered vnto him: thirdly, That he might at his pleasure fortifie the cities of *NAZARETH* and *IOPPE*: fourthly, That all such places as were sometime in the power of *Baldwin* the fourth king of *HIERUSALEM*, and taken from him by Sultan *Saladin*, should be restored; and last of all, That all prisoners on both sides should be set at libertie without ranfome. So the peace concluded, the emperour with his armie came to the desolate citie of *HIERUSALEM*, and there vpon Easter day was with great solemnitie crowned king thereof in the yeare 1229. And so hauing repaired the wals of the citie, with certaine churches, fortified *NAZARETH* and *IOPPE*, and furnished them with strong garrisons, and appointed *Raynold* duke of *BAVARIA* his lieutenant in *SYRIA*, he with two gallies only returned into *ITALIE*: Ever since which time the kings of *SICILIA* haue bene also called kings of *HIERUSALEM*, and haue oftentimes borne the armies of both kingdomes.

1228

1229

Fredericke the
emperour crowned
king of *HIERUSALEM*.

1230

The vnfortunate
expedition of the
king of *NAUARR*
into the Holy
land.

The next yeare Pope *Gregorie* in despite of the emperour *Frederick*, more than for any zeale vnto the Christian religion, did by the *Dominicans* & *Franciscans* (two orders of friers but then lately erected) as by his trumpeters, stir vp a wonderfull number of zealous and deuout Christians, almost in euery part of Christendome, to take vpon them the crosse (as they termed it) the cognizance of such, as had by vow bound themselves to take vp armes against the *Turks* & *Saracins*, for the recouerie or defence of the Holy land. These deuout men met together in great number, vnder the leading of *Theobald* king of *NAVAR*, *Americus* countie of *MONTFORT*, *Henrie* countie of *CHAMPAIGNE*, and others too long to rehearse (of purpose stirred vp to trouble the ten yeares peace before concluded betwixt the emperour and the *Turks* in *SYRIA*) set forward, and after long trauell passing the strait of *BOSPHORUS*, not far from *CONSTANTINOPLE*

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NOBLE

NOBLE into BYTHINIA, came to the riuer of SANGARIUS, and there staid a while to refresh themselves. Afterwards passing through GALATIA, and so from countrey to countrey through the lesser ASIA, they came at length vnto the straits of the mountaine AMANUS (a part of the mountaine TAURUS) which they found before taken by the Turks; and the Sultan of ICONIUM himselfe not far off encamped with a strong armie. Neuertheless the valiant countie MONTFORT, which had the leading of the vanguard, courageously marching forward, by plaine force opened the passage of the mountaine, hauing slaine or put to flight the Turks appointed for the keeping thereof: the king of NAVAR in the meane time (though in vaine) assailing the Sultan in his campe; who fearing the great power of the Christians; kept himselfe within his own strength and would not stir. Wherefore the king seeing it to no purpose there longer to stay, diuiding his armie into three parts; left the Sultan; and followed after the Countie, placing his baggage in the midst, & the best of his souldiers in the reuerward. But whilst they thus march vp the great mountaine, the Turks better acquainted with those passages, were still at hand, assailing them sometime behind, sometime on the one side, sometime on the other, as they saw occasion: and at length taking them at an aduantage in a great plaine, set vpon them (now before almost spent with hunger and trauell) and there slew of them an exceeding great number. But by the comming on of the night, the battell was broken off; and the Christians repairing vnto their ensignes, passed the straits, and so at length arriued at ANTI OCH, hauing lost by the way the greatest part of the armie, with all their wealth, their victuals, & most part of their horses: the remnant yet left, hauing a little refreshed themselves, were by sea transported to PTOLEMAIS; from whence they were after ward by the Templars conducted to GAZA; where they lay, & of the spoile of the countrey greatly enriched themselves. As for any other great matters they were not able of themselves to take in hand; and help of such forces as the emperor had before left at HIERUSALEM, and other places, they could haue none; hauing expresse charge from the emperor himselfe, not to do any thing against the enemye, tending to the breach of the ten yeares league: which the Turks well perceiuing, add that they had to do but with these new come guests, and some few others their partakers; hauing gathered together their forces, lay in ambush for them in euery corner to cut them off. Neither was it long, but that these of GAZA going far into the countrey, and returning laded with spoile, were set vpon by the Turks; whom they (casting away the spoile they had before taken) notably repulsed and put to flight, the day now drawing to an end. But early the next morning appeared a far greater number of Turks than before; which now comming on, charged the Christians, who all that night had stood watching in their armour, and so joyned with them a most cruell battell: wherein the Christians shewed so much valour as was possible for men to do; but wearied with long fight, and oppressed with the multitude of their enemies, they were overcome and slaine almost euery moethers sonne. Among the rest, the two counties Americus and Henrie, fell: the king of NAVAR himselfe hardly escaped by the exceeding swiftnesse of his horse, & by vncertaine waies wandring vp and downe the countrey, not knowing well which way to take, after two daies came by good fortune to IOPPE: some few others escaped by flight to PTOLEMAIS, the heauie messengers of the misfortune of their fellows. The king afterwards visiting the Holy places at HIERUSALEM, returned home into his countrey, with some few of his followers, hauing performed nothing of that the world expected.

About foure yeares after, Raynold duke of BAVARIA, whom Frederick the emperor had left his lieutenant in HIERUSALEM, died: hauing by the space of five yeares peaceably gouerned that bruised kingdome. After whose death, the Templars (who, he yet liuing, would oftentimes haue broken the league, but that they were by his authoritie and wisdom restrained) now tooke occasion to stir vp the people to take vp armes against the Turks, without respect vnto the league yet in force, or of the dangers like thereof to ensue. Whereof the Egyptian Sultan hearing, raised a great armie, sending also for the Chorasines, a warlike nation then lying neere vnto BABELON, to come vnto his aid: Thus become verie strong, he first laid siege to GAZA, but a little before repaired and fortified by the king of NAVAR and the Templars, which he at length tooke by force, and put to sword all that were therein, as well the citizens as the garrison souldiers. In like manner he dealt also with them of ASCALON, and other places as he went. To repress this his furie, the Templars and Hospitalers had assembled the whole strength of that weake kingdome, and neere vnto TYBERIAS came to haue giuen him battell. Who vpon

The Christians
by possession of
the Temple
had cast their
league with the
Turks

A their approach hastily retired, as if he had for feare shunned battell. But whilst the Christians as victors the night following lay negligently encamped along the riuer side, he returning backe again with his armie, came vpon them before they were well aware, halfe sleeping halfe waking, but altogether vnarmed, with a most horrible outcrie. The Christians now altogether awaked, and not a little troubled with the suddenesse of the matter, hastily and disorderly (as must needs in so great a confusion) tooke vp their weapons, such as came first to hand, and so courageously opposed themselves against their enemies. There was fought a most terrible and doubtfull battell, and that also for a long space; the Christians still encouraging one another to do their last deuoir. But the Turks still keeping their order, against the disordered Christians, and far more also than they in number, prevailed, and there ouerthrew them with a great slaughter, but not without the losse of many thousands also of their owne men, which there lay dead vpon the ground. Most part of the best commanders both of the Templars and Hospitalers were there slaine, such as escaped fled to TYBERIAS.

The Sultan encouraged with so great a victorie, marched forthwith to HIERUSALEM, which he tooke without resistance; and there put to sword all that he found therein, men, women and children, without respect of sex or age: and afterwards hauing rifled the same, rased it downe to the ground, burning the buildings, and ouerthrowing the walls, not long before repaired by the emperor Frederick, and much beautified by his lieutenant Raynold. And carried with an infernall furie, defaced, and most shamefully polluted the sepulchre of our blessed Sauour, neuer before then violated or defiled, but of all nations vtouched & reuerenced; which for all that, may seeme to haue been done, not so much for the hatred vnto the Christian religion; as for that it was the place of all others most desired of the Christians; and for the gaining whereof they had vnder taken so many hard adventures, and so much troubled the Saracens and Turks.

Thus by the vnfaithfull breaking of the league, the most ancient and famous citie of HIERUSALEM, sometime the terrestriall seat of the most Highest, and glorie of the world, fell againe into the power of the Turks and infidels, in the yeare 1234, in whose hands it hath euer since remained euen vntill this day: now a poore ruinous citie, gouerned by one of the Turks Sanzacks, and for nothing now more famous than for the sepulchre of our blessed Sauour; againe repaired and much visited by the deuout Christians, and not vnreuerenced by the Turks themselves.

The losse of this so famous a citie, together with the dangerous state of the Christians in SYRIA, much grieved the other Christian princes of the West; especially Frederick the emperor, by whom it had bene but a few yeares before gained. Howbeit he could not now remedie the matter according to his desire, being himselfe grievously entangled with the endlesse troubles which Pope Gregorie had (as it were by tradition) left vnto the other Popes his successors, for the troubling of his state, vntill at length they had deprived him of his empire, and not long after of his life also. Among other the great princes, carefull for the poor Christians in SYRIA, was Lewis the French king the ninth of that name, a prince of great power, but of all others of that time most famous for his zeale vnto the Christian religion, and for his deuout manner of life: who abounding in wealth and all things else of a great prince to be desired; and withall oftentimes considering the notable expeditions many Christian princes had (to their immortall glorie) made, some into SYRIA, some into EGYPT, against the enemies of Christ, and for the reliefe of the oppressed Christians; was many times about to haue taken vpon himselfe the like. But in these his deuout motions, before he could resolve vpon so great an enterprise, he fell dangerously sicke, in so much that for certaine daies he lay speechlesse deuoid of sense and motion, without any signe of life, but that hee did a little faintly breath: when comming a little vnto himselfe (whether moued with deuotion, or troubled with his former conceits then running in his weake braine, is vncertaine) the first thing he asked for, was the crosse (the cognifiance of such as vowed themselves vnto the sacred warre) which he solemnely receiued at the hands of the bishop of PARIS. At which time also his three brethren, Alphonse countie of POITIERS, Charles countie of ANIOU, and Robert countie of ARTHOIS, with Hugh duke of BURGUNDIE, William earle of FLANDERS, Hugh countie of S. PAUL, and afterwards most of the nobilitie of FRANCE, to accompanie the king, tooke vpon them the same charge. Neuertheless, it was not by and by taken in hand, but some few yeares let passe in the consultation and preparation for so great an enterprise: many in the meane time discharging their vow, by dying before

1234.
Hierusalem taken and rased by the Turks.

1248
at

King Lewis set
sail forward to-
ward the Illy
land.

at home in peace in their owne countries. At length the deuout king still resolute in his former determination, hauing taken order with *Blanch* his mother for his affaires at home, and put all things in readinesse for his journey, came to *LYONS* to take his leaue of Pope *Innocentius* the fourth (who for feare of the emperor *Frederick* then lay there for his more safetie) and from thence to *MARCEILLES*, where embarking himselfe with his armie the five and twentieth day of August in the yeare 1248, he the twentieth day of September following, arrived in safetie in the island of *CYPRUS*, and was there royally entertained by *Guy Lusignan* then king of that country.

Now was the French king desirous to haue gone directly for *ÆGYP*, without longer stay in *CYPRUS*, had he not bene otherwise perswaded, both for that his whole fleet was not yet come, and the time of the yeare began to grow vnseasonable, and the weather tempestuous. But whilest he there staid, pasing the winter, the plague (one of the readie attendants of great armies) began to arise in the campe, which dayly encreasing, had in short time taken away a great number of men, and those not of the meane sort. Amongst whom were *Robert* bishop of *BEAUVAIS*, *John* countie *MONT-FORT*, the counties of *VENDÔME* and *DREUX*, *Archambaut* lord of *BURBON*, with diuers other knights and gentlemen, to the number of 240: so that by force of the infectious contagion, the king was constrained to diuide his armie into diuers places of the island, attending vntill the infection should cease. In the meane time the Templars hauing in suspect both the French and the Turks: the Turks, for feare they should ouerturn all; and the French, least hauing gotten the victorie, they should take all into their own hands, and so diminish their power and authoritie, wherewith they tyrannized ouer the other poore Christians; sent ambassadours secretly vnto *Meledin* Sultan of *ÆGYP*, to perswade him betimes to come to some good agreement for peace, so to auert the power of the French king from doing him further harme, or proceeding further in that war. Of which motion the Sultan well liking, sent one of his noble men to intreat with the master of the Templars concerning a peace, so that it might be by consent of the French. The Templars glad of so honorable a message, writ vnto the French king out of *SYRIA*, how the matter stood; perswading him to accept of the peace offered, setting out in great words the Sultans great preparations and power. And so indeed had abused the king, had not the king of *CYPRUS* acquainted with his doings, perswaded him that it was but a finess of the Great master, and that he had first sent vnto the Sultan, and procured that noble man to be sent: which the king vpon farther consideration perceiuing to be true, let the Turks embassadour with hope of peace, but writ vnto the master of the Templars vpon the price of his head from thenceforth not to receiue any embassage from the enemy, or to haue any further intelligence with him.

Winter now past, and the plague well ceased, diuers noble gentlemen and great commanders which following the king, and setting forth somewhat late, or for feare of the plague had staid by the way, and wintred some in one place, some in another, began to repaire vnto *CYPRUS*: as *Robert* duke of *BURGUNDIE*, who hauing wintred in *ACHAIA*, came now in the beginning of the Spring vnto the king, with a number of good horsemen; and with him *William* prince of *ACHAIA*, with a great fleet out of *PELOPONNESUS*, which country, with most part of *GRECIA*, was then vnder the command of the Latines; amongst others came also *William*, surnamed *Long-espée*, earle of *SARISBURY*, with a band of lustie tall souldiors. So the armie being met together, and all things againe in a readinesse, king *Lewis* departing from *CYPRUS*, and toiled at sea with contrary winds, about five daies after fell with the coast of *ÆGYP*, & there with all his fleet came before the strong towne of *DAMIATA*, being (as we haue said) the key of that kingdom. The Sultan long before vnderstanding of the French kings purpose for the inuasion of his country, had strongly fortified his frontier townes, and put into them strong garrisons, beside the great power he kept with himselfe in readinesse at all affaires, as occasion should require. Vpon the approach of the Christians, the gouernour of *DAMIATA* was ready vpon the shore, with a number of braue souldiors to keepe them from landing; who neuertheless resolutely before set downe for the performing of that they came for, manning forth their long boats with their archers and crossebowes to beat the enemy from the shore, ran a ground with their other small boats made of purpose for the landing of men; and so without longer stay came to handle blowes, where for a while was fought a most sharpe and cruell battell, the Christians striving to land, and the Turkes to keepe them off, many falling on both sides. But what

A should an handfull doe against so many? The Turkes oppressed with the multitude still landing more and more, and hauing done what was possible for them to doe, fled into the towne, leauing behind them their gouernour, with five hundred of their best souldiors dead vpon the shore.

This citie of *DAMIATA* was exceeding rich and populous, and had in the former warres not been taken but by more than a yeares siege, (as is before declared) and that not so much by the valour of the Christians as by the extremitie of the plague and famine: since which time it had been strongly fortified by the Turks, with deepe ditches, high wals, and strong bulwarkes, and was at that time well stored with victuals also, and all things else for the enduring of a long siege. Neuertheless, the souldiors that were left, and the citizens (discouraged with the losse of

B their gouernour, and remembrance of the miseries before endured in the former siege, and seeing the Christians now readie againe to besiege the same) the night following, a little before the breake of day, set fire euery man vpon his owne house, and so by a bridge which they had made of boats, fled ouer the great riuer, breaking the bridge when they were ouer, for feare their enemies should thereby haue followed after them. The Christians perceiuing their flight, without resistance entred the citie, and being strangers, did what they could to quench the fire and to saue that which the inhabitants themselves would faine haue with fire destroyed; and so afterwards found great abundance of riches, with plentiful store of all manner of victuals, wherewith the souldiors both enriched and refreshed themselves. This so happie & vnexpected a victorie happened vnto the Christians about the beginning of October, in the yeare 1249. Sultan *Meledin* C himselfe, discouraged with the losse of so strong a citie, offered vnto the French king for the redeeming thereof, and to haue peace at his hands, more territorie in *SYRIA* and the land of *PALESTINE*, than the Christians had of long time before: which large offer was by the French, especially by the earle of *ARTHOIS* the kings brother, proudly rejected, and *ALEXANDRIA* the most famous port and metropolitall citie of *ÆGYP*, further demanded: to the great discontentment of the Turkes and Sarasins. In these troubles died *Meledin* the old Sultan, a man not much beloued of his people: in whose stead *Melechala* (or *Melexala*, as some call him) a valiant and couragious prince, well beloued of his subjects, and but euen then returned out of *SYRIA* and *ARABIA*, where he had been to craue aid of the other Mahometane princes, was chosen Sultan. Which princes, especially the Sultan of *DAMASCO*, although they had not of long been at any good accord among themselves, or with the *Ægyptian*; yet in this common danger of their superstition, which by the losse of *ÆGYP* was like to be greatly weakened, they joyned hands together, and so sent him great aid.

The new Sultan thus strengthened, drew neerer vnto the Christians, which then lay encamped not farre from *DAMIATA*, and had with them a hot skirmish, wherein hee was put to the worse, and so with some losse glad to retire. But the Christians the next day, in hope of like successe falling out againe, were ouerthrowne, with ten times more losse than was he the day before, and so faine to flie vnto the campe. By which victorie the Sultan encouraged, began now to conceiue better hope of the successe of his wars; and by stopping the passages both by water and land, to provide, that no victuals could without great perill bee brought either vnto the citie or the campe, inso much that at length victuals began to grow scarce in both: whereof the Sultan was not ignorant, as being thereof throughly informed by such fugitiues, as for want, or other causes, oftentimes fled out of the French campe into his.

Winter thus passing, and wants still increasing, it fortuned that the gouernour of the great citie of *CAIRE* (vpon the fortune whereof depended the state of the whole kingdom) a man not euill affected vnto the Christian religion, and in his heart highly offended with the Sultan, for the death of his brother by him wrongfully executed: by secret messengers perswaded the French king to come on with his armie to the citie, the regall seat of the Sultan, promising him to deliuer it into his power, with full instructions what he had in all points to do for the gaining thereof. Whereupon the king who had before of himselfe purposed the same exploit, but now filled with a greater hope, assembled together the greatest forces he was able to make. At which time also he sent for the earle of *SARISBURY*, with the rest of the English men, who for many proud indignities offered them by the French (especially by the earle of *ARTHOIS* the kings brother) whereof they could haue no redresse, were gone to *POTOLMAIS*, without purpose to haue any more serued in those warres: But now being sent for by the king, with promise of better vsage and honourable recompence for the wrongs past, returned againe into *ÆGYP*, there

1249

The citizens of
Damata set fire
vpon the citie;
and ran away by
the light.

A faire offer
fudly refused.

there to doe their last endeour. With whose comming the king strengthened, but more by the new supplies brought vnto him by his brother *Alphonfus* out of FRANCE, leauing the duke of BURGUNDIE with a conuenient garison, with the queene his wife, *Qdo* the Popes Legat, and diuers other great ladies in DAMIATA, he himselfe set forward with his armie towards CAIRE. Of whose comming the Sultan hearing, and loath vpon the fortune of one battell to adventure his whole estate, offered by his embassadours to restore vnto him all the land of PALESTINE, with a great summe of money for the defaying of the charges of those wars, and all the prisoners he had taken, so that he would redeliuer vnto him the cite of DAMIATA, and joine with him in league and amitie. Which faire offer for all that, the French king, by the persuation of the Legat and others, refused. So the king marching still on, was to passe an arme of the great ruer NILUS (the Sultan on the other side still readie with his armie to stay his passage) which he had thought to haue made by a bridge of boats, prepared for the same purpose: but better conducted by a fugitiue Sarasin vnto a foord, before to him yeknowne, sent his brother *Robert*, earle of ARTOIS, with the third part of the armie before him, accompanied with the master of the Templars and the earle of SALISBURY, with their followers. Who passing the ruer at the aforesaid foord, suddainly assailed the Turks in their tents (the Sultan being then absent in solemnising one of their prophane feasts) & put them to flight. With which victorie the French earle aboute measure encouraged, would needs on forwards; as if he would himselfe alone haue carried away the glorie of the whole conquest. Whome for all that certaine of the auncient Templars; better acquainted with the manners of that deceitfull nation than he, and better considering also of their owne abilitie and strength, persued him to content himselfe with the honour he had already got, and not to proceed any further in prosecuting of the enemy, vntill the comming of the rest of the armie, especially in that desperat estate of the enemy, wherein he was to win or lose all. Vnto whom the proud earle in great despight replied, That he would prosecute his victorie, and follow his good fortune; calling them dastards and cowards, opprobriously objecting vnto them the common fame, whereby it was commonly reported, That the Holy land might long since haue bene againe vniued vnto the bodie of the Christian commonweale, but for the foule collusion of the false Templars and Hospitallers with the Turks and Infidels. With which reprochfull speech, the master of the Templars not without cause moued, answered for himselfe and his fellows, That he should, when he would, and where he durst, display his ensignes, and he should find them as readie to follow as hee was to goe before them. The earle of SALISBURY also willing to stint this strife, persued earle *Robert* not to bee so wedded to his owne opinion, but to listen vnto the graue and wholesome counsell of the Templars, being men of great experience: and so turning vnto the master of the Templars, began likewise with gentle words to pacifie him also. But whilest hee was yet speaking, the earle interrupting him with many opprobrious words, called him dastard and coward, and wished that the armie were rid of him, and the fearefull cowards his countreymen. Whereunto the earle of SALISBURY answered: *Well Generall, on in Gods name, and wherefoeuer you dare set your foot, mine shall be as farre as yours; and I beleeue wee goe this day, where you shall not dare to come nigh my horses taile: as afterward indeed it proued.* Howbeit, the earle so said, for that earle *Robert* and the Frenchmen had many times in reproch and disdain, after their manner, called him and his followers English traites.

The proud earle constant in his former purpose, and not to be otherwise persued, set forward: and first assaulted a little towne or castle, not farre off called MANSOR, whereunto hee inconsiderately approaching, was notably repulled; and hauing lost a number of his men, was as a man discouraged, about to haue retired. When suddainly the Sultan, neerer at hand than the earle had thought, stirred vp with the noise of the alarum, came on with his whole power; and finding the armie of the Christians now deuicd (as he had long wished) with the multitude of his people enclosed them round, and had with them a great and mortall fight: wherein though the Christians right woorthely behaved themselves, for the small number they were, yet oppressed with the multitude, and on euery side beset, they were slaine downe right. Then, but all too late, it repented the earle of his foolish rashnesse, and that he had not hearkened vnto better counsell; and seeing the earle of SALISBURY valiantly fighting, cried out vnto him to flie; seeing God (as he said) fought against them. Whereunto the noble earle answered no more, but *God forbid that my fathers soules should run away from the face of a Sarasin.* The French earle thinking

A king by the swiftnesse of his horse to haue saued his life, flying out of the battell, and taking the ruer of THARNES, ouerladed with his armour, was there drowned. The earle of SALISBURY *Earle Robert is flying, drowned.* courageously enduring the enemies charge, with his owne hand manfully slew many a Turk and Sarasin that day, vntill that at length hauing his horse slaine vnder him, and himselfe so wounded in the legs as that he was not able longer to stand, yet vpon his knees laying about him like a desperat man, and selling his life as deere as he could, was there slaine, but not vanquished. With him perished the whole armie, or enclosed by the Sultan, that scarce any one escaped aliae, more than two Templars, one Hospitaller, and one common souldiour, the messengers of this heauie newes.

B About the same time also sicknesse daily increasing in the French campe, the king purposing to march forward to CAIRE, sent a great number of sicke and weake people downe the ruer of NILUS to DAMIATA: of whose going the Sultan vnderstanding, caused a great number of small boats to be caried in carts by land vnto the ruiers side, which well manned, and meeting them by the way, set vpon them, and burnt or drowned them: cuery mothers sonne, sauing one only Englishman, called *Alexander Giffard*, who wounded in fūe places of his bodie, escaped yet into the French campe, reporting there what had happened vnto the rest.

C Now had the Sultan also got intelligence of the compact betwixt the gouernour of CAIRE *The gouernour of Caire, apprehended.* and the king; for the betraying of the cite: and thereupon had caused him to be suddainly apprehended and put in safe keeping, vntill hee were at better leisure to vnderstand farther of the matter: which no lesse troubled the French king, than did the former misfortune; all his hope for the yeelding vp of the cite, being thereby cut off. Thus his hopes, together with his strength, daily decreasing, he would haue gladly accepted of the conditions which he before refused, which the Sultan now growne very strong, would by no meanes heare of; but in stead thereof, by way of derision, sent to know of him, What was become of all his mattocks, forks, rakes, sythes, plowes, and harrowes, which he had brought ouer with him; and why he set them not to work, but suffered them like an euill husband to rot and rust beside him? All which, with much more, the good king was glad to put vp. For now his forces greatly diminished, as well by sicknesse, as by the former losses, finding himselfe farre too weake, he would faine haue retired backe againe to DAMIATA: which the Sultan foreseeing, got so betwixt him and home, that now there was no remedie, but either to fight it out, or yeeld. The king himselfe had been often before intreated by his nobilitie, whilest the ruer was yet vnpossessed by the enemy, to haue conueyed himselfe by water to DAMIATA, for that in the safetie of his person consisted (as they said) the safetie of his kingdome, whatsoeuer became of them: whereunto hee could neuer bee persued, saying, That he would neuer forsake his people, because he would not be forsaken of them, but was resolved to endure with them whatsoeuer it should please God to lay vpon him. So passing the ruer by the same foord whereby his brother had not long before vnfortunatly passed, and coming to the place where the battell was fought, hee might see the dead bodies of the Christians pitifully mangled, with their heads and hands cut off: For the Sultan the more to encourage his soldiours, had before the battell proclaimed, That whosoever should bring him the head or hand of a Christian, should haue a great reward for his labour; in hope whereof, they had so dismembered them. But long he had not there stayed, but that the Sultan began suddainly to appeare, with a most huge great armie, as if he would euen with the sight thereof haue discouraged the Christians: against whom for all that, the Frenchmen in good order opposed themselves, & for the space of three houres made great resistance: but what could one doe against ten, and he also fainting for sicknesse and food? the hard plight wherein the greatest part of the French armie then was. In conclusion, oppressed with the multitude of their enemies, and no way left to flie, they were all ouerthrowne and slaine, except some few, saued in hope of great ranfome. The king himselfe, with his two brethren *Alphonfus* and *Charles*, and some few others, were taken prisoners, & brought vnto the Sultan: who demanding of him, What had moued him so to make war against him? was answered by the king, That it was for religion, & the defence of the name of his God. In this vnfortunat battell, fought the fift of Aprill, in the yeare 1250, besides the common souldiours, were slaine most of the nobilitie of FRANCE, and all their tents taken.

The Sultan presently vpon this ouerthrow, sent of his owne souldiours the like number that the French were of, with French ensignes, and disguised in the attire of the slaine Frenchmen, to DAMIATA, where the duke of BURGUNDIE, the French queene, and the Popes Legat lay; in hope

hope to haue been so let in for Frenchmen: but they were not so well masked, but that they were by them of the citie discovered for enemies, and so kept out and deceived of their purpose.

The Christians thus ouerthrowne, and the French king taken prisoner, *Melech-sala* the Sultan taking compassion vpon him, and yet minding of his life to make his owne gaine; cheering him vp with comfortable speeches, began to talke with him of his deliuerance, and of a good agreement to be made betwixt them. The conditions whereof propounded by the Sultan were, That the king should forthwith deliuer againe vnto him the citie of *DAMIATA*, and moreover pay vnto him for the ranfome of himselfe and his, and for the charges of the war, eight thousand pound of gold; That all prisoners should on both sides be frankly set at libertie, and for a peace to be taken for ten yeares. For the more assurance whereof, the Sultan offered to sweare, That if he failed in the performance thereof, to renounce what he had promised, to denie his Christ to be God: Which prophane oath the king detesting, and wishing rather to die than to giue the same; the Sultan wondring at his constancie, tooke his word without any oath at all, and so published the league. But whilest they were comming together to *DAMIATA*, *Melech-sala* now in the pride of this victorie, fearing nothing lesse than the sudden change of fortune, or the mischiefe hanging ouer his head, was in the presence of a number of his noble men suddenly slaine by two desperat Mamalukes; and one *Turqueminus* a sturdie slaue of their owne order and vocation (by whose procurement it was supposed to haue bene done) by the consent of the whole armie created Sultan in his stead: who reuoking the league before concluded by *Melech-sala*, made another in his owne name with the king, much vpon the same conditions that the other was; which after he had receiued *DAMIATA*, he caused to be openly proclaimed. Neuertheless after that king *Lewis* had paid his ranfome, and was with the remnant of his armie by the Genouaies transported from *DAMIATA* to *PTOLEMAIS*, the false miscreant performed not the halfe of that he had promised, of twelue thousand Christian captiues that should haue been set free, scarce enlarging foure thousand; and killing all the sicke souldiers whom by his promise he ought to haue reliued; neither suffering any Christian to carrie any of his goods with him out of *EGYPT*, which by the league he ought to haue done also.

The French king comming to *PTOLEMAIS*, and purposing to haue returned home, was intreated by the master of the Templars and Hospitalars, and other the nobilitie of the Christians, to stay, which he did almost by the space of foure yeares: in which time he repaired the cities of *CESARBA* and *TOPPE*, and fortified many strong places for the defence of the Christians against the infidels: And so commending the protection thereof vnto the knights of the sacred war, and sending his brethren away before him, followed after himselfe, greatly lamented for by all the Christians in *SYRIA*, and so arriued in *FRANCE* the sixt yeare from the time of his departing thence. This was the end of this long and vnfortunat expedition of *Lewis* the French king, wherein as some write, were eightie thousand Christians lost: howbeit the French Chronicles extenuating their losse, report, of two and thirtie thousand French, six thousand to haue returned againe into *FRANCE*. The citie of *DAMIATA* in the space of a few yeares twice woon, and twice lost by the Christians, was shortly after the deliuering vp thereof, by the Sultan rased downe to the ground, because it should no more serue the Christians for an entrance into his kingdom.

The late Egyptian Sultans thus oftentimes inuaded by the Christian princes, and reposing no great assurance in the prowess of the effeminate Egyptians, a people fitter for marchandize and other base occupations than for chiuallie and war, had for the strengthening of their kingdom, bought an infinit number of slaues, especially of the poore and hardie Circassians, called in ancient time *Gete* and *Zinchi*, neere vnto *COLCHIS* and the *EUXINE* sea, brought vnto *ALEXANDRIA* and other ports of *EGYPT* out of those bare cold countries, by marchants, and from thence transported to *CAIRE* and other cities of *EGYPT*: of which poore slaues, the late Egyptian Sultans taking their choice, and culling out from the rest such as were like to be of great spirit and abilitie of bodie, deliuered them vnto most skilfull and expert teachers; by whom they were carefully taught to run, to leape, to vault, to shoot, to ride, with all other feats of actiuitie, and withall cunningly to handle all manner of weapons, as well on horsebacke as on foot: and so instructed, and become cunning, were taken out of their schooles into pay, and enrolled together as the Sultans choice horsemen, were commonly called by the name of Mamalukes.

In whose good seruice the late Sultans finding great vse, spared for no cost, both for their maintenance and encreasing of their number; dayly erecting new nurseries stored with yong fire, which growing vp and readie, was still joynted to the other. It is wonderfull to tell vnto what a strength and glorie this order of the Mamalukes was in short time grown, by the care of the Egyptian kings: By them they mainaged their greatest affaires, especially in time of wars; and by their valour, not onely defended their country, but gained many a faire victorie against their enemies, as they did now against the French. But as too much power in such mens hands, seldom or neuer wanteth danger, so fell it out now betwixt the late Sultan *Melech-sala*, and those masterfull Mamaluke slaues: who proud of their preferment, and forgetfull of their dutie, and seeing the greatest strength of the kingdom in their hands, traiterously slew *Melech-sala*, their chiefe founder, setting vp in his place (as aforesaid) one *Turqueminus*, a base slaue, one of their owne order and seruile vocation, but indeed otherwise a man of a great spirit and valour. This *Melech-sala* murdered by the Mamalukes, was the last of the free borne kings of *EGYPT*; in whom the Turkes kingdom in *EGYPT*, erected by *Sarracon* and the great Sultan *Saladin* (as is before said) and in his stocke and family euer since continued, tooke end, as did also all the power of the Turkes in that great and rich kingdom. For the proud Mamalukes hauing now got the soueraintie into their hands, and exalted a Sultan out of themselves, imperiously commanded as great lords ouer the rest of the people, not suffering them to haue the vse either of horse or armour, or to beare any sway in the common weale: but keeping them vnder with most heauie impositions, and still preferring their owne slaues (wherewith the country of *EGYPT* now swarmed) made the naturall countrey people, of all others most miserable, not daring to meddle with any thing more than merchandize, their husbandrie, or other their base mechanicall occupations: whereof the greatest profit still came vnto the Mamalukes, who as lords of all, with great insolencie, at their pleasure tooke it from them as their owne. As for the great Sultan, they still chose him from among themselves, not suffering any the Sultans children to succede their fathers in the kingdom; for feare least they in proceesse of time, proud of their ancestors and parentage, should reckon of them as of his slaues (as indeed they were) and so at length bring in another more free kind of government.

Against which they provided also, not onely by this restraint of their Sultans children, but of their owne also: taking order and establishting it as an immutable law, That though the sonnes of the Mamalukes might enjoy their fathers lands & wealth after their death, yet that it should not be lawfull for them in any case to take vpon them the name or honour of a Mamaluke: so embarrasing them from all government in the common wealth, to the intent it might still rest with the Mamalukes. Neither was it lawfull for any borne of Mahometan parents (which could not be slaues) or of the race of the Iewes, to be admitted into that Order; but onely such as being borne Christians and become slaues, had from the time of their captiuitie bene entrusted in the Mahometan superstition; or else being men grown, and comming thither, had abjured the Christian religion (as many reprobates did in hope of preferment.) Right strange it is to consider, vnto what honour and glorie this slauish empire in short time grew: many of those poore slaues by rare fortune or secret diuine power, exalted out of the dust vnto the highest degree of honour, proouing most excellent and renowned princes, of such strength and power, as was dreadfull euen vnto the greatest princes of the world. In which great glorie, this seruile empire (to the worlds woonder) flourished from this time amongst the greatest by the space of 267 yeares, vntill that hauing run the appointed race, it was with a great destruction, by *Selymus* the victorious emperor of the Turkes, ouerthrowne in the yeare 1517, and the kingdom of *EGYPT* with all *SYRIA* and the land of *PALESTINE*, brought into the forme of Prouinces, vntied vnto the Turkes empire, as they are at this day, and as in the course of this historie shall in due time and place (God willing) at large appeare.

But leauing the kingdom of the Turkes thus ouerthrowne in *EGYPT*, and the Mamalukes there triumphing; the French king returned into *FRANCE*; and the Christians in peace in *SYRIA*: let vs againe returne into the lesser *ASIA*, and vnto the imperiall citie of *CONSTANTINOPLE*, whether the affaires both of the Turkes and of the Christians now call vs. All this while the Greeke empire (for so the Greeks will haue it called) flourished both in peace and plentie in the lesser *ASIA*, vnder their emperor *John Batazes*: the power of the Latines in the meane time declining as fast at *CONSTANTINOPLE*, vnder the rule of the Latin emperor

Baldwin

The beginning
of the Mamluk
order and their
kingdom.

The ruine of the
Turk kingdom
in Egypt.

Baldwin the second. As for the *Turks* whom we left grievously troubled both with famine and the often incursions of the *Tartars*, they had all this while, and yet also, enough and more than enough to do to withstand the same enemy. At length it fortuned that *John Ducas* the Greeke emperor died, being at the time of his death about threescore yeares old, wherof he had happily reigned three & thirtie: by whose good & discreet gouernment, the Greeke empire before brought low and almost to naught by the *Latines*, began againe to gather strength and to flourish both in *ASIA* and some little part of *EUROPE* also. Of him are reported many notable matters, which as impertinent to our purpose I could willingly passe ouer, were I not by the woorthie remembrance of one of them staied a while by the way.

This noble and famous emperor hauing long lamented the death of the faire emperesse *Irene* his first wife, at last married another yong ladie, the sister of *Manfred* king of *SICILIE*, called *Anne*, with whom amongst other honourable and beautifull dames, sent by the king her brother for the accompanying of her to *CONSTANTINOPLE*, was one *Marcesina*, a rare paragon, of such a feature as if nature had in her meant to bestow her greatest skill. From whose mouth alwaies flowed a fountaine of most sugred words, and out of her eies issued (as it were) nets to entangle the amorous in: vpon this so faire an object, the emperor not fearing further harme, tooke pleasure oftentimes to feed his eies, vntill that at length caught with her lookes, he had lost his libertie, and was of a great emperor become her thrall, in such sort, as that in comparison of her he seemed little or nothing to regard the yong emperesse his wife; but so far doated vpon her, that he suffered her to be attired and honoured with the same attire and honour that the emperesse was her selfe; whom she now so farre exceeded both in grace and fauour with the emperor, and honour of the people, as that shee almost alone enjoyed the same, without regard of her vnto whom it was of more right due. Whilist thus alone triumpheth, at length it fortuned that shee in all her glorie, attended vpon with most of the gallants of the court, and some of the emperours guard, would needs goe (whether for deuotion or for her recreation, I know not) to visite the monasterie and faire church, which *Blemmydes* (a noble man of great renoune, both for his integritie of life, and learning) had of his owne cost and charges but lately built in the countrey where he together with his monkes, as men wearie of the world, liued a deuout and solitarie contemplatiue life, after the manner of that time, with the great good opinion of the people in generall. This *Blemmydes* was afterward for his vpright life and profound learning, chosen Patriarch of *CONSTANTINOPLE*: which great honour, next vnto the emperor himselfe, he refused, contenting himselfe with his cell. *Marcesina* comming thither in great pompe, and thinking to haue entred the church, had the doores shut against her by the monkes, before commaunded so to doe by *Blemmydes* their founder: and so was to her great disgrace kept out. For that deuout man deemed it a great impietie, to suffer that so wicked and shamelesse a woman, against whom he had most sharply both spoken and written, with her prophane and wicked feet to tread vpon the sacred pavement of his church. She enraged with this indignitie, hardly by so proud a woman to be with patience digested, and prickt forward by her flattering followers also; returning to the court, grievously complained thereof vnto the emperor, stirring him vp by all meanes she could to reuenge: the same, perswading him to haue been therein himselfe disgraced. Whereunto were joynd also the hard speeches of her pickthanke fauourits, who to currie fauells, spared not to put oyle as it were vnto the fire, for the stirring vp of the emperor vnto reuenge. Who with so great a complaint nothing moued vnto wrath, but stricke as it were to the heart with a remorse of conscience, and oppressed with heauinesse, with teares running downe his cheekes, and fetching a deepe sigh, said: *Why prouoke you me to punish so deuout and just a man? where is if I would my selfe haue liued without reproch and infamie, I should haue kept my imperiall maiestie unpolluted or stained. But now sith I my selfe haue beene the cause both of mine owne disgrace, and of the empires: I may thanke mine owne defects, if of such euill seed as I haue sowne, I now reape also an euill harvest.*

After the death of this good emperor, *Theodorus* his sonne, borne the first yeare of his fathers raigne, being then about three and thirtie yeares old, was by the generall consent of the people saluted emperor in his stead: who in the beginning of his empire renewed the league which his father had made with *Iathatus* the Turkish Sultan. And so hauing provided for the securitie of his affaires in *ASIA*; he with a puissant armie passed ouer the strait of *HELLESPONTUS* into *EUROPE*, to appeale the troubles there raised in *MACEDONIA* and *THRACIA*, by the king

of *BULGARIA* his brother in law, and *Michael Angelus* Despot of *THESSALIA*; who vpon the death of the old emperor began to spoile those countries, not without hope at length to haue joynd them vnto their owne: by whose comming they were for all that disappointed, of their purpose, and glad to sue to him for peace. But whilest he was there busied, he was aduertised by letters from *NICE*, that *Michael Paleologus*, whom he had left there gouernour in his absence, was secretly fled vnto the *Turks*: with which newes he was not a little troubled. The cause of whose flight, as *Paleologus* himselfe gaue it out, was, for that he perceiued himselfe diuers waies by many his enemies brought into disgrace, and the emperours eares so filled with their odious complaints, so cunningly framed against him, as that they were not easily, or in short time to be refelled: and therefore fearing in the emperours heauie displeasure to be suddenly taken away, to haue willingly gone into exile, if so happily he might saue his life from the mallice of them that sought after it.

At his comming to *ICONIUM*, he found *Iathatus* the Sultan making great preparation against the *Tartars*; who hauing driuen the *Turks* out of *PERSIA* and the other faire Easterne countries (as is before declared) and running still on, did with their continuall incursions spoile a great part of their territories in the lesser *ASIA* also; and now lay at *AXARAA*, a towne not far off from *ICONIUM*: against whom the Sultan now making the greatest preparation hee could, gladly welcommed *Paleologus*, whom he knew to be a right valiant and worthie captaine, commending to his charge the leading of certaine bands of *Greekes*, whom he had retained to serue him in those warres, as he had others also of the *Latines*, vnder the conduct of *Boniface Mobme*, a nobleman of *VENICE*: and so hauing put all things in readinesse, and strengthened with these forraigne supplies of the *Greekes* and *Latines*, set forward against his enemies the *Tartars*: who at the first sight of the strange ensignes and souldiours, were much dismayed, fearing some greater force had beene come to the aid of the *Turkes*. Neuerthelesse, joyning with them in battell, had with them at the first a most terrible and bloodie conflict, wherein that part of the armie that stood against *Paleologus* and his *Greekes*, was put to the worse; to the great discomfiture of the *Tartars*, being euen vpon the point to haue fled, had not one of the greatest commanders in the *Turks* armie, and a nigh kinsman of the Sultans, for an old grudge that he bare vnto the Sultan, with all his regiment in the heat of the battell reuolted vnto the *Tartars*: whereby the turning of the battell was in a moment as it were quite altered, they which but now were about to haue fled, fighting like lions; and they that were victors, now glad to turne their backs and flie: in which flight a great number of the *Turkes* fell, the fierce *Tartars* most eagerly pursuing them. *Paleologus* with the generall of the *Turks* hardly chased by the *Tartars*, and glad euery houre to make a stand, and to fight for their liues, with much adoe after many daies flight recovered a castle of the *Generals*, neere vnto *CASTAMONA*, and so saued themselves. The *Tartars* after this so great a victorie (wherein they had broken the whole strength of the *Turkes*, and brought in hazard the whole state of their kingdome) without resistance foraged all the countries and provinces subject vnto the Turkish Sultan, making spoile of whatsoever they light vpon: inso much, that the Sultan discouraged, and hauing now no strength left to oppose against them, fled vnto the Greeke emperor *Theodorus* for aid; who most honourably entertained him with all his traine, and comforted him with such small aid as he thought good then to spare him: Vvhich for his more safetie he sent home with him, vnder the leading of *Isaacus Ducas*, surnamed *Murtzuzla*, a man in great credit with him. In recompence of which kindeesse, the Sultan gaue vnto the emperor the cite of *LAODICEA*, wherinto he presently put a strong garrison: neuerthelesse, it was not long before it fell againe into the hands of the *Turkes*, being a place not to be holden by the *Greekes*. Yet for all this, the Sultan finding himselfe still too weake to withstand the continuall inuasions of the *Tartars*, and wearie of the harmes he dayly sustained; by the aduise of his cheefe counsellors made a league with them, yeelding to pay them a certain yearly tribute, thereby to redeeme his peace. From which time the *Tartars* accounted of the *Turks* as of their tributaries and vassales.

Not long after this, *Michael Paleologus* was by the emperours kind and gracious letters called home; with his faithfull promise also before given for his securitie: who before his return bound himselfe also by solemne oath, to be vnto the emperor and his sonne alwayes loyall, and from thenceforth neuer to seeke after the empire, or giue cause of new suspect for such matters as he had been before charged with: but for euer to yeeld vnto the emperor, his sonne, or other his

successors in the empire, his dutifull obedience and fidelitie. Vpon which conditions he was againe made Great Constable, and so receiued into the emperours fauour, and liued the rest of his raigne in great honour and credit with him.

The death of
Theodorus the
Grecke emperor.

Now Theodorus the emperor hauing raigned three yeares, fell sicke and died, leauing behind him his sonne *Iohn*, then but a child of six yeares old, to succede him in the empire: whom hee vpon his death bed, together with the empire, commended to *Arsenius* the Patriarch, and one *George Muzalo* his faithfull counsellor, as to his trustie tutors, to see him safely brought vp, & the empire well and peaceably gouerned. This *Muzalo* was a man of meane parentage, but for his familiar acquaintance and ciuile behauior, of a child brought vp in the court with the emperor as his play fellow: with whom he growing vp, so framed himselfe vnto his manners and disposition, that he alone was vnto him in stead of all, still at hand, readie to say or doe whatsoeuer might be vnto the emperor gracious or pleasing. And the elder they grew, so increased this their mutuall affection and loue also: in such sort, that with him now emperor, he was of all others in greatest fauour and authoritie; a warie obseruer of his delights, a readie minister of his affaires, and faithfull partaker of his secrets: for which he was in short time promoted vnto the greatest honors of the court, and honourably married vnto one of the emperours nigh kinswomen; and now at his death, by his last will, with the reuerend Patriarch appointed tutor to the yong emperor and his two yong sisters. And for the more assurance thereof, a solemne oath of obedience vnto the yong prince as emperor, and vnto them as his tutors, was exacted of all sort of men both high & low, of what vocation soeuer; and that not once, but first a little before the emperours death, and againe after he was now dead, for many of the nobilitie honourably descended, seeing the suddain change of *Muzalo* his fortune, among themselves murmured thereat, as grieued with his preferment, seeing there were many among them, vnto whom both the tuition of the yong emperor and administration of the empire, of better right appertained; in so much as they were both nearer of kin vnto the emperor, and fitter (as they thought) for so great a charge than was *Muzalo*; whom (as they said) they had many causes both to contemne and hate: For beside that hee was not honourably borne, and had serued the late emperor *Theodore*, as the minister of his wrath against some of the nobilitie, causes sufficient of the peoples hatred; if hee should now also in so great authoritie affect the empire, it was by his malicious enemies vainly doubted, that he would not spare to commit any manner of villanie, for the effecting of his inordinat desire. Of all which *Muzalo* was not ignorant, a man at all other times of a most quicke apprehension for such matters, but as then especially, his wits being awaked with these so great motiues & dangers. Wherefore speedely calling together all the nobilitie into the court, he welcommed them one by one, and courteously discoursing with them, offered to discharge himselfe both of the administration of the empire, and tuition of the yong emperor, and willingly to yeeld the same vnto any one of them, whom the rest should thinke fittest for so great a charge: which though they all with one consent as it were refused, saying, That he was of all others to be preferred, vnto whom the emperor, lord both of the empire and the child, had committed the same: yet *Muzalo* earnestly requested them to the contrarie, and stiffely withstood their desire, wishing indeed rather to haue led a quiet priuat life in securitie, than to haue been so ouercharged; not so much for doubt of the enuie then arising, as for feare of some great danger thereof to ensue. But would he, would he not, remedie there was none, but that as the late emperor had appointed, so he must take the charge vpon him. And now was every one, as well of the nobilitie, as of the inferiour sort, againe with greater solemnitie than before the third time sworne, to the vttermost of their power to defend the yong emperor in his empire, and *Muzalo* in the tuition of him and administration of the affaires of the state, and faithfully to yeeld vnto them both all due honour and obedience: which if they should faile religiously to performe, they wished vnto themselves every man, & to all theirs, a shamefull end and destruction. Yet notwithstanding all this solemne swearing, mixt most times with much forswearing, there were not fully nine daies past, but that certaine of the chiefe nobilitie forgetfull or else carelesse of their oath, and full of enuie, seldome satisfied but with blood, conspired the vnworthie death of *Muzalo* the protectour both of the emperor and the empire.

Enuie in Court.

The ninth day appointed for the funerall of the emperor, was now come, at which time were met together at *SOSANDRA* (an abbey by himselfe built in the honour of the virgine *Marie* at *MAGNESTA*) many great ladies and graue matrons, to mourne as the manner was; all the great princes of the nobilitie, and among them the conspirators also: thither repaired also a number of soldi-

souldiours, prepared for the slaughter, with an infinit multitude of the common people, as at such solemnities is vsuall. But what needs many words, whilst the hymns were yet in singing, and the obsequies in performing, the soldiours as they were before instructed, suddainly breaking into the church, with their drawne swords in their hands, slew *Muzalo* (then fled vnto the altar for refuge) with his two brethren *Andronicus* and *Theodorus*, both men of great account, and diuers others appointed to the massacre. So the matrones & the rest of the multitude breaking off their mourning, and for feare thronging out one in anothers necke, fled as fast as they could, some one way, some another, as they thought for their most safetie: but the priests and monkes thinking to haue done the like, were by the imperious soldiours, whether they would or not, againe inforced into the church; where tumbling one ouer another, as thronging in with great force & violence, and scarce able to stand, by reason of the slipperinesse of the blood there shed vpon the pavement, they in great feare made an end of those bloodie obsequies. This outrage appeased, *Arsenius* the Patriarch, and only tutor of the yong emperor now left, was therewith yet much troubled, as with a thing dangerous both to the person of the yong prince, and quietnesse of the state; but what good course to take therein, he could not tell: for as he was a man for his learning and integrity of life, not inferiour to the best, so in matters of state he was as far to seeke; as it commonly happeneth the contemplative man, buried in his meditations, to be vnfit for temporall gouernment; whereas he that should performe both, must vnto his rare vertues and great learning ioine a ciuile conuersation, with great experience in worldly affaires, not to be learned but by great and long practise. This reuerend father (of no great reach, yet wishing all well) calling together the nobilitie, consulted with them what were best to be done for the gouernment both of the yong emperor and the empire, now that *Muzalo* was dead; not considering in the mean time who they were with whom he consulted, or that counsell grounded vpon no wise foresight or approoued experience, was more dangerous vnto him whom he would haue provided for, than all the enemies murdering swords, as shortly after appeared.

Muzalo traitorously murdered in the church.

Amongst others of the nobilitie called to counsell, was *Michael Paleologus* (of whom we haue before spoken) much superiour to the rest, as descended of the imperiall house of the *Comneni*, a man of a cheerefull countenance, gracious, and courteous, and withall exceeding bountifull and liberall, whereby he easily wooon the hearts of all men in generall, but especially of the colonels, captaines, and other martiall men, commaunders in the armie; of whose aspiring to the empire, many prefaces and common rumors (not alwaies vaine) had in former time passed also to the mouing of many: yea the Patriarch himselfe not considering his haucie and aspiring nature, made no lesse account of him than did the rest, but vpon an especiall fauour, committed to his only trust the keyes of the common treasure, at such time as money was to bee deliuered out for payment of the armies or other like great occasions of the state; the most effectuall meanes for the furtherance of his secret practises, & the readiest way for the effecting of that he had so long before plotted: for hauing in his fingring such a masse of treasure, as he might well haue wished but neuer reasonably hoped for, he poured it out as it were by bushels amongst the nobilitie and martiall men, & such others as he thought were able to do most with the people, amongst whom were many of the cleargie also: of which his fauourits were made many meetings, and by them was the Patriarch continually sollicitied, but yet in generall tearmes, without delay (according to the necessitie of the time) to take order for the good gouernment of the state, which now as a great ship in the midst of the sea without a master, was (as they said) in danger to perish; and being once lost, was not to be againe recouered. At which time also, the name of *Paleologus* was in euery mans mouth, as the only man for his wisdom and experience, fit to take vpon him the charge and gouernment of the empire, vntill the yong emperor were come to age. Vnto which comon good liking, the Patriarch also (seeing no more, or peraduenture not so much as the rest) gaue his consent. And so without longer stay, to the great contentment both of the nobilitie and people in generall, made him gouernour of the empire, and tutor to the yong emperor, wanting now nothing of an emperor himselfe, more than the title and imperiall ornaments. This was the first step whereby this aspiring man (twice before in disgrace with the two late emperours, *Iohn Ducus*, and his sonne *Theodorus*) mounted at last vnto the empire.

Michael Paleologus aspires.

It was not many dayes after, but that his fauourits held another counsell, wherein it was alleged, That it was not seemely for him that was tutor vnto the emperor, gouernour of the state and empire, and to giue audience vnto the embassadours of forraigne nations, to want the honour

Michaelle Paleologus crowned emperor by Arsenius the Patriarch.

next vnto the emperour, as well for the magnificence of the state, as for the credit of his place: whereupon hee was both by the Patriarch and the yooing emperour honoured with the title of the Despot, another step vnto the empire. But what contentment find the ambitious euen in the greatest honours, so long as there is one about them? Little sure, or none at all, more than that it serueth them to step at next, vp to the highest: as did this new made Despot, who shortly after was by certaine of the nobilitie, his great fauourits, neere vnto *MAGNESIA*, with the great applause of the people hoysed vp and saluted emperour. Whereof *Arsenius* the Patriarch hearing, was therewith much troubled, as fearing what would become of the yong child, the right heire of the empire. And first he was about to haue excommunicated, as well him that was made emperour, as them that had so made him: but afterward changing his purpose, for feare of greater troubles, he thought it better by solenne oath to bind both him and the rest, That they should not seeke after the life of the child, or by any force or colour goe about to depriue him of the empire; which was so done. Yet it was not full a moneth after, but that euen hee that had so great a care of the yooing child and so prouided for his safetie (persuaded by them of the nobilitie and the cleargie) with his owne hands, and all the accustomed ceremonies, set the imperiall crowne vpon this vsurpers head; yet not as vpon him that should still enjoy the empire, but as vpon a man according to the present necessitie of the time and state thought fittest for so great a charge, vntill the yooing child came to age; vnto whom then he was to giue place, and to resigne to him the empire. All which being by more solenne oath than before confirmed, good newes (as the certaine signes of his fortunat gouernment) were brought vnto him of a great victorie obtained by his capitaines, against *Michaelle Angelus* Despot of *ÆTOLIA* and *EPHROSUS*: Who hauing married the late emperours daughter, and hearing of his death, with the great troubles in *ASIA*; aided by the king of *SICILIA* and the prince of *PELOPONNESUS* and *ACHAIA*, his sonnes in law, had thought in that hurle and perturbation of the state to haue taken vnto himselfe the greatest part of the emperours territories in *MACEDONIA* and *THRACIA*: and for the same purpose was with a great armie entred into them, burning and spoiling the countrey before him; whereof *Michaelle Paleologus* (then but newly made Despot) hauing intelligence, sent his brother *John*, and some other his best capitaines, with a great armie against him: by whom he with his complices were put to the worke, and not without great losse enforced to retire: the joyfull newes whereof he receiued, euen as he was crowned. Which was shortly after confirmed by the coming of the great commanders themselues, bringing with them the prince of *PELOPONNESUS* and *ACHAIA*, by them taken prisoner. Who for his ranfome was afterward glad to giue vnto the emperour *Paleologus*, *MONEMBASTIA*, *MAINE*, and *SPARTA*, three of the best cities of *PELOPONNESUS*: whereinto he put strong garrisons, vnder the command of *Constantinus* his brother by the mothers side, a right valiant capitaine. By whose good seruice, and the commodious situation of the places, he gained diuers other townes and cities, and at length the greatest part of *PELOPONNESUS*, out of the hands of the Latines: for the vtter rooting out of whom, hee shortly after with a great armie passed ouer into *THRACIA*, with purpose (as was thought) to haue besieged *CONSTANTINOPLE*: but finding it to be a matter of more difficultie than was before supposed, he left that, and laied siege to the castle of *PERRA*, oueragainst it on the other side of the haue, in hope by winning of that castle to haue become master also of the towne: where he was notably repulsed, and enforced with losse to retire. So rising with his armie, hee fortified diuers castles and strong holds in the countrey about *CONSTANTINOPLE*, and put into them strong garrisons, charging them, with continuall incursions to trouble the *Constantinopolitans*, and to cut them so short, if it were possible, as that they should not dare to looke out at the gates of the citie. Which they so well performed, that in short time the Latines in the citie were driuen to such extremitie, that for want of wood they were faine to burne many of the fairest houses in the citie in stead of fewell; which done, hee returned againe to *NICE*, the cheefe seat of the Greeke emperours, euer since that *CONSTANTINOPLE* was taken by the Latines.

Now reigned in *CONSTANTINOPLE* the Latine emperour *Baldwin* the second (as is before declared) a man of small courage, and lesse power, and therefore not much regarded either of the Greeces or Latines: who for the maintenance of his state was glad to sell away the publick ornaments of the citie, and to pawne his sonne vnto the *Bruges* marchants for money; by whom hee

was

A was left at *VENICE* to be brought vp: which gaue occasion for some writers to report, That he was pawned vnto the *Venetians*.

About this time *Mango*, the great Chan of *TARTARIE*, stirred vp by *Aiton* the Armenian king, by whose persuation he had also receiued the Christian religion, sent his brother *Haalon* with an exceeding great armie against the Turkes and Sarraffins in *SYRIA* and the land of *PALESTINE*. This *Haalon* conuerted also vnto the Christian faith by his wife, setting forward with a world of people following him, in the space of six moneths ouertran all *PALESTINE*, with the countreies adioyning, excepting one strong place in the mountains (which some say was *SAMARCHAND*, afterward the royall seat of the great terror of the world, the mightie *Tamerlaine*) which besieged by ten thousand horsemen, by him there left for that purpose, and so continued by the space of seuen and twentie yeares after, was then at length (as *Aiton* himselfe writeth) yeelded by the defendants, onely for want of clothes to couer their nakednesse. *Haalon* in whose armie those ten thousand (left behind) were not missed, marching on, and as a violent tempest bearing all downe before him, entered at length into *ASSYRIA*, and there laied siege vnto the great citie of *BABYLON*, then the seat of the great Caliph; whom all the Mahometane princes honoured about all others, as the true successour of their great prophet *Mahomet*, and receiued from his mouth the interpretation of their law, as most diuine oracles. Which great citie *Haalon* woon, and putting to sword all he found therein, men, women, and children, with the spoile thereof and the rich treasures of the Caliph, enriched his souldiours. The Caliph himselfe (reserued for that purpose) he commaunded to be set in the midst of the infinite treasure which hee and his predeceffours had most couetously heaped vp together, and that he should of that gold siluer and precious stones take what it pleased him to eat, saying (by way of derision) That so gainefull a quest should by good reason be fed with nothing but things of greatest price, whereof hee willed him to make no spare: In which order the couetous wretch kept for certaine daies, miserably died for hunger, in the midst of those things whereof he thought hee should neuer haue had ynough; which though they were in valour great, and with great care laied together, yet serued they him not now to suffice nature, best contented with a little. *BABYLON* thus sacked, and almost rased, the Tartar marching on through *MESOPOTAMIA*, by the way took the citie of *ROHAI*, where *Aiton* the Armenian king and author of this the Tartars expedition, came vnto him with twelue thousand horsemen, and fortie thousand foot, as reporteth *Aiton* the Armenian kings nephew, then there present. So entering into *SYRIA*, in a few daies tooke *ALEPPO*, which hee sacked and rased in the yeare of our Lord 1260, with diuers other strong townes sometime belonging vnto the kingdome of *ANTIOCH*. Then was one *Malacnesar* Sultan of *DAMASCO*, commaunding ouer all *SYRIA* and the land of *PALESTINE*: who terrified with the losse of his cities, and the feare of farther danger, with his wife and children came and humbled himselfe before the Tartar prince, in hope so to haue saued vnto himselfe some good part of his kingdome. Wherein he was much deceiued, being (as some say) carried away a faire off into exile, because hee should not hinder the Tartars proceedings: or as others report (and happely with more probabilitie) being by him detained as his prisoner, and afterwards to the terror of his sonne, cut in peeces in his sight vnder the wals of *DAMASCO*, after that it had in vaine bene twice assaulted by the Tartars: which strong citie for all that he afterwards tooke by strong hand, and sacked it, and by the persuation of his wife ouerthrew all the Mahometane temples, as he had before in euery place where he came. But purposing to haue gone on forward to *IERUSALEM*, and to haue conquered the whole land of *PALESTINE*, newes was brought him of the death of his brother *Mango*, the great Chan: whereupon he staid his journey and returned backe againe, in hope of that great empire, hauing in this expedition spent almost six yeares.

Thus by the Tartars was the kingdome of the Turkes at *DAMASCO* ouerthrowne. At which time, the broken affaires of the Christians in *SYRIA* and the land of *PALESTINE*, might easily haue bene repaired, and those two goodly Kingdomes againe restored to the Christian commonweale, had the Christian princes of the West then in time put to their helping hands on the one side, as did the Tartars on the other: But they then at fall discord among themselves, and busied with their wares at home, let slip that so faire an opportunitie, the like whereof they seldome or neuer had since. *Haalon* the Tartar prince, in token of his good will toward the Christians and their affaires, at his departure from *DAMASCO*, left his sonne *Abaga* there with twentie thousand

L iij

1260

Haalon the Tartar sent with a great armie against the Turkes.

Aleppo rased by the Tartars.

Damasco woon.

thousand horsemen to aid them in their warres, if they should come (as was expected) for the recouerie of the Holy land: who hauing there stayed some while, and hearing of his fathers troubles at home, followed himselfe after him, but yet left behind him *Guirboca*, a valiant captain, with ten thousand of his horsemen, to like purpose that his father had him: who by the inslencie of certaine Christian souldiours in garrison about *Sidon*, was of a friend together with his Tartars made a foe. These garrison souldiours hauing by chance set in some boote out of the Tartars territorie, not onely refused to restore the same againe, but also foulely intreated such as the Tartar had sent for the demanding thereof. Whereupon further quarrels arising, it fortuned a nephew of *Guirboca*, a valiant yooing gentleman, to be slaine: in reuenge whereof hee besieged *Sidon*, and hauing taken it, sacked it, and burnt it downe to the ground. After which time, he and his Tartars became vtter enemies vnto the Christians, doing them all the harme they could deuise.

The Egyptian
Sultan, invaded
Syrin.

This discord betwixt the Tartars and the Christians, gaue occasion vnto *Melech* the Egyptian Sultan, now jealous of the Tartars neerenesse, with a great armie of his Mamalukes & others to enter into *Syrin*, and to spoile the countrey about *Damasco*; against whom *Guirboca* with his Tartars, although both in strength and number far inferiour, went out. But joyning battell with him at too much oddes, and the victorie inclining vnto that side where most strength was, he there valiantly fighting was slaine, with most part of his Tartars: such as escaped fled into *Armenia* vnto the friendly king. By this victorie all *Syrin*, with the land of *Palestine*, excepting some few places yet holden by the Christians, fell againe into the hands of the Egyptian Sultans; as did some of them shortly after also: for *Banlocader* succeeding *Melech* in the Mamaluke kingdome, comming into *Syrin* with a great armie, took *Antioch* from the Christians, & with it most of the other places before by them defended. The citie he burnt, & rased the castle down to the ground, and afterward entring into *Armenia*, did there great harme also.

Antioch taken
from the Christians.

Whilest the Turks kingdome thus goeth to wracke in *Syrin*, ruined by the Tartars, but possessed by the Mamalukes; their affairs in the lesser *Asia*, now the whole hope of that nation, went not at that time much better: for *Iathines* the Turkes Sultan, there also invaded by the Tartars, and hauing lost *Iconium* his regall citie, fled with his brother *Melech* to the Greeke emperour *Michael Paleologus*, in hope to be of him relieved, for the kinnesse hee had not long before shewed him in like case, when as he fled from the late emperour *Theodore*; whereof now putting him in remembrance, he requested him either with some conuenient force to aid him, or els to assigne vnto him some corner in his large empire where hee might in safetie rest with his wife and children, and other followers, whom with much wealth hee had brought with him in great number. The emperour on euery side himselfe incombred with warres, thought it not good in so great newnesse of his empire, to diminish his owne forces: and to assigne vnto him any place to inhabit, seemed no lesse dangerous; for that he hauing been a great prince, and commanding ouer many great countries, and brought vp in all princely royaltie, was not like to content himselfe with a litle: beside that, his nobilitie, then dispersed by the Tartars, were like ynough in great numbers to resort vnto him, as vnto their head, so soone as they should once heare that he were seated in any place: and yet vnkindly to cast him off that had so honourably vsed him in like extremitie, the emperour was loath. And therefore feeding him vp with faire words, and foording him on from time to time with delaies, he held him a great while as a man in suspense, betwixt hope and despaire. At length in the absence of the emperour (though happily not without his priuie) he was commaunded with all his traine, in number about twelue hundred, to get him to *Enusa*, a citie of *Thracia*, standing vpon the sea coast: where he much discontented, liued like an honourable prisoner at large, but with the watchfull eyes of so many vpon him, as that he could by no meanes (as he desired) escape. In which case we will for a while leaue him, to feed vpon his owne melancholy thoughts.

1261

Now had *Michael Paleologus* the emperour reigned at *Nica* two yeares, when new troubles began againe to arise in the West part of his empire on *Europe* side, by the trecherie of *Michael Angelus*, Despot of *Epirus*. For the speedie repressing whereof, he sent one *Alexius Strategopulus*, a worthie captain and a man of great nobilitie (whom for his good seruice against the said Despot, he had in the beginning of his raigne made *Cesar*) with little about 800 Bythinian souldiours, and commission for the taking vp of so many mo as he should for thar seruice need, in *Macedonia* and *Thracia*: commaunding him when he had passed the strait, with those

those souldiers to take his way through the suburbs of *Constantinople*, to terrifie the Latines, whom he was loth to suffer too long to liue in rest and quiet: or to stir too far out of the gates, but to keepe them as prisoners coupt vp within the wals of the citie. This warlike captain with this handfull of men, passing ouer *Propontis* encamped at *Rogium*, not far from *Constantinople*; where by chance lighting vpon certaine poore labouring men Greekes borne in the citie, and there dwelling, he diligently inquired of them the state thereof, and of what strength the Latines were, with many other things, such as he was desirous to know: who not onely told him that the strength of the Latines was but small, but also that the greatest part thereof was gone to the siege of *Daphnusia*, a towne not farre off vpon the side of the *Evxine* sea: and withall (as Greekes euill affected to the gouernment of the Latines, and desirous of the libertie of their countrey) offered of themselves to shew him a meanes how to giue him entrance into the citie. These poore men dwelt within the citie, close by one of the gates, neere whereunto by an old ruinous mine almost swarued vp, was a secret vn suspected way into the citie, not knowne to any but to themselves: By this blind hole they promised him by night to receiue in fiftie of his best souldiers; which suddenly setting vpon the watch fast by, and dispatching them out of the way, might presently breake open the gate and so let in the rest of the armie: whereunto they promised themselves with their friends to put to their helping hands, assuring him of the good successe thereof. This plot for the betraying of the citie thus laied and agreed vpon, *Alexius* the *Cesar*, well rewarding the men, and filling them with greater promises, sent them away: who as if they had bene about their countrey worke, were after their wonted manner receiued into the citie, without suspicion at all. And within a few daies after according to their promise, at an appointed houre receiued in by night the aforesaid fiftie souldiours; who aided by them, presently slew the watch, and brake open the gate: whereby *Alexius* entring a litle before day, in conuenient place put his men in order of battell; and afterward to the greater terrour of the Latines, caused the citie to be set on fire in foure places, which increased with the wind, burnt in most terrible manner, and was in short time come almost to the emperours pallace. Who scarce well awaked, and seeing the citie all on a fire about his eares, and the enemy comming on; was about at the first with those few Latines that hee had (for Greekes he had none) to haue made head against them. But better aduised, and perceiving it to be now to no purpose, he (the last of the Latine Emperours that euer reigned in *Constantinople*) with *Iustinian* the Latine Patriarch, and some other of his friends, fled by sea into *Evoca*, and so from thence afterwards vnto *Venice*, and afterwards to *Lewis* the French king, in hope to haue bene by him and the Venetians relieved. After whom fled also all the rest of the Latines. Thus the imperiall citie of *Constantinople* by great fortune fell againe into the hands of the Greekes, in the yeare 1261, after it had bene in possession of the Latines, about 58 yeares.

The joyfull newes of the recouerie of the imperiall citie, was in short time carried vnto *Michael Paleologus* the Greeke emperour at *Nica*; who at the first beleued it not, as thinking it scarce possible so strong a citie to haue bene by so weake a power surprised, where as hee himselfe not long before was not able with a right puissant armie, and much other warlike provision, to win the litle castle of *Galata* ouer against it. But afterwards assured of the truth thereof, with his hands and eies cast vp towards heauen, gaue most heartie thankes to God therefore; causing hymnes and psalmes of thanksgiving to bee solemnly sung in euerie church, with all the other signes of joy and triumph that could be deuised. So setting all other things apart, he wholly busied himselfe in making preparation for his going to *Constantinople*, now once againe the seat of the Greeke empire: wherein, and in traueilling hauing spent many daies; he at length with the emperesse his wife and *Andronicus* his sonne, then but two yeares old, as if it had been in solemne procession on foot entred into the citie, by the gate called the Golden Gate; and so after praiers and thankes giuen, went to the pallace prepared for him neere vnto the cityard: for the other imperiall pallaces of greater beaultie (sometime the stately dwellings of the greatest emperours of the Greekes) had now of long during the raigne of the Latines, lien ruinous, or altogether defaced. And shortly after, because vertue and true desert should not want their due honour, he caused *Alexius Cesar* (by whose meanes the citie was recouered) in solemne triumph in his robes of honour, with a crowne vpon his head, not much inferiour vnto the imperiall crowne, with great pompe to bee carried through all the citie.

Paleologus the
Greeke emperour
takes possession
of the citie of
Constantinople

cite: and farther commaunded, That his name for one yeare next following, in all solemne hymnes and praiers of thanksgiving, should be joynd with the name of the emperor himselfe. And yet not thinking to haue done him honour enough, caused his liuely image afterward to be most curiously made, and as a trophie to be set vpon a faire marble pillar, before the great church of the holy Apostles, in perpetuall remembrance of him, and that he had done for the deliuerie of his country; which shortly after ouerthrowne by an earthquake; was by his sonne againe restored. Now was this great and famous cite, sometime the beautie of the world, by these strange and fatall mutations, woonderfully defaced and brought to great desolation: in euery place was to be seene great heapes, or rather (to say the truth) great hills of rubbidge, the eternall witneses of the ruine thereof; the houses stood some quite fallen downe, some readie to follow after, and some other great and stately buildings now the small reliques of great fires: for the great beautie thereof was before, at such time as the Latines tooke it, most defaced by fire; who all the time that they had it, ceased not night and day to destroy some part or other of it, as if they had knowne they should not long keepe it; neither did this last fire raised by the Greekes themselves to terrifie the Latines, a little deforme it: for which cause the emperours chiefe care now was to cleanse the cite, and in best sort he could to reforme so great a confusion of things not to be all at once amended; first beginning with the churches, which ruinous or readie to fall, he repaired; and next to that filled the empty houses with new inhabitants. And albeit that the chiefe of the Latines were together with the emperor fled and gone, yet was the most part of the artificers and tradesmen of the cite, Venetians, and of them of PISA, mingled together; vnto whom also to joyne the Genowais, and so to fill the cite with Latines, he thought it not altogether safe, although that by them he reaped great profit: wherefore he assigned vnto them the cite of GALATA now called PERA, on the other side of the hauen, for them to inhabit, granting them great priuiledges, and euery of those companies to be gouerned by a Confull or Potestate of their owne. As for the imperiall cite it selfe, he stored it (so neere as he could) with naturall Grecks borne.

*Paleologus iea-
tous of his state.*

Now although all things went as *Paleologus* the emperor could himselfe haue wished; yet could he not rest so contented, for feare least those which now did eat their owne heards and with great griefe smouldred their anger, should at length as the rightfull heires of the empire by him vsurped, breake out into open force, and so breed him great troubles, yea and perhaps worke his confusion. For such is the tormenting state of vsurping tyrants, neuer to thinke themselves safe so long as any one liueth, whom they may suspect. Wherefore at once to rid himselfe of this feare, he thought it best so to dispose of the children of the late emperor *Theodorus Lascaris*, as that he should not need of them to stand in doubt: to take them out of the way, besides that it was a thing odious, he saw it like to be vnto him also dangerous; *Marie* and *Theodora* (two of the eldest daughters) being before by their father married vnto two great princes (one, the Despot of EPIRVS, & the other prince of BVLGARIA) with whom he had much before to do, and of them yet stood in some doubt; but these were safe enough out of his reach. Other two younger sisters there were in his custodie, *Theodora* & *Irene*, with their brother *Iohn*, the onely heire of the empire: *Theodora* he married vnto one *Belicurt*, a gentleman of *PEROPONEVS*; and *Irene* to one *Vigintimilio* of *GENVA*; both Latines; men of no great birth or power, such as he needed not to stand in doubt of. These two ladies, the daughters of so great an emperor as was *Theodorus*, thus basely biltowed; remained onely their brother *Iohn*, the onely heire of the empire, then but ten yeares old, whom *Paleologus* long before euen in the beginning of his raigne, had sent vnto *MAGNÉSIA*, there to be safely kept farre off from the court, for feare least in his right and quarrell some discontented persons desirous of innovation, should begin some new itims dangerous to his estate. Which indignitie done vnto the young prince, *Arsenius* the Patriarch (put in truit by his father for the bringing of him vp) tooke in so cuill part, that he forooke the court with all his ecclesiasticall dignities, and as a man wearie of the world, retired himselfe vnto a little monasterie of *Paschas* in the countrey, there to spend the rest of his daies. From whence for all that hee was after the taking of *CONSTANTINOPLE* from the Latines, almost against his will drawne thither by *Paleologus* the emperor, and made Patriarch thereof, there together with so great an honour to find his greater discontent. For *Paleologus* the vsurper, altogether vnmindfull of his faith so solemnly before giuen, for the safetie of the young prince, and the restoring vnto him of his empire; and

now

now fully resolu'd to establish vnto him and his posteritie the soueraignie of so great an empire, how focuer it was got, caused the young prince eies to be most cruelly put out: the vsuall practise of the tyrants of the East, vpon such as they are loath or feare to kill, and yet would make them vsit for gouernment. Of which barbarous crueltie, his sister *Theodora* (married to *Constantinus* prince of BVLGARIA) hearing, ceased not with teares and praiers and all other womanly persuasions, to stir vp her husband in reuenge thereof: whereunto also *Iathatines* the Turkes Sultan, gaue no small furtherance; who wearie of exiles; and to bee so into a corner confined, as into a prison from whence hee might not start, by secret messengers entreated the Bulgarian prince to make war vpon the vsurping emperor: promising him a great summe of money, if by his helpe hee might recouer his former libertie. Wherewith hee the rather moued, with a great power of his owne and aboue twentie thousand Tartars which then lay by the riuer *ISTER*, suddenly brake into the emperours territories, and in shorter time than was to haue beene thought, ouerrun all the countrey of *THRACIA* euen vnto the sea side, leauing neither man nor beast in all the countrey as he went: in good hope also to haue by the way surprized the emperor himselfe; euen then returning from his wars against the Despot in *THESSALIE*: who hearing of his speedie coming, being got vnto the sea side, and (hauing no way left to haue escaped by land) shipped himselfe into a galley of the Latines, which with another her consort bound for *CONSTANTINOPLE*, by good hap put in there for to water, and so in two daies arrived in safetie at the imperiall cite. Thus disappointed of the emperor, all his care was for the deliuerie of the Turkes Sultan. Wherefore marching in hast to *ENVM*, he so terrified the citizens with his coming, that they without farther delay deliuered him into his hands, so to redeeme their owne peace. In his returne you might haue seene the souldiours, especially the Tartars, driuing before them infinit numbers both of men and cattell, in such sort, as that in the open countrey of *THRACIA* for a space, was hardly to be seene either countreyman or beast, it was so cleane swept both of inhabitants and like-wile of cattell.

Iathatines the Sultan by the Tartars carried ouer *ISTER*, and so by them set at libertie, shortly after died. In whose kingdome succeeded not his sonne *Melicke* (as some write) but two others (as the Turkes themselves report) the one called *Mesoot*, the sonne of *Kei-Cubades*, and the other *Kei-Cubades*, the sonne of *Feramicine*, borne also of the *Selzuccian* family, as were all the other Turkes Sultans, but how neere of blood vnto the late Sultan *Iathatines* they say not. Betwixt which two, as his vassales, *Gazan* the great Tartar Chan (by whom they were so preferred) for the payment of a yearely tribute, diuided the Turkes kingdome: apportioning vnto *Mesoot* the cities of *AMIDA* in ancient time called *AMISVS*, and *AMISVS* in *GALATIA*, *MELATIA* otherwise called *MELETINE* in the lesser *ARMENIA*, *SIVASTE*, in ancient time *SEBASTIA*, and *HARBERIE*, before *SATABREA*, both in *CAPPADOCIA*, with all the countrey about them. And vnto *Kei-Cubades*, *ICONIUM*, the auncient seat of the Turkish Sultans, with all *RUMILIA ASIATICA*, or the countries of the lesser *ASIA* alongst the sea coast; which these two princes held as the Tartars tributaries, as had the late Sultan *Iathatines* before them, vntill such time as he was by the same Tartars againe expelled. So that the Turkes kingdome, which had of long time flourished in the *Selzuccian* familie in *PERsia*, in *SYRIA*, *PALESTINE*, and *EGYPT*, there quite ouerthrowne by the *Mamalukes* and Tartars (as is before declared) & now brought vnderfoot in the lesser *ASIA* also, where only rested all the hope of that nation, was now at a low ebbe, deuided betwixt two weake princes, raigning but at the deuotion of the Tartar. In which confusion of the Turkish empire, so rent, not onely diuers men of greater power and authoritie amongst them, shared vnto themselves, some one corner of the declining kingdome, and some another: but many of the obscure and basest people also, bearing with them nothing but their bowes and arrowes, tooke the strait passages of the mountaines, and from thence with their dayly incursions did much harme in the countries of the Christians joyning vpon them: which was no great matter for them to doe, the garrisons which were wont to defend the same, being for want of pay quite disbanded, and the castles vpon the frontiers by them abandoned; which at the first, as a thing of small importance neglected, was at length vnto the Greekes a great cause of the ruine and decay of the greatest part of their state in *ASIA*. These mischeefes vnregarded, grew dayly more and more, the Turkes still gaining vpon the Greekes what they lost vnto the Tartars. Whole

inua-

*Paleologus eai-
seth the yong
emperours eyes
to be put out.*

*Iathatines di-
eth in exile.*

inuations (the glorie of their kingdome onely excepted) was not so hurtfull vnto them, as the cause of their much greater felicitie afterwards. At length it fortuned, that a great power of these aduenturous Turkes meeting together in PAPHLAGONIA, were about to haue intaded the territories of the Christians: against whom *Michael Paleologus* the emperour sent out a strong and puissant armie to stay their further coming on, lest breaking in that way they should without resistance at their pleasure forrage the countrey before them: Which armie conducted by vnskillfull captaines, encountering with the Turkes, was by them in a great battell ouerthrowne and utterly defeated, few or none of all that great multitude escaping: for whilest the Greeks vnadvisedly pursued the Turkes, retiring of purpose before them, they were by them drawne into the danger of a greater power lying in ambush for them; and so entraped, were slaine with an exceeding great slaughter. After which so great a victorie (the beginning of the miserie of the Christians in the lesser ASIA) the Turkes without let or stay ouerran all the countrey, vnto the riuer SANGARIUS: vpon the banks whereof the Greeke emperour was glad to fortifie diuers townes and forts to keepe them out of BITHINIA: Neuerthelesse, they in short time after subdued all the countreys from PONTVS and GALATIA, vnto the LYCIAN and CARIAN sea, and the riuer EVRIMEDON, which they diuided amongst them into diuers Toparchies: little or nothing acknowledging the soueraigntie either of Mesopot, or Kei-Cubades.

Whilest the Turkes in the lesser ASIA thus win from the Christians on the one side, and loose to the Tartars on the other; many an hard conflict in the meane time passed betwixt the Egyptian Sultans with their Mamalukes, and the Tartars, for the soueraigntie of SYRIA. The poore remainder of the Christians all that while there, in doubt both of the one and of the other: From whom and from the Armenians (then also much infested by the Mamalukes) diuers embassadours were sent vnto the Pope & the Christian princes of the West, to craue their aid and helpe in that their hard estate: whose praers little preuailling with the rest, yet so moued *Lewis* the French king, and *Henry* the third, then reigning in ENGLAND, that they both promised them aid. VV hereupon *Lewis* a man of great deuotion, and alwaies forward in that seruice against the infidels, tooke vpon him the crosse, the cognisance of the sacred war; causing his three sonnes, *Philip* that succeeded him in the kingdome, surnamed the Faire, *Peter* countie of ALANCON, and *John* countie of NEVERS (surnamed *Tristan*, for that his mother was in her greatest heauinesse for the taking of her husband, deliuered of him in ÆGYPT) and most of the nobilitie of FRANCE to do the like: vnto whom also *Theobald* king of NAVAR his sonne in law, *Alphonse* his brother, and *Guydo* earle of FLANDERS, joyned themselves. And so hauing put all things in readinesse, tooke his way to MARSEILLES, and from thence embarking himselfe with his armie in the Genouaies ships, hired for that purpose, set forward the first of March in the year 1270. But being at sea, he was by force of weather constrained to land in SARDINIA, and there to stay a while: departing thence, he at length arriued at CARTHAGE, the place by him desired, where in the entrance of the haven he surprised certain of the enemies ships; but landing his men, and assaulting the town, he was there notably repulsed. This is not that ancient great and famous cite which sometime mightily stroue with the proud mistresse of the world for soueraigntie, but another built long after in the ruines, or at least not far from the ruines of the same. In the besieging whereof, the Frenchmen found such resistance, as well put them in remembrance of the ancient glorie of the Carthaginians. One day it fortuned as the king thus lay at the siege, that the defendants made a great and fierce sallie out vpon the Frenchmen, who before commaunded so to do, by little and little retired, to draw their enemies farther on: betwixt whom and the cite, the Constable with a great power coming in and charging them behind, and they which before retired now standing close vnto them, they were on both sides hardly beset; who for all that, as became valiant men, worthily defended themselves, and made there a great fight, though not without extreme perill: which they in the cite beholding, gaue out a most hideous and pitous cry, a certaine signe of their hard estate within; as saying with the suddenness thereof, both their friends & their enemies. But whilest they of the towne betwixt hope and dispaire stood thus beholding the fight at land, the Frenchmen by sea approaching a bulwarke on that side of the town, tooke it without resistance: which so dismayed them without, that they began forthwith to flie, of whom the greatest part casting away their weapons, were by the kings commandement taken to mercie; and they likewise of the towne vpon promise of their liues, yeelded the same.

A same vnto the king. CARTHAGE thus woon, the king layd siege vnto TVNES, the chiefe citie of that kingdome, being not farre off: where by the way he was encountered by the king of the countrey, who hauing there lost ten thousand of his Moores, betooke himselfe to flight with the rest. Who thus ouerthrowne, resolved no more to tempt fortune, but to keepe himselfe safe within the wals of his citie, if happily so he might (as it oftentimes falleth out) more weaken his enemies by lying still and protracting the time, than by open force and valour. Which their purpose king *Lewis* perceiuing, resolved not to stirre from thence vntill that he were become master of the citie; which as it seemed could not hold out for want of victuals, considering the multitude of people that were got into it. Neuerthelesse thus besieged both by sea and land, and so straightly hemmed in on euerie side, as that no reliefe could possibly bee brought vnto it; yet held it out by the space of six moneths. After which time wants dayly more and more increasing among the besieged, embassadours were sent out to the king, to entreat with him of peace: But whilest these embassadours go too and fro, and reason vpon the capitulations of the desired peace, behold a great and furious plague arose in the French campe, which began to cut them downe by heapes: there died *John Tristan* countie of NEVERS, the kings yongest sonne, borne in the first expedition that the said king his father made into the Holy land, euen at such time as hee was taken prisoner; which *Tristan* died the five and twentieth day of August in the yeare of our Lord 1270. The good king hauing yet scarcely performed the obsequies of his sonne, fell sicke of the bloodie flux, whereof he there shortly after died also. About which time arriued there *Charles* king of SICILIE, the French kings brother, with a great number of fresh souldiours: whose coming lightened somewhat the Frenchmens hearts (heauie for the death of their king) and daunted the Moores, before brag of the same. Shortly after whom arriued there also prince *Edward*, king *Henrie* the third his eldest sonne, who traueilling through FRANCE, and taking shipping at AQUESMORT, not far from MARSEILLES, was now in ten daies with a braue companie of Englishmen come to TVNES; and there of the other Christian princes, namely of *Philip* the French king (his father *Lewis* being now dead) of *Charles* king of SICILIE, and of the two kings of NAVAR and ARAGON, joyfully receiued. But these princes had a little before his arriual concluded a peace with the Moores king, and the infidels, vpon condition that he should pay a yearely tribute of forie thousand crownes vnto the king of SICILIA; and to suffer the Christian religion to be freely preached in his dominions, by such deuout persons as should be there left for that purpose; and that vnto such persons as should by their preaching bee conuerted vnto the faith in Christ Iesus, it should be lawfull for them to be baptized, and to professe the Christian religion: Of which peace, prince *Edward* vnderstanding, did what hee might to haue dissuaded them from the same, saying, That the war was by them all taken in hand against the infidels, as enemies vnto the crosse of Christ, with whom they were not to haue peace: and for the recouerie of the Holy citie. But say what he would, and what he could, the peace (to his great discontentment) was now concluded, which they might not (as they said) againe breake: and thereupon with the first faire wind hoisted saile, and returned towards SICILIA, with purpose the next Spring to haue gone into SYRIA; which their determination was shortly after by the hand of God disappointed. For being come vpon the coast of the island not far from DREPANVM, most of the great princes and other nobilitie, in their long boats went on land, the rest of the fleet lying at anker about a league off; for that being for the most part ships of great burthen, they were not able to put into the harbour: But as they so lay, by force of a sudden and violent tempest then arising some were eaten vp with the wrought sea; some falling foule one of another, there perished together; others driuen vpon the maine, were there beaten in peeces: so that of that great fleet before the storme ceased, perished about an hundred and twentie saile, with all the people, as well mariners as souldiours left in them, and great store both of armour and munition: In such sort that most of the common souldiours and mariners which had escaped the plague at TVNES, there vpon the coast of SICILIA perished by shipwracke. Onely prince *Edward*'s fleet, being in number but thirteene ships, escaped free without losse either of ship or man. Neither were they that were got to land at DREPANVM in much better case, the plague still following them; whereof died *Theobald* king of NAVAR, and *Isabel* his wife, king *Lewis* his daughter, *Elizabeth* the French queene, with a woonderfull number of noble gentlemen, and other common souldiours; in such sort that *Philip* the French king discou-

The Christian princes returning from TVNES suffer ships wracke upon the coast of Sicilia

1270

Carthage besieged by Lewis.

Ca thege woon.

discouraged with the greatnesse of the mortalitie, and the miserable losse at sea, resolved thier to make an end of the intended warre, and so returned into FRANCE, as did the rest that were left, every man into his owne country. Onely prince *Edward* having passed that Winter in Sicily, with the first of the next Spring set forward againe on his voyage, and in fifteene dayes after arrived with his fleet at PTOLEMAIS: where after he had by the space of a moneth rested himselfe and his souldiors after their long traueill, and fully inquired of the state of the country, hee with six or seven thousand souldiors marching from PTOLEMAIS about twentie miles into the land, tooke NAZARETH, and put to sword all them he found therein, and so againe returned. After whom the enemies following, in hope to haue taken him at some aduantage, he vnderstanding thereof, turned backe vpon them, and killing a great number of them, put the rest to flight. And after that about Midsummer, vnderstanding that the Saracins were againe making head at a place called CAKHOW, about fortie miles off, he set forwards towards them; and coming vpon them early in the morning, before they were awate, slew about a thousand of them, and dispersed the rest. Aided also by the nobilitie of CYPRUS, he with like successe as before, made a third expedition against the Infidels: inso much, that his fame began to grow great amongst them, and they to stand of him in no little dread. But whilest he thus preuailed, he was by foule trecherie almost taken out of the way. The Admirall of IOPPA faigning himselfe desirous to become a Christian, and willing to further the princes proceedings, had by a secret messenger and letters fundrie times intelligence with him, as well concerning his owne good intertainment, as the effecting of that which he had promised. This messenger by the Admirall thus employed, was (though to the prince vnknowne) one of the *Assasins*, a companie of most desperat and dangerous men among the Mahometanes, who strongly deluded with the blind zeale of their superstition, and accounting it meritorious, by any meanes to kill any great enemy of their religion; for the performance thereof, as men prodigall of their liues, desperately aduenture themselues vnto all kind of dangers. So now this messenger, before resolved to die, comming the fift time vnto the prince, and being searched for hauing any weapon about him, as the manner was; had access vnto him, then lying in his chamber vpon his bed, in his jerkin, bare headed, because of the heat of the weather: where after due reuerence done, hee pulled out certaine letters from his lord vnto the prince, which he read with great delight, as penned of purpose for to please. But as hee was farther questioning with him of many matters, and all the companie voided, the desperat messenger making as though he would haue pulled out some other secret letters, suddainly pluckt out an enuenuomed knife, which he had secretly hidden about him, thinking to haue stricke him into the bellie as he lay: For the auoiding of which stroke, the prince lifting vp his arme, was therein greuously wounded. But as the villaine was about to haue doubled the stroke, the prince with his foot gaue him such a blow, that he felled him to the ground, and with that starting vp, caught him by the hand, where in strugling with him for the knife, in wrestling it out of his hand, hee hurt himselfe therewith in the forehead: but getting it from him, presently thrust it into the murderers bellie, and so slew him. The princes seruants being not farre off, and hearing the busteling, came running in; where finding the messenger dead on the floore, one of them with a stooke beat out his braines: whereat the prince tooke some displeasure, for so striking a dead man. This danger of the princes, much troubled and grieved all the Christians in SYRIA, and the more, for that the wound in his arme, after it had bene certaine dayes well dressed by the skilfull surgeons and physicians, began to mortefie and grow blacke, inso much, that they and others about him began, to mutter among themselves, and to looke heauily vpon the matter, as not without danger. Which he perceiving, said vnto them: Why whisper you thus among your selues? what see you in me? can I not be healed; tell me the truth, and feare not: whereunto one of them answered: And like our highnesse, we doubt not of your healing, but that it will be painefull for you to suffer. If so be (said he) may againe restore my health, I commit my selfe vnto you, worke on me your skill, and spare not. So the next day they cut out all the dead and poysoned flesh out of his arme, and in fifteene dayes after perfectly cured his wound, to the great reioycing of all his people. The great Sultan to cleere himselfe of this so dishonourable a trecherie, sent three of his noblemen vnto the prince, calling to witnesse his false prophet, that the same was done neither by him nor his consent. Which embassadours the prince honourably vsed, but suffered them

Prince Edward
wounded.

them not to come nigh him. So hauing taried eighteene moneths at PTOLEMAIS, and no aid comming from the other Christian princes as was expected, he tooke shipping; and returning homeward, landed first in SICILIA, and from thence crossing ouer into APULIA and so traueilling to ROMA, was there honourably entertained by *Gregorie* the tenth, then Pope; and from thence by the way of FRANCE arrived in ENGLAND, where he was shortly after crowned king in the yeare 1272, his father the old king, *Henrie* the third, being a little before his returne dead.

The yeare following, *Gregorie* the tenth, not ignorant of the hard estate of the Christians in SYRIA (as hauing there ben of late himselfe with prince *Edward*, at which time he was in his absence elected pope) and now desirous to procure them some reliefe, ratified the election of *Rodolphus* of HAPSPURGE vnto the empire, vpon condition, That he should promise to take vpon himselfe the crosse, and to giue them reliefe: for the performance whereof, he offered vnto the emperor two hundred thousand crownes, with the tenths both of the cleargie and temporaltie for sixe yeares: and many goodly blessings were in his name also, by the preachers of that time, promised vnto all such as should with him take vpon them that sacred warre. Whereupon the emperor with all his familie tooke vpon them the crosse, the signe of the sacred expedition intended; as did also the duke of LORRAINE shortly after, with some others: Neuertheless, the emperor otherwaies busied in warres against the Bohemians and Bauarians, and delaying still the time, as not greatly willing to take vpon him so long and dangerous a journey, and the Pope still threatening his high sentence of excommunication, the time passed, the Pope died, and nothing was as yet done. Vntill that at length the emperor hauing happily finished his warres in BOHEMIA, and finding himselfe at some good leisure in some part to discharge his vow, and to satisfie the expectation the world had of long conceiued of him, sent *Henrie* prince of MEGAPOLIS, or as the Germanes call it, MECKELBURG, with a strong power into SYRIA, to performe what himselfe had promised. Who comming to PTOLEMAIS made many notable incursions into the country about DAMASCO, with fire and sword destroying all before him as he went, and carrying thence many great and rich booties; vntill that at length he was by the Mamalukes circumuented and taken prisoner, and so carried vnto the Sultan at CAIRE, where he remained in strait prison fixe and twentie yeares after; vntill that by chance one of the Mamalukes (a renegate Germane) being chosen Sultan, caused him to be brought before him, and at his comming demanded of him, If it would not doe him good to celebrate the remembrance of the natiuitie of his Christ with his friends in GERMANIE? (for now that time of the yeare was at hand) And I know (said the Sultan) that thou art so addicted vnto thy superstition, that thou respectest the same more than thy libertie. Truih (said *Henrie*) mightie prince: for libertie would auaile me nothing, if Christ by his most milde incarnation had not taken away our captiuitie: and therefore how much all men owe vnto the reuerend remembrance thereof, I would to God thou, O king, diddest also vnderstand, which as I most heartely wish, so I would I could thereof persuade thee. God forbid (said the Sultan) for I remember, that at such time as I was cheefe engineer vnto thy father at KNESE-FENCKE in LITVONIA, and there did him good seruice, I was altogether of the Christian persuasion; but now hauing left that common error, haue therewith also changed my priuat fortune. But as for thy religion, I haue nothing to say, my talke is only concerning thy libertie: Wouldst thou therefore gladly be free, and so returne home to thy friends? That nature craueth (said *Henrie*) although my fortune gaine saith, which yet dependeth of your pleasure: I desire indeed to returne home, which if you shall denie me, I must as I haue done, take it in good part; assuring my selfe, that my wife *Anastasia*, with my beloued sonnes *Henrie*, *Leo*, and *John*, haue long since celebrated my funerals, and ended their mourning. Thou art deceived (said the Sultan) for I am sure that they know that thou yet liuest, and pray most heartely for thy returne. Truly I owe much vnto the remembrance of thy father, and therefore this day giue thee thy libertie. And hauing so said, furnished him with all things necessarie, and gaue him leaue to depart with one *Martin* his seruant, who taken with him, had borne him companie all the long time of his captiuitie. So taking his leaue of the Sultan, he came to PTOLEMAIS: but shipping himselfe for CYPRUS, he was by the way by certaine pyrats taken at sea, and as a fugitiue captiue brought backe againe vnto the Sultan: Who pitying his hard fortune, set him againe at libertie, and by a ship set out for that purpose, transported him into CYPRUS: where he was by the queene of that Island his aunt (as some

*Rodolph the
emperor taketh
upon him the
Crosse.*

*Henrie the prince
taken prisoner &
sent to Caire.*

say) honourably entertained; and so furnished of all things fit for his estate. Departing thence, he came to MARSILLES, where after he had some few daies refreshed himselfe, he from thence trauelled by land home into his owne country: where at the first he was not knowne of his own children and friends, as being growne old in prison, and by them long before accounted among the dead; but now at last found againe, and by them knowne, he was of his children joyfully received as their father, and of his subjects as their prince. Howbeit he shortly after died, and was honourably buried in the monasterie of DOBRAN.

Thus in the whole course of this historie it appeareth by that which is already written, what notable expeditions euen the greatest Christian princes of the West, to their immortall glorie from time to time vndertooke against the enemies of Christ and his most sacred word, and for the reliefe of the poore distressed Christians in SYRIA and in the land of PALESTINE: where of as diuers of them had right glorious successe, vnto the great profit of the Christian common weale; so some of them answered not with like euent, as vndertaken with too small strength, or otherwise ouerthrowne by the discord or mallice of the Christians themselves, rather than by the enemies force. Which neuerthelesse how vnfortunatly fouer they fell out in the hands of such woorthie men as vndertooke them, yet haue they this glorie, commendation, and comfort, That they were taken in hand for the honor of the sonne of God, Christ Iesus, and the defence of his veritie, against the false Prophet *Mahomet*, and his most blasphemous doctrine; so honourable and just a quarrell, as might well become the greatnesse of the greatest prince, yea of all the princes of Christendome. Yet could not the woorthinesse thereof, euen in those more zealous times, or the dangerous estate of that part of the Christian commonweale, euen then like to perish, (as some others bee now) or the lamentable complaints of the poore oppressed Christians, crying out vnto their Christian brethren for aid, any whit moue the Christian princes of that time, with their combined forces to reach vnto them their helping hands, or to yeeld vnto them any succour or reliefe: for they little feeling those harmes so farr off, and more regarding their owne hereditarie quarrels, employed those forces one against another, vnto the effusion of so much Christian blood, as might haue sufficed not for reliefe of the distressed Christians in SYRIA onely, but to haue regained whatsoever had bene before from them taken by the Turks or Sarafins. The Germane princes were still at a jarre about the choice of their emperours: the French agreed not with the English, or them of the Low countries: neither the English with the Scots: the Arragonians were at oddes with the French: and in Italie were almost as many deadly factions as prouinces. Of which discord of the Christians (the greatest occasion of their ruine and decay) *Melechares* the Egyptian Sultan vnderstanding by his espials, raised a great armie of the Mamalukes, and others, with a full purpose to haue utterly rooted out all the remainders of the Christians in SYRIA and the land of PALESTINE, and so to haue entirely joyned those two great countries vnto his owne kingdom. But what he had so mischieuously deuised, he liued not to bring to passe, being in the midst of those his great designes taken away by suddaine death. After whom *Alphis* (or, as some call him, *Elpis*) succeeding him in the kingdom, and with a puissant armie entring into SYRIA laid siege to TRIPOLIS, which he at length tooke by vndermining of it, and put to sword all the Christians therein, except such as by speedie flight had in time got themselves out of the danger, and raised the citie downe to the ground: Which calamitie beided vnto the Christians the ninth of Aprill, in the yeare 1289. Presently after he had the strong castle of NALESINE yeelded vnto him, wherinto hee put a strong garrison, to hinder the Christians from building againe the late destroyed citie. In like manner also hee tooke the cities of SIDON and BERYTHUS, which hee sacked, and laied them flat with the ground. And after that hee remooued to TYRE, which after three moneths straight siege, was by the citizens (now out of all hope of releefe) yeelded vnto him, vpon condition, That they might with bag and baggage in safetie depart. With like good fortune hee in short time, and as it were without resistance, tooke all the rest of the strong townes and castles which the Christians yet held in SYRIA and the land of PALESTINE, excepting onely the citie of PROLEMAIS; wherunto all the poore Christians fled, as vnto a Sanctuarie, to bee there defended by the honourable knights Templars and Hospitalers. Nothing now left vnto them more than that strong citie, the Sultan of his owne accord made a peace with them for the space of five yeares, fearing (as was supposed) to haue drawne vpon him all the Christian princes

1289

Tripolis won and
raised by Elpis
the Egyptian
Sultan.

Sidon and Beryth
sacked.
Tyre yeelded.

princes of the West, if he should at once haue then utterly rooted out all the Christians in those countries together.

The Christian affaires thus brought to the last cast in SYRIA, and yet faintly as it were breathing, by the benefit of the late obtained peace: *Peter Beluse*, master of the Templars, with the Grand Master of the knights Hospitalers, suddenly passed ouer (as embassadours from the rest) into EUROPE, vnto *Nicholauus Quartus* then Pope, crauing his fatherly aid: who moued with so great miseries of the poore afflicted Christians, solicited the other Christian princes to haue sent them reliefe; especially *Rodolph* the Germanie emperor, who then busied with the affaires of the empire, and his troubles neerer home (as were the other Christian princes also) gaue good words, but no helpe at all. Yet some of them vnder the colour thereof, got from their subjects great summes of money, which they employed to their other worse vses: onely the Pope sent fiftene hundred men at armes, whom with deuout perswasion, and much earnest preaching, hee had induced to take vpon them that sacred expedition, and entertained them of his owne charge: vnto whom also many others out of diuers countries, vpon a religious zeale, joyned themselves, as voluntarie men; who meeting together at BRUNDISIUM, and there embarked, with the two grand masters of the Templars and Hospitalers, in safetie at length arrived at PROLEMAIS. There was then in the citie a great number of people of all sorts; of able men there was about fiftie thousand, and about fortie thousand of the weaker sort: amongst whom, diuers murders, felonies, rapes, and such other shamefull outrages (all haasting the dreadfull judgements of God) were daily committed, and let passe vnraged, more than of them that were so injured. For all the cheefe commaunders were then at variance among themselves, euery one of them laying claime (not woorth a rush) vnto the vaine title of the kingdom of HIERUSALEM. *Henry* king of CYPRUS comming thither with a great fleet, charged the Templars to deliuer vnto him the crowne of that kingdom, which they had (as he said) wrongfully taken from *Americus* and *Guy*, his ancestors. And *Charles* king of SICILIA, by his embassadours laid claime vnto the title of that kingdom, as due vnto the kings of that Island: and vnderstanding it to be given vnto *Henry*, king of CYPRUS, caused all the reuenues of the Templars within his dominion to be brought into his treasuries, and their lands and houses to bee spoyled. *Hugh* also prince of ANTIQCH, laboured with tooth and naile to defend the ouerborne right that his father and grandfather had vnto that lost kingdom. And the countie of TRIPOLIS laied in for himselfe, that hee was descended from *Raymond* of THOLOUS; and that beside himselfe remained no prince of the auntient nobilitie, which had woon that kingdom out of the hands of the Sarafins, and that therefore that regall dignitie did not of better right appertaine vnto any other than vnto himselfe. Neither did these foure princes more strue for the title of the lost kingdom, than for the present government of the citie, straight way about to perish. The Popes Legate pretended thereunto a right also: for that king *John Brenne* had before subiected it vnto the See of ROME. As for the claime vnto the citie of PROLEMAIS, the Patriarch of HIERUSALEM challenged vnto himselfe the preheminence: for that the metropolitane citie of TYRE, vnder which the citie of PROLEMAIS was the third episcopall seat, was vnder his iurisdiction, euen by the decree of the West church. The Templars also, and the knights Hospitalers, whose power in the citie was at that time faire the greatest, pretended the government thereof of best right to belong vnto them, as the just reward of their blood already, and afterward to be spent in the defence thereof: promising great matters if it might be wholly referred vnto them. Neither spared the French king or the king of ENGLAND by their messengers to claime the soueraignetie of the citie, by their predecessours sometimes woon. And they of PISA hauing still a Consull therein, and by often marriages with the naturall inhabitants growne into great affinity with them, did what they might to get the gouernment into their hands. The Venetians also by their authoritie and great wealth laboured to gaine the good will of the people, sparing therein no cost. And they of GENOA no lesse cunning than the rest, supplanted the strongest factions, by giuing aid both apertly and couertly vnto the weaker; that so hauing weakened the faction they most doubted and hated, they might by the joint fauour of the weaker aspire vnto the government of the stronger, and so consequently of the citie it selfe. The Florentines also by their continuall traffique thither, were not out of hope by one fineness or other amongst so many competitors.

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The miserable
estate of a citie
about to perish.

to find a meane to step vp aboue the rest. But the greatest part of the people for all that were most inclined vnto the Armenians and Tartars, as both for their neerenesse and power most like of all other to stand them in stead. All these ayimed at one marke, which was the gouernment and commaund of the citie: and most of them had in the same their owne proper lawes and courts, to decide their causes and controuersies in. Whereby it came to passe, that euery man might without checke or controulement almost doe what he list, the offenders from one court to another remoouing their sutes, as best serued their turnes. Thus were murders (as is before said) daily committed in the streets, men abused, houses robbed, shops broken vp, and many other outrages done, to the halting of the wrath of God, and greefe of all good men.

Diuision and dissention (the ruine of all commonweales) thus raigning in the citie (the souldiours of late sent thither, or in zeale come of themselves, for the defence thereof) gaue occasion for the speedie destruction of the same: Such is the power of the Almighty, in his wrath and judgements for sinne, euen by those things wherein wee most trust and joy to worke our viter ruine and destruction. These souldiours, for want of such pay as was promised them, were enforced to seeke abroad, and therefore contrarie to the league before made with the Egyptian Sultan, oftentimes went out in great parties into the frontiers of his territories, taking the spoile of such things as they light vpon: Whereof the Sultan vnderstanding, demanded by his embassadours, That restitution might be made; and the offenders deliuered vnto him to bee punished, according vnto the league. But in that so sicke a state of a dying commonweale, neither was restitution made, as reason would, or yet the embassadours courteously heard. With which insolencie the Sultan prouoked, sent *Emilech Araphus*, a notable captaine (and as some say, his sonne) with an hundred and fiftie thousand men, to besiege the citie: who comming thither, and hauing made his approaches, had by a mine in short time ouerthrowne a peece of the wall; but in seeking to haue entered by the breach, he found such strong resistance, that hee was glad with losse to retire. Whilest *Araphus* thus lay at the siege of *PTOLEMAIS*, *Alphir* the Sultan died at *DAMASCO*, in whose stead the Mamelukes made choice of this *Araphus* for their Sultan, who more desirous of nothing than of the glorie of the viter rooting vp of the Christians in *SYRIA*, was so farre from raising of his siege (either for the death of the Sultan, or the newes of his kingdome) that hee more straitly beset the citie than he had in the three moneths space that he had there lien before. Now had they in the citie chosen *Peter* the master of the Templars, their gouernour, a man of great experience and valour: vnto whom and the rest of the nobilitie, the Sultan offered great rewards, and vnto the souldiours their pay, with free libertie to depart, so that they would without more adoe yeeld vnto him the citie, which they could not long hold: Which his offer the master rejected, and flatly told him, That hee had not learned of his auncestours, to sell for money vnto the Infidels a citie bought with so much Christian blood; either did so much regard his vaine threats, as therefore to forget his seruice due vnto his Sauour Christ and the Christian commonweale. With which answer the tyrant enraged, the next day with all his forces assaulted the citie, and that in such desperat and furious manner, as if hee would euen then haue carried it; hauing before filled the ditches, and promised the spoile vnto his souldiours, the more to encourage them. Yet hauing done what he could, and lost a number of his men, slaine both in the assault, and in a fallie which the Christians made out at the same time, he was enforced to retire backe againe into his trenches. In this so terrible an assault, not repulsed without some losse also of the Christians, the Grand master and gouernour of the citie was wounded with a poysoned dart, wherof hee in three dayes after died: with whom the courage of the defendants fainted also, no man being left like vnto him to vnderake so great a charge, although many there were, that ouerweening of themselves, desired the same. In the beginning of this siege, the Christians had sent away all their aged and weake people, vnfit for seruice, into *CYPRUS*, where they in safetie arrived. But now many of the better sort, both captaines and others, discouraged, one after another conuaghted themselves away out of the citie: of whom a great number in passing thence to *CYPRUS*, were vpon the coast of the Island, together with the Patriarch drowned. In the citie remained only twelue thousand, which were thought sufficient for the defence thereof: who afterwards (as some report) fled also by sea after their fellows, and so left the citie emptie vnto the barbarous enemy: some others reporting

Ptolemais besieged.

Ptolemais in ruine assaulted by the Sultan.

of them more honourably, as that they should right valiantly defend the citie against the assault of their enemies, vntill such time as that most of them being slaine or wounded, and the rest by force driuen from the wals into the market place, and there for a while notably defending themselves in flying thence vnto the ships, were by the way all cut in sundry, or else drowned. But howsoever it was, the Sultan entering the citie (by the Christians abandoned, or by force taken) gaue the spoile thereof vnto his souldiours; who after they had rifled euery corner thereof, by his commaundement set it on fire and burnt it downe to the ground: and digging vp the very foundations of the wals, churches, and other publicke and priuat buildings, which the fire had not burnt, left there no signe of any citie at all; but purging the place euen of the very heapes of the stones and rubbidge left of the rased citie, made it a fit place for husbandmen to plough and sowe corne in; which he did both there at *SYDON*, *BERITUS*, and other townes alongst the sea coast, because they should neuer more serue for a refuge vnto the Christians, or giue them footing againe into those countries. Thus together with *PTOLEMAIS* was the name of the Christians vterly rooted out of *SYRIA* and the land of *PALESTINE*, in the year 1291, about 192 yeares after the winning of *HIERUSALEM* by *Godfrey of BULLION* and the other Christian princes his confederats.

This losse, as tending to the great disgrace of the Christians in generall, moued not a little euen the greatest of the Christian princes; wronged all or most part of them in the persons of the Templars or knights Hospitallers, their subjects, so shamefully now quite cast out of *SYRIA* and the land of promise: howbeit, troubled with their owne turbulent affaires at home, or with their neighbour princes not fare off, none of them once stirred for the redresse or reuenge thereof. Onely *Cassanes* the great Tartar prince, hauing of late subdued the Persians, and married the daughter of the Armenian king (a ladie of great perfection, and of a Mahometane become a Christian) at the request of his wife and his father in law tooke the matter in hand. And for that purpose hauing raised a most puissant armie of two hundred thousand fighting men, and aided by the Armenians and Georgians, passing ouer the mountaine *AMANUS* into *SYRIA*, not farre from the citie *HAMA* met with *Melencaser*, the Egyptian Sultans lieutenant, with a mightie armie, whom hee ouerthrew in a great and mortall battell, wherein fortie thousand of the Egyptians are reported to haue beene slaine, and so draue him quite out of *SYRIA*: sending *Molais*, one of his captaines, with part of his armie to pursue him, who neuer left him vntill hee had chased him ouer the desert sands into *EGYPT*. The victorious Tartar after this battell tooke the citie of *HAMA*, where lighting vpon the great treasures of the Sultan, hee bountifully deuided it, together with the spoile, amongst his souldiours; reseruing nothing thereof vnto himselfe, more than a sword and a casket full of secret letters. The Egyptian thus put to flight, he without resistance tooke in most of the cities of *SYRIA*, with the citie of *HIERUSALEM* also; which in many places by the Turkes and Egyptians defaced, he againe repaired: and together with the temple of our Sauour gaue it to the Armenians, Georgians, and other Christians, repairing thither out of *CYPRUS*, *CRETE*, and other places, to inhabite. And hauing himselfe honoured the holy places with great gifts, returned with his armie to *DAMASCO*, which was forthwith deliuered vnto him. But lying there, with purpose in Autumne following to haue gone into *EGYPT* and to haue vtterly destroyed that kingdome, hee was certified of new troubles arising in *PERSIA*, and some other parts of his empire: for repressing whereof, hee with the greatest part of his armie returned himselfe into *PERSIA*, leaving one *Capeapus* gouernour of *DAMASCO*; who after the ouerthrow of the Sultans armie had reuolted vnto him; and *Molais* (of whom wee haue before spoken) gouernour of *HIERUSALEM*: commaunding them at his departure to rededifie the citie of *TYRE*, and to send embassadours vnto the Christian princes of the West, to ioine in league with them, for the more sure holding of those new gained countries. And so *TYRE* was indeed repaired as he had commaunded, and deliuered to the Christians, with a convenient garrison for the keeping thereof: but the embassadours comming to the proud bishop *Boniface* the eight, then Pope, whom of all others it befecmed to haue furthered their business, they could of him obtaine nothing, but returned as they came. For he at the same time fallen out with *Philip* the French king, thundering out his excommunications, discharging his subjects of their loyaltie, and so much as in him was, depriving him of his kingdome, had giuen the same vnto *Albertus* duke of *AUSTRIA*, whom he had declared emperor: whereof

Cassanes the Tartar invaded Syria.

Hierusalem taken and repaired by Cassanes.

arise great troubles. Besides that, he being of the *Guelphes* faction, was not in any thing more carefull, than of the vtter extinguishing of the contrarie faction of the *Gibellines*, especially of the moit honourable family of the *Columnij*, of whom some hee had slaine, some he had depriued of their honours, some he had imprisoned, and driuen other some into exile; so that thus wickedly busied for the maintenance of his owne proud estate, he had no leifure to further the good of the Christian common weale: which his intollerable pride, and forgetfulness of dutie, long escaped not the reuenging hand of God; being when he thought least suddenly taken prisoner at his fathers house in the citie of *ANAGNIA* (where he was borne) by *Sara Columnius* his mortall enemy; whom but lately before redeemed out of a pirates gally, the French king had sent for that purpose, with one *Longaret*, or as some call him *Nogaret*, a French knight: By whom the proud prelate brought to *ROME*, in the castle *S. ANGELO* within fise and thirte daies after moit miserably died, in his madnesse (as some report) renting himselfe with his teeth and deuouring his owne fingers. This worthie Tartar prince *Cassanes*, by whom the Christian common weale might haue againe risen in *SYRIA* and the land of *PALESTINE*, had not the pride of the great bishop, and the dissention of the Christian princes hindered the same; was as *Silvius* writeth (who was present in this warre, following his vnckle the Armenian king) a man of a verie short stature, and exceeding hard fauour; but with valour, bountie, and other vertues of the mind plentifully recompensing what wanted in the feature of his bodie. After whose departure into *PERSIA*, *Capeapus* gouernour of *DAMASCO*, considering that the power of the Tartars therelst was not great, and that no aid was to be expected from the other Christian princes of the West, to recompense his former treason of reuolting from the Sultan, with a new reuolt from the Tartar; rise vp into open rebellion, drawing after him not onely the citie of *DAMASCO*, but the greatest part of *SYRIA* also: whereof *Molais* gouernour of *HIERUSALEM* vnderstanding, was about to haue gone against him with his Tartars; but aduertised by his espials, that *Capeapus* in this his conspiracie had compacted with the Egyptian Sultan also, perceiuing himselfe too weake to withstand so great a power, he retired with his Tartars into *MESOPOTAMIA*, there expecting new supplies both from *Cassanes* and the king of *ARMENIA*. Of whose departure out of *SYRIA*, the Egyptian Sultan vnderstanding, came directly with his armie to *HIERUSALEM*, which he tooke, being forsaken of the inhabitants; and profaned the temple, sparing onely the sepulchre of our Sauour at the humble site of the religious, making there a greater shew of deuotion than of crueltie. After that he woon all the other lesser townes, which the Tartars had either kept for themselves, or giuen to the other Christians, and vtterly rased all the castles and forts of the Hospitallers and Templars: which valiant men without other helpe, for the space of almost a yeare held out against the Tyrant, in which time most of them were honourably slaine: the rest that were left aliue, being taken by the enemy, had neuertheless leaue giuen them with bag and baggage in safetie to depart, hauing before by solemne oath for euer abjured the countrey of *SYRIA*: and so these woorthie men, the great ornaments of the Christian common weale, the Hospitallers and Templars, which to the vttermost of their power had by the space of 300 yeares right woorthily defended both the Christians & the Christian religion against the infidels in *SYRIA* & the Holy land, were now for euer driuen out thence, about the yeare of our Lord 1300, to the great dishonour of all Christendom.

Wherefore with them now taking our leaue of *SYRIA* and the Holy land, leauing the same in the possession of the Aegyptian Sultan and the Mamalukes, although it were shortly after like enough to haue beene againe recovered from them by the Tartars, had not the death of the great Tartar prince *Cassanes*, and their domestical troubles letted: we will againe retorne vnto the troubled affaires of the Turkes in the lesser *ASIA*, whither the course of time had somewhat before called vs, with the occurrences thereof, more proper vnto our purpose and the argument we haue in hand, but that all cannot be at once told: And for the better vnderstanding of the desirous Reader, I thought it not good abruptly to breake off the course of the aforesaid historie drawing so neere vnto an end, but to make him partaker of the heauinesse thereof.

Now had the Turkes no kingdome left in the lesser *ASIA*, and that also at the pleasure of *Gazan* the great Tartar *Chan* diuided betwixt *Mesoot* and *Cei-Cubades*, as his vassals, bound vnto him by a yearly tribut (as is aforesaid:) who both kept in awe by the greatnesse of the Tartar, did nothing woorth the remembrance, but as they liued so also died, almost buried in obscuritie. Of these two, *Mesoot* died without issue; but *Cei-Cubades* departing, left behind him his sonne

Aladin,

Aladin, who by the name of *Aladin* the second succeeding in the kingdome, vniued againe the same before diuided, yet paying still tribut vnto the Tartar his soueraigne, as had his father with the other late Sultans of the Turkes before him. Much it was not that this *Aladin* did, albeit that the power of the Tartars in his time began to decline, & not to lie so heauie vpon the Turkes as before. He was a man of a quiet spirit, & therefore much delighted in peace: a great freind vnto *Othoman* the first founder of the glorious and mightie *Othoman* empire, as in his life shall appeare. But this *Aladin*, the last of the Turkes Sultans of the *Seluccian* family, dying without issue; one *Sahib* his *Vesir*-Azemes or chiefe counsellor, and then a man of greatest authoritie, aspired vnto the kingdome, which he had for most part himselfe swaied all the raigne of the late Sultan his master: which vsurped soueraintie, no way vnto him due, he could neither himselfe long hold, or deliuer to his posteritie: for that many others of the nobilitie, men of great power, and borne of greater families than he, enuying at his honour and disdaining to be gouerned by him, or any other no greater than themselves; laid hold some vpon one countrey or prouince, some vpon another, where they were able to do most, erecting vnto themselves greater or lesser Satrapies, according to the measure of their owne strength and power, without respect of any superioritie one should haue ouer another; but euery one of them absolutely commanding ouer so much as he was able by strong hand to hold. So that as it had oftentimes before chanced, That great Monarchies destitute of their lawfull heires, had in part, or all, become rich preis vnto such as could first lay strong hand vpon them: euen so fell it now out in the great kingdome of the Turkes; euery one of their great princes, measuring the greatnesse of his territorie not by the measure of his right, but by the strength of his owne power. Wherein they shared so well for themselves, that *Sahib* at first in possession of all, was in short time thrust quite out of all: and so the great kingdome of the Turkes in the lesser *ASIA*, brought vnto a meere Anarchie; no king now left among them, the whole kingdome being now diuided into diuers Satrapies, or other lesser Toparchies. The greatest of these princes that thus shared the Turkes kingdome amongst them, was one *Caraman Alusirius*; who as strongest, tooke vnto himselfe the citie of *ICONIUM*, the regall seat of the Turkish Sultans, with all the great countrey of *CILICIA*, and some part of the frontiers of the countreys of *LYCAONIA*, *PAMPHILIA*, *CARIA*, and the greater *PHRIGIA*, as far as *PHILADELPHIA*, and the citie of *ANTIOCH* vpon the riuer *MANDER*: All which large territorie, was of him afterward called *CARAMANIA*, and by the same name is commonly at this day knowne, and by our late Geographers described. Of this *Caraman* also dissended the Caramanian kings, who of long time after vnfortunatly stroue with the *Othoman* Sultans for the soueraintie of their empires; vntill that at length they with their kingdome, and all the rest of these Turkish Satrapies, were in the fatal greauesse of the *Othoman* empire, swallowed vp and deuoured, as in the processe of this historie shall (if God so will) in due time and place be declared. Next neighbour vnto him was *Saruchan*, of the Greekes called *Saruchanili*, of whom the countrey of *IONIA-MARITIMA* was and yet is called *SARUCHANILI*, and *SARUCHANIA*, that is to say, *Saruchans* countrey. The greatest part of *LYDIA*, with some part of the greater *MISIA*, *TROAS*, and *PHRIGIA*, fell to *Calamus* and his sonne *Carassius*, of whom it is called *CARASTIA*, or *CARASTILI* (or as ye might say) *Carassius* his countrey. The greatest part of the ancient *MISIA*, with some part of *LYDIA*, was possessed by *Aidin*, and was of him called *AIDINIA* or *AIDINILI*, as his countrey. Some part of the great countrey of *PONTUS*, with the cities of *HERACLEA-PONTICA*, *CASTAMONA*, *SYNOPE*, and others neere vnto the *EUXINE*, and the countrey of *PAPHLAGONIA*, fell into the hands of the sonnes of *Omer*, or as the Greekes call him *Amur*: of whom that countrey tooke not name, as did the others, of such princes as possessed them, but is commonly called *BOLLI*, of a citie in that countrey by the Turkes so named. As was also *MENDESIA*, or as some call it *MENTBSIA*, a countrey in the lesser *ASIA*, so by the Turkes called *MENDOS* or *MENDUS*, a citie in *CARIA*. There were beside these, diuers other places and Toparchies in the lesser *ASIA*, which in the renting of this great kingdome, from the Turkes received names, before vnto the world vnknowne; all which to prosecute were tedious: Sufficeth it vs, for the manifesting of the Turkes Anarchie, and the ruine of their kingdome in the lesser *ASIA*, as in part also for the more euidence of the heauie historie following, to haue remembered these as the chiefe; especially such as tooke their names of such great princes or captaines as in that so great a confusion of the Turkes kingdome, by strong hand first ceazed vpon them, and so left them to their

The description
of Cassanes.

The citie of Hierusalem
restored with all
Syria againe recovered
by the Egyptian Sultan.

1300

The death of
Mesoot and Cei-Cubades.

The Turke kingdome
ruined in
runder by them-
selves.

The Turke
Anarchie.

Caramania.

Saruchanili.

Carassia.

Aidin.

Bolli.

Mendesia.

The generall Historie of the Turkes.

their posteritie, of whom much is to be said hereafter. These princes one and all that thus shared the late *Aladinian* kingdome, were dissended of the better sort of the Turkes which with the *Selzuccian* and *Aladinian* Sultans driven out of *PERSIA* by the Tartars, had vnder them seated themselves in the lesser *ASIA*, as is before at large declared. Now amongst these great men thus divided the Turkes kingdome, most of them that write of the Turkes affaires, both Greeks and Latins, reckon vp *Othoman* (the raiser of his house and familie) for one; who indeed in the later time of the late Sultan *Aladin* began to flourish, and was of him for his valour extraordinarily fauoured (as in his historie shall appeare,) but of his kingdome held no more than one poore lordship, called *SIGOUTA* in *BYTHINIA* not far from the mountaine *OLIMBUS* (long before giuen vnto his father *Ertoghrull* for his good seruice) with such other small holds therabout as he had himselfe gained from the weake Christians his neighbours. For although he were a Turke borne, yet was he not of the *Selzuccian* family, as were the rest, but of another house and tribe, and therefore not of them fauoured or thought to haue so good right vnto any of the late Sultans prouinces or territories, as had they who being of his house and holpen with the prescription of time, enuied at the sudden rising of this *Oguzian* Turke, being vnto them as it were a meere stranger: whose fortune for all that (I know not by what secret foreknowledge) they seemed to feare, as in time to grow dangerous vnto them and their posteritie; wherein they were no whit deceiued. But of him and his proceedings much more is to be said hereafter: leaue we him now therefore with the rest vnto their fortunes in this the Turkes Anarchie, and so conclude this part of our Generall Historie: Glad when I looke backe to haue waded thus far, yet fearing to be drowned before I get ouer; such a sea of matter and world of troubles yet remaining, nor without much labour and toyle, and that in long time to be passed through.

Othoman one of the Selzuccian familie.

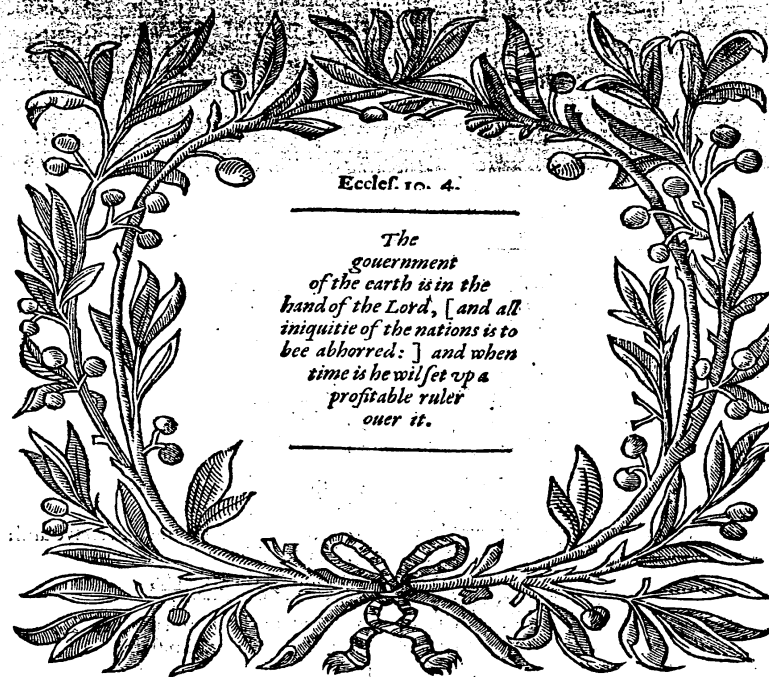
FINIS.



THE LIVES OF THE OTHOMAN KINGS AND EMPERORS.

FAITHFULLY GATHERED OUT
of the best Histories both antient and moderne, and
digested into one continuall Historie.

By RICHARD KNOLLES.



LONDON,
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1603.



Philonicus
hist. Turc. lib. 1.

*Multiplici lassata Asia res clade premuntur.
Hinc Sarracenus Tartarus inde ruit.
Mutua Christianice gladios in vulnera stringunt:
Gracia funesta seditione perit.
Impiger interea noua concipit Ottomannus
Concilia, & valida surgit in arma manu.
Et vastatrix regno fundamina turbe
Ponit: & in multo sanguine sceptrum lauat.*

With endlesse wars the Asian state farre spent and ouerworne:
By Saracens and Tartars force, is all in peeces torne.
The Christians draw their bloodie swords, wherewith themselves to wound:
And GREECE with ciuile discord seekes it selfe for to confound.
Meane while the warlike Othoman, new counsels doth deuise,
And with a crue of martiall men doth vp in armes arise:
And laies the fatal plot whercon the wastfull Turks should raigne,
And bathes his scepter in much blood of people by him slaine.



THE RISING OF THE GREAT AND MIGHTIE EM- PIRE OF THE TURKES VNDER OTHO- MAN FIRST FOVNDER THEREOF, VVITH HIS LIFE AND DOINGS.



HAT small assurance there is in mens affaires, and how
subject vnto change euen those things are wherein we
for the most part repose our greatest felicitie and blisse,
(beside that the whole course of mans fraile life, by many
notable examples well declareth) nothing doth more
plainly manifest the same, than the heauie euent and
wofull destructions of the greatest kingdomes and em-
pires: which founded vpon great fortunes, encreased with
perpetuall successe, exalted by exceeding power, establi-
shed with most puissant armies, wholesome lawes, and
deepe counsels; haue yet growne old, and in time come
to naught: So that euen as men, all things else belonging
vnto man, are subject vnto the ineuitable course of desti-
nie, or more truly to say, vnto the fatall doome of the most highest, prefining vnto euery thing
that in time begun, a time also wherein to take end, being himselfe without time the great com-
mander thereof, and of all things else done therein. The same of the first Assyrian Monarchie,
is verie antient, and was no doubt both great and long, yet hath it neuerthelessse found an end;
and the more to put vs in remembrance of our infirmitie, was neuer with so much glorie and
valour by Nimus erected, as it was with shame and cowardise by Sardaniapalus subuerted. VVith
like necessitie fell the great empire of the Medes and Persians, the time thereof being come. And
after them, the Macedonians also. Neither hath the great Romane empire, or the proud ciue of
ROME it selfe (sometime the mistresse of the world) herein found any exemption, but runne the
same course with the rest: which growne great with continuall triumphs, and so strong as that
it was not with foreine power to be shaken; conuerted the forces of it selfe vpon it selfe, to the
ouerthrow of the antient libertie thereof, together with the vter subuersion of the state. After
which time that mightie monarchie (of all that euer yet were, the greatest) vnder the Romane
emperours felt many an hard and perillous storme, and by little and little still declining (though
sometime like a sicke aged bodie, by the valour or vertue of some one or other her woorthie em-
perours a little relieved, and by and by againe cast downe by the folly or negligence of some
others succeeding) it became at length a prey vnto a foolish rude and barbarous nation, which it
had before oftentimes ouercome; and ouer which many the Romane captaines had triumphed,
and thereof taken their glorious surnames: which now again without compassion, burning and
sacking it, caused it to stoope, and to yeeld vnto the seruile yoke which it had in former time
proudly imposed vpon the necks of others: wherein if any thing be to be blamed, it is not the
fortune or folly of this or that man, then sitting at the helme (although that may also much helpe
the

All worldly
things, subject to
change.

The greatest
kingdomes haue
in time taken
end, and so come
to naught.

the matter as a meane) but the instabilitie of worldly things neuer permanent, but alwaies changeable, and the sooner for their heigh; and that so forcibly as that no man knoweth how to remedie the same, either if he did were he able to performe it; the greatest meane that men could possibly deuise for the stay thereof, being oftentimes by a greater power from above, conuerted vnto the more speedie effecting of that, against the which they were by mans wisdom provided. The like might be said of the Athenians, the Lacedaemonians, the Thebanes, and of whom not? What maruell then, if the ancient kingdomes of the Turks likewise in PERSIA, and the lesser ASIA, in SYRIA, PALESTINA, and EGYPT, hauing run their appointed times, mightily impugned by the Christians, oppressed on the one side by the Tartars, and on the other by the Mamalukes, and at length by themselves rent in sunder (their destinie so requiring) lost at last their wonted majestie, and so fell into a meece Anarchie, as is in the former part of this Historie at large declared: Yet in this farre more than any other people fortunate, That after the ruine of their former kingdomes, straight way out of themselves arise another, namely this *Othoman* monarchie, the cheife object of this Historie: which at the first scarce of the world perceived, or of themselves regarded, in short time so prospered, as that the power and glorie thereof obscured not their former kingdomes onely (nothing, in comparison of this) but euen the greatest monarchies of the world; ouer a great part of which, it now so proudly triumpheth, as if it should neuer haue end: at the beautie whereof the world woondereth, and at the power thereof quaketh: within the greatnesse whereof are contained no small portions of ASIA, EVROPE, and AFRICKE, but euen the most famous and fruitfull kingdomes thereof: no part of the world left vntouched but AMERICA onely; not more fortunate with her rich mines, than in that she is so farre from so great and dangerous an enemy. The foundation of this so great a kingdom (and now so mightie an empire, as holdeth the world in awe) was first laid by the valiant *Othoman*, or as the Turkes call him *Osman*; not descended of the *Selzuccian* familie; as were all the former Turkes Sultans) but of the *Oguzian* tribe and kindred: in whose line this glorious empire hath euer since, by the space of three hundred yeares and thre, to the astonishment of the world, woonderfully flourished; and so yet doth at this day vnder the gouernment of *Mahomet* the third, which now reigneth thirteenth in dissent from him, knowing none in this world greater than himselfe. But for as much as both his greatnesse, and the greatnesse of the rest of the *Othoman* kings and emperours his progenitors, tooke their beginning from this woorthy and warlike *Othoman*, with whose life and doings we purpose to begin this part of our Historie, it shall not be amisse both for the continuation of that we haue in hand, which that we haue already written, and for the more manifesting of that which hereafter followeth, a little farther to set his race and descent alio: Not meaning with a long and faigned pedigree to set him out of *Noah* his arke, (which continuall succession of princes, no nation of the world, be it neuer so ancient, the Iewes onely excepted, and they also by writings and histories as much as was possible eternized, could truly and iustly challenge) but onely so far as shall be pertinent vnto our purpose, and by the authoritie of good histories to be auerred.

At such time as the Turkes kingdom founded by *Tangrolipix* in PERSIA, flourished in the *Selzuccian* princes his successours, there was also another kingdom of theirs at the cite of MACHAN, as is before declared, but nothing comparable to the other either in glorie and power. In this cite, and ouer this small kingdom, reigned one *Solyman*, by his subjects honoured also with the name of a Sultan or king; at the same time that the Tartars vnder the leading of old *Zingis* their great captaine, leauing their owne countrey, and bearing downe the world before them, hauing conquered the farthest parts of the East, and there seated their kingdom, turned their forces into PERSIA, and there ouerthrew the Turkes kingdom at BALCH in CORASAN, and draue the Turkes with *Cussumes* their last king, out of the countrey: after that they had there from the time of *Tangrolipix* reigned about an hundred and seauente two yeares.

This *Solyman* of whom we speake, then reigning at MACHAN, was not of the *Selzuccian* familie (as were all the other Turkes Sultans, the successours of *Tangrolipix*) but of the *Oguzian* tribe, a family famous also amongst the Turkes: Who seeing the *Selzuccian* Sultan *Cussumes* (or as some call him *Cussumes*) his countreyman, beaten out of his kingdom by the Tartar, and his countrey ouerrun, and the great Caliph of BABYLON also ouerthrown; thought it not good longer to stay in that countrey which he could not hold, but by speedy flight betimes to provide for the safetie of himselfe and of such his subjects as would follow him. And hearing that *Aladin*

Solyman, Sultan of Machan forsake this kingdom for feare of the Tartars.

the sonne of *Kei-Hnfren*, or as the Greeks call him *Cai-Cosroe* (a great man of the *Selzuccian* familie, and neere of kin vnto the late Sultan *Cussumes*) who for feare of the Tartars, but lately come into ROMANIA ASIATICA, had there by force of armes most honourably learned himselfe and the Turkes his followers, amongst the Christians: in hope of like good fortune, and for the zeale towards his superstition (accounting all well gotten that was gained from the Christians) tooke his way after him, with such of his kinsmen and subjects as would accompanie him in his new aduentures. And coming to ARTERVM, a cite in the borders of ARMANIA and CAPPADOCIA, thereabout in the countrey according to the season of the yeare, leaured himselfe with his followers, being in number many; who with their wiues and children after the manner of the Tartar Nomades: their ancestours, in poore tents and carts covered with a course kind of cloth, had followed him; being indeed nothing else but a verie rude and rough kind of sturdie heardsmen, not wedded to any place, but still remoouing with their tents and carts vp and downe, as best serued for their purpose and the feeding of their cattell, as doe the Turcoman nation, the true dissent of the Turkes, in many parts of ASIA at this day: and were thereof not onely called Nomades, that is to say heardsmen, (by which name the proud Italianes will oftentimes in contempt call euen the greatest of the naturall Turkes) but *Hamaxophoretie*, and *Hamaxobij*, that is to say, people carried or liuing in carts: *Solyman* hauing staied a while about ERZERVM, remoouing thence came to AMASIA; and there spoiling the countrey then inhabited by the Christians, did them much harme, oftentimes encountering them in the plaine field, and sometimes ccazing vpon their townes and cities, vntill he had subdued vnto himselfe a right large territorie: yet at length hauing in so many battels by him fought, and cities by him besieged, lost a great number of his people, and so wearied the rest, as that they were not willing farther to follow him; and feareing also with such small power as he had left, to be able to defend and keepe the countrey by him already gotten, in the midt of so many enemies; thought it best to depart thence, and to seeke his better fortune elsewhere. At the same time it was titely reported, that the affaires of PERSIA after so long trouble (for all this was not a while in doing) began to grow againe to some good quiet; the furie of the Tartars being now well abated; and that storme ouerblowne: wherefore *Solyman* resolved now to returne home againe, and to visit his natie countrey, of him and his people about all others desired. So passing through SYRIA (for that was now his way) neere vnto ALLEPO, he ceased vpon a castle called ZIABER-CALA, and there staied a space for the refreshing of his people. Afterward setting forward againe, he came at length to the great and famous riuer EUPHRATES, ouer which he must needs passe: But finding there neither bridge nor foord, or other means to get ouer, he stood still as a man dismayed, not knowing what to do. Stay there he would not, &c go further he could not: his desire bid him goe, but the great riuer said, nor so. In this perplexitie *Solyman* himselfe with his horse oftentimes taking the riuer, in hope to haue found some passage; but finding none, aduenturing too far, was with the force of the streame carried away, and so together with his horse drowned. His bodie after long seeking, being at length found, was with the great lamentation of his people buried neere vnto the castle ZIABER, not long before by him taken: whereof they say the place is at this day in their tongue called *Mesart-Zuruc*, that is to say, the Turkes Graue. Some of these *Oguzian* Turkes, after the death of their Sultan, wearie of their long trauell, seated themselves in the countrey therabouts, vnto whom the Turkes that now hold that castle do refer their beginning. The rest of that great tribe and familie diuersly diuided, went vnto diuers places as their fortunes led them; some of them into the wast ground and deserts of ARABIA and SYRIA, and are at this day called the Damascene Turcomians: other some returned backe againe into ROMANIA, the same way that they came, of whom are descended the Turcomians of ICONIUM and ANATOLIA: who yet with their wiues and children, as heardsmen, in great companies wander vp and downe the countrey, after the manner of their ancestours.

Solyman thus lost, left foure sonnes, *Sencur-Teken*, *Iundogdis*, *Ertogrud*, of some called *Orthobules* (the father of this *Othoman* founder of the Turkes empire that now is) and *Dunder*. With these foure brethren, most part of these *Oguzian* Turkes that were left, returning into ROMANIA (as is aforesaid) after they had there rested themselves a while, marching vp a long the riuer EUPHRATES came to a place called PASTIN-OVASI, about ten miles about ARTERVM, where *Ertogrud* and his brother *Dunder*, with foure hundred families, not willing to go any further staied with their tents and carts, their best dwellings. *Sencur* and *Iundogdis* their other two bre-

N

then,

Romania Asiat.

The sonnes of *Solyman*, and their first aduentures.

thren, in the meane time passing the river, returned with the rest into PERSIA: whom we there leaue vnto their vnknowne fortunes. In this place *Ertogrul* with his brother and his three sonnes stayed a while, and had diuers conflicts with the country people thereabout, vntill that at length he thought it best to returne againe into ROMANIA. So setting forward, he came to ANCYRA, and from thence vnto the blacke Mountaines, and so to a plaine, called of the Turks *Sultan-Vni* about 75 miles Eastward from the cite of NICA in BYTHINIA, where he had many skirmishes with the Christians.

Now a good while before this, *Aladin* the elder (of whom we haue before spoken in the former part of this historie) fled out of PERSIA, had subdued diuers great prouinces and countie in ROMANIA ASIATICA or the lesser ASIA (for so it is more truly called) so that he was of all the people thereabouts accounted for a great prince, and of the Turks themselves honoured with the name of their *Vlu Padischach*, that is to say, their great king or emperour. Having placed his regall seat first at SEBASTIA, and afterward at ICONIUM; which two cities before ruinous, he repaired, and therein reigned, as did some few of his posteritie after him, as is before declared. Neither was *Ertogrul* ignorant of the honour, glorie, and power of this great Sultan: But hauing three sonnes, namely, *Iundus*, *Sarugatin*, and *Othoman*, sent *Sarugatin* his second son (a bold well spoken man) vnto him to request him in that his so large a kingdom, and as yet not well peopled by the Turks, to graunt vnto them his poore exiled countrymen of long time oppressed with diuers fortunes, some small corner for them with their families and cattell to rest in. Which his request, the Sultan not forgetfull of his owne distresse sometime in like case, graciously heard, & with great courtesie vsed the messenger. Now for the furtherance of his suite, it fortuned, that this Sultan before driuen out of PERSIA by the Tartars, and by them also much troubled in these his new gotten countries in the lesser ASIA, had with them diuers hot skirmishes, and sharpe conflicts; in one of which it fortuned the Sultan himselfe, with all the power he then had, to be hardly beset by his enemies, and in danger to haue lost the day: when as *Ertogrul* but newly come into the country, and willing to doe the Sultan seruice, and awaiting all opportunities for the commending of himselfe and his followers; vpon the suddaine vnllooked for, with foure hundred men came vpon the backs of the Tartars, then almost in possession of a great victorie, and so forcibly charged them, that vnable to indure the charge and to maintaine the fight against the Sultan (whose men encouraged by this v unexpected aid, as by succour sent from heauen, began now to fight with greater courage) being both before and behind hardly beset, they as men in despair of the victorie they had before assured themselves of, turned their backs and fled. After which good seruice, the Sultan honourably welcommed this new come Turke, giuing him his hand to kisse, as the manner of the nation is; and highly commending his valour, commaunded a rich cloke to be cast vpon him (amongst those Easterne nations a great honour) and all his souldiours to be bountifully rewarded: and presently after gaue vnto *Ertogrul* and his Turks a country village called SUGUTA, betwixt the castle of BILEZUGA and the mountaine TMOUS in the greater PHRYGIA: in which village they might liue in, in Winter; and vpon the foresaid mountaine, and the mountaine ORMENIUS, betwixt the rivers SANGARIUS and LICUS, feed their cattell in Summer. And yet not so contented thus to haue honoured him, in whom he saw such approoued valour, committed to his protection that side of the country wherein he dwelt, being in the very frontiers of his kingdom: which his charge he so well looked vnto, that all the country thereabout, before much infested with the often incursions of the enemy, was by his vigilant care and prowesse well secured.

Thus is *Ertogrul* the *Oguzian* Turke, with his homely hearthsmen, become a pettie lord of a country village, and in good fauour with the Sultan: whose followers, as sturdie hearthsmen with their families, liued in Winter with him in SUGUTA; but in Summer in tents with their cattell vpon the mountaines. Hauing thus liued certaine yeares, and brought great peace vnto his neighbours, as well the Christians as the Turks, before much troubled with the inuasions of the Tartars: it fortuned, that the Christians of CARA-CHISAR, a castle thereby (called by the ancient Greekes *Melanopyrgon*, and of later time *Maurocastion*, that is to say, the blacke tower or castle) wearie of their owne case, and of the peace they had by his means enjoyed, fell out with him, and euill intreated both him and his people. Which their ingratitude he taking in euill part, thereof, and of the wrongs by them done vnto the Turks, so grievously complained vnto the Sultan; that he therewith moued, raised a great armie, and so himselfe in person came and besieged

The Christians
of Cara-Chisar
fall out with the
Turks.

besieged the castle. But lying there, at the siege, newes was brought him, That the Tartars with a great armie, vnder the leading of one *Bamzar*, were entred into CARA, and there spoiling the country, had taken *HERACLEA*. For the repelling of whom, the Sultan was glad to rise: with his armie; yet leauing a sufficient strength behind him for the continuing of the siege, vnder the charge of *Ertogrul Beg*, for so the Turks now called him. The Sultan afterwards encountering with the Tartars at BAGA, ouerthrew them in a great battell: where *Ertogrul* in the meane space hardly besieged CARA-CHISAR, wherein fortune so much fauoured him, that at length he tooke the castle, the spoile whereof he gaue vnto the souldiours, reseruing onely the fift part thereof, as due vnto the Sultan, which he sent him for a present, together with the captaine of the castle, whom he had taken aliue: which captaine the Sultan afterward enlarged, and restored again to him his castle, for the payment of a yearly tribute, which he truly paid during the life of the Sultan; but he dying about two yeares after, he refused any more to pay it, and so revolted from the Turks.

Sultan *Aladin*, founder of the *Aladinian* kingdom, (for so the Turks call it) being dead at ICONIUM, after him succeeded *Adatines* his eldest sonne; and after him *Sathatines* his yoonger brother, who slaine by *Theodorus Lascaris* the Greeke emperour (as is before declared) after him succeeded in that kingdom another *Sathatines*, the sonne of *Adatines*, who was by the Tartars expelled, and his kingdom subdued (as in the former part of this historie it appeareth.) After which time the *Selauccian* familie, there also by the Tartars in the lesser ASIA depressed, retained scarce the name and shadow of their former majestie and glorie. In which troublesome times, and confusion of the state, *Ertogrul* well beaten and wearied in the world, kept himselfe close in his house at SUGUTA, as well contented therewith as with a kingdom; seeking by all means to keepe peace on euery side with his neighbours, as well Christians as others. In which quiet kind of life he sweetly passed ouer the troublesome times of *Mesoot* the sonne of *Kei-Cubades*, and of *Kei-Cubades* the sonne of *Feramusin*, both Sultans, but the great Tartars tributarie, and reigning but at their pleasure, vntill the time of the second *Aladin*, the sole & last heire of the Iconian kingdom, before by the Tartars deuied, which was no few yeares. All which time *Ertogrul* liued quietly at SUGUTA, as one amongst many other of the Iconian Sultans subjects, wisely considering the fall of the *Selauccian* Sultans, both in PERSIA and at ICONIUM; as also the ruine of his own house and familie, both from royall state brought almost vnto nothing: and therefore with patience taking the world as it came, and making a vertue of necessity, contenting himselfe with a little, bare himselfe kindly towards all men. In which contented kind of life, he grew to great yeares, with his three sonnes, greatly beloved and honoured of their neighbours, as well Christians as Turks; and no lesse fauoured by the second *Aladin*, then Sultan, than he had been of all the Sultans before him; whom the yoong men his sonnes, after the manner of their nation (forbidding them with emptie hands to salute their princes) oftentimes visited with one present or other. In all which his sonnes were many good parts to be scene, yet so, as that in *Othoman* was easily to be perceived a greater courage and spirit than in the other two his brethren: which was the cause that he was the more of all them of his tribe regarded, but especially of the youthfull and warlike sort, which commonly resorted vnto him when he went to hawke or hunt, or to other delights of the field (the counterfeits of warre) and was of them commonly called *Osman Gazi*, that is to say, *Osman* the warlike.

In this frontier country neere vnto SUGUTA, the dwelling place of old *Ertogrul*, had Sultan *Aladin* diuers lieutenants and captaines, gouernors of his castles and strong holds vpon those frontiers, with whom *Othoman* was well acquainted, and vnto whom he for friendship sake oftentimes resorted: but especially vnto the captaine of IN-YNOI, for that he knew himselfe to be of him well beloved, and therefore vnto him very welcome. So it fortuned vpon a time, that as *Othoman* being yet but yoong, was going to make merry with the gouernor of ES-KI-CHISAR (a castle about foure and twentie miles off, called of the Greekes *Paleocastron*) by the way as he went, at a place called ITURNE (a towne in PHRYGIA) chaunced there to see, and afterwards to fall in liking of a faire maiden called *Malhatun*: vnto whom his affection daily increasing, he without his fathers knowledge sent a secret friend of his to intreat with her of marriage. Vnto whom after long discourse to her made concerning *Othoman*'s affection and request, gaue him answer, That betwixt *Othoman* and her was great inequality, a thing especially to be regarded & eschued of such as wished to liue an happie life in wedlocke bands; she was (as she said) but meanly borne,

Othoman inu-
roue of *Malhatun*
was a country
maid.

and therefore was not to expect so great a match: whereas he could not want choice of other maidens of more worth, and in all respects more answerable vnto himselfe. But amongst other causes why she gaue him this answer, one was, for that some that wished her well, had put into her head, that *Othoman* meant not indeed to marry her, but vnder that colour to obtaine of her some few dayes pleasure, and so hauing dishonoured her, afterward againe to cast her off: which was indeed far from his thought; for he the more enamoured with her modest deniall, the more desired her for his wife. In the meane time, *Othoman* going againe vnto the gouernour of *ESKI-CHISAR*, and courteously by him entertained, chanced (as it oftentimes doth amongst familiar friends in their merriments) to fall in speech of his lotte, with greater affection than discretion, commending her beautie, her feature, and gracious perfections; not dissembling also, to her greater praise, the repulse by him receiued at her hands. Which the gouernour hearing, seemed greatly to like of his choice, saying, That she was by the diuine providence (for so the Turks religiously vse to speake) appointed only for him to haue. But in the meane time secretly inflamed with the immoderat commendations of *Othoman*, without respect of friendship, he began to grow amorous of her himselfe, whom he had neuer seene; so light is that foolish affection: and that so far, as that being otherwise a man of good discretion, he was not able to conceale or couer these new conceited flames, but that *Othoman* by certaine conjectures and tokens perceiued the same. And yet dissembling the matter, as if he had suspected nothing, being risen from the banquet, calling vnto him one of his trustie seruants, secretly sent him away vnto certaine of the maidens friends, willing them in his name, as they tendred her honour, without delay to send her away vnto some safe place farther off, for feare she were not ere long taken from them by a great man, more amorous of her person than respectful of her honour. And by and by after, taking his leaue of his vnfaithfull friend and bidding him farewell, tooke his way vnto the capitaine of *IN-VNGI*, whom he knew to be his deare friend. But whilst he there stayed certaine dayes, passing the time in hawking, hunting, and other youthfull disports, with the capitaine his friend; the gouernour of *ESKI-CHISAR*, who commaunded all the countrey thereabout (called *Sultan-Vngi*) sent one of his trustie seruants to *IURNE*, to see faire *Mulhatun*, and how all things there went: VVho comming thither, and vnderstanding of her secret departure; and that by the advertisement from *Othoman* she was conueyed to certaine of her friends a farre off; at his returne from point to point certified his master thereof. VVho exceedingly grieued with the report, and fretting about measure to see himselfe so deluded by *Othoman*, presently sent vnto the capitaine of *IN-VNGI* (being within his iurisdiction) to commaund him without delay to deliuer *Othoman* vnto him. But he louing of him well, as a faithfull man vnto his friend, could with no threats or intreatie be perswaded so to doe. VVherefore the gouernour in a great rage presently raising the greatest power he was able to make, came to the castle of *IN-VNGI*, requiring to haue *Othoman* forthwith deliuered vnto him. VVhere amongst the souldiours there in garrison with the captain, began to arise diuers opinions; some wishing, for the auerting of the present danger for which they were now vnprovided, to haue him deliuered; and other some abhorring so trecherous a fact, willing rather to indure all extremities. In the end after much consultation, honestie prevailed: & it was generally resolved, That he should be defended, who could not without their great infamie be deliuered. But *Othoman* terrified with that diuersitie of opinions, which had euen at the first shewed it selfe; and thinking it not for his safetie, to commit himselfe vnto the trust of such wavering men, entered into a deepe conceit of a matter of great aduenture, which was, by a suddaine fallie to make himselfe way through the midst of his enemies. VVherewith hauing made his brother *Jundus* and those few his followers there present acquainted, and thereupon resolved; he fiercely sallied out, and by plaine force brake through the thickest of them; & so tooke his way towards *SUGUTA*, still notably repulsing them that were sent to pursue him: But being come into the frontiers of his fathers territorie, and the report of his danger knowne, and that being but weakly accompanied he was by a great number of his enemies pursued; presently all the lustie youths and such as loued him well, tooke horse to come vnto his rescue: who meeting with the gouernours souldiours, that had *Othoman* in chase, in a sharpe conflict slew diuers of them, and put the rest to flight. Of whom some were also taken prisoners, and amongst the rest one *Michael* Coffer a Christian, capitaine of a little castle in that countrey called *HARMEN-CAIA*, or the rocke of *Ormeni*: of whom *Othoman* taking compassion, freely pardoned him that offence. VVith which vnexpected courttesie he was so moued, that euer after he tooke part with him,

A soly common
vnio vnio.

No friendship
in one.

Othoman beset
in danger
for his loue.

him, and did him great seruice in his wars: whose posteritie hath euer since euen vntill this our age continued, next vnto the *Othoman* familie, most honourable and famous amongst the Turks, by the name of the *Michael Oglies*, that is to say, The sounnes or posteritie of *Michael*.

Ertogrul now spent with age, shortly after died, in the yeare of our Lord 1289, hauing liued 93 yeares, and thereof gouerned the *Oguzian* familie after the death of his father *Solyman*, 52. His death was of all his tribe and kindred greatly lamented, and his bodie after the Turkish manner honourably buried at *SUGUTA*, where he had of long time liued.

After whose death, these plaine *Oguzian* Turks, in a generall assemblie consulting whom they might chuse for their lord and gouernour in stead of old *Ertogrul*; casting their eyes especially vpon two, stood in doubt of which of them to make choice. For although most men were of opinion, That *Othoman* for the rare gifts and vertues as well of bodie as of mind, was to be preferred before the rest of his brethren, the sounnes of *Ertogrul*: yet were there some, and they also men of great grauitie and experience, who had in suspect the young mans age, as of it selfe slipperie, and for most part prone to vice, especially in the libertie of great power: and therefore thought it better to make choice of *Dunder* (*Ertogruls* brother, and *Othomans* vnckle) a man of far greater grauitie, judgement, and experience. But *Dunder* himselfe, being indeed a wise man and far from all ambition, perswaded them in that choice not to haue any regard at all vnto his honour or preferment; but to consider what were best for their state and welfare in generall. For he proudly foresaw in what danger the *Oguzian* state stood, exposed on the one side to the mortall hatred and trecheries of the Greekes, grieued to see themselves spoiled by the Turks, and naturally hating them for the Mahometane religion: and on the other side not surely backt with the Sultans of *ICONTUM*, brought in thraldome to the Tartars, and daily growne weaker and weaker: Vnto which inconueniences and dangers (he said) an old weak and ouerworne bodie (as was his) could giue no helpe or remedie at all; but required the helpe of a wise, politicke, vigilant, stirring, and valiant man, such as they all well knew was *Othoman* his brothers son. Thus before he came vnto the election, he in priuat declared his mind vnto the chiefe of the *Oguzian* familie: and afterward at their request comming vnto the generall assemblie, all mens minds and eyes now fixed vpon *Othoman*, he first of all (by his example to encourage the rest) for the good of the *Oguzian* tribe, his antient house and familie, saluted him their great lord and gouernour, promising vnto him all loyalty, with the vttermost of his seruice: whereunto by and by ensued the great applause of the rest of the people, as vnto a gouernour sent vnto them by God: Vnto whom they joyfully wished all happie successe, with long life, & a most prosperous government. Thus with all mens good liking was *Othoman* made the great gouernour of the *Oguzian* Turks, and so become amongst them a great commander, and honoured with the name of *Osman-Beg*, or The lord *Osman*. Yet was this his honour included in a small circuit, plaine and homely, without any great pompe or shew, as commaunding amongst rough and rude heardsmen and shepherds, not acquainted with the courttesie of other more ciuile nations: for as yet they were the same homely Scythian Nomades that they were before, and could not as yet be perswaded to forsake their wonted rude and vnciuile manners, by long tradition receiued from their auncestors, and so best agreeing with their nature and calling. Amongst which rude heardsmen, this new gouernour (himselfe not too far exceeding the rest in ciuilitie) commaunded much like vnto another *Romulus*, of whom also the Turks report many such things as do the Romans of their founder, which for breuitie I thought good to passe ouer.

Now it fortuneth that *Othoman* euen in the beginning of his gouernment, fell first at odds with on *Hagionicholans*, or *S. Nicolas* (captaine of *ENEGIOL*, a castle there by) for that he had oftentimes of purpose troubled and molested these *Oguzian* heardsmen, in passing too and fro with their cattell by his castle. For which cause *Othoman* was enforced to request the capitaine of *BILZUGA* (another castle thereby, also his neighbour and friend) that his people in passing that way to the mountaines, might with their goods and cattell as occasion should require, take the refuge of his castle; which the courtious capitaine (well acquainted with old *Ertogrul*, *Othomans* father) easily granted, yet with this prouiso, That none should with such goods or cattell haue access into his castle, but the Turks women only: which his courttesie *Othoman* refused not. So was the castle of *BILZUGA* from that time forward a refuge vnto the Turks women, who passing that way and there shrowded with their goods & cattell, vsually preferred the captain with some one homely countrey present or other, which afterwards was the losse of the castle.

The Oguzian
Turks, in doubt
of whom to make
choice for their
Gouernour.

Yet was not *Othoman* vnderstanding of the wrong done vnto his people, by his euill neighbour the capitaine of *EINEGIOL*: but purposing to be therof reuenged, made choice of feuerie of his best and most able men, whom he appointed secretly to passe the mountaine *ORMENIUS*, and so if it were possible, to surpris or set on fire his enemies castle. Of which his designment, the warie capitaine hauing intelligence by one of his espials, in place conuenient vpon the mountaine laied a strong ambush for the cutting off of such as were by *Othoman* sent to haue surpris'd his castle: whereof *Othoman* (no lesse warie than he) before warned by his scouts, and augmenting the number of his men, marched directly vnto the place where the enemy lay. Where betwixt them (for so small a number) was fought a right cruell and bloodie battell, and many slaine on both sides; amongst whom *Hozza*, *Othomans* nephew was one. The victorie neuerthelesse fell vnto *Othoman*: after which time his people in much more safetie fed their cattell in the summer time on the mountaines as their manner was, and so in quiet passed to and fro.

The castle of Chalce, possessed by Othoman.

The Christians came out of the castle, and were slain by Othoman.

Shortly after, *Othoman* by night surpris'd the little castle of *CHALCE*, not far from *EINEGIOL*: and there without mercie put to the sword all the Christians he found therein, and so afterwards burnt the castle; which outrage was the beginning and occasion of great troubles therof ensuing. For the Christians of the countries adjoyning, much grieved therewith, and assembling themselves together, complained vnto the capitaine of *CARA-CHISAR*, the greatest commander thereabout, That these Turks, which not many yeares before were of mercie pitie receiued as poore heartsmen into that countrey, began now in warlike manner to lay violent hands vpon the ancient lands and possessions of the Christians; which insolencie (as they said) if it were longer winked at and suffered by him, and other such men of account and authoritie as were to reforme the same, they would no doubt in short time driue both them, and all the rest of the Christians out of their native countries: wherefore it were now high time and more than necessarie for him, and all the rest to awake (as it were) out of the dead sleepe wherein they had long time drowsily slept; and joyning their forces together, to expulse those vnthankfull enchroaching & mercielesse strangers out of their countries: The mischief they said being now spread far, therefore needed speedie remedie; and that repentance would come too late when it was past cure. The capitaine moued with the indignitie of the late fact, and just complaint of the poore countrey people, sent with all speed a strong company of souldiours, vnder the leading of *Calanus* his brother, with commendement that they should march vnto the castle of *EINEGIOL*, and there to joyne with the rest of the Christian forces.

Othoman vnderstanding of this preparation made against him, gathering his souldiers together, marched to a place called *OPSIUM*, neere vnto mount *TOMOLVS* in *PHRIGIA*, where betwene him and the Christians was fought a sharpe battell, wherein he lost his brother *Saragatin* (whom the Turks account for a saint or martyr at this day) with many other of his souldiours. In this battell was also *Calanus* slaine, whose belly *Othoman* caused to be ripped, and his intestines to be pulled out, naming the place where he was buried *Mefari-Repec*, that is to say, the Dog-Graue, by which name the place is at this day knowne. The bodie of his brother *Saragatin* he carried to *SVGVTA*, and there honourably buried it neere to the bodie of his father *Ertugrul*. *Sultan* of *ICONTVM* vnderstanding of this conflict, was verie forie for the losse hapned vnto *Othoman*, being a Mahometane of his owne religion: wherefore in token of his good will and fauour, he gaue vnto him the citie of *PALEAPOLIS* with all the territorie thereunto belonging, giuing vnto him also leaue to besiege, take, or spoile, the signiorie and castle of *CARA-CHISAR*: for accomplishment whereof, he sent vnto him both souldiers and munition. *Othoman* encouraged with this great bountie of the Sultans, straightly besieged the castle of *CARA-CHISAR*; which at last he wan, and slew all the Christians therein: the capitaine he tooke alive, whom he cruelly executed: the spoile of the castle he gaue vnto his souldiers, reseruing only the fift part thereof, which he sent for a present to the Sultan. All this happened in the yeare of our Lord 1290. This castle of *CARA-CHISAR*, with the rest, as *EINEGIOL*, *BILEZVGA*, *CHALCE*, and others before and hereafter in the life of *Othoman* to be mentioned, were all situate in the borders of the greater *PHRIGIA*, or else neere therunto in the confines of *BETHYNIA* and *MYRIA*: In which pleasant countries (but lately part of the Constantinopolitane empire) the Christians the ancient inhabitants thereof yet dwelt, intermingled with the Turks, at the rising of the *Othoman* empire; with whom they liued at continuall jars, vntill that at length they were by them altogether oppressed and extinguished.

Othoman

Othoman encouraged with this good successe, and supported by the great Sultan of *ICONTVM*, began now after his ambitious nature to conceiue greater matters, for the further increase of his honor and territorie: yet not trusting altogether to his owne deuise, he entred into consultation with his brother *Iundus*, which way was best to take to distresse and bring in subjection his neighbours the Christians. In which case, *Iundus* a man of greater courage than discretion, advised him with all celeritie to venge his good fortune, and presently to inuade the Christians already discouraged with the losse of *CARA-CHISAR*. But this counsell altogether pleased not *Othoman* for (said he) the castles & fortes by vs gained, must be kept with strong garrisons, otherwise they will againe be recovered by the enemy; which garrisons cannot be maintained and kept, if we spoile or dispeople the countries adjoyning vpon vs, for in so doing we shal (as it were) with our owne hands cut our owne throats: wherefore I thinke it better, that we enter into a league of amitie and friendship with the Christians round about vs, which league we will keepe with some, or breake with others, as shal serue best for our purpose. And according to this resolution, he made peace indeed with all the Christians, but especially with *Michael Cossi*, capitaine of *HIRMEN-CATA* castle, of whom we haue before spoken, who afterward serued him to great vse in the managing of his wars, and became also a renegade of the Mahometane religion. All this *Othoman* did the rather, because he was the at great variance with one *German-Ogli* (a great man among the Turks, but one of the *Selzucian* familie) who enuying at the rising of *Othoman*, sought by all means possible to hinder his greatnesse, as did also the others, his quietnes: which discord the Christians liked well, as a meane for them to liue in more rest by.

In the meane time, *Othoman* deuised with all carefulnesse to beautifie and strengthen his new commonweale: and for the greater concourse of people, built a faire temple in *CARA-CHISAR* for the exercise of the Mahometane religion; appointed markets to be kept in all peaceable manner in his great townes, granting great priuiledges vnto such as resorted thither, as well Christians as Turks; vsing therein such justice, that all sorts of people without feare in hope of gaine resorting thither, furnished his countrey and townes with all things necessarie: yet this care of ciuile policie and gouernment, could not so withdraw him, but that according to his aspiring mind, he had alwaies a greater desire and care to enlarge his possessions and territorie. Wherefore intending to make a road into *BETHYNIA*, he requested *Michael Cossi*, the Christian capitaine before mentioned, to deliuer his opinion what was best to be done: who so politickely directed him in that exploit, that he returned victorious, enriched with great spoile and more honor. This road so terrified most of the Christians thereabouts, that they were loth to giue *Othoman* any cause of offence, for feare least they should by him be spoiled.

It fortuned about this time, that the capitaines of *BILEZVGA* & *CVPRI-CHISAR* falling at odds; he of *CVPRI-CHISAR* first taking vp armes, fiercely inuaded the capitaine of *BILEZVGA*: who thereupon sent vnto *Othoman*, to pray his ayd, which hee caselie granted, and so without further delay presently came vnto him with certaine companies of lustie tall souldiours. By whose coming; the capitaine of *BILEZVGA* not a little encouraged and strengthened, set vpon his enemy: where betwixt them was made a sharpe conflict, and diuers on both sides slaine: but the victorie by the helpe of *Othoman* the Turke, at length enclining vnto the *BILEZVGA*, the other vanquished capitaine in all hast fled vnto his owne castle. After whome *Othoman* following, laid seige vnto the castle, which at length he tooke together with the capitaine, whom he caused to bee presently slaine. It is strange to tell, how proud the lord of *BILEZVGA* was, to haue so reuenged himselfe of his enemy, and to haue gayned the victorie; although it were indeed gotten, not so much by his valour as by the prowesse of the Turke: for whom and his followers, in token of his thankfulness, he caused a great feast to be provided in the countrie thereby, where he honourably entertained them; & in the end of the feast, caused garments of great price (according to the manner of the Easterne nations) to be giuen vnto *Othoman*, in token of his fauour; and his souldiours to be also bountifullly rewarded: but this was done with such a presumptuous state and grace, as if he had been some great prince, offering vnto the common souldiours of the Turks, in passing by them, his hand to kisse, as a great fauour. With which exceeding insolencie, *Othoman* was so much offended, that he had much adoe to hold his hands from him: yet repressing his anger, he in secret imparted his discontentment vnto his cousin *Dunder*, his vnde *Dunders* sonne: greiuously complaining of the intollerable pride of the Christian capitaine, and of the disgrace by him done vnto the Turks, in offering them his hand to kisse;

Othoman ferueth in order his new commonweale.

kisse; requiring his opinion how he were for the same to be corrected: who but a little before, being by the said captain made his lieutenant, frankly told his kinsman, That as then nothing was to be attempted against him; first, for that on the one side they had *Germean-ogli* (a great man amongst the *Selzuccian* Turkes) their enemy, and round about them besides they were inuironed with the Christians, whom he should haue all in his neck at once if he should offer the *Bilezvgian* captain any wrong. By which answer, *Othoman* perceiuing his cosins great affection towards the Christian captain, and doubting to haue the mischief he had imagined against him, by him reuealed, or at leastwise hindered; without more adoe suddenly taking vp his bow in his hand, with an arrow shot him quite thorow, and so slew him.

Michael Cossi
murdereth Otho-
man to the ma-
riage of his
daughter.

Not long after *Michael Cossi* the captain of *Hirmen-Caya*, *Othomans* great friend, hauing concluded a marriage betwene a gentleman of that countrey and his daughter, inuited all the Christian captaines of the castles thereabouts, requesting them to come to the marriage; and the rather that so they might grow into acquaintance with *Othoman*, whose power began now to grow dreadfull vnto them: hoping that such meanes might be found at that merrie meeting, that all being made friends, euery man might in more securitie possesse his owne without feare of being spoiled by him. Vnto this marriage came all these bidden guests, bringing with them such presents as they thought good to bestow vpon the new married folks, according to the manner of the countrey: but *Othomans* gifts farre exceeded all the rest, who besides many other rich things, gaue vnto them whole flocks and droues of sheepe and cattell: which thing drew all the Christian captaines into no little admiration of his bountie; inso much that they began to say amongst themselves, that *Othomans* wealth and good fortune did portend some greater matter, to their vtter ruine and fall: which to preuent, they thought it best by secret meanes to compass his death. The execution of which deuise they referred to the capaine of *Bilezvgia*, as vnto one with him best acquainted. This captain was of great wealth, credit, and authoritie amongst the Christian rulers thereabouts, but verie full of craft and dissimulation: which his euill disposition *Othoman* of long time well perceiued; yet hauing occasion to vse him, in subtil manner gaue him (in outward shew) all the honour he could, magnifying him in words, and debasing himselfe as plaine and poore in comparifon of him. But to giue a beginning to this treacherous deuise, the captain meeting with *Othoman*, in friendly manner told him, how that he intended shortly to marie the daughter of the capaine of *Iarchisab*, earnestly requesting him to honour that his marriage with his presence, of the time whereof he said he would giue him further knowledge afterwards: and all was but a colour, to bring *Othoman* within his danger, not fearing any such treason. *Othoman* vnderstanding that the time of the marriage drew nigh, sent thither a present of certaine fat oxen and sheepe, in the name of his brother *Iudas*, for the captaines prouision against the marriage; certifying him, That *Othoman* himselfe, with his simple retinue, would be present at the marriage, and then present him, not with such presents as were agreeable with his honour, yet such as his poore abilitie could afford. This message with the presents, were woonderfull welcome to the captain, hoping assuredly that his deuiled treacherie would take such effect as he wished. And therefore calling vnto him *Michael Cossi*, in whom he had reposed an especiall trust, declared vnto him his whole deuise (whereof he was not before altogether ignorant,) requesting him to take the paines to go vnto *Othoman* to bring him to the marriage, the time being now certainly appointed and at hand; which hee knew *Cossi* might easily do, being of his familiar acquaintance. And in token of great friendship, he sent vnto *Othoman* by the same messenger, a present of gilt plate. *Cossi* tooke vpon him this message: which when he had deliuered vnto *Othoman*, he found him verie willing to go, as a man not doubting any harme. But *Cossi* inwardly grieuing to see so braue a man, and his kind friend, by such treacherous manner to be brought to his end; moued with compassion, discouered vnto him the whole conspiracie of the captain against him, and of the plot laied for his destruction, willing him to take heed vnto himselfe: for which ouerture, *Othoman* gaue *Cossi* great thanks, as to his friend, for sauing his life; and withall richly rewarded him, promising him greater matters if he would continue that his faithfull friendship. Now concerning the capaine of *Bilezvgia* (saith he) at your returne recommend me vnto him, and tell him, That I thinke my selfe much bound vnto him for many courtesies, but especially for that he hath heretofore diuers times in most friendly manner protected my goods and cattell, within the safegard of his castle: which his friendship I most humbly request him to continue for one yeare more, enforced thereunto by

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reason of the dangerous wars betwixt me and the prince *Germean-ogli* as he well knoweth: wherefore if it might so stand with his good pleasure, I would presently send vnto his castle such things as I make most reckning of, requesting him once more to be the faithfull keeper thereof, as he hath bene before: and tell him further, that my mother in law, with her daughter my wife, desire nothing more than to find opportunitie to be acquainted with the honourable ladie his mother; for which cause (if it please him) I will bring them both with me to the marriage. This *Othoman* request, when the captain of *Bilezvgia* vnderstood by *Michael Cossi*, he sent the same *Cossi* backe againe to hasten his coming, willing him to bring with him what gesse he pleased; appointing certaine time and place when and where the marriage should be solemnized. And because the castle of *Bilezvgia* was thought to be too little conueniently to receiue the multitude of people which were expected at the marriage, there was another open place of greater receipt appointed in the countrey for that purpose, about three miles distant from the castle. The marriage day drew nigh, whereunto *Othoman* must repaire for his promise sake: and therefore prepared with all diligence to set forward, and to put in execution what he had deuised for the safetie of himselfe, and destruction of his enemy. *Othoman* had of long accustomed in dangerous times, to send by carriage the best of his things, made vp in packes, to be kept in safetie in the castle of *Bilezvgia*: vnder the colour whereof, he now made great packes in forme as he was wont; but in stead of his rich household stuffe, and such other things of price, he thrust in armed men, couering those packes with homely couerings, sending them by carriages to the castle of *Bilezvgia*, giuing charge that they should not come thither before twilight. After that, he appareled certaine of his best souldiours in womens apparell, as if it had bene his wife and mother in law, with their women: so casting his journey, that he with these disguised souldiours, and the other sent in packes, might at one instant meet at the castle aforesaid. The captain being now in the countrey, and vnderstanding that *Othoman* was coming in the euening with a great traine of gentlewomen; thought the cause of his late coming to be, for that the Turkish women vse to shun the sight of Christian men by all meanes they can. *Othoman* being now come to the place in the countrey where the marriage was next day to be solemnized, hauing done his humble reuerence to the captain, requested him to do him the honour, That his gentlewomen which were nigh at hand, might by his appointment bee sent to his castle, there to haue some conuenient lodging where they might alight and bestow themselves a part from others, according to the homely fashion of their nation; least peraduenture the presence of so honourable a companie of noble men and gallants, might put them out of countenance: which the captain graunted, and hauing saluted them a far off after the Turkish manner, commanded them to be conueyed to his castle, making reckoning of them all as of a rich prey. At the same time that these disguised souldiours arrived at the castle, came thither also the other souldiours couered in packes in the carriages: which so soone as they were within the castle, suddenly leapt out of the packs, and drawing their short swords, with the helpe of their disguised fellows slew the warders of the castle, and without more adoe possessed the same: the greatest part of the captaines people being before gon out of the castle to the place of the marriage. *Othoman* hauing taried so long with the captain, as hee supposed the castle by that time by his men surprised; so soone as the captain had taken his chamber, suddenly tooke horse, with all his followers, accompanied also with *Cossi*, taking his way directly to the castle of *Bilezvgia*: of whose sudden departure, the captain vnderstanding, presently tooke horse and pursued him with all his traine, which were for the most part drunke; and ouertaking him before he came to the castle, set vpon him: in which conflict, he was by *Othoman* slaine, and the rest put to flight.

The captaine of
Bilezvgia sla-
cherously see-
king the death
of Othoman, is
by him, himselfe
slaine.

The same night *Othoman* vsing great celeritie, early in the morning surprised the castle of *Iarchisab* also, where he tooke prisoners the captain thereof, with his faire daughter *Zulifer*, (which should haue bene married to the captain of *Bilezvgia* the next day) with all her friends, as they were readie to haue gone to the marriage: which faire ladie he shortly after married vnto his eldest sonne *Orchanes*; who had by her *Amurath*, third king of the Turkes, and *Solyman* Bassa.

Othoman omitting no opportunitie, presently sent one of his captaines called *Durgut-Apet*, a man of great esteeme and valour, to besiege the castle of *Etnogiot*: wherein he vsed such celeritie, that preuenting the same of that was done at *Bilezvgia*, he suddenly inuironed the castle, in such sort that none could passe in or out, vntill such time, as that *Othoman* hauing brought his

his prisoners and prey to the castle of BELIZGA, and there having set all things in good order, came with the rest of his men of war to ENEGIOI; which he presently by force took, promising the spoile thereof vnto his souldiours. The capitaine called *Hagio-Nicholame* his ancient enemy, he caused to be cut in small peeces, and all the men to be slaine: which crueltie he vied, because they a little before had vsed the like tyrannie against his Turks.

When *Othoman* had thus got into his subjection a great part of the strong castles and fortresses of the greater PHRIGIA, with the territorie to them belonging, he began with all carefull diligence to make good lawes, and to execute justice to all his subjects; as well Christians as Turkes: with great indifferencie studying by all meanes to keepe his countrey in peace and quietnesse, and to protect his subjects from the spoile of others, as well Christians as Turkes: whereby it came to passe, that the old inhabitants which for the most part had forsaken the countrey by reason of the great troubles therein, repaired now againe to their ancient dwellings; and not onely they, but many other strangers also, supplying the places of them whom the late warres had consumed. So that by his good government, that wasted countrey in short time grew to be againe verie populous.

The ciuile government of his countrey well established, hee besieged the citie of ISNICK, in ancient time called NICE, a citie of BITHYNIA, famous for the generall Counsell there holden against *Arim* in the time of *Constantine* the Great. This citie hee brought into great distresse, by placing his men of war in forts new built vpon euery passage and way leading vnto the same, so that nothing could be brought out of the countrey for the reliefe of the poore citizens. They in this extremitie, by a secret messenger certified the emperour of CONSTANTINOPLE (vnder whose obedience they were) in what distresse the citie stood; and that except he sent them present reliefe, they must of necessitie either perish with famine, or yeeld themselves into the hands of their enemies the Turks. The emperour moued with the pittifull complaint of this messenger, with all expedition embarked certaine companies of souldiours from CONSTANTINOPLE to relieue his besieged citie. But *Othoman* vnderstanding by his espials where these souldiours were appointed to land, in secret manner withdrawing most of his forces from the siege, lay in ambush neere vnto the same place where the emperours souldiours (casting no perill) landed: who before they could put themselves in order of battell, were by *Othoman* and his Turks, in such sort charged, that most part of them were there slaine, and the rest driuen into the sea, where they miserably perished. *Othoman* hauing thus politickly ouerthrowne the Constantinopolitan souldiours, returning to his siege, continued the same in straighter manner than before. The besieged citizens driuen into great penurie, and now despairing of all helpe, yeelded themselves with the great and rich citie of NICA into the hands of *Othoman*, with the spoile whereof he greatly enriched his men of war.

Aladin the great Sultan of ICONIUM, glad to heare of this good successe of *Othoman* against the Christians, in token of his fauour and loue, sent vnto him a faire ensigne, with certaine drums, and trumpets, a sword, and princely robe, with large charters, That whatsoever he tooke from the Christians should be all his owne; and also that publike praiers should be said in all the Turkes temples, in the name of *Othoman*, for his health and prosperous estate: which two things properly belonged to the dignitie of the Sultan. These extraordinary fauours gaue occasion for many to thinke, That Sultan *Aladin* (hauing no children) intended to make *Othoman* his adoptiue sonne and successor in his kingdome.

The presents and charters sent him, *Othoman* humbly accepted, sending vnto *Aladin* the fifth part of the spoile of NICA, taken from the Christians; but the princely honors due vnto the Sultan onely, he vsed not during the life of *Aladin*: intending not long after to haue gone himselfe in person to visit the Sultan, and so to haue grown into his further fauour. But hauing prepared all things for so honourable a journey, at what time as he was about to set forward, he was certainly informed of the death of *Aladin*; and that *Sahib* (one of his great counsellors) had taken vpon him the dignitie of the Sultan (as is before declared): which newes much discontented the aspiring mind of this *Oguzian* Turke, in good hope to haue succeeded him in the kingdome, or at least wise to haue shared the greatest part thereof vnto himselfe, whereof he was now altogether disappointed. Yet immediatly after the death of *Aladin*, he thought it now fit time to take vpon him the princely honors before graunted vnto him by the Sultan in his life time, which he for modestie sake had forborne, *Aladin* yet liuing; wherefore he made one *Dursun* named

named *Fakiche* (that is to say, a man learned in the Turkish law) bishop and iudge of CARACHISAR, commanding the publicke prayers which were wont to be made for the health and prosperous raigne of the great Sultan, to be now made in his owne name; which was first openly done by the said bishop in the pulpit of CARACHISAR. At the same time he began also to coine money in his owne name, and to take vpon him all other honours belonging vnto a Sultan or king: which was about ten yeares after the death of his father *Ertogrul*, and in the yeare of our Lord 1300, vnto which time the beginning of the great empire of the Turkes is vnder the fortune of this *Othoman*, to be of right referred, as then by him thus begun.

When *Othoman* had thus taken vpon him the maiestie of a king, he made his sonne *Orchanes* prince and gouernour of CARACHISAR; promoting his principall followers, to be gouernours of other strong castles and forts, diuers of which places retain the name of those captains at this day. He himselfe made choice of the citie NEAPOLIS, about twentie miles from NICA, to seat his regall pallace in, where also diuers of his nobilitie built them houses, and changed the name of the citie, calling it DESPOTOPOEIS; as who should say, The citie of the lord or prince. For all this, *Othoman* ceased not to deuise by all meanes hee could, to augment his kingdome: and for that cause being accompanied with his sonne *Orchanes*, made many rodes into the countries adioyning vpon him, surprizing such places as might best serue his purpose, for the enlargement of his kingdome, all which in particular to rehearse were tedious.

The Christian princes, rulers of the countries bordering vpon this new kingdome, fearing lest the greatnesse of *Othoman* might in short time be their vtter confusion, agreed to ioine all their forces together, and so to commit to the fortune of one great battell their owne estates with his. According to which resolution, the Christian confederat princes, which were for the most part of MYRIA and BYTHYNIA, leuying the greatest forces they were able to make, with fire and sword inuaded *Othoman*'s kingdome. Who hauing knowledge beforehand of this great preparation made against him, had in a readinesse all his captains and men of war: and hearing that his enemies had entred his dominion, in warlike manner marched directly towards them; and meeting with them in the confines of PHRIGIA and BYTHYNIA, fought with them a great and mortall battaille, wherein many were slaine on both sides, as well Turkes as Christians: and after a long fight, obtained of them a right bloodie victorie. In this battaille *Cafelenus*, one of the greatest Christian captaines was slaine: another called *Tekensis* of the country which he gouerned in PHRIGIA, chased by *Othoman* vnto the castle of VLUBAD, not far distant from the place where the battaille was fought, was for feare deliuered vnto him by the captaine of the same castle, and was afterward by *Othomans* commaundement most cruelly cut in peeces, within the view of his cheefe castle: which *Othoman* afterward subdued, with all the countrey therabouts. The other Christian princes and captaines saued themselves by flying into stronger holds farther off. The prince of BYTHYNIA, the cheefe author of this war, fled into the strong citie of PRUSA, which the Turkes now call BURUSA, whether *Othoman* not long after led his armie, in good hope to haue woon the same: but finding it not possible to be taken by force, began presently at one time to build two great and strong castles vpon the cheefe passages leading to the citie, which castles he with great industrie finished in one yeare: and in the one placed as captaine *Atemur* his nephew, in the other one *Balaban* *Yuck*, both men of great courage, and skilfull in feats of war: & in this sort hauing blocked vp the citie of PRUSA, so that little or nothing could without great danger be brought into it, he subdued the most part of BYTHYNIA; and so returned home, leauing the two castles well manned with strong garrisons, vnder the charge of the captaines before named.

Othoman returning home to NEAPOLIS, honorably rewarded his souldiours, according to their deserts, establishing such a quiet and pleasing government in his kingdome, that people in great number resorted from far into his dominions, thence to seat themselves: whereby his kingdome became in few yeares exceeding populous, and he for his politicke government most famous. And so liuing in great quietnesse certaine yeares, being now become aged and much troubled with the gout; his old souldiours accustomed to liue by the wars, abhorring peace, came vnto him, requesting him as it were with one voice, to take some honourable war in hand for the enlarging of his kingdome, with great chearfulnesse offering to spend their liues in his seruice rather than to grow old in idleness: which forwardnesse of his men of war greatly pleased him, and so giuing them thanks, for that time dismissed them, promising that he would not be long vnmind-

full

*Othoman by ad-
miration of
justice streng-
theneth his go-
uernment.*

*The citie of Nica
besieged by
Othoman.*

*Neapolis the
first regall citie
of the Othomans
king.*

*Prusa besieged
by Othomans.*

full of their request. But yet thinking it good to make all things safe at home before hee took any great wars in hand abroad, thought it expedient to call vnto him *Michael Cossi*, the only Christian captaine whom for his great desert he had at all times suffered to liue in quiet with his possessions, as it were in the heart of his kingdome; and by faire means (if it might be) to persuade him to forsake the Christian religion and to become a follower of *Mahomets*, so to take away all occasion of mistrust: which if he should refuse to doe, then forgetting all former friendship, to make war vpon him as his viter enemy. Whereupon *Cossi* was sent for, being persuaded by the messenger, that *Othoman* had sent for him because he had occasion to vse his woonted faithful counsell and seruice in a great exploit which he had intended, as he had oftentimes before. *Cossi* thinking of nothing lesse than of that which ensued, came accompanied with such souldiours as he thought to vse in that seruice: But comming vnto *Othoman*, and vnderstanding the very cause why he was sent for, and seeing danger imminent on euery side, kissing *Othomans* hand, after the manner of the Turks, requested him in courteous manner to enter him in the principles of the Mahometane religion, which he promised euer after to embrace: And so saying certaine words after *Othoman*, he turned Turke, to the great displeasure of God, and the contentment of *Othoman* and his nobilitie. For which his reuolting, *Othoman* presently gaue him an ensigne and a rich robe, tokens whereby the Mahometane Sultans assure their vassales of their fauour and the vndoubted possession of such land and liuing as they then hold.

Michael Cossi turneth Turke.

Oftentimes after this, *Othoman* for the contenting of his souldiours invaded the countries bordering vpon him, tooke many strong castles and forts, subdued the most part of *PHRYGIA*, *MISIA*, and *BYTHINIA*, and other great regions, vnto the Euxine sea: and being now very aged, and diseased as is aforesaid with the gout, and thereby vnable to goe into the field in person himselfe, oftentimes sent his sonne *Orchanes* against his enemies; who to the imitation of his father achieved many great enterprises, *Othoman* his father yet liuing.

Now happily might the considerat reader (and not without just cause) merraille, what dead sleepe had ouerwhelmed the Greeke emperours of those times; first *Michael Paleologus*, and afterward his sonne *Andronicus*, both men of great valour, and still resistant at *CONSTANTINOPLE*, thus to suffer the Turks (not *Othoman*, for he as yet bare no sway, but others the tharers of Sultan *Aladins* kingdome) to take their cities, spoile their countries, kill their subjects, and dayly to inroach vpon them in the lesser *ASIA*, and especially in *BYTHINIA*, so neere vnto them, and as it were euen vnder their noses: But let him, with me, here as in a most conuenient place but breath a litle, and consider the troubled estate of that declining empire, now halting to an end; and he shall plainly see the causes of the decay thereof, and how like an old diseased bodie quite ouerthrowne and sicke to death, it became at length a prey vnto the aspiring Turks. *Michael Paleologus* hauing by great trecherie obtained the Greeke empire, and by rare fortune recovered also the citie of *CONSTANTINOPLE* from *Baldwin* the emperor (as is in the former part of this Historie declared,) fearing the power of the princes of the West, but especially of *Charles* king of *SICILIA*, then a prince of great fame and power, whom he knew *Baldwin* (the late emperor) ceased not to sollicite for the restitution of him againe into his empire, and to haue also joyned with him a neere bond of affinitie, by marrying his daughter vnto *Charles* his sonne: to auert this danger, and to intangle *Charles* with troubles neere home, he by his embassadours offered vnto *Gregorie* the tenth, then bishop of *ROME*, to write and conformance the Greeke church vnto the Latine, and to acknowledge the bishops supremacie, in such sort, as that it should be lawfull for any man to appeale vnto the court of *ROME*, as vnto the higher and more excellent court: of which his offer the Pope gladly accepted, promising to performe what he had before requested, for the keeping of *Charles* otherwise busied. But when it came to the point, that this reformation and alteration of religion in the Greeke church should be made, *Ioseph* the Patriarch, to begin withall, gaue vp his place, and shortly after forsaking the citie, retired himselfe into a monastrie neer vnto the strait of *Bosphorus*, where he at quiet deuoutly spent the remainder of his life. The rest of the cleargie also discontented with this innovation, in their sermons openly inuighed against it, persuading the people not to receiue it, crying out, That now was come the time of their trial, the time of their martyrdom, and the time wherein they were to receiue the glorious crowne of their painefull suffrings: insomuch, that great tumults were thereupon raised, and all the citie and the country in an vprore: for it was not the cleargie onely, and the vulgar people by them moued, which disliked and abhorred these the emperours' proceedings,

Alteration of Religion in the Greeke Church.

things, and made these stirs, but many of the better sort, yea of the cheefe magistrates themselves also. So that *Michael Paleologus* the emperor leauing all other forraigne businesse, was inforced to conuert all his power and studie vnto the appeasing of these domesticall troubles, as deeming them of greater danger than his wars abroad. And first to persuade his discontented subjects, he told them, That this alteration was made, not for any good liking he had therunto, but in respect of the dangerousnesse of the time: and that it was a point of wisdom, to foresee dangers hanging ouer our heads, and not to delay, if any thing were to be altered, for the auerting thereof: for if the enemies as he said should come, the citie yet in many places rent, or but lately repaired, and as it were but newly raised from death to life; the present mischiefes would be far greater than those forepassed, and that then their enemies would become lords, not of their religion and ceremonies onely, but of all at once, their wiues, their children, and whatsoever else they had: where their liberty changed into bondage, they should be constrained to conforme themselves not with their bodily seruice onely, but euen with their minds also, vnto the wils of the Latines their enemies. And that so it would come to passe, that no man should bee able to keepe the old customes and mannets of his ancestors, but should see euen their most sacred rites and ceremonies chaiged and quite ouerthrowne: Which he carefully foreseeing, had not (as he said) refused to yeeld vnto necessitie; and as wisdom would, neglected a litle harme in respect of a greater benefit; and in the lesse, to haue yeelded vnto his enemies, to enjoy the benefit of the greater. With which the emperours persuasion, some were moued, and so held themselves contented: and some others not; against whom he was inforced to vse other more seuerer remedies, as against his rebellious subjects: of whom, some he imprisoned, some he banished, some he tortured, some he dismembred, some he deprived of their fight, or confiscated their goods, vsing (in breefe) all the meanes whereby the minds of the resolute or the weake were to be moued. All which things, they whose zeale was grounded vpon knowledge (in number the fewest) with patience endured: but the greater part void of judgement, and the refuse of the people in simple attire, ran roguing abroad, some into *PELOPONNVS*, some into *THESSALIA*, some into *ACHAIA*, and some as far as *COLCHOS*, as men persecuted for their conscience, not regarding greatly whether, so it were out of the emperours iurisdiction, and something fitting their owne humors; neither conforming themselves vnto the religion then commonly by the emperor established, neither yet agreeing among themselves, but taking vnto them diuers names, some as the disciples of *Aseninus*, some of *Ioseph*, and some of others; some of them, themselves deceived, and deceiuing others also. Thus for the auoiding of forraigne danger out of the West, was the empire at home no litle indangered, and the state thereof shaken. Wherewith the emperor was so encombred, as that he had no leisure to prouide for the tempest arising by the Turks out of the East, but was inforced wholly to employ himselfe and all his indeuours vnto the keeping of his people & subjects in their due obedience at home. All whose deepe deuises, first in aspiring vnto the empire, (no way vnto him due) and great trauels afterwards for the assuring of the same vnto himselfe and his posteritie, against all right, euen with the alteration of the religion of his fathers, yeilded him in the winding vp of all, not so much as the credit of an honourable sepulture. But dying in these troubles not far from *LISIMACHIA*, as he was making preparation against the prince of *THESSALIE*, was there by his sonne *Andronicus* his commandement (for whose aduancement he had stained both his faith and honour) obscurely buried in the field, a good way from his campe; as unworthie of a better sepulture, for reuolting from the antient religion of his ancestors, although his obsequies were for fashion sake afterwards with some solemnitie celebrated. This was the end of the great emperor *Michael Paleologus*, in whose time the Turks, the successors of *Aladin*, greatly inroached vpon him in the lesser *ASIA*, as is in part before declared: a man greatly adorned with the good gifts both of the bodie and the mind, had he not for the aduancement of himselfe and his posteritie, stained the same with soule trecherie and apostasie: for which (as some say) he euer after liued in conscience troubled, and dying, was euen by his owne sonne not thought worthie of an honourable funerall. *A notable example vnto all such as with greedinesse seeke after vaine glorie, and foolishly expose themselves vnto such adventures, as oftentimes ouerwhelme their deepest deuises, hauing in themselves no certainetie: preferring their inordinat desires (either for themselves or their posteritie) before that which is good and vertuous: Twice wretched in so doing: first in their folly, and then in their indeuours. Who beside that they find God himselfe against their designs and purposes they by and by also euidently meet with other things than*

Persecution in the Greeke Church for matters of Religion.

what

what they had forecasted, contrarie vnto them; and so themselves oftentimes, contrarie to their expectation, cast headlong into extreme miserie: for loe, euen he of whom we now speake, otherwise a man of great wisdom, and happie in his doings, overcome with his affection towards his children, in desiring to leaue vnto them the empire, when as he ought to haue cast all the care both of himselfe and of them, especially vpon the prouidence of God; he like a blind man following his own deepe conceits, not grounded vpon the fear of God but mans wisdom only, cast himselfe before he was aware into miserable troubles, and became odious vnto his subiects, & them also for whom he had so forgot himselfe. For when God had euen from his childhood allotted vnto him the empire (as was by many euident signes & tokens to haue bin gathered) if he could haue moderated his vntimely desires kept his tongue from periuie, and his hands from blood, and not turned out of the way after strange doctrine; he had by many degrees excelled euen the best emperours his predecessors: where as now he lieth obscurely buried, shrouded in the sheet of defame, the report of his foule & faithlesse dealings far exceeding all his other worthy vertues.

Andronicus Paleologus succeeding his father in the empire, and thinking by restoring again the gouernment of the church, together with the rites and customes of the Greeks, to haue appeased all such troubles as were before by his father raised, by bringing in those of the Latines, found himselfe therein much deceived, and his troubles no lesse than his fathers: they which had before receiued the Latine customes, and well liking of them, with great obstinacie defending the same: and the other of the contrarie faction now countenanced by the emperor, without modestie or measure insulting vpon them: whereof arose, exceeding great stirs and troubles, especially in the beginning of his raigne: to the great benefit of the encroaching Turks, who in the meane time ceased not by all meanes to increase their territories in ASIA; and not only there, but in the islands of the Mediterranean sea also. For Andronicus, by the death of Charles king of SICILIE; deliuered of the greatest feare, for which both he and his father before him had to their great cost and charge both built and maintained a strong fleet of gallies; now persuaded by some, whose actions and speeches were after the manner of the court, all framed vnto the princes appetite; (as the readiest way to thine, without respect of the common good) to spare that needlesse charge (as they termed it) which yearly cost him more than any other thing else: had discharged all his mariners and sea men, and commanded all the gallies to be laied vp, some in one creeke, some in another; where neglected & not looked vnto, they in time for most part rotted and perished. As for the mariners, they went some one way; some another, as their fortunes lead them, to seeke for their liuings in forreine countries, euen with the emperours enemies; and some gaue themselves to husbandrie, thinking it better by doing something to liue, than by sitting still to perish: which good husbandrie at the first seemed to be verie profitable vnto the emperor, but especially vnto such as being neere vnto him, and couetously giuen, made small reckoning of all other the most necessarie defences of the empire, in comparison of hoarding vp of money, vntill that it was afterwards too late by experience found hereof to haue sprung many great mischiefs, vnto the great weakening of the Greeke empire. For besides that the Turks without lette, did great harme on the sea; the pirates now out of feare of the emperours gallies, at their pleasure tooke the spoile of the rich Islands in the Mediterranean; and robbed the townes all along the sea coast, to the vspeakable griefe of the poore countrie people. And yet not so contented, came with their gallies sometime two, sometime three, and sometime more, as it were in contempt, euen close vnto the imperiall citie. Yea the Venetians were so bold as vpon a right small displeasure to rifle and afterward to set fire vpon the suburbs thereof, which they would hardly haue aduentured, had the emperours fleet bene preferred and maintained in the wonted strength.

At the same time also, Andronicus the emperor (to the great hinderance of the affaires of the empire, and aduantage of the forreine enemy) was not a little troubled with a jealous suspicion of his brother Constantine (commonly called Porphyrogenitus) as if he had sought to haue aspired vnto the empire; seeking by all meanes to win vnto himselfe the loue and fauour of all men, but especially of the nobilitie both at home and abroad, and so by that meanes to mount vnto the height of his desires: All which (as most men thought) were but meere slanders, maliciously deuised by such as enuying at his honour, and taking occasion by the emperours suspicion, ceased not to increase the same, vntill they had wrought his vnworthie destruction. The first ground of this false suspicion in the emperours head, was for that this Constantine was euen from his childhood, for many causes, better beloued of the old emperor his father than Andronicus,

Andronicus, as better furnished with those gifts of nature which beautifie a prince, and of a more courteous behauior than was his brother: insomuch, that had he not been the yonger brother, his father could willingly haue left him his successour in the empire. This was one and the chiefest cause of the emperours grudge, and the ground of his suspicion. Yet was there another alio, and that not much lesse than this: for that his father in his life time had of long thought to haue separated from the empire a great part of THESSALIA and MACEDONIA, and to haue made him absolute prince thereof; and had hee not been by death prevented: which thing also much grieved Andronicus, and the more incensed him against his brother. Which his secret hatred he for all that according to his wisdom, cunningly dissembled, not vntil during the time that his father liued, but three yeares after his death also, making shew of the greatest loue and kinnesse towards him, that was possible. Constantine in the meane time, of such great reuenues as were by his father assigned vnto him, reaping great profit, most bountifully bestowed the same vpon his followers and fauorites, and others that made fute vnto him, as well the meane sort as the greater, and with his sweet behauior wooed vnto him the hearts of all men: for affabilitie & courtesie in high degree easily allureth mens minds, as doe faire flowers in the spring the passengers eyes. This was that precept of the wise Indians, That the higher a prince was in dignitie, and the more courteous he shewed himselfe vnto his inferiours, the better he should be of them beloued. He therefore that should for the two first causes blame Constantine should doe him wrong; as both proceeding not of himselfe, but of his fathers too much loue: but in the third hee was not altogether blamelesse; for if for want of experience hee prodigally gaue such gifts, as for the most part might haue becomed the emperor himselfe, he ignorantly erred; yet did he no little offend: but if he knew, that for his too profuse bountie he could not be vn suspected of his brother, and yet without regard held on that course, hee was greatly to bee blamed therein. For if nothing els might haue moued him, yet he should haue considered, to what end the like doings of others in former times had sorted, and how many it had brought to vntimely end. So although perhaps that Constantine meant no harme vnto his brother, or any way to supplant him, yet did these things not a little increase and aggrauate the former suspicions; and open the eares of the emperor his brother vnto such calumination as commonly attendeth vpon immoderat bountie. But to returne vnto our purpose. This honourable Constantine then liued in LYDIA, but lately married, and in good hope long to liue, being not past thirtie yeares old: but pleasantly spending the time with his wife at NYMPHEA in LYDIA, at such time as he was thus secretly accused vnto his brother, the emperor thought it good, as vpon other occasions of businesse, to passe ouer into ASIA himselfe; but indeed with a secret resolution, vpon the sudden to oppresse his brother vnawares; as by prooffe it fell out. For at his coming ouer, Constantine feeling nothing lesse, was forthwith apprehended, with all his greatest fauorites, of whom one Michael Strategopulus (sometime a man in great authoritie with the emperor his father, and of all other for wealth, honour, and noble acts most famous) was cheefe: who together with Constantine were fast clapt in prison, where we will leaue them euery houre looking to die, their lands and goods being before confiscated. But these woorthie men, especially Constantine and Strategopulus, thus laid fast; who many times in great batailles discomfited the Turks, and notably defended the frontiers of the empire along the East side of the riuer MEANDER; they now finding none to withstand them, foraged not only all the rich countrey beyond the riuer, but with an infinit multitude passing the same, did there great harme also: so that there was no remedie, but that the emperor must of necessitie make choice of some other woorthie captain for the defence of those his cities and countries, by the incursion of the Turks then in danger in that part of ASIA.

There was then in the emperours court one Alexius Philanthropenus, a right valiant and renowned captain; and then in the flower of his youth; of him the emperor thought good to make choice for the defence of those frontiers of his empire in ASIA (against the Turks) which were before the charge of his brother Constantine and Strategopulus; joyning vnto him one Li-badrius, an old famous captain, and a man of great experience also: appointing vnto him the gouernment of the cities of LONIA; and vnto the other, the frontiers along the winding bankes of MEANDER. Where Alexius hauing now gotten a charge woorthie his valour, and in many great conflicts with the Turks still carrying away the victorie, became in short time of great fame: besides that, he was exceeding bountifull and courteous vnto all men; a costly, but a readie way

immoderat
bountie in great
men dangerous.

vnto dangerous credit and renoune. Thus at the first all things prospered in his hand according to his hearts desire: yea the Turkes themselves, bordering vpon him, hardly beset on the one side by the Tartars, and on the other by himselfe; and yet not so much feared with their enemies behind them, as moued with his countesse, came ouer vnto him with their wiues and children, and serued themselves (many of them) in his campe: but as they say, That in *Iupiters* court no man might drinke of the tun of blisse, but that he must tast also of the tun of woe: so fell it out with this great captaine; who hauing but tasted of the better tun, had the worse all poured full vpon his head. For *Libadarius* seeing all so prosper with him, and somewhat enuying thereat, began to feare and suspect, least he proud of his good fortune, and now growne very strong, casting off his allegiance should aspire vnto the empire, and so first begin with him, as the neereft vnto him: which thing many of the nobilitie secretly surmised also, but how truly many doubt. But this enuious plot was not yet ripe, but lay as fire raked vp in the ashes. Now there was with *Alexius Philanthropenus*, certaine companies of Cretensians, whom for their good seruice and fidelitie both honoured and trusted aboue others, vsing them all for the guard of his owne person. These men proud of their credit, hearing of the surmised aspiring of their Generall, and in hope by his aduancement to raise their owne fortunes also, ceased not continually to suggest vnto him high conceits of himselfe, and to persuaide him with all speed to take the matter vpon him; the verie conceit whereof (as they said) would bee vnto him no lesse danger, than if hee should enter into the action it selfe, as he might well see by the wooll examples of the noble *Constantine* and *Strategopulus*, both in extreame perill, but for the jealous conceit surmised against them. Which quicke suggestions wrought in his great mind diuers, and those most contrary motions; so that he scarce knew himselfe what he would or would not. For they which are vnto themselves in conscience guilty of any greivous crime, if any mischeefe hang ouer their heads therefore, it happeneth vnto them, as foreknowing and expecting the same euen from the time that they offended: vnto whom, if nothing els, yet that same very foreknowledge easeth not a little the greefe and miserie: whereas contrariwise, they which are with suddaine mischeefes and vlooked for, ouerwhelmed, not knowing any iust cause why, must needs stand as men dismayed, and almost beside themselves. But at length after diuers great conflicts with himselfe, the euill persuaaders of rebellion, prevailed with him. Yet did hee at the first forbid any mention to bee made of him in the armie as emperour, which caused the Cretensians, the cheefe authors of his rebellion, almost to force him forthwith to take vpon him the imperiall ornaments, thereby to confirme the minds of his followers and fauourers: for that such resolutions were (as they said) to be forthwith put into execution; neither that any thing required so joint celeritie and dexteritie both of the mind and the hand; and for that longer delay would but fill his souldiours heads with doubts, and discourage them with the feare of the vncertainetie of the euent: all which for all that moued him not so to doe; but whether for feare of the greatnesse of the danger, or for that he secretly thought how first to circumuent *Libadarius*, of whom he stood most in doubt, is vncertaine. The report of all which his doings and designs were in short time caried first vnto *Libadarius*, as the neereft, and so in post vnto the emperour: who were therewith not a little both disquieted. And had *Alexius* (as some persuaided him) at the first set vpon *Libadarius*, then vnprovided, no doubt but hee had done much: but God by whom all princes raigne, and whose power confoundeth the deuises of the proud, turned him from *Libadarius*, by whom he was to be oppressed, to follow after *Theodorus* the emperours brother, of whom hee was to haue feared no harme. This *Theodorus*, the first man that *Alexius* shot at, warned by his brother *Constantine* his harmes, then liued a pleasant priuat life in *LYDIA*, far from the ambition of the court, and therefore so much the more beloued of the emperour: but *Alexius* fearing least in that hurle many should resort vnto him, as vnto the emperours brother, and so hinder his proceedings; thought best first to make him sure, and afterward to oppress *Libadarius*, not aware, that in stead of the bodie he followed but after the shadow. But *Libadarius*, as a man of great experience, taking the benefit of this his ouersight, and knowing money to be the sinewes of warre, gathered together all the coine hee possibly could, both of his owne and his friends, sending also for the emperours treasures to *PHILADELPHIA*; and with all speed raised the greatest power hee possibly could out of *IONIA*, which he furnished with all things necessarie, promising vnto his souldiours great matters, and filling them with greater hopes, and that within ten daies he would with a great armie meet the rebell in the heart of *LYDIA*, and there dare him battell. But withall considering, that the Cretensians, men

Alexius Philanthropenus appears.

Libadarius opposes himselfe against the process of *Philanthropenus*.

but of a mercenarie faith, had alwaies the guard of *Alexius* his person, he thought good to make proofe if they might with gold be wooen to betray him: and so well wrought the matter by great summes of money presently giuen, and promises of greater preferments with the emperour: that they (somewhat before discontented with *Alexius* his slackenesse, and now doubting also his success) yeelded vnto his desire, promising in the beginning of the battell to deliuer him into his hands; which they shortly after in the very joyning of the battell, accordingly performed, deliuering him fast bound vnto *Libadarius* his enemy. Who not a little proud thereof, vsed him with great insolencie, and within three daies after put out his eyes, for feare the emperour according to his courteous nature should haue giuen him his pardon; and so kept him in prison, vntill the emperours pleasure were farther knowne. Thus through false suspect and ambition were the greatest champions of the Greeke empire brought to confusion.

Now after this rebellion of *Philanthropenus*, *Andronicus* became so jealous of his owne people, as that he wist not whom to trust, reposing greater confidence in strangers than in his own subjects, to the great hurt of his estate. At the same time it fortuned that the *Massagets* (commonly called *Alani*) which then dwelt beyond *ISRAEL*, being Christians, but oppressed by the European Tartars, wearie of their slavery, sent secretly vnto the Greeke emperour *Andronicus*; offering that if he would assigne vnto them a conuenient place for them to dwell in, they would come ouer vnto him with ten thousand of their families, and faithfully serue him in his warres against the Turkes (who then grievously wasted his countries in *ASIA*, destitute of good capitaines and commaunders) which their offer he gladly accepted, as standing then in need of aid and not greatly trusting his owne people. But when these *Massagets* in number aboue ten thousand, comming ouer with their wiues and children, were to be furnished with all things, and especially the men with horses, armour, and pay, all which the emperour could not of himselfe do; the subjects were therewith hardly charged, and commission sent out into euerie countrey and prouince for the taking vp of horses and armour: euerie citie, euerie countrey towne and village, euerie gentlemans house and poore mans cottage was searched and ransacked, and all things taken from them that was there found fit for seruice, to their great discontentment: euery man murmuring and grudging to haue his armes taken from him, and giuen to strangers. But when they were also to be contributors vnto their pay, they then openly cursed and banned them, euen vnto their faces. Yet at length (though with much adoe) these strangers well furnished with all things necessarie, were with some other forces also shipped ouer into *ASIA*, vnder the leading of *Michael Paleologus* the emperours eldest sonne, and then his companion in the empire. Who marching alongst the countrey, came and encamped about *MAGNESIA*: where the Turkes at the first, after their wonted manner, retired themselves into the high mountaines and thick woods, that from thence they might more safely learne what strength their new come enemies were of, and what discipline of war they kept: for they knew that vpon the comming of great armies, many false reports did run, and that things were made far greater than indeed they were; as did of these also, as of a people inuincible: and therefore they thought it best so to prouast the time, vntill they might see in what sort best to deale with them. But so hauing ouer their heads, and perceiving them oftentimes without order to roame abroad into the countrey seeking after prey, (for why, they after the manner of mercenarie men spoiled their friends no lesse than if they had bene their enemies) they came downe in good order from the mountaines, from whence at the first they aduentured but a little: but afterward they came on further and with greater confidence, in such sort, as that it seemed they would eare long assault the yong emperour in his campe. Wherewith he with the rest discouraged, without any stroke giuen, retired; the Turkes still following him at the heeles. For neither he, neither the rest, any thing considered the small number of their enemies: but as drunken men whose heads filled with grosse vapours, are deceived in the greatnesse of the object that they see, and oftentimes thinke one thing to be two; so were they also in like manner with their owne feare blinded. Beside that, most commonly it falleth out, that the armie which insolencie and iniurie foretunneth, is appointed to destruction, and by the fearfulness of it selfe ouerthrowne before the enemy set vpon it, they themselves becoming enemies vnto themselves; and God his iust vengeance appointing vnto them such an end as their deeds haue deserued: neither was it like that they should do any great good, that at their first setting forth, in stead of prouision carried out with them the bitter curses and execrations of their friends. *Michael* the emperour seeing the

Andronicus the Greeke emperour reposing more trust in forreign aid, than in his owne subjects, greatly hurteth his state.

Massagets flie, and not daring with those few he had left, to oppose himselfe against his enemies, retired himselfe into the strong castle of MAGNÉSIA, there to expect what would become of these mischiefs. But the Massagets spoiling the countries of the poore Christians as they went, marched directly vnto the strait of HEBESPONTVS, and there againe passed ouer into EVROPE, as if they had bene therefore onely sent for ouer the riuier ISTRA, to shew the Turkes the sooner the way vnto the sea in ASIA. For it was not many daies after, but that *Michael* the emperor being returned to CONSTANTINOPLE, the Turkes comming downe with a great power, subdued all the countries, euen vnto the coast of LESBOS, to the great weakning of the Greeke empire.

It was not long after, these great sturs made by the Massagets, but that one *Ronzerius* (some time a notable pirate, but as then a most famous captaine) hearing of the great intertainment that the Greeke emperor gaue vnto strangers; by messengers sent for that purpose, offered vnto him his seruice in his wars against the Turkes, as had before the Massagets. This *Ronzerius* of whom we speake, had out of CATALONIA a prouince of SPAIN, and out of that part of FRANCE which is called NARBONENSIS, and some other places also, gathered together a great number of bafe needie naked men, yet lustie able bodies and fit for seruice either by sea or land; with whom he manned foure tall gallies, and so as a notable pirate long time robbed, not onely the marchants trading too and fro in the Mediteranean, but landing his men oftentimes in the rich islands, caried away thence much rich spoile also; vntill at length by the mischiefe he did being become famous, and great wars then arising betwixt *Charles* king of NAPLES and *Theodorus* king of SICILIA, he was by *Theodorus* sent for and requested of aid: which hee (liuing of the spoile) easily graunted, and so came vnto him with a thousand horse, and as many foot, all old expert souldiours, whose good seruice stood the king in those wars in great steed. But as the end of war is peace, so at length vpon the euill successe of *Charles*, a peace being concluded betwixt the two kings, and confirmed by a marriage betwixt their children, *Ronzerius* liuing altogether by his fortunes was to seeke for new intertainment, both for himselfe and his men, as hauing neither house nor certaine dwelling place to repaire vnto; but being as needie men met together, some out of one place, some out of another, in hope of bootie as their fortune led them: In which case *Ronzerius* their generall thought it best to offer his seruice vnto the Greeke emperor in his warres against the Turkes, whereof hee gladly accepted, and so sent for him: vnto whom hee shortly after came with two thousand good souldiours, called (after the proud Spanish manner) by the name of CATALONIANS, for that they were for the most part Spaniards of the countrey of CATALONIA. Of whose comming the emperor reioycing more than hee had cause (as afterward by prooffe it fell out) in token of his greater fauour, honoured him with the name of the Great Captaine; and afterwards gaue him his neece *Marie* in marriage. But within a while after, when as one *Tenza*, another Catalanian captaine sent for by *Ronzerius*, was come thither also with more aid; the emperor to gratifie them both, gaue vnto *Ronzerius* the name of *Cesar*, and vnto the other the name of the Great Captaine. But when these new come captaines with their followers, were to be transported into ASIA, it is not to be spoken what harme they did by the way vnto the countrey people, and in the villages alongst the sea coast; abusing the men and women as their slaues, and spending their substance at their pleasure; for which they had many a bitter curse: and this was their first yeares entertainment. The next Spring they set forward to relieue the great cite of PHILADELPHIA, being as then long besieged by the Turkes, and hardly bestead without with the enemy; and within, with extreame penurie and famine: which good seruice, they most valiantly performed and raised the siege: For the Turkes beholding the good order of these Latine souldiours, their bright armour, and courageous comming on, rise presently and departed, not onely from the cite, but quite out of the emperours territorie. Besides that, in this armie were joyned vnto these Catalanians great numbers of the best souldiours of the Greeks, and all the power of the Massagets: so that had not the emperor expressly before commaunded, not to pursue them too far, it was by many thought all those cities and countries might then againe haue bene in short time recouered from the Turkes, which they had before taken from him. But in kingdomes appointed vnto rime, faire occasions helpe not for the stay thereof: yea the greatest helpes provided by the worldly wise, by a secret commaunding power aboue, being oftentimes conuerted to the destruction of that they were provided for the safegard of; as it now fell out with the emperor and these

Ronzerius what he was.

these Spanish souldiours: for this seruice done, the Greekes returned home, as did the Massagets also. But these Catalanians with *Ronzerius* their generall, roaming vp and downe the emperours territories in ASIA, did there great harme, turning their forces (as enemies) vpon them whom they were sent for to relieue: alleadging that they had not their pay according to the emperours promise, and that therefore they must liue vpon them that had sent for them and deceived them. So were the poore people in euerie place spoiled, their wites and daughters rauished, their priests and aged fathers tortured to confesse such secret store as they had: all was subiect vnto these dissolute souldiours rage and lust; yea many of them that had nothing to redeeme themselves, vpon the greedie souldiours imagination, hauing their hands or feet, or some other part of their bodies cut off, lay by the high waies side begging an halfe penie or a peece of bread, hauing nothing left to comfort themselves with, more than their miserable voice and fountaines of teares: with which their wrongs and miseries, woorse than those they had sustained by the Turkes, the emperor much grieved; and well the more, for that they were done by him whom he had entertained to relieue them: but what remedie, his coffers were so bare as that he was not able to do any thing for the redresse thereof. *Ronzerius* hauing thus spoiled the emperours countrey in ASIA, and left nothing that pleased either him or his, with all his power passed ouer into EUROPE: and leauing all the rest of his armie at CALIPOLIS, with two hundred of his men went vnto the yong emperor *Michael* (then lying with a small power at ORESTIAS in THRACIA) to demanda of him his pay, or if need were to extort it from him with threats: with whose insolencie at his comming, the emperor more offended than before, his souldiours there present perceiuing the same, with their drawn swords compassing him in, salt by the court, slew him, with certaine of his followers; the rest in all hast fled to CALIPOLIS to certifie their fellowes what had happened.

Thus by the death of *Ronzerius*, the yong emperor had thought to haue discouraged the Catalanians and abated their pride, as like ynough it was to haue done: yet in prooffe it fell not out so, but was the cause of far greater euils. So when God prospereth not mens actions, the best salueth out vnto the worst, and their wisest deuices turne vnto meere follies: for the Catalanians at CALIPOLIS hearing of the death of *Ronzerius* their Generall, first slew all the citizens in the cite, and notably fortifying the same, tooke that as their refuge. Then deuiding their souldiours into two parts, with the one part of them manned out eight gallies, which vnder the leading of the Great captaine *Tenza*, robbed and spoiled all the marchants ships, passing the straits of HEBESPONTUS, to or from CONSTANTINOPLE: the other part left in the cite, in the meane time foraging the countrey all about them. But *Tenza* shortly after encountering with a fleet of the Genowaites, well provided for him, was by them ouerthrowne, and most of his gallies sunke, and himselfe taken; but yet afterwards redeemed by his fellowes, and so againe enlarged. Now the Catalanians at CALIPOLIS somewhat discouraged with the losse of their fleet and so many of their men, for certaine daies kept themselves quiet within their wals, as not well knowing what course to take; for they feared both the Massagets and Thracians; them, for that they had vpon light causes abused them, and slaine diuers of them in the late Asian warre; and these, for that they had but euen the other day burnt their houses and spoiled their labours in the countrey thereby: for which and other their outrages, they vterly despaired of the emperours fauour whom they had so highly offended. But that which most of all terrified them, was, for that they looked euery day when *Michael* the yong emperor, who as then lay not farr off, should with a great power come to assault them: for feare of whom they cast a deepe ditch about the cite, with a strong countercarffe; so preparing themselves, as if they should haue bene euen presently besieged. But the time so passing, and the emperor delaying his comming, they began to thinke of other matters: For being brought to that strait, that they could not well tell which way to turne them, but that they were on euery side beset with danger; they vpon a malicious resolution, and vnto the Greekes most fatal, by messengers sent of purpose, craued aid of the Turkes that dwelt on the other side of the strait oueragainst them, in ASIA: who presently sent them fiftie hundred good souldiours, after whom followed also many other fugitiues and loose companions, in hope of spoile: with whom the Catalanians for the present strengthened, and being themselves three thousand strong, issued out of the cite, and foraged the countrey thereabouts, bringing in with them great herds and flockes of sheepe and other cattell, together with their keepers: wherewith both the emperours and their subiects incensed, prepared themselves for reuenge. This was the first

Ronzerius what he was.

Ronzerius what he was.

The Turks first called into Europe by the Catalonians.

first calling in of the Turks into EUROPE (that I read of) and the beginning of those endless miseries wherewith the Christian commonweale hath beene euer since most greuously afflicted, and a great part thereof ouerwhelmed; few or none greuing thereat, but such as themselves fee the heauinesse thereof, whom God in his mercie comfort.

The Turcopuli.

The vnsurmountable battell of Michael the emperor against the Catalonians and Turks.

The Catalonians and Turks now lying about CYPSELLA and APRIL in THRACE, Michael the emperor with his Macedonian and Thracian souldiours, the Massagets and the Turcopuli, encamped at APRIL. These Turcopuli were Turks, also in number about a thousand, who (as in the former part of this historie declared) beeing fled with their Sultan *Iathatinus* vnto the Greeke emperor, and left behind him at such time as he was by the European Tartars deliuered, had forsaken their Mahometane superstition, and so being become Christians, were enrolled amongst the Greeke souldiours. Shortly after the emperor (aduertised by his scouts of the approach of his enemies) commaunded euery man to be in a readinesse, and his captains to put his armie in order of battell: who seeing the enemies battell deuided into three parts, put theirs also in like order, placing the Turcopuli & Massagets in the left wing, the Macedonian and Thracian choise horsemen in the right wing, and the rest with the footmen in the maine battell. At which time the emperor himselfe riding from place to place, with comfortable speeches encouraged his men to fight valiantly against their enemies. The Sunne rising, the enemies battell began to come on, in number much inferior vnto the emperours, yet in like order; the Turks being placed in both wings, and the Catalonians well armed in the middest. But the signall of battell being given on both sides, the Massagets, whether it were by agreement so before made with the enemy, or upon a suddaine conceived treason, presently withdrew themselves aloofe off, and so stood as idle beholders, giuing aid neither to the one nor to the other, as did also the Turcopuli their companions; which greatly dismaied the Grecians, and encouraged their enemies: for the Greekes dismayed with that suddaine defection of their fellowes, were euen in the joyning of the battell discouraged. Which the emperor perceiuing, with great instance intreated the captains and commanders of his armie, calling them oftentimes by name, not to be so suddainly discouraged: but they in so great a danger little regarding his words, and still shrinking from him; when as the greatest part of his footmen were troden vnderfoot, and slaine, turning himselfe vnto them that were left, which were but few, he said: *Now woorthie men is the time wherein death is better than life, and life more bitter than death.* And hauing so said, valiantly charged the enemy: in which charge his horse was slaine vnder him, and he in danger to haue beene taken, had not one of his faithfull followers remounted him vpon his owne horse, and so saued his life with the losse of his owne. The emperor flying to DYIMOTICHUM, where *Andronicus* his father then lay, was of him joyfully receiued, but sharply reproofed for aduenturing his person so far. The enemies pursuing the chase, slew some, tooke others, vntill that by the coming on of the night, and wearie with the long fight, they retired: and the next day deuiding the spoile, afterwards at their pleasures forraged the country. The renegade Turks, called Turcopuli, within a few daies after reuolting vnto the Catalonians, were of them joyfully entertained, and enrolled into the regiment of *Chalel*, the Turks Generall.

Shortly after this victorie, the Catalonians began to mutinie among themselves, the Great capitaine *Tenka*, and *Pharenka* his companion, disdaining to bee commaunded by *Recafors* their Generall: in which tumult, the matter comming to blowes, *Tenka* was slaine, and *Pharenka* for safegard of his life glad to flie vnto the emperor *Andronicus*; of whom he was, contrarie to his expectation, right honourably entertained. About this time also, the Massagets hauing done the Greekes more harme, than the Turks against whom they were entertained, and enriched themselves with the spoile of their friends both in ASIA and EUROPE, were about with their wiues and children, and wealth, to returne againe vnto their old dwellings beyond ISTER. Which the Turcopuli, with the Catalonians vnderstanding; and bearing vnto them a secret grudge, for that they (as the weaker) had by them oftentimes been wronged in the deuision of the spoile of the Greekes, lay now secretly in wait for them as they should passe the straits of the great mountaine *Hemus*, which bounded the Greeke empire from the Bulgarians: where setting vpon them, fearing no such danger, they slew them almost all; & with the spoile of them, recompenced themselves for all the wrongs they had from them before receiued.

The Catalonians proud of their victorie at APRIL, and well strengthened by the reuolt of the Turcopuli, with continuall rodes spoiled not onely all alongst the sea coast of THRACIA, but

Cassandria.

The Catalonians sent out of Macedonia.

but all the inland countrey also, as far as MARONEA, RHODOPH, and BIZIA, laying all wast before them. And hauing forraged most part of THRACIA, brake into MACEDONIA, and there wintred about CASSANDRIA, sometime a famous citie, but as then all desolate and ruinous. But the Spring being come, they remooued thence, with purpose to haue spoiled the cities of MACEDONIA, and especially the rich citie of THESSALONICA, where the emperesse *Irene* then lay: wherein they were by the emperours good foresight and care preuented, who doubting such a matter, had fortified his cities in that countrey, and furnished them with strong garrisons and all other things needfull for their defence: which they quickly perceiuing, and finding the countrey all desolate and forsaken by the inhabitants, were about to haue againe returned into THRACIA. But as they were thereupon resolving, they were informed by one that was with them captiue, how that the emperor by a mightie strong wall built at a place called CHRISTOPOLIS, from the sea side euen vnto the top of the mountaines, had so shut vp the passage, as that it was not possible for them that way to enter. With which vnexpected newes they were at the first exceedingly troubled, as foreseeing, That if they should there long stay in that spoiled countrey, they should in short time be driuen vnto exceeding wants (for they were now in number about eight thousand fighting men) and afraid also by a generall conspiracie of the people about them, to be oppressed. Thus beset, and not well knowing what to do, or which way to turn themselves, they desperately resolved, no longer there to stay, but forthwith to set forward, and to breake into THESSALIE, with the plentifulnesse thereof to relieue their wants, or into some other countrey farther off towards PELOPONNESUS, and there to seat themselves, and to end their long trauailes: or at leastwise, if they could not so doe, to enter into league with some that dwelt vpon the sea coast, and so returne againe into their owne countrey. Wherefore leauing THESSALONICA, and deliuering the emperor of a great feare, they in three daies came to the Thessalian mountaines, OLYMPUS, OSSA, and PELIUS, where thy at the foot of them found such plentie of all things necessarie for their releefe, that they there wintred. But Winter past, and the Spring being come, they passed ouer those high mountaines and the pleasant vallies called TEMPE, and so at last came downe into the fruitfull plaines of THESSALIE; where they spent that yeare at their pleasure, without resistance, deuouring the labours of the poore country people, and making hauocke of whatsoeuer thing came in their way: for as then the state of that countrey was but weak, the prince thereof being but yoong, and withall very sicke and like to die, and the succession to ending in him, as that it was feared, who after his death should lay hand thereon; and euery man therefore more carefull of his owne priuat than of the common good. Yet to auert these forraign enemies, who like a consuming fire deuoured the country before them, the nobilitie thought it good, with great gifts to ouercome their captains and commanders, and then to offer them guides to conduct them into ACHAIA and BEOTIA, countries more pleasant and fruitfull than was theirs, and more commodious for them to dwell in: promising also to giue them aid for the seating of them there, if they should so need. Of which their offers the Catalonians accepted, as thinking it better with their hands full of gold so easily gotten, to goe seeke their better fortunes, with their power yet whole and strong, and helpe also if need were, than to hazard all vpon the successe of a doubtfull victorie, and so foolishly to preferre an vncertaine hope before a most certaine benefit. So making peace with the Thessalians, and the Spring being come, receiuing of them their promised rewards, & guides to conduct them; passing ouer the mountaines beyond THESSALIE, and the straits of THERMOPILE, they encamped neere vnto LOCRI and the riuer CEPHISUS: which rising out of the mountaine PERNASSUS, and running toward the East, hath on the North side of them LOCRI and OPUS; and on the South the inland country of ACHAIA and BEOTIA: and being a great riuer vntill it come to LEBADIA and HALIARTES, is there deuided into two riuers, the one called AESOPUS, and the other ISMENUS; whereof the former runneth through the countrey of ATTICA, vntill it come into the sea, and the other neere vnto AULIS (where the noble Grecians, as they say, being about to goe vnto TROY, met and there staid) falleth into the Euboean sea. But the duke of THEBES and ATHENS and of all that countrey, hearing of their coming, and (as hee thought) well provided also for them (as hauing all the Winter and Spring time before put his forces in readinesse) with great pride and contempt denied them passage through his countrey, at such time as they asked the same; making no more reckning of them, than as of a sort of loofe wandering rogues that could find no place to rest or thrine in: wherewith they enraged, resolved among

among themselves, either there to seat themselves in his countrey, or to die therefore. And so passing the river into B E O T I A, not far from the same encamped themselves, being in number about 2500 horse, and 4000 foot. But so lying and expecting the coming of their enemies, they caused all the plaine ground about where they lay and meant to fight, to be plowed vp, which they with certaine small cuts out of the river so watered, as that it differed but a little from a deepe marsh or bog. Hether about the middle of the Spring commeth the prince of the countrey, with a gallant armie raised out of A T H E N S, T H E B E S, P L A T E A, L O C R I S, P H O C I S, and M E G A R A, in number about 6400 horse and 4000 foot, an armie too strong hee thought for so contemptible an enemy. But the weakest enemy not feared, doth oftentimes the greatest harme, as here by prooffe was to be seene: for the prince comming vnto the foresaid plaine, now grown green with grasse, and casting no perill, encouraging his men, came brauely on with all his horsemen to haue charged his enemies: who stood fast vpon the firme ground, a little without their trenches, as ready to encounter him. But before he was come to the middle of the plaine, his horses sinking deepe into the rotten and new ploughed ground, and there intangled as in a marsh, lay for the most part tumbling in the mire, together with their riders; or els plunging in the deepe; and hauing cast them, ran vp and downe the plaine, as fortune led them; othersome sticking fast, stood with their riders vpon their backs, as if they had been very images, not able for to moue. Which the Catalonians beholding, and therewith encouraged, ouerwhelmed them with all manner of shot, and slew them at their pleasure, vntill they had almost made an end of them: and with their horsemen so speedily pursued the rest in chace, euen vnto the cities of T H E B E S and A T H E N S, that they without more adoe euen at that instant surprised them both, with all that was in them. So the Catalonians hauing as it were at a cast at dice woon a most goodly countrey, garnished with faire townes and cities, which they neuer built; and stored with all manner of wealth, which they neuer sweat for; there ended their long trauailes, and seated themselves: Not ceasing (as saith *Nicephorus Gregorius*, the reporter of this historie, speaking of the time wherein these things were done, and wherein hee himselfe liued in C O N S T A N T I N O P L E) vnto this present day, by little and little to extend the bounds of their territorie. Where leauing them with whom we happely haue too long straid from our purpose, let vs againe returne vnto the Turks and Turcopuli their companions.

In the armie of the Catalonians, at such time as they were about to haue besieged T H E S S A L O N I C A, were three thousand Turkes, of whom eleven hundred were of them (as we said) which remained with *Melech* at A E N V M, after the flight of *Iathatus* there Sultan vnto the Tartars, and renouncing their superstition, became Christians; and so being baptized, and hauing wiues and children, were enrolled among the emperours souldiours; but at the battell of A P R I revolted vnto the Catalonians, and were commonly known by the name of Turcopuli: the other being the greater part, were such Turkes as with *Chalel* their captaine came out of A S I A, being sent for by the Catalonians. Now all these Turkes, as well the one as the other, at such time as the Catalonians were about to invade T H E S S A L I A, and to seeke their new fortunes in the countries more W estward, and so farther off from A S I A: partly distrusting the societie of them, as dangerous vnto them; and loth also further to follow their vncertaine fortunes into countries further off, among people to them vnknowne; began to arise in mutinie; and to refuse to go. Whereupon their captaines *Melech* and *Chalel* requested of the Generall of the Catalonians to giue them leaue with quietnesse to return: which their request he easily graunted (as now not greatly needing their helpe, after that he was departing out of the emperours dominion) and so they gladly departed; proportionally diuiding all the captiues and spoiles they had taken in that long war, according to the number of both parts.

These Turkes after their departure from the Catalonians, diuided themselves into two parts, the Turcopuli or renegat Turkes following *Melech*, and the rest *Chalel* their generall. But *Melech* being before become a Christian, as were his followers also; and after that hauing received most honorable entertainment at the emperours hands, and yet againe most shamefully breaking his faith before giuen, and violating his religion, had revolted vnto his enemies; dispaireing of the emperours further friendship, which he had so euill deserued, made choise rather to goe vnto *Crales* prince of S E R V I A, by whom he was sent for, than to come againe into the fight of *Andronicus* the Greeke emperour. And so going vnto him with a thousand horse, and five hundred foot, was there of him well entertained himselfe: but his souldiours all commanded to deliuer

vnto the prince both their horses and armour, and to fall to other trades and not to beare armes but at such time, and so many of them as should seeme good vnto the prince, that had receiued them into his countrey.

But *Chalel* with the Turkes his followers, in number about 1300 horse and eight hundred foot, staying at M A C E D O N I A, offered vnto the Greeke emperour quietly to depart his countrey, so that he would giue him passage by the straits of C H R I S T O P O L I S by him fortified; and in safetie transport him and his souldiours with all their substance, ouer the strait of H E L E S P O N T V S into A S I A: vnto which his request, the emperour considering the great harme done in his prouinces; and desirous also to be discharged of so great a burthen, easily graunted; and so sent *Senacherib*, one of his most valiant captaines, to conduct them out of M A C E D O N I A into T H R A C I A, vnto the straits of H E L E S P O N T V S. Where the Greeke captaines and souldiours seeing the great multitude of horses, and abundance of money and other spoiles; which they hauing taken from the Turkes were now about to carie away with them into A S I A; they thought it a great indignitie to suffer them so to do: and allured also with the hope of so rich a prey, as had bene of long in gathering; they entred into a deuise far different from that which was vnto the Turkes before promised; neither prouiding them of shipping, neither carefull of their safetie; but purposing vpon the sudden by night to destroy them. Whereof the Turkes hauing got vnderstanding, suddenly rising, surprised a castle in the countrey thereby, which they notably fortified for the defence of themselves, to the great astonishment of them that had purposed their destruction; who not how able to force them, were glad to get them farther off; and to certifie the emperour what had happened: who (after I wot not what receiued custome of the Greeke emperours his predecessors) slowly dispatching things requiring greatest hast, carelessly delayed the time, to the great trouble of his state and aduantage of his enemies. For they wisely considering the danger and distresse they were in, by speedie messengers sent ouer the strait, craued aid of the Turkes their countrey men in A S I A, which they presently sent them: wherewith they not a little both encouraged and strengthened, with their often and sudden incursions grievously wasted the countrey round about them, to the great discontentment of the Greeke captaines, not able without greater helpe to remedie the same. Who thereof certified the yoong emperour *Michael Paleologus*, requesting him with all the power he could make, to come and besiege the castle, and to suppress these so dangerous enemies. For the performance whereof, not onely the captaines with their souldiours, but the countrey people in generall with their spades and mattocks came flocking vnto the emperour; not as if they would haue besieged the castle, but haue digged it downe and ouerthrown it together with the Turkes their enemies.

Now the emperour with his captaines and souldiours, and a multitude of these countrey people, being come thither; who all gladly followed him, most part of them foolishly thinking of nothing, but of the spoile of their enemies; not considering with what danger the same was to be gained: so that the more the enemies provided for the necessarie defence of themselves, as in number but few, and shut vp in their enemies countrey; the more carelessly and negligently, and without all order, the Greeks proceeded in their siege, for that they were in number far more, and better provided of all things than their enemies: not reputing with themselves, Nothing in this world to be firme and sure; and all worldly things (as saith the diuine Philosopher) to bee but the mockerie of God, and to be hastily turned vpside downe, and with most vncertaine course this and that way to wander. But their enemies, who before feared euen the verie fame of their coming, accounting themselves rather among the dead than the liuing, seeing their confused and disordered rashnesse; therewith much more then before encouraged, bestowed all their wealth, their women, and other things vnnecessary for battel, in good safetie within their trenches: but themselves, with eight hundred chosen horsemen onely, and they verie well armed, sallied out, euen vnto the place where the imperiall ensigne stood; being neither of any great safetie, neither guarded with any such strength or carefulnesse as befecmed: with which sudden and desperat eruption of the enemies, the Gracians terrified; especially that rusticall and vplandish companie, began to flie; after whom by little and little others followed, vntill at length all the rest without farther resistance, fled also: which the emperour seeing, did what he might to haue staied their flight: but in so generall a confusion and feare, when euery man was to shift for one, who regarded him? Wherefore wearied and seeing no other remedie, hee was glad to take the same course and to flie with the rest. Yet many of the more expert captaines, ashamed of so foule a flight;

The unfortunate
battell of the
emperour Michael
Paleologus
with the Turkes
in Chersonesus.

a flight, made diuers stands: and so staid the barbarous enimie from further pursuit of the emperor and the other flying Greeks. In which doing, many of them inclosed by the Turks, were of them taken prisoners: vnto whom all the emperours treasure became a prey also, and what of them honourable ensignes of the empire else that were found in the emperours tent; yea the imperiall crowne it selfe, richly set with pearle and precious stones, was there taken also, which (they say) *Chalel* putting vpon his head, pleasantly scoffed at the Greeke emperour that but late before wore it.

*Thracia spoiled
by the Turks.*

After this victorie, the Turks with great pride spoiled almost all *Thracia*, in such sort as that the people for two yeares together durst scarcely goe out of their strong walled townes to the plough and sow their land; which exceedingly grieued both the emperours, the father and the sonne: for in their owne power they had no great confidence, God hauing (as it were) taken from their people both their hearts & courage; so that all their hope was to entertaine forreinaid (the miserable shift of the great distressed ones) wherein also they found many difficulties and lets, whilst they considered the greatnesse of the charge, their coffers being then (if euer) empty, by reason their territories were so long and grieuouly by their enemies wasted: yet need admitting no law, *Andronicus* the old emperour was glad to send to *Crales* prince of *Servia* his sonne in law, to pray his aid. But in the meane time he making no hast (as men in relieuing others commonly do) and the miserie more and more increasing, it pleased God to stir vp the heart of one *Philes Paleologus* the emperours neere kinsman, to vndertake the protection and deliuerance of his prince and country; and was afterward for his great valour by the emperor woorthily made lord great Martiall of the empire. This *Philes* of whom we now speake, had all his life time beene brought vp in the court, and was for his vpriight dealing and integritie of life beloued of all men, but especially of the old emperour his kinsman, whom he with like affection honoured; but was a man altogether vnskillfull of the wars, as being by nature of a weak constitution of bodie, and so verie sickly; and withall more giuen to deuotion and the seruice of God than the affaires of the world, oftentimes spending most part of the day at his prayers in the church. He now grieued to see the perplexed emperour, and the miserie of his country, requested of him that he might with some small power, and some few captaines of his owne choice, go out against these proud Turks: hoping (as he said) by the grace of God to reuenge the wrong by them done, and to returne vnto him againe with victorie. Vnto which his request, the emperour easily yeelded, saying, That God was just, which delighted not in any mans legs, either in the greatnesse of any mans strength, but in a contrite heart and humble mind; not so giuing his helpe vnto *Michael* the emperour, his sonne, for the offences of his parents: as happily he might vnto this so vpriight and deuout a man, regarding more his integritie of life, than his skill in armes: For turning me about, I haue seen in this world (said he) I haue seene, the swift not to gaine the prize; neither the valiant the victorie; wise men to want bread; and men of vnderstanding, wealth; the simple to gaine fauour; and the subtil to fall into disgrace: such alteration worldly things in time find. So the emperour (as is aforesaid) yeelding to his request, furnished him with money, horses, and armour, and such a conuenient power as he himselfe desired. Which he hauing receiued, first of all encouraged his captaines and souldiours with all manner of courtesie and kindnesse, giuing vnto them money, horses, armour, jewels, yea sometime he gaue vnto one his purse, vnto another his cloake, his rapier, or some other such thing as he had about him, to encourage them in their forwardnesse: after that he perswaded them to an honest temperate course of life, and valiantly to play the men, promising according to their deserts to reward euery one of them, the war once happily ended: and before his setting forth, vnderstanding by his espials, that *Chalel* with a thousand foot and two hundred horse was foraging the country about *Bziza*, he hastid his departure, that so he might by the way encounter them, laded with the spoile of the country: and so setting forward, came the third day vnto a little riuer, which the inhabitants call *Xerogisum*, and there in a great plaine neere vnto the same, encamped. VV here after he had set all things in order fit for battell, he with cheerefull speeches, as a great commander, encouraged his captaines and souldiours; leaving nothing vnfaid or vndone, that might serue for the animating of them to fight. But hee had not so lien two daies, but that his scouts about midnight coming in, brought him tidings, That the enimie laded with spoile, was euen fast by at hand: who by the rising of the Sunne were come within sight, and had themselves a far off also discovered the Christian armie, all glittering in bright armour. VV herfore staying a while to prepare them-

*Philes Paleologus
requesteth of
the emperour,
that he might
goe against the
Turks.*

themselves for battell: and first of all, compassing themselves round with their waggons and other carriages, they bestowed in them all their captiues fast bound together, with the bootie they had taken: and afterwards as their manner was, casting dust vpon their heads, and their hands vp towards heauen, they came on. And now the Christian armie came on forward also, *Philes* still encouraging both the horsemen and footmen, and right well conducting them, as the time and place required. So it fortuned, that he that had the leading of the right wing of the armie, gaue the first charge vpon a squadron of the enemies, and at the first onser vnhorfed one of the enemies, and by and by after him, another. But hauing his horse sore wounded vnder him, he hastily retired out of the battell, which somewhat troubled the Christians, and encouraged the Turks, who now with a barbarous outcrie began most fiercely to presse vpon the retiring Christians. *Philes* in the meane time with many cheerefull words and comfortable perswasions still encouraging them to play the men; and with his eyes oftentimes cast vp to heauen, with teares running downe his face, most heartely besought God, the giuer of all victorie, no longer to suffer those his enemies, and the ministers of his wrath, to triumph ouer his people: as did also the poore captiues that lay bound, doubtfully betwixt feare and hope, expecting the euent of the battell. The Christian footmen at the same time encountering hand to hand with the Barbarians, assailed them, and were assailed; slew of them, and were themselves of them slaine; so that there was a cruell fight made on both sides. But *Philes* with the multitude of his men hauing almost compassed in the Barbarian horsemen, with a companie of his most valiant souldiours broke in vpon the side of the enemies battell, and so made way through the midst of it: and so troubled the Turkes, as that they well knew not how to stay or what to doe. So being on euery side circumvented and hardly charged, most of them there fell, excepting some few horsemen, whom the Greeke horsemen pursued vnto the entrance of *Chersonesus*, with purpose there to shut them vp. *Philes* coming thither also, there vpon those straits encamped: at which time the emperour presently sent out five gallies to keepe the straits of *Hellespontus*, so that no ayd might be brought vnto these Turkes out of *Asia*. Whilst things thus went, two thousand choice horsemen came to the aid of *Philes* out of *Servia*, and the potestate of *Pera* came by sea also with eight gallies moe into *Hellespontus* to the aid of the other Christians: wherefore when the Grecians and the Seruians had thus on the one side shut them vp by land, and they that were in the gallies on the other by sea; *Philes* with all his power came and encamped about the towne and the trenches wherein the Turkes lay, planting his batterie against the castle, wherewith he greatly shooke the same, and made great slaughter of the Turks, and of their horses, and that not onely by day, but by night also. But the Turkes seeing death now present before their eyes, and no way left for them to escape: for that they were so on euery side both by sea and land enclosed, thought good thus to aduenure their liues, resolving by night to set vpon the Grecians rather than vpon the Seruians, whom they had hether to accustomed to overcome, and whom they had with often slaughters terrified; that so the rest by them also happily discouraged, they might so delay the assault: but in attempting the same, they perceiued themselves much deceiued, finding them euen at their first falling out, ready in armes to receiue them: wherefore hauing in vaine giuen the attempt (as against a strong fortresse) they were shamefully enforced to retire. Yet were they not therewith so discouraged, but that the straight siege still continuing, they gaue the like attempt vpon the Seruians; but being also by them in like manner with losse repulged, they began now vterly to despaire. VV herfore the next day, about midnight casting away their armes, they with their bosomes and pockets full of coine ran downe vnto the sea side, towards the gallies, with purpose to yeeld themselves vnto the Genowaiques that were therein; as fearing of them lesse harme, as of men whom they had neuer hurt: But the night being darke and mistie, and the Moone giuing no light, many of them vnawares came vnto the Greeke gallies, and there, flying the smoke fell into the fire: for being lightened of their moniey, they were by them forthwith without any pitie slaine also. But the Genowaiques slew not all their prisoners, but onely such as had brought with them the greatest store of coine; least afterwards bewtaying the same, it should haue beene sought after by the Greekes: the rest they cast into bonds, of whom, some they sent vnto the emperour, other some they kept to themselves as their owne prisoners. Thus, by the valour and good conduct of this worthe deuout capitaine, the Turkes were for that time againe chased out of *Europa*, and the country of *Thracia* deliuered of a great feare.

The battell betwixt Philes and the Turkes.

The Turkes overcome.

P

Now

Othoman first king of the Turks.

Now by that we haue already written, is easily to be scene, the chief causes of the decay and ruine of the Greeke empire, to haue been, First, the innouation and change of their ancient Religion and ceremonies by *Michael Paleologus*, whereof ensued a world of woes; then by Countessesse, coloured with the name of good husbandrie, the utter destruction of the chief strength of the empire; next vnto that, by Enuie, the ruine of the great; False suspect, the looser of friends; Ambition, honours ouerthrow; Distrust, the great minds torment; and Forreine aid, the emperours vnfaithfull porter, opening the gate euen vnto the enemie himselfe: wherunto foule Discord joyned (as shall be forthwith declared) what wanted that the barbarous enemie could desire, for the helping of them in the supplanting of so great an empire? But againe to our purpose: *Michael*, companion with his father *Andronicus* in the empire, had by his wife *Marie* two sonnes, *Andronicus* who was afterward emperor, and *Mannuel* surnamed the Despot; and two daughters, *Anne* married vnto *Thomas* prince of *Epirus*, and *Theodora* married to the prince of *Bulgaria*: of all these, the old emperor *Andronicus* their grandfather, so entirely loued *Andronicus* his nephew, as that in comparison of him he little seemed to regard either his owne children, or the rest of his nephews, wishing them all rather to perish than him: which many supposed him to do, as purposing by him the better to establish the succession of the empire in his house; as also for his excellencie of wit, and comelinesse of person; the likenesse of name also happily furthering his kind affection. For which reasons, he caused him to be alwaies honourably brought vp in his court, as not willing to spare him out of his sight either day or night. But when he was out of his childhood, and growne to be a lustie youth (at which time mens hot desires are commonly most vehement) he began to contemne all chastisement and gouernment; especially in so high a calling, and in the prime of his youth. Besides that, his companions became vnto him the ministers and persuers of all those vaine delights which vnstaied youth most desireth: and at the first began to lead him forth to walke the streets, to haunke, to hunt, and to haunt plaies, and afterwards to night walks also, not well becomming his state: which riotous course of life, when as it required great expence, and his aged grandfather gaue him but a certaine spare allowance for his conuenient maintenance; he acquainted himselfe with the rich marchants of *Genovay*, which dwelt at *Pera*. Hereof rose hard taking vp of money, great debt, fine deuises how to come by coyne, with secret consultations and purposes of flight. For when hee saw his grandfather old *Andronicus* long to liue, and his father *Michael* like to succede him, he had no hope of aspiring to the empire; whereupon his ambitious thoughts, and impotent desires, long time tormenting his haughtie heart, suggested vnto him such purposes. For when as hee would not obey his grandfather as his tutor, nor follow other mens counsels, as a child, hee sought after the imperiall libertie, and abundance of wealths that he might haue that was sufficient for himselfe, and wherewith to reward others, as the followers of an emperor. Which seeing he could not doe, his grandfather yet liuing, and his father reigning; he sought after the soueraignie of other principalities and countries: one while after *Armenia*, as belonging vnto him in the right of his mother, the king of *Armenia* his daughter; another while after *Peloponessus*, and sometime hee dreamed of *Lesbos* and *Lemnus*, and other the fruitfull Islands of the *Aegean* sea: which when it was secretly told sometime to his father, and sometime to his grandfather, he was now crossed and reprooued of the one, and afterwards of the other. And to passe ouer many other his youthfull pranks, hee vsed in his night walks secretly to repaire vnto a certaine gentlewomans house, more honourably borne, than honestly qualified: which woman, a certaine gallant and another *Adonis*, no lesse affected than himselfe; wherewith he highly offended, as with his riuall, appointed certaine ruffians and fencers to watch her house. But vpon a certaine time about midnight, *Mannuel* the Despot (his younger brother) seeking after him, chanced to passe that way where these watchmen lay: who seeing him hasten by, and not knowing him in the darke, and supposing him to haue been the man they looked for, the gentlewomans best beloued, set vpon him, and so wounded him that he fell downe for dead from his horse: but being by and by after known by others coming in, he was taken vp, and so halfe dead carried vnto the court. Which outrage in the morning being knowne vnto the emperor, cast him into a great heauinesse, as beholding not the time present onely, but wisely considering what was like to ensue in the time to come also. But *Mannuel* the Despot being dead of the wounds there receiued, and the report thereof brought vnto *Michael* the younge emperor his father, then lying at *Thessalonica*, strooke him

Othoman first king of the Turks.

to the heart with so great a griefe, that falling sicke with the conceit thereof, hee shortly after died.

Andronicus the vnstaied youth neuerthelesse holding on his wonted course, with a secret purpose to haue fled, became thereby still more and more suspicious vnto his aged grandfather, not a little careful vnto what end those his violent passions would at length tend. And therefore appointed one *Syrgianus* (a man of great credit and authorie in the court, in whom as in a reconciled enemie he had most vnadvisedly reposed too much trust) to insinuat himselfe into the youthfull princes acquaintance and fauour; that so sounding him, and his secret designs, he should not possibly be able without his knowledge to step aside; which of all things the old emperor feared most, as the beginning of greater troubles. This *Syrgianus* being a man of great place, and of a subtil wit, was sometime himselfe suspected of aspiring; and therefore as vpon the misprision of treason, was by the old emperor imprisoned: but afterwards by him againe enlarged and receiued into fauour, was now put in trust warily to obserue the doings of the younge prince. But he not vnmindfull of the wrong before done vnto him, and in hope by troubling the state, either to aspire vnto the empire himselfe, or at leastwise to some good part thereof; thought now a fit occasion to be ministred vnto him for him to worke vpon, both for the one and the other, by setting the old emperor, and his ambitious nephew together by the eares: which opportunity he not minding to let slip, taking the younge prince one day aside, discovered vnto him all his grandfathers deuise in brieft, as followeth:

Your grandfather noble prince (said he) hath set me as a watch over your actions, or more truly to say, as a blood-hound, to seeke after not your doings onely, but if it were possible euen after your most secret thoughts also: and so whilest he maliciously prepareth for you snares and fetters, you not aware thereof, foolishly follow your shallow and childish conceits. For what shall it auail you secretly to stie away? whereas (if the best chance) yet must you (as the common saying is) put your feet vnder another mans table, and line of his charge; if it fall not out worse, that you be slaine or made away by them you stie vnto for reliefe, or else fall into the snares by your grandfather laid for you. But if so be that casting behind you these your fond deuises you will hearken vnto my counsell, I will shew you a readie way how you shall in short time and without any danger, aspire vnto the imperiall seat and dignitie; the onely way wherunto is this, if you leauing the citie of *Constantinople* shall stie out into the cities and provinces of *Thracia*. For seeing men are most commonly by nature desirous of change, and the miserable *Thracians* are with often exactions grievously vexed; if you shall but once proclaime a redresse of their grieuances, with immunitie for euer, they will all with one accord follow you whether soeuer you will, your grandfathers long and heauie yoke being cast off, as if it were *Sisiphus* his euill stone, which they had long rolled and neuer the neere. If you like of this aduise, I will be vnto you both the author and the leader of this exploit, and will easily bring to good effect the whole matter: so that you againe on the other side promise vnto me vpon your faith, to reward this my trauell according to my desert therein. But what rewards shall these be? Honourable preferments, large possessions, great reuenues, the first place in your fauour, and that no great matter be done or concluded without my consent and knowledge. For you see how willingly I make my selfe partaker of your calamitie and companion of your dangers, no necessitie enforcing me thereunto; forgetting euen my verie faith in comparison of the loue and zeale I beare towards you, wherein if any mishap shall by the mutabilitie of fortune betide me, I haue set downe my selfe with patience to indure it. All which considered, you need not to grudge to yeeld vnto my requests, if you tender your owne safetie. And for as much as the shortnesse of the time will suffer no long consultations, and that delay bringeth extreame danger: let vs without longer stay impart the matter vnto such others, as for the hatred of the emperor are like to keepe our counsell, and may yet much further our designs.

The younge prince moued with this speech, as if it had beene with a charme, easily graunted to his desire, confirming the same by his oath conceiued in writing: at which time were present such as were especially to be acquainted with the plot of the conspiracie, namely *Iohn Catachene*, and *Theodorus Synadenus* (both men of great honour, and the old emperours ancient supposed friends, and of him beloued, much of like age vnto himselfe) and *Alexius Apocancus* the third (not of like honour with the other, yet a man of great place, and of a most subtil and deepe wit:) who all vnderstanding the matter, shewed themselves not as ministers, but as king-

leaders and captaines of the intended rebellion. This conspiracie with most solemn oaths and promises on euery part confirmed, they began right cunningly to attempt the matter : and to begin withall, *Syrgiannes* and *Catacuzenus*, by corrupting diuers of the great and most gracious courtiers, procured to themselves the gouernment of such cities and prouinces in *THRACIA*, as they thought fittest for them to begin their rebellion in. *Syrgiannes* hauing the gouernment of the sea coast, and the inland countrey euen from the sea side vnto the top of mount *RHODOPES*; and *Catacuzenus* the gouernment of the countrey about *ORESTIAS*. In all which places they mustred fouldiors, provided armour, entertaining also strangers, and other vagrant and matterlesse men, as for some great war: besides that, in the cities for the gouernment thereof, they placed their most trustie friends, remoouing such others as they had in suspect. All which they coloured by rumours falsly raised, one while of the comming of the European Tartars from *DANUBIUS*; and another while by the comming of the Turks out of *ASIA*: against whose inuasions these preparations were giuen out to be made, for auoiding of suspicion; and the traitours for their prouident care highly commended euen by the emperor himselfe, against whom they were intended. All which things *Syrgiannes* notably dissembled, oftentimes withall certifying the yong prince what he had done, and what was likewise of him to be performed.

But the old emperor, seeing his youthfull nephew not to hearken to his graue aduise, but still to proceed in his dissolute kind of life; was about solemnly to haue reprobued him before the Patriarch and some others of the chiefe nobilitie: if happily such open reproofe might haue wrought in him some change of manners; if not, then to haue committed him to prison: and like enough he was to haue so done, had he not bene otherwise perswaded by *Theodorus Metochita* (who of all others was able to do most with him) by reason of the libertie of the time; for then it was vpon the point of Shrouetide, when as the people distempered with excess of meate and drinke, were of all other times most fit, vpon any light occasion, to be drawne into a tumult or vprore: for feare whereof, he was contented for that time to let him alone. But Shrouetide past, and a good part of Lent also, the old emperor seeing no amendment in his nephew, calling vnto him *Gerasimus* the patriarch, & the rest of the reuerend bishops the present in the cite, sent for his nephew, openly before them all to chide him, and to schoole him for his disordered life; but especially for his purposed flight; that ashamed of such open reproofe before such reuerend fathers, he might either amend his life, or at leastwise of all men be thought iustly punished for the same, if he should still proceed therein. So the yong prince being sent for, came accompanied with a number of his fauourits and followers, most of them being secretly armed, and himselfe not altogether vnprovided: for it was agreed amongst them, that if the emperor should vse gentle and fatherly admonition towards him, that then they should keepe themselves quiet, without any shew of insolencie or discontentment; but if he should in anger reprove him, or threaten to punish him, then vpon a signe giuen, forcibly with their swords drawne, to breake in vpon him and to kill him in the imperiall seat, and without more ado to place yong *Andronicus* his nephew in his stead. But comming in, and (as his manner was) taking his place next vnto his aged grandfather, his desperat followers attending without, he was indeed of him grieuouly blamed and reprobued for his former follies and euill course of life; yet with such moderation and grauitie, as that all seemed (as it did) to come of a most fatherly care and regard: so that at that time no such outrage was committed, as was by diuers his followers wished, but the assemble quietly dismissed, and a solemn oath taken on both sides: of the grandfather, That he should not appoint any other to succeed him in the empire but his nephew; and of the yong prince, That he should neuer go about or attempt any thing, to the shortening or hurt of his grandfathers life or empire. But the conspirators thronging about him at his comming out, fretted & fumed at him, as if he had broken his faith and oath before giuen them, saying, What greater wrong couldst thou do vs, than being by vs made strong and become dreadfull vnto thine enemies, to dispose of thine affaires at thy pleasure to thine owne safetie, and to leaue vs thy most faithfull friends and seruants in the diuels mouth to be deuoured? For now they both doubted, and feared, lest their conspiracie was discovered. With which speeches he both discouraged, and ashamed, sent for *Theodorus Metochita* his grandfathers chiefe counsellor, requesting him to deale with his grandfather, for the pardoning of all his followers, as he had done for himselfe: of which motion he disliking, told him, That he was to giue God thanks that he had himselfe escaped so great a danger, and to him also, as a meane for the safeguard of his life; although he entreated not for such traitorous

traitorous persons, with whom, if he were well aduised, he would haue nothing to do, either think that they would euer be faithfull vnto him, that respecting neither God nor man, had so foully broken their faith before giuen vnto the emperor his grandfather. With which vnexpected answer of so great and graue a counsellor, the prince not a little troubled and withall discontented, stood a while as in a muse all silent, reasoning as it were with his owne passions: but afterwards commanding him without further reply to depart, and the old companions of his follies resorting vnto him, he by their perswasion entertained againe his former disloyall thoughts and designements: which his grandfather vehemently suspecting, and therewith not a little grieued, would, as if it had bene by inspiration, oftentimes in his heauinesse say vnto them that were about him, *In our time is lost the maiestie of our empire, and the deuotion of the Church*. Yet to prevent the worst, he thought it good betime to lay hands vpon his suspected nephew, and so to detain him in safe keeping: acquainting none therewith but *Gerasimus* the Patriarch and his ghostly father, who straightway acquainted the prince therewith, and was the cause that he hastened his flight, flying himselfe before. For he now certainly vnderstanding the danger he was in, the night before he should haue bene apprehended, with all the rest of the conspirators his complices, in the dead time of the night fled out of the cite, by the gate called *GYROLIMNIA*; which gate (all the rest being shut) was still at his command, for that he commonly vsed thereby at his pleasure very early to go out on hunting, as he now pretended to do; but the next day after came to *Syrgiannes* and *Catacuzenus* camp, who then both lay with a great power at *HADRIANOPOLE*, expecting his comming. The old emperor, before the rising of the sunne, aduertised of the flight of his nephew, the same day commanded him to be proclaimed traitor, & proscribed, with all his conspirators, & whoseoeuer els should take his part. And for the more firetie, euery man in the cite was sworn to be loyall and faithfull vnto the old emperor, and enemies vnto his nephew and his adherents. But he on the other side, proclaiming libertie and immunitie abroad in all the cities and villages in *THRACIA*, so woon the hearts of the countrey people in general, that they resorted vnto him from all places in great numbers, ready armed to doe whatsoeuer he should command them. And to begin withall, they first laid hands vpon the collectors of the emperours monie, then abroad in the countrey, whom they foully intreated, taking from them their money. After that, and yet seuen daies not expired, almost an incredible number of horfmen, footmen, archers, and others, departed from *HADRIANOPOLE* towards *CONSTANTINOPOLE*, vnder the leading of *Syrgiannes*, in good hope at their first comming to take the cite, being at discord in it selfe; and most part of the meaner sort, in hope of gaine, fauouring their rebellious proceedings, such as the seditious find in such rebellious tumults. So hauing marched foure daies, they came and encamped at *SELYBRIA*: but as they were about to haue gone on farther, the old emperor doubting least the citizens, seeing so great an arme before the cite, should therein raise some tumult or stirre, to the endangering thereof; thought good before to send embassadours vnto his nephew, to proue if happily these so dangerous troubles, might by their means in some good sort be appeased. The chiefe of these embassadours was one *Theoleptus* bishop of *PHILADELPHIA*, a man no lesse famous for his vertue than his wisdom, and yet for both of all men honored; and with them also was sent *Syrgiannes* his mother, as of all others most fit to appease her sonne, & to perswade him not to approach the cite, for that thereof might ensue much bloodshed, and the destruction of the cite, or at leastwise the vtter vndoing of manie; whereof if he should be the authour, how could he euer after liue in conscience quiet, but that the torment thereof would follow him euen into his graue; and therefore to request him to retire a little, and so to come to talke, and to demaund what he pleased. *Syrgiannes* moued as well with the presence of the reuered bishop, as with the prayers of his mother, retired to the yong prince, which then lay about *ORESTIAS*; whither the emperours embassadours came also: with whom (after long debating) it was agreed, That the yong prince should in all royall manner, hold all *THRACIA*, from *CHRISTOPOLIS* vnto *RHAGYVM* and the suburbs of *CONSTANTINOPOLE*; and withall, That such lands as the yong prince had already giuen vnto his followers in *MACEDONIA* should still remaine vnto them (which were such as yearly yielded vnto them a right great reuenue). And that the old emperor should hold vnto himselfe the imperiall cite, with all the cities and prouinces of *MACEDONIA* beyond *CHRISTOPOLIS*; and that he alone should haue the honour to heare the embassadours sent from forraigne princes, and to giue them their dispatch; for that the yong prince tooke no pleasure in those

Thracia rebelled vnto Andronicus.

Articles of agreement betwixt the old emperor and his nephew.

The Greeke empire in Europe deuied.

Whilist the Greekes are at discord among themselves, Othoman layeth the foundation of the Turke empire, and the other Turkes encroach vpon them also.

The Island of the Rhodes was by the knights Hospitallers recovered from the Turkes in the year 1308.

waightie affaires; as by nature more delighted in hauking, hunting, and his other youthfull pleasures. Vpon which conditions a peace was concluded, better liked of the yong prince, than of the old emperour; who although he was desirous otherwise to haue redressed so great wrongs, yet wanting power, was glad to yeeld to whatsoeuer his nephew would request. Thus was the Greeke empire in EUROPE (as then all or the most part inclosed within the bounds of MACEDONIA and THRACIA) now deuied betwixt the grandfather and his nephew: ASIA in the meane time (wherin the Greeke emperours their predecessors sometime held great kingdomes) being left for a prey to the greedy Turkes. Othoman on the one side euen in the heat of these troubles laying the foundation of his empire in PHRYGIA and BYTHINIA: and the other the Turkes princes, the succcessors of Sultan *Aladin*, encroching as fast vpon the emperours territories and countries on this side the riuer MEANDER. And not so contented, at the same time, also built great store of gallies, wherewith they robbed the Christian marchants trading to CONSTANTINOPLE, and spoiled the coasts of MACEDONIA and THRACIA, and the Islands of the *Ege* Sea; and amongst others tooke the famous Island of the RHODES: which they held not long, before they were againe driuen out of the same by the knights Hospitallers, vnder the conduct of *William Willaret*, aided by the Genowais, and the king of SICILIA, which they from that time held (to the great honour and benefit of the Christian commonweale) by the space of 214 years, knowne by the name of The knights of the RHODES: vntill that in the memorie of our fathers it was (I say no more, but grieue therefore) shamefully lost vnto the Turke, for want of reliefe, neuer place being more honourably defended, as in the processe of this historie shall appeare: euer since which time, those honourable men (the flower of chualitie) haue seated themselves in the Isle of MALTA; which they to their immortall glorie, and the comfort of all good Christians, haue most notably defended against the mightie Sultan *Solyman*, and all the furie of the Turkes: shall be also in due place declared.

But to returne againe vnto the troubled estate of the Greeke empire. *Syrgiannes* the great captain, and author of all the aforefaid stirs betwixt the old emperour and his nephew, had euen from the beginning thought, as a companion to the yong prince, to haue ruled all with him in his pleasure, and that nothing either great or little should haue been done without him: but seeing it now to fall out far otherwife than he had before expected, and the prince to be wholly ruled by *Catagrenus*, and himselfe of all others least regarded, and not so much as called to any counsell; inwardly tormented with greefe and enuie, he began secretly with himselfe, to deuise how he might be reuenged of the vngratefull prince, which vnmindfull of his former promises; had so vnthankfully cast him off. Wherefore he resolved againe to reuolt vnto the old emperour; not doubting but so in short time to ouerthrow all the counsels and deuices of the yong prince, together with his state also, by himselfe before, raised. For hee as a worldly wise man, excluding God from his counsels, had such an opinion of himselfe, that which way soeuer he went, thither must all things follow also. Wherefore by one of his most trustie friends, he secretly made the old emperour acquainted with his purposed reuolt, and how all things stood: for the greater credit thereof, alleading, That he could not abide the sight of him, that sought to corrupt his wife, meaning the yong prince. This newes from *Syrgiannes* was vnto the old emperour most welcome: for it grieved him, as an old man of a great spirit, to see himselfe so contemned and deluded by his nephew, his empire rent, and his old seruitours, of all sorts, by him spoiled of their lands and possessions in MACEDONIA and THRACIA. So a solemne oath in secret passed from the one to the other, *Syrgiannes* without longer stay secretly fled to CONSTANTINOPLE: which there bruited abroad, rejoyced many, now well hoping the whole government should againe come vnto the old emperour, and that so they should againe recouer their possessions wrongfully taken from them by his nephew. But God not seeing it so good, all this hope was but vaine, as ere long it appeared: For the yong prince, who of long knew how much he was beloved of the Constantinopolitans, and by them secretly sent for, taking occasion vpon the flight of *Syrgiannes*, with all the power he could make, marched towards the citie: & being come within sight thereof, encamped, laying ambushes vpon euery way & passage thereabout, for to haue intercepted *Syrgiannes*; who was then at PERINTHUS, and the third night after, with three hundred select souldiers, deceiuing them that lay in wait for him, as if they had beene all asleepe, before the rising of the Sunne came to CONSTANTINOPLE: and if the old emperour would haue giuen him leaue, had suddainly charged them that lay in wait for him, before they were aware of his

his coming. But as soone as it was day, the prince hearing of the escape of *Syrgiannes*, and no such tumult in the citie as he had expected, presently without more ado, retired with his armie the same way he came, backe againe into THRACIA.

By and by after, *Constantine* the Despot was by the old emperour his brother, sent by sea to THESSALONICA, to take vpon him the government of MACEDONIA, and by the way to apprehend *Xene* the emperesse, the yong princes mother; & after with all the power he could make to invade the yong prince in THRACIA: that so setting vpon him on the one side, and *MACEDONIA*, and *Syrgiannes* with the Turkes (for the emperour in this civil discord was glad to see their helpe also) and the Bythinian souldiers on the other, they might so shut him vp betwixt them and take him. According to which resolution, the Despot comming to THESSALONICA there tooke the emperesse, whom with all her familie he thrust into a gallee, and so sent her to CONSTANTINOPLE, where she was in the palace kept close, as too much fauouring the proceedings of the prince: And afterward raising all the power he could in MACEDONIA, invaded the prince in THRACIA, breaking by force through the wall of CHRISTOPOLIS.

The yong prince seeing himselfe by this meanes, now like to be driuen to a great strait, sent *Synadenus* with his Thracian armie, to defend the frontiers of his empire towards CONSTANTINOPLE, against *Syrgiannes* with his Turkes and Bythinians: in hope himselfe by many subtile deuises and flights, to be able to encounter his vnckle the Despot. And first he caused diuers edicts and proscriptions to be writt in halt, wherein great rewards and preferments were with great solemnitie of words promised to whomsoeuer could bring vnto him the Despot either quick or dead: which were of purpose giuen vnto the country people passing too and fro, to be dispersed abroad in the high waies, and about in the country neere vnto the Despots campe. And after that, he caused the death of the emperour his grandfather to be eutie where proclaimed; and how that he was by the Constantinopolitans in a tumult slaine: which the deuises thereof, in euery place reported. As some there were, that swore they were themselves present at his wofull death, and saw it with their eyes: others some, more certainly to perswade the matter, shewed long white goats haire, or such like gathered out of white wooll, as if they had beene by the furious people plucked from the old emperours head or beard, at such time as hee was slaine. Which things being commonly reported in euery towne and village, but especially in the Despots campe, wonderfully filled mens heads with diuers strange and doubtful thoughts: then diuers also of the dispersed edicts being found and brought vnto the Despot, stricke him (and not without cause) into a great feare; insomuch that by the perswasion of his best friends, he without longer stay retired in halt to THESSALONICA. Whither shortly after came a gallee from CONSTANTINOPLE, with secret letters from the emperour to the Despot, for the apprehension of five and twentie of the cheefe citizens, vehemently suspected for the stirring vp of the people to rebellion; and so to haue deliuered the citie vnto the prince: all whom the Despot should haue sent bound in that gallee to CONSTANTINOPLE: but they in good time perceiving the danger they were in, secretly stirring up the people; and by and by after ringing out the bells (the signall appointed for the beginning of the rebellion) had in a very short time raised a wonderful tumult in the citie; insomuch, that all the citizens were with their armes, who running headlong vnto the house of the Despot, found not him (for he forewarned of their coming, was fled into the castle) but slew all they met of his, or els robbing them, cast them in prison. As for the Despot, hee tooke what they found there in, and afterwards pulled it downe to the ground: Then comming to the castle, they fired the galleys, which the Despot seeing, and not able to defend the place, tooke horse and fled vnto a monastery not far off, where being taken by them that pursued him, hee fell sore against his will, for the safeguard of his life, tooke vpon him the habit of a monk: neuertheless, he was so thence carried prisoner, that the yong prince his nephew, who slewed himselfe much more courteous vnto him, than all the rest of his nobilitie & waiters: for they as if they would haue eaten him vp, were euen forthwith readie to haue torne him in peeces, had not the prince embracing him in his armes, saved his life. Yet the next day after, by the perswasion of his counsell he sent him to DOLMOLICHUS, where hee was cast into a most loathsome prison, being verie deepe and straight, in manner of a well, no bodie to attend vpon him, but one boy, where he lay in miserable darkenes and stinke; they which drew vp his ordure from him, and the boy, whether by chance or of purpose, pouring it oftentimes vpon his head: Where as after he had ben a great while in this miserable misery, waiting to die and could not; he was at length

length by the princes commandement (entreated therewith by certaine religious men) removed into a more easie prison, where we will for euer leaue him.

Things falling out crosse with the old emperor, and although they were neuer so well deuised, still sorting out vnto the worst, he became verie pensifue and doubtfull what to do. So it fortuned, that one day in his melancholy mood hauing a Plaster in his hand, to resolute his doubtfull mind, he opened the same (as if it were) of that heauenly Oracle to aske counsell: where in the first verse that he light vpon was, *Dum caelestis dissociat reges, nunc conspergentur in Selmon*: VVhen the Almighty scattered kings (for their sakes) then were they as white as snow in Selmon. VVhich he applying to himselfe, as if all those troubles, and whatsoeuer else had happened in them, proceeded from the will of God, although for causes to him vnknowne: hee by and by sought to reconcile himselfe vnto his nephew; contrarie to the mind of *Syrriannes*; desiring nothing but trouble. For (as we haue before said) the yoong prince although he was desirous of the power and libertie of an emperor, yet he left the ornaments and care thereof vnto his grandfather: & had he not oftentimes and earnestly been egged forward by his companions to affect the whole empire, happily could and would haue contented himselfe with the former pacification: for being now sent for, he came first to *RHOM*, and there visited his mother (now late at libertie, and sent thither for the furtherance of the desired pacification) where he with her and by her counsell did whatsoeuer was there done. So within a few daies the matter was brought into so good terms, that an attennement was made, and he himselfe went and met the emperor his grandfather before the gates of the citie: the old emperor sitting then vpon his horse, and the prince lighting from his, a good fur long before he came at him: and although his grandfather was verie vnwilling and forbad him so to doe, yet he came to him on foot, and kissed his hand and foot as he sat on horsebacke; and afterward taking horse, embraced him, and there kissed one another, to the great contentment of the beholders: and so hauing talked some few words, departed the old man into the citie, and the yoong man into his campe, which then lay neere vnto *PBOA*: where staying certaine daies, he came diuers times into *CONSTANTINOPLE*, and so went out againe; for as then his mother, partly for her health, partly for the loue of her sonne, lay at *PBOA*.

But *Syrriannes* nothing glad of the agreement made betwixt the emperor and his nephew, walked vp and downe sicke in mind, with a heauie countenance, especially for that in time of peace his busie head stood the commonweale in no stead. VV herefore in all meetings & assemblies, he willingly conuersed with them which most disliked of the present state, and spake hardly as well of the emperor as of his nephew, wronged as he thought by them both; whereas in the time of their greatest distresse hee had (as hee said) stood them in good stead. But seeing one *Asanes* *Andronicus* walking melancholic vp and downe, as a man with heauinesse oppressed; who hauing done good seruice for the yoong prince, and not of him regarded, had fled vnto the old emperor, and there found no such thing as he expected for the ease of his griefe, although he were a man honourably borne, and otherwaies indued with many good parts: with him *Syrriannes* acquainted himselfe, as grieved with the like griefe that he himselfe was: with whom as with his friend, without any dissimulation he plainly discoursed of all such things as his griefe desired. But *Asanes* handling him with great wisdom, did himselfe with like words speake hardly both of the emperor and his nephew; but yet curiously noted whatsoeuer *Syrriannes* said, for he had before hated him for his ambition, and as then tooke it in displeasure, that he was enemy vnto *Catzenzenus*, his sonne in law, who was all in all with the yoong prince, and did oftentimes comfort him. But the long being throughly set, *Asanes* came secretly vnto the old emperor, and told him the whole matter; and in fine, that except hee betime laid hold vpon *Syrriannes*, affecting the empire, he should in short time be by him brought to his end. VV hereupon *Syrriannes* was forthwith clapped fast in prison: whose house, with all his wealth, the common people tooke the spoile of; and not contented to haue raised it downe to the ground, consumed the site thereof, together with the pleasant vineyards adjoining vnto the same, into a place to feed goats and sheepe in: a worthie reward for his manifold trecheries. The yoong prince shortly after going to *CONSTANTINOPLE*, was there crowned emperor, as fellow in the empire with his grandfather: vnto which sollemnitie in the great temple of *Sophia*; both the emperors riding, it fortuned the old emperor by the stumbling of his horse to be ouerthrowne, and foulely be raised in the myre, the streets being then very foule by reason of the great raine but a little before

fallen:

fallen: which many tooke as ominous, and portending the euill fortune which shortly after befall him. During the time of this peace, it fortuned that as the yoong prince was a hunting in *CHERSONESUS*, seueritie *Turkes*, aduenturers, were by force of weather driuen on shore: who before they would yeeld themselves prisoners, made a great fight with the emperours men, and slew diuers of them; in which conflict the yoong emperor himselfe was wounded in the foot, wherewith he was a great while after exceedingly tormented.

Andronicus the late prince, and now fellow in the empire with his aged grandfather, held not himselfe long so contented, but after the manner of ambitious men (and continually prickt forward by his aspiring fauorites) longed to haue the whole gouernment vnto himselfe, which hardly brooketh any partener: and therefore wearie to see his grandfather liue so long, resolved no longer to expect his naturall death, (although it could not by course of nature be fatte off) but by one deuice or other to thrust him from the gouernment; or if that might not bee wrought, at once to dispatch him both of life and state together. And the surer to lay the plot whereon so foule and horrible a treason was to be built, he by the counsell of his mother & others, by whom he was most directed, sent for *Michael* the prince of *BULGARIA*, his brother in law (though before to him vnknowne, as was his wife his sister also) to make with him a firme league, to the intent by him to prouide, That if the prince of *SERVIA* (who had but lately married the old emperours nigh kinswoman, and so to him much deuoted) should take part with him, he should by the Bulgarian his neighbour bee intangled. VVho so sent for, with his wife, the old emperours daughter, came to *DIDYMOTICHUM*, where they were many dayes most honourably entertained both by the yoong emperor and his mother: for why, this meeting plotted vpon great treason, was finely coloured, with the desire the yoong emperor had to see his sister and her husband, as before vnto him vnknowne, and the emperesse, her daughter, whom she had not seene in three and twentie yeares before. But the secret conclusion betwixt them was; That the Bulgarian prince should to the vttermost of his power aid the yoong emperor against his grandfather, and he likewise him against the Seruian, as he should haue need: and further, That if his grandfather, being deposed, he should recouer the whole empire, then to giue him a great sum of mony, with certaine speciall cities and prouinces confining vpon him, as in dowrie vnto his kind brother in law, and companion in his labours. So *Michael* the Bulgarian prince honourably entertained by the yoong emperor and the old emperesse his mother in law, loaded with rewards, and promises of greater returned home into his country.

This matter thus dispatched, the yoong emperor therewith encouraged, and knowing also the Constantinopolitans, besides the other cities of *THRACIA*, exceedingly to fauour him and his proceedings; by whom also he was secretly invited to hasten his coming thither (as wearie of the long life and lazinesse, as he reamed it, of his grandfather) thought it best cunningly to go about the matter; that so his grandfather being with as little stir as might be deposed, he himselfe might alone enjoy the empire. But needing money for the effecting of so great matters, he by force tooke all the money from the collectors, whom the old emperor had sent into *THRACIA* for the taking vp of money there; telling them, that he was an emperor also, and in need of money, and that the common charge was likewise by the common pulse to be discharged. After that he tooke his way towards *CONSTANTINOPLE*, pretending that vpon speciall causes hee had occasion to send embassadours vnto the Sultan of *EGYPT*: for the transporting of whom he was there to take order for the setting forth of a great ship, and other things necessarie for the journey. Neither went he slenderly appointed, but with a great power; and the cities of *THRACIA* before well assured vnto him, such as he suspected being thrust out of office, and others more assured vnto him placed in their steads. But whilst he thus besturreth himselfe, one of those that were most inuward with him, detesting so foule a treason, secretly fled from him vnto his grandfather, from point to point discouering vnto him all the intended treacheries; and withall, how that his nephew had determined to depose him from his empire, or otherwise to bereaue him of his life if he should stand vpon his guard: but if in the attempt hee should find easie successe, then to spare his life; and depriuing him of the imperiall dignitie, to thrust him as a monke into a monasterie: and therefore aduised him to beware how he suffered him after his wonted manner to come into the citie, for feare of a generall reuolt, but rather by force to keepe him out. VVhich the emperor hearing, and comparing with other things which he had heard of others, yet founding in his cares, deeming it to be true, stood vp, and in the an-

guish

Andronicus the old emperor seeks for counsell of the Plaster, as of an heauenly Oracle, and so seeks to make peace with his nephew. Pal. 68. ver. 14.

A treacherous meeting.

guish of his soule thus complained vnto God : *Reuenge my quarrell, o God, vpon them that doe me wrong, & let them be asham'd that rise up against me: and preserve thou vnto me the imperial power, which by thee giuen vnto me, he commeth to take from me, whom I my selfe begot and aduanced.* After, he began to consider what course to take for the assurance of himselfe and his state in so great danger. And first he sent vnto his nephew (come halfe way) to forbid him from entering the citie, and to tell him, That it was a great folly for him, being so manifest a traitour, both vnto his grandfather and the state, to thinke his traitorous purposes to bee vnknowne vnto the world: and beside, in way of reproofe to reheatse vnto him, how many occasions he had giuen for the breaking of the league with his grandfather: first, in taking away the money from the collectors, whereof the state neuer stood in more need, by reason of the diuision of the empire, which required double charge; then, in that hee had in the citie euerie where displaced such gouernours and magistrats as his grandfather had sent thither, and placed others at his pleasure; with many other like facts, declaring his treacherous aspiring mind, for which he was not without cause by his grandfather forbidden to enter the citie. After that, the old emperor by secret letters craved aid of *Crales* prince of *SERVIA*, and *Demetrius* the Despot his sonne, who was then gouernour of *THESSALONICA* and the countie adioyning; commaunding him, with *Andronius* and *Michael* his nephews (gouernours of *MACEDONIA*) with all the forces they were able to raise, and such aid as should be sent vnto them out of *SERVIA*, with all speed to joyne together and to go against the yong emperor. But these letters thus written vnto the prince of *SERVIA*, the Despot, and others, (as is before said) were for the most part intercepted, by such as the yong emperor had for that purpose placed vpon the straits of *CHRISTOPOLIS*, and the other passages; especially such as were written in paper, yet some others in fine white linnen cloth, and secretly sowed in the garments of such as carried them, escaped for all their strait search, and so were deliuered. And in truth nothing was done, or about to be done in *CONSTANTINOPLE*, but that the yong emperor was by one or other aduertised thereof: whereas the old emperor on the other side, vnderstood nothing what his nephew did abroad, or intended. For all men of their owne accord enclined vnto him, some openly both bodie and soule (as they say) and such as could not be with him in person, yet in mind and good will were euery present with him; and that not onely the common sort of the citizens of *CONSTANTINOPLE*, but the chiefe Senators, the great courtiers, yea and many other of the emperours neerest kindred also: who curiously obseruing whatsoeuer was done in the citie, forthwith certified him thereof. Amongst whom was also *Theodorus* the marques, one of the old emperours owne sons: who many years before by the emperesse his mother sent into *ITALY*, and there honorably married, was by his prodigall course of life there, growne far in debt; so that leauing his wife and children behind him, he was glad after the deccasse of his mother, to flie vnto his father at *CONSTANTINOPLE*, and there now liued; who beside that he most honourably maintained him in the court, and bestowed many great things vpon him, paid also all his debts, which were verie great. All which fatherly kindnesse he forgetting, went about most *Iudas* like to haue betrayed his aged father. For he also dreaming after the empire, and for many causes (but especially for that hee was in mind, religion, manners, and habit, become a Latine) by him rejected, thought he could not do him a greater dispite than by reuolting vnto the yong emperor: so that the nearer he was in blood, the more he was his fathers vnaturall enemy. Shortly after, *Demetrius* the Despot hauing receiued the emperours letters at *THESSALONICA*, called vnto him *Andronius* and *Michael* his nephews, the gouernours of *MACEDONIA*; with whom joyning all his forces, and dayly expecting more aid out of *SERVIA*, he first spoiled the yong emperours friends and fauourits in *MACEDONIA*, giuing the spoile of them in all the cities and townes of *MACEDONIA* vnto their fouldiours, who made hauocke of whatsoeuer they light vpon: and whosoever seemed any way to withstand them or dislike of their proceedings, their goods and lands they confiscated, and draue the men themselues into exile. Neither was the yong emperor *Andronius* in the meane time idle, but secretly sent out his edicts into all parts of the empire, yea into the verie cities of *CONSTANTINOPLE* and *THESSALONICA*, and ouer all *MACEDONIA*: whereby he proclaimed vnto the people in generally, a releasement of them from all tributs, impositions, and payments; and frankly promised vnto the souldiours and men of war, the augmenting of their pensions and pay: which were no sooner bruited, but that most men were therewith moued, both in word and deed to fauour his proceedings, doing what they

they could to further the same, and by secret letters inuiting him to hasten his coming into the citie: who thereupon comming to *RHEGIVM*, by his embassadours sent from thence, requested the old emperor, Either to giue him leaue according to the league betwixt them, to come into the citie, or else to send him certaine of the chiefe of the nobilitie and cleargie; with some of the better and more vnderstanding sort of the Burgers and citizens also, vnto whom he might frankly speake his mind: for them faithfully to deliuer the same againe vnto the emperor his grandfather, and the people. Which requests the old emperor perceiuing to be full of deceit and trecherie, for a good space answered thereunto nothing at all, but stood all silent, as doubting which to graunt: for, to suffer his nephew to come into the citie, he saw was dangerous, the citizens (as he well knew) being for the most part enclined to reuolt vnto him so soon as they should once see him within the gates; and to send any forth vnto him, as he desired, might be (as he feared) an occasion of some tumult to be after raised in the citie: for he knew that his nephewes drift therein was, openly by faire words, and secretly with great gifts and large promises, first to gaine them, and by them the rest of the citizens. Both which things being dangerous, he made choice of the easier, and sent forth vnto him two of the most noble Senators, two of the most reuerend bishops, two other graue prelates, and foure of the chiefe burgeses of the citie: vnto whom, at their comming vnto him, hee in the open hearing of all men deliuered this premeditated and craftie speech:

The yong emperor sendeth embassadours vnto his grandfather, vnto his grandfather.

*It is not vnknowne vnto the world, you my subjects to me alwaies been vnto me more deare than I have been vnto my selfe: and how that I haue not vpon any ambitious conceit, or desire of the sole gouernment, against my grandfathers good will, gone out. For you see how that I neither spare mine owne life, or attend my pleasure, for the care I haue of you: I come not vnto you compassed about with a guard of armed men, as is the manner not of kings only, for the enuie of their high place; but of others also of farre meaner calling, whom disaster fortune, banished from their parents and kindred, hath enforced to wander here and there, with death alwaies before their eyes. Let any man tell me how I came by these wounds which I yet beare in my bodie, but in fight with the enemies of my country which passe ouer out of *ASIA* into *THRACIA*; or els dwelling neere vnto *ISTER*, doe with their incursions from thence miserably wast that side of *THRACIA* which is next vnto them? For I (to tell you the very truth) seeing the old emperor by reason of his great yeares to become stothfull and blockish, and not possibly to be awaked out of his drowsie sleepe, neither any whit to greene, when as the poore Christians his subjects were both by day and night, some as sacrifices slaine by the barbarous enemies, some carried away into most miserable captiuitie, and the rest poore and naked to be drinen out of their houses and cities; not to speake in the meane time of the greater mischeefes in *ASIA*, and how many cities haue beene there lost through the old emperours sloth and negligence: when I saw these things (I say) stricken with a piercing greefe, which my heart could not indure, I went out for two causes. Either by some kind of honourable death to end my greefe together with my life, or els to the uttermost of my power to stand my countrey in some stead. For by no meanes it can come to passe, but that a man, and he that hath of long time reigned, must at length become loathsome vnto his subjects, and incurre their deadly hatred. For why, God hath made nothing in this life immutable and firme: whereby it commeth to passe, as we see, that all worldly things joy and delight in change. But if a man will as it were force fortune to his desire, and strue to bind things vnto a certaine firme and constant course, he shall but lose his labour, and in vaine strine against nature. But whatsoeuer is contrary vnto nature, or exceedeth the iust bounds thereof, hath in it neither comfort nor delight. This was it that caused the wise men to say, and to leaue vnto vs as rules: Not to dwell too long vpon any thing; and a measure to be the fairest vertue. For you see how that my grandfather being grown to great yeares; and hauing reigned so long (I may almost say) as neuer did any but he, is become hatefull vnto all his people; and yet regardeth not either how to discharge himselfe of so great a burthen, or how to releue the declining state of the empire, or so much as greeneth to see the successors of the empire to lie before him: for my father is dead without any fruit of the empire, except the bare title only; and others also neere to him of blood, and farre yonger than he, are dead likewise: and happily I my selfe may die also before I shall receiue any profit thereof: For what can more easily happen, especially vnto a man that shunneth no danger, and regardeth not his life? But some perhaps will suspect me of ambition, for departing from the emperor my grandfather, and for refusing to bee ruled by him. Which thing I neither flatly denie, nor altogether confesse: for might I see the empire encrease, and the bounds*

The speech of the yong emperor vnto his grandfather, vnto his grandfather.

bounds thereof enlarged, I could willingly content my selfe, and at my ease take my rest; cheering my selfe up with such hope as doe they that beare with their cookes, making them to stay long for their dinner, in hope thereby to fare the better. But seeing the state of the empire daily to decline from euill to worse, and the miserable people carried away captiues, or slaine by their enemies euen at the gates and vnder the wals of the imperiall citie: what deeme you mee then to thinke? For most men ease their present greefe, with the hope of future good, although the same be but vaine: but vnto mee is not life euen such vaine hope vnto my false comfort. And can you meruaile at the impotent affection of the Great Alexander of MACEDON, greued and displeased to see his father to heape victorie vpon victorie, and to cut off all the hope of his sonnes glorie, by leauing him so few occasions of war; and not thinke me (to whom you see the quite contrarie is chanced, and from whom not only the hope of the empire is cut off, for the wasting thereof, but euen the course of a quiet life) to fret and greene therat? Mooued herewith, and not able longer to endure it, at length I rise up, and requested of the emperor my grandfather, but a thousand men at armes, promising him by the power of God with them to persuer the cities in BYTHINA, and to driue his enemies farther off; before that hauing them, they should passe ouer the strait and besiege the imperiall citie of CONSTANTINOPLE: which so small a request he not onely denied me, but hath euer since taken me for his mortall enemy. But this and many other things els let passe: I haue now another request vnto him by you, which is, That he would giue me eight thousand duckats to content my souldiors withall, who now of long haue from place to place romed up and downe with mee, following mine vncertaine fortune: which graunted, I will no more bee vnto my grandfather troublesome, but dismissing my forces, hold my selfe right well contented.

Hauing thus said, he rise out of his seat, and taking them apart one after another, courteously discoursed with them, & so filling them with great hopes, sent them away: who departing from him & comming into the citie, became as it were the open proclaimers of his praises, enflaming the people with a greater desire of him than before. VVhich the old emperor hearing, and perceiving almost all his friends in the citie to be in heart reuolted from him; and withall fearing to be of them in some suddaine concourse slaine, was therewith exceedingly vexed. Yet he thought it best before any such thing should happen, to proue their minds, and to heare the counsell of the Patriarch, and *Afanes*, and the other bishops also: vnto whom being by one of the Senators called together, he declared his mind as followeth:

Where I assured, that hauing deposed my selfe of the imperiall dignitie, I should my selfe live in safetie, and see my people well gouerned; I would I should neuer be of the company of the faithfull, if I did not much prefer a pleasant quiet contented life before an empire. For if a man would seek for the pleasure of the mind, what can be more pleasant, than to be disburdened of all cares, and free from such dangers as attend high estates? But if for my sinne and the sins of my people, as also for the sinne of mine ancestors, the vengeance of God in manner of a violent tempest raging against vs, subuerteth our empire: and yet but a youth, by the helpe of God reformed and quieted the state of the empire; greuously troubled with discord in the Church, and the often inuasion of the enemy; and taught by long experience, know not now in so great a hurle and tempest which way to turne my selfe: how can I with safetie commit vnto my nephew so great a charge, who as yet is both an vnstayed youth; and so careless of his owne good as that he knoweth not how well to gouerne his owne priuat affaires? For giuing out his power vnto young unskilfull men, and hauing slung away his imperiall possessions amongst them, hee himselfe lieth in penurie and want; neither regardeth anything more than his dogs and kittes, of whom hee keepeth few lesse than a thousand curres, and as many hawkes; and not much fewer men to looke vnto them. Wherefore vnto such a man, how may I safely commit either my life, or the administration of mine empire, by God committed vnto me? But I will neuer witting and willingly cast away either my subjects or my selfe. For my nephew I haue loued, not onely more than my wife and children, but (to say the truth) more than my selfe also; as you all know how tenderly I haue brought him up, how carefully I haue instructed and aduised him, as purposing to haue left him the heire and successor both of my wisdom and mine empire, that so hee might be the better please both God and man. But he, contemning my good counsell, hath spent whole nights in banquetting, and riot, and brothelhouses; wherein hee hath also slaine his owne brother: and to be breefe, he hath risen and lifted up his hand against me his grandfather; and a grandfather that

had of him so well deserved, attempting such a villanie as the Sunne neuer saw. Wherefore you ought also to hate and detest his wickednesse, and to rise up to restraine his impudent disloyaltie, and by your ecclesiasticall censure to denounce him unworthie of the empire and the communion of the faithfull, as one seperated from God, that so ashamed and corrected, he may louingly thither retorne from whence he is shamefully departed, and againe be made heire both of mine empire and staiednesse. For there is no man alieue whom I had rather haue promoted vnto the empire, so that he would heare my precepts, and obey my counsell. As for the conclusion he used in his former speech, it was altogether fained, craftie, and malicious: for you haue heard how many reproches he hath giuen me in all that speech, wherewith his conclusion agreeth not: but the more to stir up the hearers thereof against me, did of purpose so conclude his speech.

Vpon this, most of the foresaid graue and learned bishops agreed that the young empétour should no more be named in the praiers of the Church, vntill he had better conformed himselfe: Howbeit the patriarch and some others secretly fauouring both him and his proceedings, liked not thereof, and therefore saying nothing thereunto, returned home vnto their owne houses. But meeting once or twice afterwards in the patriarch his house, they there conspired together against the old emperor; with whom also diuers of the nobilitie consented: and thereupon an oath was conceiued in writing, whereby they bound themselves, to continue constant in that their wicked resolution. Whereupon, about three dayes after, the patriarch causing the bells to be rung; and a great number of the vulgar people flocking together, pronounced the sentence of excommunication against all such as should in their publike praiers omit the name of the young emperor, or refuse to doe him all honour due vnto an emperor. VVhich thing not a little grieued the old emperor, as appeared by his speech, in saying, *If the doctor of peace be so mad against vs, in hope of reward promised by my nephew, that casting off all shame and grauntie, he doubteth not to be the author of sedition; who shall repress the rash attempts of the vulgar people against vs, if we respect but mans helpe? For the Patriarch so much as in him lieth is, I see, the murderer of vs.* So the bishops of the contrarie faction, moued with the notable impudencie of the patriarch, excommunicated him likewise, as he had done them, with his mad followers, as the authors of sedition and faction, and incited with bribes to the troubling of the state: for which cause also he was by the Emperours commandement committed vnto safe keeping in the monastery called MANGANUM. But about two daies after, the young Emperor came to the wals of CONSTANTINOPLE, to know how his grandfather had accepted the messengers sent vnto him; earnestlie requesting that it might be lawfull for him alone to enter into the citie, to do his dutie to his grandfather. But neither he, neither his words were at all regarded, but was by such as stood vpon the wals himselfe with stones driuent away; who could not abide to heare him speake, but shamefully railed at him, saying all his talke to bee nothing els but deceit and fraud: and so for that time he retired a little from the wals. But night being come, certaine busie heads amongst the common people (& they not few) secretly meeting together, gaue him knowledge, That about midnight when as all the citizens were asleepe, and the watchmen in securitie, he should come vnto the wals, where they would be readie with ropes to draw him vp vnto the top of the bulwarkes, which done, the matter (as they said) were as good as dispatched: for that they were perswaded, that the citizens so soone as they should once see him in the midst of the citie amongst them, would forthwith all reuolt vnto him. So he according vnto this appointment, about midnight approaching the wals, found there no such matter as he had well hoped, for the receiuing of him into the citie; but contrariwise, the watchmen carefully watching all alonght the wall, and calling one vnto another. VVherefore finding there no hope, he with *Catacuzenus* and *Synadenus*, his cheefe counsellors, leauing the South side of the citie, in a little boat rowed softly all along the wall that is towards the sea, if happely they might there find their friends, and so be receiued in: but there the watchmen also descrying them from the wals, and calling vnto them, but receiuing no answer, began to cast stones at them, and to make a noise: so that deceiued of their purpose, and out of hope, they were glad to get them farther off, and to depart as they came.

But the euill successe of this exploit was shortly after with his better fortune recompenced: Thessalonica for by and by after, secret letters were sent vnto him from THESSALONICA, requesting him to come thither, assuring him in the name of the bishop with diuers of the nobilitie, with al speed to come thither, assuring him in the name of the bishop with diuers of the nobilitie, and

The speech of the old emperor vnto the Patriarch and the rest of the bishops concerning the young emperor his nephew.

The Patriarch with diuers of the bishops conspire against the old emperor.

Thessalonica needed vnto the young emperor.

and the good liking of the people in generall, at his comming to open the gates of the citie vnto him: whereupon he leauing a great part of his armie with *Synadenus*, to keepe short the Constantinopolitans, he himselfe with the rest of his power set forward towards *Thessalonica*, where he in the habit of a plaine countrey man entred the citie vn suspected: but being got within the gate, and there casting off that simple attire wherewith he had couered his rich and royal garments, and presently knowne to be the yong emperor, the people came flocking about him, and with many joyfull acclamations receiued him as their dread lord and soveraigne: yet some few, more fauouring the old emperor, fled into the castle, and there stood vpon their guard; which after they had for a space notably defended, was at length taken from them.

Thessalonica thus yeilded, *Demetrius*, *Andronicus*, and *Asan Michael*, the old emperours chiefe captaines, then lying with his armie not farre off, and not well trusting one another, fled: most of whose souldiours presently went ouer vnto the yong emperor: who departing from *Thessalonica*, came to *Serre*, which by composition was deliuered vnto him also, but not the castle: for that was by *Basilicus Nicephorus* (the captaine thereof) still holden for the old emperor. This *Basilicus* was a man honourably descended; but of no great capacite or wit, as the finer sort supposed, and therefore not of them much regarded or thought fit for the taking in hand of any great matter: whom yet the old emperor for his plaine sinceritie, more than for any thing els, had made captaine of that castle and gouernour of the countrey thereabouts, which he yet still held, and in these most trouble some times shewed himselfe wiser than them all: that he had so thought of him: of whom some died in despaire, some fled, some were taken prisoners, and so suffered a thousand euils, the rest with the losse of their honour traiterously revoluing from the old emperor to the yong: whereas he alone, looking but euen forward vpon his allegiance, with his trust in God, so long as the old emperor liued, opposed himselfe against these troubles, and stood fast for him, and was not to be moued with any faire promises or cruell threats of the yong aspiring emperor, whereof he lacked none. But hauing strongly fortified the castle committed to his charge, there kept himselfe, vntill that hearing of the death of the old emperor, he then reconciling himselfe vnto the yong, as vnto his right soveraigne, deliuered vp vnto him the castle: who in reward of his fidelitie, gaue it him againe to hold for him, in as ample manner as he had before held it from his grandfather: for wise men honour vertue euen in their enemies, as did king *Philip* in *Demosthenes*, when as he said, *If any Athenian liuing in Athens, doth say that he preferreth me before his countrey, him verely would I buy with much money, but not thinke him worthe my friendship. But if any for his countreys sake shall hate me, him will I impugne as a castle, a strong wall, or a bulwarke; and yet admire his vertue, and reckon the citie happy in hauing such a man.* And so in few words to conclude a long discourse, the yong emperor in short time hauing romed through all *Macedonia*, and without resistance taken all the strong townes and cities therein, he there tooke also *Demetrius* the Despots wife and children, with all his treasure, as also the wives of *Andronicus* and *Asanes*, and of all the Senators that followed them: after whom the great commanders their husbands were also for the most part taken and cast in prison, some at *Thessalonica*, some at *Didimotichum*, some of the rest afterwards most miserably perishing in exile. Wherewith the old emperor discouraged, was about to haue sent his embassadours vnto his nephew for peace, whilest he was yet thus busied in *Macedonia*: and had indeed so done, had not another hope arising in the meane time, quite altered that his better purpose. It fortuned at the same time, whilest the old emperor was thus thinking of peace, That *Michael* the Bulgarian prince, in hope of great profite thereof to arise, secretly offered his aid vnto him against the yong emperor his nephew: of which his offer, the old emperor gladly accepted, and embassadours were sent too and fro about the full conclusion of the matter, no man being acquainted therewith more than two or three of the emperor his most secret friends and trustie counsellors. Yet in the meane time, disdayning to be so couet vp as he was by *Synadenus*, one of his nephews captaines, euen in the imperiall citie: sent out one *Constantinus Asan*, with the greatest part of his strength against him: who encountering him at the riuer *Mavrus*, was there by him in plaine battell ouerthrowne and taken prisoner, the rest of his discomfited armie flying headlong backe againe to *Constantinople*. All things thus prosperously proceeding with the yong emperor, and the countreys of *Macedonia* and *Thracia* now almost all at his commaund, he returned in hast with all his power to *Constantinople* to preuent the comming of the Bulgarians thither: as fearing least

least that they finding the citie weakly manned, should treacherously kill the old emperor with such as were about him, and so seize vpon the citie themselves: or at leastwise giue him such aid as might keepe him out, and so cut off all his hope for obtayning of the same. At which time also there was great want of victuall in the citie, he with his armie hauing shut it vp on the one side by land, and the Venetians with their galleies on the other side by sea: who then at odds with the Genowais dwelling at *Pera*, kept all that strait sea betwixt *Evropa* and *Asia*: in such sort, as that neither victuals nor marchandise could be brought that way, either to *Constantinople* or *Pera*. The yong emperor comming to *Constantinople*, attempted at his first comming to haue entred the citie, in hope without any great resistance to haue beene receiued; but repulled by the defendants, was glad to get him further off. About this time came also vnto the citie three thousand horsemen, the promised aid of the Bulgarian prince vnto the old emperor: who although he wanted men, and was right glad of their comming, yet remembering the harmes he had before receiued by forrein aid, and not now daring to trust them too far, suffered not them to come into the citie, more than their Generall and some few others of their commanders with him. Now the yong emperor vpon the comming of this aid, least some great harme might betide either the old emperor, or himselfe, to the viter subuersion of their state: secretly sent vnto his grandfather, requesting him to be well aduised how he trusted those forrein people too far: offering himselfe to do whatsoeuer he should commaund, rather than so great a harme should happen vnto either of them, as was from them to be feared. But the trust the old emperor had conceiued of this Bulgarian aid, had so confirmed his mind, as that hee little listened vnto his nephews request: besides that, how could hee well trust him that had so oftentimes deceiued him? Wherewith the yong emperor much grieved, and now againe almost dispaire of his farther successe, dislodged and drew neere vnto the place where these Bulgarian horsemen lay encamped: from whence hee sent certaine embassadours with great gifts and presents vnto the Generall, and the rest of the chiefe commanders, promising them farre greater, if they would without further troubling themselves returne home againe: wherunto they willingly granted, and so were of him honourably feasted, and the next day after conducted vpon their way homewards.

It fortuned, that the yong emperor returning backe againe from the Bulgarians, and encamped in the same place where he before lay; two of the watchmen of the citie, the one called *Camaris*, and the other *Castellanus*, both smiths, fled secretly vnto him: who admitted to his presence and all others commaunded to depart, excepting *Catacuzenus*, offered to betray the citie vnto him, so that he would vnder his hand writing, assure them of such a summe of money, and such possessions as they required: which he easily granting, and the houre and manner of performing of the same, being by them declared, and agreed vpon; they by and by without longer stay, for feare of suspicion, returned againe into the citie. But the emperor staying foure daies in the same place, caused certaine ladders to be made of great ropes, such as they vse in great ships: But the appointed night being come, the two traitours hauing before prouided great store of good wine, liberally gaue the same by way of cutesie vnto the watchmen their companions neere vnto them; who drunke so plentifully thereof, that not able any longer to hold vp their heads, they fell into so sound a sleepe, as that but for breathing, they differed not much from dead men. About midnight came certaine souldiours of the yong emperours, with the aforesaid ladders; which the traitours by and by drawing vnto them by a rope cast downe, and making them fast vnto the top of the wall, receiued by the same eighreene armed men: who being got into the citie, without more ado brake open the *Romane* gate, whereby the yong emperor with his armie presently entred, no man letting him. But it is woorth the marking, how things appointed to befall vs, are by no means to be auoided, although we bee thereof before neuer so plainly forewarned: For the same night the citie was surprized, immediatly after the setting of the Sunne, the gates being shut, a certaine countrey man came running in all hast from out of a village there by, and knocking hard at the gate called *Girolimna*, required to speake with some of the souldiours; who being come, he told them how that a little before hee had seene a great number of the yong emperours men marching toward the citie, by the way that leadeth vnto the *Romane* gate: which being told vnto the old emperor, did not a little trouble him. And therefore thought it good to send out certaine scouts, to see if all were cleere along the wals toward the land, from sea to sea: which his purpose *Metochita* his great counsellor letted, saying,

Constantinople betrayed vnto the yong emperor.

ing, it not to be seem a couragious mind to be vpon so light an occasion so much moued; for that either the rumour was false, or the indeiour of so few vaine, the wals and gates of the cite being so filled with armed men: which happily he said not so much vpon ignorance of martiall faires, as blinded by a certaine commaunding power, that the supernall decree giuen by God himselfe against the old emperour, might at length take place. And againe, the third part of that night yet scant past, diuers other countrey men came running vnto the said gate Cyroline, and told the watchmen vpon the wals, that a great number of men were met together at the Romaine gate: wherof the emperour hearing was therewith much more troubled than before. In so much that sharply rebuking *Metochita*, he said vnto him, Thou seemest to be strangely metamorphosed into a man of iron, which art become so secure, as not to haue any feeling of the danger wherewith we are enclosed: Seest thou not that the matter requirith not that we should thus sit still and take our rest, for the noise of my nephew foundeth in mine eares as the found of a great drum, and disquieteth my mind? I fee a sea of calamitie broken out against me, which ouerwhelmeth and drowneth my heart and courage. Neuerthelesse he, firme in his former opinion, made no reckoning of those reports: and therefore rose to go to bed, to shew indeed that he accounted nothing of them, but as false alarms. But the emperour left alone and no bodie with him vnto whom he might breake his griefe, laied him downe vpon a pallet, not putting off his clothes; but as if he had together with them put on extreame desperation, lay tumbling too and fro as a man in mind troubled with many and diuers heauie thoughts. In the meane time he heard a great noise at the court gate, and the report of the entring of the young emperour his nephew, with a great clattering of armour; for there were aboue eight hundred souldiours entered with him, and withall they of the cite on euerie side saluted him with most joyfull acclamations. But the old emperour hearing the great tumult and outcrie, rose from his pallet, exceedingly troubled; and destitute of all the helpe of his captaines and souldiours (for why his palace was altogether desolate, except of such as were his ordinarie waiters) betooke himselfe vnto his prayers. Beseeching God not to forsake him in so great a danger, but in his mercie to defend him from the furie of those wicked men. Who presently heard him, and sent him present reliefe. For whilest he was thus praying in the palace, the young emperour without calling together all his captaines and lieutenants, straightly charged them vpon paine of death, neither by word nor deed to violate the maiestie of the old emperour his grandfather, nor any other about him: for this victorie (said he) God hath giuen vs, & not we our selues; his will ordereth all things, wherunto all things obey, the stars, the aire, the sea, the earth, men, flouds, tempests, plagues, earthquakes, shoures, dearth, and such like, sometimes to our blisse, and sometime to our correction and destruction: wherfore vsing vs as the instruments of his chastisement, he hath giuen vnto vs this present victorie, which peraduenture to morrow he will giue to others to vse against vs, and then as wee haue beene vnto them wee haue overcome, such will they also shew themselves vnto vs againe: wherfore, if neither nighnesse of blood, neither that we be all of one countrey may moue vs, yet in respect of our selues let vs vse mercie, that we feele not the hand of God vpon vs in like case. In the meane time a courtier opened a wicket vnto the young emperour, with this message from his grandfather:

The pittifull supplication of the old emperour vnto his nephew.

For as much as God this day (my sonne) hath giuen vnto thee the imperiall scepter, taken from me, I request of thee this one good turne; For many which I haue euen from thy birth bestowed vpon thee (for in this my hard estate I let passe, that I next vnto God haue been the author of thy matinitie and encrease) giue me my life, spare thy fathers head, and with violent weapon spill not that blood from which thou thy selfe hast taken the fountaine of life. Man truly beholdeth heauen and earth, and heauen and earth behold mens actions: wherfore make not the heauens and the earth beholders of so wicked an outrage as neuer man euer committed. If brothers blood long agoe cried out vnto the Lord against Cain, how much louder shall the fathers blood crie vnto the Lord, and declare so great a wickednesse vnto the earth, the sunne, and stars, and make it abhorred of all the princes of the world? Regard my miserable old age, which of it selfe promiseth vnto me shortly death, but vnto thee a rest after long cares. Reuerence the hands which haue oftentimes most lovingly embraced thee, yet crying in thy swathing clouts: Reuerence those lips which haue oftentimes most lovingly kissed thee, and called thee my other soule: Haue pittie vpon a brused reed, cast downe by fortune, and doe not thou againe tread vpon it. And seeing thou art thy selfe a man, be not too proud of thy present fortune, but consider the un-

certaintie

certaintie and varietie of worldly things, taking by me example: see in me the end of long life, and maruell, how one might hauing receiued me an emperour of many yeares, leaue me now subject vnto another mans power for ever.

The young emperour *Andronicus* moued with this speech, and taking great care of his grandfathers safetie, scarce abstaining from teares, entred the pallace, and comming to his grandfather, humbly saluted him, embraced him, and with cheerefull words comforted him. Straight way after, he went vnto the monasterie *MAN GANTIVM*, where (as is afore said) the Patriarch *Eusebius* was by the old emperours commandement, kept in safe keeping, whom the young emperour now tooke from thence, and carrying him away in one of the emperours richest chariots, restored him againe vnto his Patriarchall dignitie; wherein he afterwards spared not to reuenge himselfe to the full, and most cruelly to persecute the old emperours friends. That day from morning vnto night, a man might haue seene all the riches and wealth of such noble men as had taken part with the old emperour, carried away, and their goodly houses ouerthrowne and made the scoine of the base common people: but especially the house and wealth of *Theodorus Metochita*, a man but the day before in greatest fauour with his prince, and of all others next vnto the emperour himselfe, of greatest authoritie and credit, whose whole wealth (not that only, which was found in his house, but that also which he had laid vp in trust with his friends, discovered by notes found in his studie) became most part a prey vnto the common people, and the rest confiscated vnto the prince. Thus he which earst of all others next vnto the emperour, was accounted most fortunate, was now vpon the sudden, with his wife and children, brought vnto extreame beggerie, and after many yeares felicitie, in one day cast into the bottom of dispaire and miserie, where a man might haue heard many complaining, say, All that wealth and treasure to haue beene the blood and teares of the poore oppressed subjects, brought vnto him by them whom hee had made rulers and gouernours of the prouinces and cities of the empire; to the intent that when they had delt truely with the people, as with their slaues, he might stop them, for comming to complaine of their griefes vnto the emperour; and that the eie of the Reuenger had not alwaies slept, but was now at length awaked, & had of him yet scarcely take sufficient punishment: which euery where to heare, increased not a little his griefe. As for himselfe, he was confined vnto *DIDYMOTICHVM*, as the place of his exile and banishment; where after he had a certaine time poorly liued, he was sent for backe againe to *CONSTANTINOPLE*: where hauing nothing left to relieue himselfe (for his house at the comming of the young emperour, was in the furie of the people pluckt downe to the ground, and the verie pauement thereof digged vp) he went vnto the monasterie of *CHORA* thereby, which long before built by the emperour *Iustinian* and become ruinous, he in the time of his prosperitie had with great charge repaired, & therein now (hauing made shipwracke of all that he had) quickly shrouded himselfe, to the great comfort both of his bodie and afflicted mind, where he not long after died.

But to returne againe vnto the old emperour, as yet in doubt what should become of himselfe: it fortune that the same day that the cite was taken, the young emperour at night returning to the pallace, by the way met with *Niphon* sometime Patriarch, who asked him how they meant to deale with his grandfather. Wherunto the young emperour answering, That he would deale with him honourably and emperour like; he was by him therefore blamed and reprooued. For this *Niphon* being of a craftie subtil wit and malicious nature, besides that he secretly hated all them vpon whom fortune greatly either fauned or frowned, bare an especiall grudge against the old emperour: first, for that at such time as he was right woorthly for his shamefull couetousnesse and extortion, by the rest of the bishops and cleargie thrust out of his Patriarchship, he was not by him as he looked for defended: and secondly, for that dreaming againe after the Patriarchall dignitie, he thought it one good step thereunto to haue him (as his greatest enemy) taken out of the way. Wherfore he said now vnto the young emperour, If thou desire to raigne without feare, giue not thine honour vnto another; but taking all the ornaments of the empire from the old man, cast haire cloath vpon him, and so clap him fast in prison, or thrust him out into exile. This mischieuous counsell, this wicked man gaue against the poore old distressed emperour: not remembering how ynworthly he had by him beene before preferred vnto the highest degrees both of honour and wealth, if he could there haue kept himselfe: vnto which vngratiuous counsell, diuers others of the nobilitie also consenting, so wrought the matter amongst

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them,

Niphon incenseth the young emperour against his grandfather.

them, that although they could not quite draw the young emperor's mind from his grandfather, yet they much changed the same: so that he could no longer endure to take him for his companion in the empire. Whereupon after many meetings & consultations had, it was decreed, That the old man should still retain the name and ornaments of an emperor, as before, but not to meddle in any matters, nor to come abroad, but to sit still quietly in his chamber, with the yearly allowance of ten thousand ducats, for the maintenance of himselfe and such as attended vpon him; to be raised of the sitting before the cite of CONSTANTINOPLE: a poore pension for the maintenance of so great an emperor. Of which so shamefull a decree, *Eseias* the Patriarch was also a furtherer: who seeing an emperor that had reigned so long, cast downe, and shut vp as it were in prison, was so far from grieving thereat, that foolishly rejoycing, he intaken thereof as strictly wrested this text of Scripture, saying in his merriment, *Lætabitur iustus, cum viderit ultionem*. The just shall rejoyce, when he seeth the reuenge: calling himselfe just, and the emperor casting downe reuenge. But the old emperor thus shut vp in his chamber (differing nothing but in name, from a prison) not long after, the state of his bodie ouerthrowne with griefe and corrupt humors distilling out of his head, first lost one of his eyes, and shortly after the other also: and so oppressed with eternall darkenesse, mingled (as faith the Scripture) his drinke with teares, and as the bread of sorrow, being oftentimes (to his great griefe) most bitterly mocked and derided, not of them onely which were by his enemies set to guard him, but of his owne seruants also. Not long after, the yong emperor falling sicke, in such sort as that it was thought he would not recover, *Cataguzenus* and the rest of his greatest fauorites and followers carefull of their own estate, and yet doubtfull of the old blind emperor, deuised many things against him, but all tending to one purpose for the shortening of his daies. But in the end all other deuises set apart, they put him to the choice, either to put on the habit of a religious, and so for euer to bid the world farewell, or to take what should otherwise ensue; the best whereof was either death, exile, or perpetuall imprisonment in the lothsome castle of forgetfulness. For the putting whereof in execution, *Synadenus* (of all others to him most hateful) was appointed. At which hard choice, the old emperor as with a world of woes sodainly oppressed, lay a great while vpon his bed as a man speechlesse: for what could he do els, except he had an heart of Steele or adamant? being then compassed about with many barbarous and mercilesse soldiots; and his domestical seruants kept from him, and no man left, that would vouchsafe to direct him (being blind) whether to go or where to stand. But to make the matter short, would he, would he not, they made choice for him theselues, polling and shauing him, and casting a monke's habit vpon him, changed his name, after the manner of the religious, and called him by the name of *Anthonie* the monke. Glad was *Eseias* the false Patriarch of this the hard estate of the old emperor: for that now that he was professed a religious, there was left no hope for him to recover againe the empire, either cause for himselfe to feare. Yet he thought it good to be aduised, in what sort remembrance should be made of him in the church prayers, if any were at all from thenceforth to be made. Whereof to be by the old emperor himselfe resolved, he (seeming to be very sorie for that which was done, but purposing indeed therein to deride him) sent vnto him two bishops, to know what his pleasure was to haue done therein. Vnto which their demand, he oppressed with heavinesse, and fetching a great sigh cuen from the bottom of his heart answered:

The old emperor
becometh blind.

Anthonicus the
old emperor, against his will
made a Monke,
and called Anthonia.

The notable answer
of the old
emperor to the
causing question
of the proud
Patriarch.

As in poore Lazarus appeared a double miracle, That being dead, he rise; and being bound, walked: euen so was it to be done in me, though in quite contrarie manner: for loe, being alive, I am dead, as overwhelmed with the waues of calamitie and woe; and being loose, am bound, not my hands and feet onely, but my tongue also; wherewith vnable to doe any thing els, I might yet at least bewaile my woes and wrongs vnto the aire, and such as by chance should heare me, and vnto this most wofull darkenesse whereto I must for euer sit. But shame hath closed my mouth, my brethren abhorre me, and my mother sonnes account me for a stranger vnto them, and the very light of mine eyes is not with me, my friends and neighbours stood up against me, and all that saw me laughed me to scorne: my feet had almost slipped, and my footsteps were almost ouerthrowne: for I fretted against the wicked, when I saw the pen of the vngodly. The emperours long agoe gave great priuiledges vnto the Church, euen those which it at this day enjoyeth: and the Church gave to them againe power, to chuse whom they would to be Patriarchs. Now concerning him that sent you, I not onely nominated him vnto the Patriarchship, but myselfe made choice of him, and preferred him before many other right worthy and most famous men,

being

being himselfe a man growne old in a poore priuat life, neuer before preferred, or for any other thing famous: I will not say how often I haue holpen him and done him goods. But now when he should againe haue relieved me in my calamitie, he joyneth hands with mine enemies against me, more cruell vpon me than any other bloodie handed executioner, nor asham'd to aske me how I would be remembered in the church: faigning himselfe to be ignorant and sorrie for mine estate, much like vnto the Egyptian crocodile of NILE, which hauing killed some living beast, lieth vpon the dead bodie and washerb the head thereof with her warme teares, which she afterwards deuoureth together with the bodie. But what to answer him vnto this his catching question, I know not: for if I shall say, As an emperor, I shall forthwith be slaine by them which for that purpose haue me in hold: but if I say, As Anthonicus the monke, it shall be taken as the franke confession of mine estate, by them which haue craftely contrived mine overthrow, as if I had not by compulsion, but euen of mine owne free will put on this monasticall habit, which God knoweth was neuer in my thought.

Hauiing thus said, he sent them away without any other answer vnto their demand: but sitting downe vpon his bed side, said, My soule returne again into thy rest for the Lord hath dealt well with thee: neither spoke any one word more in declaration of his griefe: his tongue there staid by his singular wisdom, or els with the greatnesse of his griefe: and so against his will, in silence passing ouer his sorrow, his mind with the greatnesse of his woes overcome, and as it were astonished, before the humors gathered into the braine could be dissolued into teares: For as the Sunne sending forth his moderat beames, draweth vnto it many exhalations and vapours, but casting the same forth more plentifully, doth with his immoderat heat consume the same before they can be drawne vp; so the moderat affections of the mind may haue their griefes by words and teares expressed; but such as exceed all measure, and with their vehemencie as it were overthrow the mind, commonly make men to stand still mute & silent, or if they speak at all, to speak idly, and nothing to the purpose, as men beside themselves, or in an extasie. But for the resolution of the question by the bishops demanded, the deuout Patriarch decreed, That in the Church prayers he should be remembered before the emperor his nephew, by the name of, The most religious and zealous monke *Anthonie*: which was done (God wot) for no good zeale to the poore blind man, but the better to colour the matter with the common people, as if hee wearie of the world, had voluntarily taken vpon him that silly profession. Neuertheless, within foure daies after, *Synadenus* vnderstanding them in euery place to whisper among themselves, and secretly to mutter against the hard dealing with the old emperor, who had long reigned ouer them, and so by right was againe to doe, if his nephew should chance to die; and that the ecclesiasticall lawes enforced no man against his will to enter into religious orders: he therewith enraged, sent vnto him certaine of his owne confederacie, to exact of him an oath in writing, That he should neuer more after that time seeke after the empire, or yet accept of the same if it were offered him, neither to substitute any other: which if he should refuse to do, to put him in feare of his life. And the more to terrifie him, set a guard of insolent barbarous souldiours ouer him; for feare of whom, he yielded to doe whatsoeuer they required: and so his oath being solemnly conceiued into writing (another man leading his hand, because he was blind) he signed the same with a red crosse above, and a blacke crosse beneath, after the manner of the religious. Hauiing thus liued in darkenesse, disgraced, shut vp in his chamber as a man forsaken of the world, with an vnshure guard euer to attend him, by the space of two yeares, it fortune that the twelfth of Februarie towards night, (a day in the Greeke Church dedicated to the vigil of S. *Anthonie*, whose name they had giuen him) certaine of his friends that were suffered to haue access vnto him, going as their manner was, once in three or foure daies to visit him (amongst whom was his daughter, sometime the prince of SERAIA his wife, but as then a widdow, and *Xiaphorus Gregoras*, author of this Historie) he entred with them, as with his friends, into a familiar discourse of many matters, wherin he so deceiued the time, that it was past midnight before they perceiued how the time passed. But the cockes crowing, he brake off the talke, and bidding them farewell, gaue them leaue to depart, pleasantly saying, That to morrow they would make an end of their discourse; who all thereupon tooke their leaue and departed, no signe of any sicknesse as then appearing vpon him. And after they were gone, called for meat and did eat: the meate he eat, was certaine shell-fish, for it was with them a fasting day, and he had not eaten any thing: after which, when as hee should haue drunke a cup of wine, for the comforting of his old stomach and digesting of that so hard meate,

he

The death of the
old emperor.

he drunke cold water, as his manner was, when he felt any inward heat; to drinke the same in moderately: which hurtfull manner of diet he then vsing also, began by and by to feele a great paine in his stomacke, and so presently after became very sicke, falling withall into a great loosenesse of bodie, so that in the space of one quarter of an houre he was glad oftentimes to arise, and to go vnto an homely house of office in an inner chamber: thereby, to discharge natures burden, where after many euacuations, sitting downe vpon an homely bed fast by; and not able to recover his owne bed, hauing as then none to helpe him; there before it was day, died, after he had reigned 43 yeares. His death was by many strange signes and accidents as it were foretold: first, a great eclipse of the Sunne appeared, just so many daies before his death as hee had liued yeares: and after that, another eclipse of the Moone; and with it an earthquake, the day before he died at night, being *S. Anthoine* his euen, whose name his enemies had thrust vpon him: at which time also, the sea with a great tempest rising about the wonted bounds, made diuers breaches in the wals of the citie towards the sea, as if it had been some violent enemy, and overflowed also diuers houses in the citie. Manie crosse and pinacles were then also from the tops of churches and other high buildings ouerthrowne; and with them a great pillar, sometime one of the ornaments of the citie, standing before the church, commonly called *The Church of the fortie martyrs*: which being verie high, and below burnt and worne away with time, had put manie in feare as they passed by it, least it should haue fallen vpon them; inso much that the Emperour vpon a time passing that way, was requested by some of the nobilitie there present, to ride farther off from it, for feare of falling vpon him: who smiling at their vaine feare, by chance answered, *O would to God I might liue so long as this pillar will stand*: which now falling out according to his speech, gaue manie of them that had heard him so say, occasion to maruell. His dead bodie was honorable buried in the monasterie of *L I B A*, which his mother *Theodora* the empresse had not long before new built, and his obsequies there (after the maner of that time) yeerely solemnly kept by the space of nine daies.

The Turks kingdom founded by Othoman in Asia, such time as the Greeke emperours were at variance leauing themselves in Europe.

Thus at length hauing passed through the troubled state of the Greeke empire, during the long raigne of the old emperour *Andronicus*, the considerate Reader may easily see the causes of the declining, and ruine also of this famous empire; and how that the Greeke emperours, troubled with their tempestuous affaires neerer home in *EUROPE*, yea in the verie imperiall citie it selfe, and in their owne pallaces, were not at leasure to looke over the strait into *ASIA*, but glad to leaue their territories there vnto the weak defence of themselves. At which time, and euen in the midst of the aforesaid troubles, *Othoman*, on the one side, with great industrie laid the foundation of his empire in *PHRYGIA* and *BYTHYNIA*, now the greatest terror of the world: and then did those things which we now haue of him written. The other princes of the *Turkes* also, the successours of Sultan *Aladin*, at the same time on the other side, alongst the riuer *M E A N D E R* encroaching on as fast: vntill that at last amongst them they had thrust the Greeke emperours quite out of *ASIA*, and in fine became themselves, together with the Greeke empire, a prey vnto the *Othoman* kings, as in the proceesse of this historie shall more at large appeare.

Prusa yielded vnto the Turks.

But againe to returne vnto *Othoman* himselfe, who all this while (that old *Andronicus* the Greeke emperour was thus troubled) had with his sonne *Orchanes* sought by all meanes on euerie side to enlarge his kingdom: the garrisons by him left in the two late built castles neere vnto the great citie of *P R U S A*, vnder the charge of the two valiant captains *Ahemur* & *Balabur Zuck* (as is before declared) hauing now continued there certaine yeares, had by shutting vp the passages, and spoiling of the countie, brought the citie into such distresse and penurie, that manie of the citizens and other the poore Christians fled into the citie, there died of famine. The rest now out of all hope to be relieued by the Greeke emperour, not then able to relieue himselfe, came to composition with *Orchanes* (for *Othoman* was then sicke of his old disease the gout) couenanting with him, that they might in safetie with life and libertie depart, and so much of their goods as they themselves could carie: and so yielded to him the citie. Which conditions (as most write) were on the *Turks* behalfe well and faithfullie performed: yet some there be that report them to haue bene in most part by *Orchanes* broken. Thus was *P R U S A*, one of the greatest cities of that part of *ASIA*, yielded vnto the *Turks*, in the yeere of our Lord 1327: and was afterwards by *Orchanes* made the royall seat of the *Othoman* kings.

About this time, or verie shortly after, *Othoman* in the eight and twentieth yeare of his raigne died,

died, at the age of 69, in the yeare of our Lord 1328, and lieth buried at *P R U S A*, where his tombe is yet at this day to be seene, in a certaine chappell of an old monasterie in the castle, standing in the midst of the citie; couered with a mantle of greene chamlet, & a little Tulipant or Turkish hat (such as he vsed to weare) lying ouer his head, far differing from those which the *Turks* now weare, especially the better sort of them, so great that they can therewith scarcely come in at a doore. There is also another monument of him to be seene at *S U O U R A*, fast by the sepulchre of his father *Ertogrull*, there made by his sonnes in remembrance of him; whereof some haue reported him to haue bene there buried. Howbeit the *Turks* themselves generally suppose the true monument wherein he is interred to be at *P R U S A*, as is aforesaid. He was wise, politicke, valiant, and fortunate, but full of dissimulation, and ambitious about measure; not rash in his attempts, and yet very resolute; what hee tooke in hand, hee commonly brought to good effect: to all men he was bountifull and liberall, but especially to his men of warre, and the poore, whom he would many times feed and cloath with his owne hands. Of a poore lordship he left a great kingdom, hauing subdued a great part of the lesser *ASIA*: and is worthily accounted the first founder of the *Turks* great kingdom and empire. Of him, the *Turkish* kings and emperours euer since, haue bene called the *Othoman* kings and emperours, as lineally of him descended: and the *Turks* themselves *Osmans*, as the people or subiects of *Othoman*, or *Osmans*, for so he is of the *Turks* commonlie called.

The death of Othoman. Othoman buried at Prusa.

Note, that in the reckoning vp of certaine of the great Christian Princes and Prelates of the same time, at the end of euery the *Turkish* Kings and Emperours liues, the first and greatest number following their names, sheweth the yeare of our Lord, wherein such an Emperour, King, or Bishop began to raigne, or sit: and the number following, how long he reigned or sat. As for example: *Andronicus* the elder began to raigne in the East in the yeare of grace 1282, and reigned 43 yeares: and so of the rest. Wherein we seeke not the exact computation vnto a moneth or day (as not much materiall to our Historie, or any part of our purpose) but onely the reasonable view of the great princes of the foresaid times, as they liued in ages together.

Emperours	Of the East	<i>Andronicus Paleologus the elder.</i>	1282. 43.
		<i>Andronicus Paleologus the younger.</i>	1325. 29.
Of the West		<i>Albertus of Austria.</i>	1298. 10.
		<i>Henric of Lucelburg.</i>	1308. 6.
		<i>Lewes the fourth, of Bauaria.</i>	1314. 32.
Of England		<i>Edward the first.</i>	1272. 34.
		<i>Edward the second.</i>	1307. 20.
		<i>Edward the third.</i>	1327. 50.
Of Fraunce		<i>Philip the faire.</i>	1286. 28.
		<i>Lewes.</i>	1314. 2.
		<i>Philip the long.</i>	1316. 5.
		<i>Charles the faire.</i>	1321. 7.
Of Scotland		<i>John Baliol.</i>	1292.
		<i>Robert Bruce.</i>	1306. 24.
Bishops of Rome		<i>Boniface the VIII.</i>	1295. 8.
		<i>Benedict the XI.</i>	1304. 2.
		<i>Clement the V.</i>	1306. 11.
		<i>John the XXII.</i>	1317. 18.

Christian princes of the same time with Othoman.



*Suscipit Orchanes, defuncti septra parentis :
Major ut ingenio, sic magis arte valens.
Bi thynos, Phrygiamque domat, Prusamque : superbam
Et populos late, Marte fauente premit.
Sic letus tantis Asiam turbasse ruinis :
Transit in Europam, Callipolimque caput.
Rident interea Græci sua damna : sed ecce
Dum sua contemnunt, in sua fata ruunt.*

RICH. KNOLLEVS.

His father dead, *Orchanes* takes his scepter vp in hand :
As one of deeper wit and feach, his foes for to withstand.
The Phrigians, and Bithynians, he by force of armes brought low :
Proud *PRVSA*, with faire *NICOMEDIE*, and many cities moc.
And glad in *ASIA* to haue made such hauocke and such spoile :
His forces into *EVROPE* sends, the Græcians there to foile.
Who meane while laughing at their losse, did make thereof a game :
Not thinking what a world of woe was to ensue the same.



THE LIFE OF ORCHANES, OR VRCHAN, SECOND KING OF THE TURKES.



AFTER the death of *Orthoman*, his two sonnes *Orchanes* (whom the Turkes call *VRchan*) and *Aladin* his brother, hauing with great solemnitie entered their father at *PRVSA*, immediatly summoned a Parliament, whereunto both the brethren came accompanied with the chiefe of their nobilitie. This parliament was called especially, for the establishing of the succession in this new kingdome, and for the diuision of *Orthomans* treasure and goods, betwixt them two, his sonnes. But vpon view taken, there was no money, plate, or jewels found in the kings coffers, for that he had in his life time most bountifully bestowed it vpon his men of warre : so that all the wealth hee left vnto them his sonnes, was, the ho-

The wealth that Orthoman left vnto his two sonnes, Orchanes, and Aladin.

nourable remembrance of his life for them to immitate; large dominions for their possessions, store of readie horses, and armour fit for seruice, with great herds of beasts and cattell for household prouision. Whereupon *Orchanes* demaunded of his brother *Aladin*, what order hee thought was best to be taken with those things by their father so left. To whom *Aladin* answered, That it was most requisite first to establish a king in their fathers kingdome; which like a good shepherd might gouerne and defend his subjects, rule and maintaine his men of war, prouiding all things meet for defence of his kingdome: And that vnto him of right belonged all these other things by their father left, as the patrimonie of his successour, for the common good and maintenance of his estate. As for mine owne part (said *Aladin*) I claime no interest therein, you being my elder brother, and so vnto me in steed of a father: by whom also you haue been these two yeares, as it were alreadie put in possession of the kingdom, all things being committed to your gouernment, during the time of his late sickness. His modestie of *Aladin* was greatly commended of all the ancient counsellors; by meanes whereof, the kingdome in all peaceable maner descended to *Orchanes*. In regard of which courtesie, *Orchanes* would gladly haue made *Aladin* his brother President of his counsell: which honour he would in no wise accept, but requested rather that hee would giue him the lordship of *FODORE* in *Tekenes* countrey; which *Orchanes* frankly graunted. In which lordship of *FODORE*, *Aladin* most part liued a priuat and quiet life, and afterwards built two Mahometan churches, and an abbey at *PRVSA*, there yet at this day to be seene.

Some Latine Historiographers otherwise report this beginning of *Orchanes* his raigne; as that *Orthoman* should haue three sonnes, and that *Orchanes* the youngest obtained the kingdome by murdering of his other brethren. A practise of late much vsed amongst the Turkish princes, but not before the time of *Bajazet* the first of that name, who first of the Turkish monarchs embred his hands with his brothers blood: where before, they vsed all brotherly loue one to another, as the most probable histories collected out of the Turkes owne Chronicles affirme.

When that barbarous manner of murdering their brethren first began among the Turkish Sultans.

The

The city of Nice
with diuers o-
ther castles reco-
uered from the
Turks after the
death of Otho-
man.

Orchanes second king of the Turks.

The Christian princes and capitaines, presently vpon the death of *Othoman* recovered the citie of *Nice* with diuers other castles and forts, out of the hands of the Turks: as it commonly chanceth, that dominions lately woon with great perill, are soone againe lost, the Conquerour dying before there be a firme gouernment established. Amongst other forts by the Christians repossessed, the castle of *Tzurichiser*, situate vpon the passages of the riuer *Sangarius*, most grieved the Turks, for thereby their passage into that part of *Bythynia* was much impeached. Wherefore *Orchanes* desirous to recouer this castle, disguised himselfe with a few other of his best souldiours, in the apparrell of Christian marchants, and came to the castle, crauing leave to passe as marchants: the warders of the castle verely supposing them by their attire to be marchants, opened the gates, and let them into the castle; who presently drew their swords, slew the warders, and so by force possessed the castle, to the great benefit of the Turkes, and the hurt of the poore Christians yet left in the countrey of *Bythynia*. For they now hauing opened the way ouer the riuer *Sangarius*, and as it were broken downe the strongest defence of that side of the Greeke empire, at their pleasure foraged the countrey in such sort, as that the great citie of *Nice* (for want of victuals to relieue so great a multitude as for feare of the Turks was fled out of the countrey into it) was brought to great extremitie and want. For the reliefe whereof, and for the repulsing againe of the Turks, *Andronicus* the yong emperor, who then all commaunded, with such an armie as he was then able to raise, passed himselfe in person ouer the strait of *Constantinople* into *Asia*: the greatest strength of his armie consisting in two thousand choice horsemen; the rest as well horse as foot, being for the most part artificers taken vp in the citie, men altogether vnacquainted with armes (who in token of their cowardise, and that they were more mindfull of flight than of fight, carried ouer with them almost as many long boats, and such other small vessels, as they were men, to be ready to receiue them at such time as they should flee) or els abject rascals, taken vp here and there, men of whom no great thing was to be expected, and of all others most vnfit for so great a prince (as was the emperor) to commit the defence of his person and honour vnto. But *Orchanes* hearing of his coming, sent certain of his most expert capitaines, to forlay the straight passages of the countrey whereby the emperor was to passe; following also himselfe after with his armie, of purpose to encounter the emperor. Who in three daies march after his landing in *Asia*, being come to *Philocrène*, a little towne in *Bythynia*, and vnderstanding, that *Orchanes* hauing before taken the straits, lay not far off encamped with his armie; he there at *Philocrène* pitched his tents, and staid that night also. But the next morning, the Sunne as yet scarcely risen, he seeing diuers companies of the Turks comming downe from the mountaines fast by, put his armie into order of battell, and so set forward to meet them. Vv here to begin the fight, the Turks archers freely bestowed their piercing shot amongst the Christians, still keeping themselves aloofe off, so to doe the more harme. Vv hich the emperor mistaking, and supposing that their keeping off to haue proceeded of feare, encouraged therewith, commaunded certaine loofe companies disorderly to march forward, &c. to skitmith with them: which his more expert captains not liking, would haue otherwise perswaded him, as to haue kept his strength together against the danger of the battell. Neuertheless, such was his youthfull heat, as that he could by no meanes be otherwise intreated, but that forward needs they must. But all the forenoone spent in this light and tumultuarie kind of skitmithing, and the Sunne at the highest now shining very hot, *Orchanes* from the top of the mountaines perceiving the Christians well wearied with the heat of the day and long skitmithing, came downe from the hils with a world of men following him; who with a most hideous charge charged the Christians on euery side, some a farre off with their arrowes, and some hand to hand with their swords and other weapons: whose assault the Christians at the first most valiantly receiued, and a great while right worthely defended themselves, hauing wounded and slaine a number of their enemies. Vv hich hard fight was on both sides courageously maintained, vntill the approaching of the night, with great slaughter on both sides: at which time, the Christians wearie of the long fight, and oppressed with the multitude of their enemies, disorderly retiring toward their trenches, and hardly pursued by the Turkes, receiued there a great losse, as well of their horsemen, as of their foot: but by the comming on of the night, the battell was at length ended with vncertaine victorie. Amongst others there hurt, the emperor himselfe was wounded in the foot with an arrow. That night happened a woofull mishap, and a manifest token of Gods his wrath: for *Orchanes* hauing to his cost made prooue of the strength and valour of the Christians,

The emperor
wounded.

Orchanes second king of the Turks.

Christians, and doubting they would the next day come on farther into the countrey, left three hundred horsemen, as scouts, to attend the enemies remoouing: and himselfe with his armie retired beforehand to take the aduantage of such places as the Christians were to passe by. But the emperor in the euening leauing his campe, and going to *Philocrène*, a little towne subt by, the better to haue his wound dressed; the rest of the armie vnderstanding of his departure, and supposing him to haue fled for feare (as if *Orchanes* with a great armie would that night haue slaine them all) fled themselves also out of the campe, euery mothers sonne, some to their long boats and other little vessels they had for that purpose brought ouer the strait; some hasting towards the towne gates, were by the multitude of others running headlong after them, ouerborne, and troden to death; other some hanging one at anothers taile, like a chaine, got some part of them vp to the top of the rampiers of the towne; other some drawne backe by them that hung vpon them, falling downe together by heapes, and trod vpon by others, there perished; some (as is reported) died there for very feare, no man either chasing or hurting them; so weak is mans courage when God withdraweth from him his strength. But in the morning the Sunne arising, the three hundred Turks, left for scouts, perceiving the flight of the Christians, entred the forsaken campe, where they found horses, armour, and emptie tents, yea the emperours owne furniture and his horses readie saddled: of all which, two hundred of these Turks tooke the spoile at their pleasure; and the other hundred pursuing the disperfed Christians, like heartlesse men, wandring here and there, slew a great number of them. The emperor himselfe seeing his armie (thus as it were by the hand of God) ouerthrowne and disperfed, tooke shipping also, and so returned to *Constantinople*. After whose departure, the Turks seizing vpon many sea townes alongst the coast of *Bythynia*, and there seating themselves, laid heauie tributes vpon the other countrey townes and villages; for the benefit whereof, they spared to destroy them, together with the inhabitants, which they might at their pleasure full easily haue done.

Now lay the great citie of *Nice* in the fuds, the enimie commaunding all the countrey about it, liuing as sicke men doe by hope, and holding out onely vpon hope of a thousand horsemen which the emperor (notwithstanding his late discomfiure) had promised forthwith to send, there to lie in garrison for the reprefsing of the Turks. Of which aid so promised, *Orchanes* vnderstanding, furnished eight hundred of his owne horsemen, after the manner of the Christians: and fetching a great compasse about, came at length into the high way that leadeth from *Constantinople* to *Nice*, and so trouped directly towards the citie, as if they had come from *Constantinople*. At the same time he sent three hundred of his other horsemen, in the habit of Turks, to forrage and spoile the countrey, as much as they could within the view of the citie (now for want of victuals brought into great extremitie) which whilest they were a doing, the other eight hundred horsemen in the attire of Christians, following vpon them, as if it had been by chance, charged them, and in the sight of the citizens put them to flight: which done, these counterfeite horsemen returned directly againe towards *Nice*. The citizens which with great pleasure had in the meane time from the wals scene the most part of the skirmish; and how they had put the Turks to flight, supposing them to be the Constantinopolitan horsemen whom they daily expected, with great joy opened the gates of the citie to receiue them as their friends: But they being entred the gates, presently set vpon the Christians, fearing no such matter: and being seconded with the other three hundred, which in dissembling manner had fled before, and were now speedily returned, bringing also with them other companies of Turks, before laid in secret ambush not far off, they woon the great and famous citie of *Nice*, which they haue euer since vntill this day possessed: the spoile whereof was giuen vnto the souldiours for a prey, and the citizens all led away into miserable captiuitie and thraldome. Whilest *Orchanes* was thus busied, his other capitaines did with great courage and successe enlarge his dominions on all sides, daily encroching vpon their weake neighbours the Christians. *Cunger-Alpes*, one of his warlike capitaines, subdued the countrey of *Mydurn*, or *Modrin*, in *Phrygia*; and *Bolli* in *Paphlagonia*; appointing one *Abdurachman*, a man of great valour, to gouerne the countrey. And at the same time another of his old captains called *Accecozza*, brought *Candarain* in *Paphlagonia*; and *Ermenie*, a countrey neere vnto the mountain *Horminus*, into the Turkish subiection; placing garrisons in all the castles & forts which he had woon, of whom some part of the countrey was after his name called *Cozza lani*, that is to say, The old mans countrey. So that *Orchanes* his kingdome grew daily greater & greater, as well by the industrie of his chieftains, as of himselfe.

About

The city of Nice
surprised by the
Turks.

About this time, it fortuned the captains son of SCAMANDRIA (a town not far from the ruins of the ancient citie of TROY, and about a daies journey from the renowned castle of ABYDUS) to depart out of this world: vnto whose funerals being kept in the country, whilest his would father the captaine with his friends out of SCAMANDRIA resorted, the old craftie Turke Accozza lying alwaies in wait, as a fox for his prey, suddenly set vpon those heauie Christians, whereof he slue the most part, and tooke the rest prisoners. Amongst whom he also tooke the captaine of SCAMANDRIA, with his castle and country: whom he afterwards led prisoner vnto the castle of ABYDUS, which is one of the most famous castles situate vpon the sea coast of ASIA, ouer against SESTVS in EUROPE, where the sea of HELLES PONTVS by the narrow strait falleth into the sea EGEVM: two castles much renowned, by reason of their nigh situation, and yet placed in diuers parts of the world; eternized also by the euer liuing wits of Poets, for the aduenturous passage of *Leander* ouer that fret of the sea, to his loue *Hero*: which castles are now called DARDANELLY. Accozza hauing brought the captiue captaine of SCAMANDRIA (lately a man of great account in that country) so neer as he could vnto the castle of ABYDUS, offered to set him at libertie if they would surrender their castle, otherwise they should see him cruelly slaine before their faces. These Turkish threats nothing moued them of ABYDUS, more than to say, That they might if they would cut off his head, seeth him, and eat him, but the castle they intended not to deliuer. The same captaine was afterward by the comandement of *Orchanes* profered to the emperor of CONSTANTINOPLE, to be redeemed, which he refused. Yet at the last he was ransomed by the gouernour of NICOMEDIA, and againe set at libertie. Accozza of long time held the castle of SCAMANDRIA: yet so continually molested with the garrison of ABYDUS, and men of war sent from CONSTANTINOPLE, that he with his followers were glad for the most part to liue on horsbacke, to be alwaies in more readinesse against the attempt of their enemies. The captaine of the castle of ABYDUS had at that time a faire young gentlewoman to his daughter, who (as she said) chanced to dreame (what she had happily waking, for the most part wished) That being fallen into a deepe mirie ditch, out of which she could by no meanes helpe her selfe, a lustie young gallant comming by, did not onely helpe her out, but also in friendly manner, made her cleane, and afterwards apparelled her in rich and costly attire. The danger of this dreame much troubled the tender gentlewoman, but the image of the yong gentleman was so well phantized in her braine, that waking, she thought she still saw him, and sleeping longed sore for what she saw not. Thus whilst this yong gentlewoman with great deuotion entertained this imaginarie man; the old gray headed Turke Accozza came, and with a strong companie besieged her fathers castle of ABYDUS. During which siege, this gentlewoman oftentimes went vp into the high turrett of the castle, from whence shee might at pleasure see the marshall deeds on both sides, and take full view of all the enemies campe. But see the chance, as *Abdurachman* with great courage and no lesse brauerie, approached neere to the siege of the castle, she thought (vpon the first sight of him) that he was the verie man whom she had before dreamed of, and whose Idea was in her heart so deeply imprinted: wherefore she fully resolved to performe what she had without witness with her selfe determined. And waiting another time, when *Abdurachman* approached the castle, she cast downe to his feet a letter written in Greeke, and made fast vnto a stone: which letter he taking vp, deliuered the same to the General Accozza. Wherein after she had discovered her passionat affection, she promised to deliuer the castle into *Abdurachmans* power, if the Turkes would raise their siege, and *Abdurachman* himselfe with some few would secretly returne to the castle in the dead time of the night, and then follow her direction. Accozza like an old fox, which is seldome taken in the trap, gaue small credit to these louing lines, for feare of treason: yet for so much as you are the man (said he to *Abdurachman*) whom she vpon special liking hath made choice of for the purpose, will you aduenture your person? And he, armed with a manly courage, a surer defence than any armour of prooffe, incited also with hope of honour, riches, and beautie, all woorthie prizes for marshall minds; said he would vndertake the atchieuement of that exploit, if it were his pleasure. Whereupon Accozza, because nothing should be suspected by his sudden departure, gaue a sharpe assault to the castle, as if hee would haue taken it by fine force, yet in the end retired; and presently brake vp his siege, as despairing of the winning thereof. The defendants of the castle thinking themselves deliuered from a great danger, greatly rejoyced: and as in like case it oftentimes falleth out, in their great iolitie furcharged themselves that night with

*Abdus besieged
by the Turks.*

excess

excesse both of meat and drinke. But *Abdurachman* at the time in the letter appointed, put himselfe vpon the way, with certain select souldiors, and about midnight came to the appointed place of the castle, where the yong gentlewoman was attending his coming: & she by her means was conueyed into the castle, and so by her directed to the porters lodge: where he slew the porter, being fast asleepe, and opening the gates, let in his followers: which went directly to the captaines lodging, and there tooke him prisoner, being before their comming ouertaken with wine, and fast asleepe. Thus was the castle of ABYDUS surprized by the Turks, from whence they had a faire prospect out of ASIA into EUROPE. The captaine with his faire daughter and the greatest part of the rich spoile of the castle was deliuered to *Abdurachman*, to bee presented to *Orchanes* at his court, then lying at NEAPOLIS. Who wonderfull glad of so good news, gaue the faire gentlewoman with the greatest part of the prey in reward to *Abdurachman*. The posteritie of this man (as they say) yet remaine among the Turks. Amongst others of the warlike captaines, there was also one *Cararachman*, whose name was so dreadfull to the of CONSTANTINOPLE, that when their children cried, they would terrifie them to make them hold their peace, by saying *Cararachman* comes. Not long after the two valiant forenamed woorthie captaines *Cunger-Alps* and *Accozza* died: after whose death, *Orchanes* made his sonnes, *Solyman* and *Amurath*, lords and gouernours of those countries and prouinces. And intending (by the perswasion of *Abdurachman*) to besiege NICOMEDIA, he leuiued a great armie, wherewith hee tooke diuers small castles and forts as he marched towards the citie. NICOMEDIA was at that time gouerned by an honourable ladie, kinswoman vnto *Andronicus* the emperor of CONSTANTINOPLE: but the seeing her citie besieged by the Turks, and doubting her owne forces not to be able to hold out the siege, by a trustie messenger offered to yeeld the citie vnto *Orchanes*, vpon condition, That she with so many of the citizens as would, might in safetie depart with their liues, libertie, and goods: which being graunted, she with so many as would follow her, departed out of the citie by night, taking shipping for CONSTANTINOPLE.

*Nicomedia pre-
sented vnto Orcha-
nes.*

Orchanes hauing taken NICOMEDIA, made his sonne *Solyman* gouernour of the same. The churches of the Christians he conuerted into Turkish Meschitas or temples. The greatest church (being of wonderfull beautie) he conuerted into a colledge or schoole, for the learned professors and students of *Mahomet*s law, which is yet called in NICOMEDIA, *Orchanes* his schoole or colledge. And because the countrey neere vnto NICOMEDIA, lying open vpon the sea, was euer in danger to be spoiled by the gallies of CONSTANTINOPLE; he placed in those countries diuers of his most experienced souldiors to defend the same, appointing to euer of them possessions and pensions, according to their degrees and merites. After this, *Orchanes* by the counsell of his brother *Aladur*, commanded all his men of war to weate white caps, thereby to be knowne from others, which commonly wore red. Such manner of caps the Ianizaries vse at this day. The Turks also in *Orchanes* reign, & long time after, vsed not to cut or shauie their beards, but did weate them long: so that if the king would disgrace any man, he would in his displeasure commaund his beard to be cut or shauen. The manner of cutting and shauing their beards, which they now vse, they learned of the Italians: of whom they haue also borrowed many other fashions, not onely differing, but quite contrary to their ancient maners & customes. *Orchanes* about this time remoued his court to NICE, where he lay long time after. There he built a sumptuous church, appointing a preacher to preach vnto the people euery friday: he erected in NICE also two faire abbeyes, in the one of which, he with owne hands serued the strangers and poore the first dinner. He was the first that builded abbeyes or monasteries among the Turks, whose example most of his successours haue imitated, and is amongst them vsed vnto this day.

*Orchanes remo-
ued his court to
Nice.*

The gouernment of NICOMEDIA, *Orchanes* committed to his eldest sonne *Solyman* (as is before said) a prince of great towardlinesse, giuing him in great charge, to haue a vigilant eye vnto the townes of TARAXA, GOVENUCA, and MUDVRNE, which were nigh vnto NICOMEDIA; yet in possession of the Christians: all which townes, with the countries adioyning, *Solyman* in short time got without force, by composition. This *Solyman* was of a princely disposition, so tempering justice with clemencie in his gouernment, that many Christians (allured with his vertues) because of his religion, and gladly put themselves vnder his subiection: the politicke laws of the countrey he neither abrogated nor changed, but maintained as they had ben of ancient time accustomed, whereby he greatly wooon the hearts of the people. *Amurath* his yonger sonne, *Orchanes* made lord and gouernour of PRUSA, after he had remoued his court to NICE. And the

R ij

castle

castle of CHARACHIZAR, with the seignorie thereto belonging; he gaue to his cosin *Artemus*, the sonne of his vnckle *Iundus*.

Orchanes invades the country of Carasina.

There was at this time in *Orchanes* court, a noble yong gentleman, called *Turson-beg*, the son of *Charafis*, king of CHARASIA; by whose perswasion *Orchanes* in person himselfe with a strong armie, made an expedition into that countrey: for that his fathers subjects after the death of the king his father, denied their obedience to his elder brother, withing rather to haue *Turson* for their soueraigne. In whose behalfe *Orchanes* taking that journey, surprisid by the way many castles and townes to his owne vse. *Orchanes* was no sooner entred the countrey of CHARASIA, but *Turson* elder brother fled to PERGAMUM, whither the Turks shortly pursued him: Where *Turson* desirous to speake with his brother, vnwarly approching the citie, was wounded with an arrow shot from the wals, and there slaine. With whose death *Orchanes* was so greatly offended, that he threatened to destroy the whole countrey with fire and sword, if they did not by a day prefixed generally submit themselues to his mercie. The people terrified with this proclamation of so great a punishe already in armes, yeelded themselues vnto his subjection. The kings sonne also was led into PERGAMUM, vpon reasonable conditions yeelded himselfe vnto *Orchanes*, who sent him to PRUSA, where after he had there liued two yeares, died of the plague: after whose death, *Orchanes* made his son *Solyman* prince of CARASINA. Neither is this taking in of the countrey of CARASINA to be accounted a small conquest; one of the greatest houses of the Turks the successors of the Iconian Sultan *Adadin*, now thereby taking end, and their dominions, which were not small (as containing almost all LYDIA, with some good parts of MYSIA, TROAS, and the lesser PHRYGIA) now vnited vnto the *Othoman* kingdome. *Orchanes* vpon his returne, for the good successe of this journey, built a church and monasterie at PRUSA, placing therein religious men, with all diligence sought for out of all his kingdome: of which religious, the Turks write many fables, better worth the smiling at than the serious reporting. Hitherto the kingdome of *Othoman* and *Orchanes* his sonne, was contained within the bounds of the lesser ASIA, which the Turks call ANATOLIA.

The countrey of Carasina related vnto Orchanes.

Now it resteth to be shewed, vpon what occasion *Orchanes*, or rather his sonne *Solyman Basse*, as it were fatally, with a small power first passed ouer HELLESPOINT into EUROPE; where they and their successors haue by little and little so enlarged their dominions, that they haue now long ago quite ouerthrowne the Grecian empire, with many other great kingdoms, &c. are at this present a terrout to all Christian princes bordering vpon them: to the perpetuall infamie of the Greeks, who for want of courage, and busied with ciuile discord, neuer sought in time to impeach their greatnesse.

Orchanes hauing now so augmented his kingdome, that he might from many parts thereof out of ASIA, take view of the pleasant borders of EUROPE, from whence he was excluded only by the narrow sea of HELLESPOINT; and continually incited with the vnstoppable and restless desire of soueraignie, began to deuise how he might possibly passe that strait sea, and set foot into EUROPE, another part of the world. Which his conceit one day he imparted to his sonne *Solyman*: who presently answered his father, That if it would please him to giue him leaue, he would not doubt to passe the strait of HELLESPOINT, and in time to plant the Mahometane religion in those countries of EUROPE, possessed by the Christians. Which answer of *Solyman*, much pleased his father, who gaue him leaue to depart into his countrey, and in that matter to proceed further, as he thought best, and as occasion should best serue. *Solyman* taking leaue of his father, tooke his journey into CARASINA, where riding vp and downe the country, as it had bin for his pleasure only, he made his way to the place where it is thought the famous citie of TROO sometime stood; where yet (as the Turks and some others say) are to be seene the woonderfull ruines of that vnfortunate citie by the sea side: In this place *Solyman* stood still a great while as it were in a studie, forecasting (as it seemed) some great matter, without spcking one word to any of his followers. When one of his chieftains called *Ezes-beg*, to put him out of his deep thoughts boldly said vnto him: My lord and great soueraigne, what strange thing is this, that you are so deeply drowned in these your melancholy thoughts, vndoubtedly it is some great matter that you are studying vpon? Truth it is, said *Solyman*, for I was thinking how it were possible to passe ouer this sea of HELLESPOINT into the borders of EUROPE, and to take view of that countrey, and so to returne vndiscovered. If this bee the matter, said *Ezes-beg* (joyning vnto him one *Fazil-Beg*, a man of no lesse valour than himselfe) wee two will by the power of God performe

vnto

into you this enterprife. Then was *Solyman* desirous to know of them, about what place they would passe ouer: which they well knowing the sea coast, shewed him not far off. VV herfore *Solyman* giuing them leaue, they departed: and shortly after making a little boat, or rather as some suppose a raffe, passed ouer HELLESPOINT by night, and arrived in EUROPE side, neere vnto a castle of the Turks, called ZEMBNIC or ZEMBNIC, but of the Greekes *Coiridocastrom*, that is to say, The hogs castle, not farre from SASTUS: where going ashore, they tooke prisoner a Greeke in a vineyard neere vnto the castle, whom they finding to bee a good, sensible fellow, without delay put him into their boat or raffe, and returning backe againe, presented him to *Solyman*. This Christian captiue *Solyman* entertained courteously, giuing him great gifts and rich apparrell, to discouer vnto him the estate of his countrey: and in fine, learned of him a meanes to take the castle of ZEMBNIC, before the Christians should thereof be aware. For achievement whereof, certaine boats were speedily made readie by *Solymans* commaundement, and he with eightie chosen souldiors easily passed ouer in them by night, with their Christian guide the Greeke: for in that place, the strait betwixt ASIA and EUROPE is not past an Italian mile ouer. This guide brought *Solyman* directly to the aforesaid castle, where was a great dunghill, so high, that from the top thereof *Solyman* with his souldiors easily got into the castle, which they woon without any great resistance; for it was then harvest time, and most part of the people were in the vineyards, or treading out of their corne all night, as the vse of those countries is. *Solyman* thus possessed of the castle of ZEMBNIC, vsed no extremitie against the inhabitants thereof, seeking rather by courtesie to gaine their good wils, than by extremitie to force them to his: yet such gentlemen as he tooke, with some others also of the better sort, hee sent by shipping, into ASIA; and by the same ships returned souldiors as fast as he could into EUROPE: so that he had in one day two hundred souldiors more brought ouer vnto him. And manning such small vessels as hee had left about the castle, sent *Ezes-beg* alongst the coast on EUROPE side, to burne such shipping or vessels as he could find, least the Christians should by them hinder his passage vpon the strait of HELLESPOINT. So in a few daies *Solyman* had transported into EUROPE two thousand good souldiors of the Turks, whom he so gouerned, that they did not in any violent sort injurie the vulgar Christians, by reason whereof the common people began to like reasonable well of the Turks, and to conuerse with them without feare. This was the first comming ouer of the Turks into EUROPE, with purpose there to conquer and inhabit, vnder the fortune of the *Othoman* kings. For albeit that some of that nation had at sundrie times before come ouer, as men seeking after spoile, or otherwise sent for yea sometimes by the Greeke emperours themselues; yet neuer stayed they long, but hauing done that they came for, or els lost themselves, returned backe againe into ASIA: vntill that now conducted by *Solyman*, and possessed of the little castle of ZEMBNIC (as is aforesaid) they there tooke so fast footing, as that they and their posteritie after them, were neuer thence to be since that time remoued: but still more and more encroching vpon the Christians, haue vnto their Asian kingdome joyned a great part of EUROPE also, to the terrour of the rest that yet remaineth, as in the proesse of this Historie shall (if God will) at large appeare.

About two miles from ZEMBNIC in CHERSONESVS was another castle called MAT-
TO, or more truly MADITVS, which *Solyman* also tooke: so that now he had gotten two castles in EUROPE, both which he strongly manned. After which time, the Turkes in great numbers came out of ASIA into EUROPE ouer that narrow strait of HELLESPOINTVS, to dwell in CHERSONESVS: and *Solyman* instead of them, to make room for his Turkes, sent Christians out of EUROPE to be placed amongst the Turkes in ASIA. The report of this comming ouer of the Turkes into CHERSONESVS, and of the taking of the castle of ZEMBNIC carried in post to CONSTANTINOPLE, was sufficient to haue stirred vp any prouident or careful men, presently to haue taken vp armes for the recouerie of the lost castle, and the driving out againe of the barbarous enemies out of EUROPE, before they had gathered any greater strength, or settled themselues in those places: but such was the carelessse negligence and great securitie of the proud Greekes, that instead thereof they to extenuate the greatnesse of the losse, commonly sayd, That there was but an hogstie lost; alluding vnto the name of the castle: and vainely (as sayth a graue Father of their owne) jesting at that was not to be jeasted at, and laughing at that was not to be laughed, but lamented for; as in few yeates it proued, their foolish laughter being not without good cause conuerted into most bitter teares.

R. iij

Solyman

The castle of Madirus taken by the Turkes.

Calicut taken
by the Turkes.

Solyman his strength so still increasing by the dayly comming ouer of the Turkes, hee proceeded farther to spoyle the countrey of *CHERSONESVS*, almost as farre as *CALLIPOLIS*, distant from the castile *ZEMBENIC* about two and twentie miles: after which pleasant citie the proud Turke began now to long. Which the gouernour thereof perceiuing by the Turkes continual encroaching vpon him, rayfed what power he was able to make, and so went out against them; all the rest of the Greekes in the meane time lying still as if they had becne asleepe, or that the matter had not concerned them: but meeting the Turkes, he was by them (after a great conflict) ouerthrowne, and for sauegard of his life glad to flie into his citie: after whom the Turkes following, spoyled the countrey round about, and in their returne by plaine force tooke the citie, together with the castile also: which hapned in the yeere of our Lord 1358. Where the madnesse of the Greekes was againe more than before to bee wondered at; for the newes of the losse of *CALLIPOLIS* being brought to *CONSTANTINOPLE*, the people there made small account thereof, although it was indeed a right great losse, and much concerned the state: but to extenuate the matter, when they had any talke thereof, in jesting wise commonly said, That the Turkes had but taken from them a pottell of wine: but by taking of such hoghtys and pottells of wine (as they termed it) the Turkes in a few yeares after had gone so farre in *TRACIA*, that *Amurath* (this same *Solyman* his Nephew which now tooke from the Greekes the citie of *CALLIPOLIS*) euen in the heart (as it were) of the Greeke empire, placed his royall seat at *HADRIANOPLE*: and immediately after him *Baiazer* his sonne (hauing subdued all the countrey, euen to the walles of *CONSTANTINOPLE*) for certaine yeares layd hard siege vnto the imperiall citie it selfe; and had no doubt then carried it, had not the great expedition of the mightie Tartar prince *Tamerlaine* (vnto *Baiazer* farall) in the meane time hapned: whereby (God so appointing it) the prosperous succeedings of the Turkes were for a space well stayed; that they should not before the time by him prefinde, deuour the reliques of the Greeke empire. And it were to be wished that the Christians of our time also (by their example warned) would a length awake out of their dead sleepe: who of late haue lost vnto the same enemy, not the castile of *ZEMBENIC*, or the citie of *CALLIPOLIS*, but whole kingdomes, as *HUNGARIE*, and *CYPRVS*; and are still faire in the way; I say no more for grece, and foreboding of euill fortunes. But againe to our purpose, *Solyman* hauing made this prosperous entrance into *EVROPE*, and there got strong footing, by speedie messengers certified his father what he had done, and that it was expedient for him with all speed to send vnto him a great supplie of men of warre, as well for the sure defence and keeping of the castles and forts by him alreadie gotten, as for the further inuasion of the countrey. This message was woonderfull welcome vnto *Orchanes*, and whereas many families of the Sarazins, at that present were come into the countrey of *CARASINA* to possesse the dwellings and places of them, which in hope to better their estate were before gone ouer into *EVROPE*; all these Sarazins hee commaunded to passe ouer into *EVROPE* likewise: which they did accordingly, seating themselfe for a time in the countrey neere to *CALLIPOLIS*. In the meane time, *Solyman* omitted no oportunitie to enter further into the countrey, winning small forts and holds, and still peopling the same with his Turkes: And on the other side, they of *CARASINA* passed ouer into *EVROPE*, placing theselues as it were in a new world. For which cause, and for the great desire they had to extend the Turkish dominion and religion, they refused no paines of warre: so that all things at that time prospered with the Turkes, and went backward with the Christians.

In the time of these warres, not farre from *CALLIPOLIS*, was a litle castile called *CONGERR*, the captaine whereof was by a Greeke name called *Cabo Ioannes*, a valiant and painfull man: this captaine continually molested and troubled the Turkes which lay on that side of *CALLIPOLIS*, vnder the leading of *Ezes-beg*, many of whom he slew and tooke prisoners; as hee could find them at any aduantage. *Solyman* much angred herewith, by craftie and secret espials learned a certaine time when he was gone out of his castile to doe some exploit vpon the Turkes: whereupon he presently to beset the castile with souldiours, that hee could by no means returne thither, but hee must first fall into their hands; and for more assurance placed others also in by-ways, least he should by any way escape. The captaine ignorant of all this, prosecuted his enterprise, and hauing taken a Turke prisoner, thinking to returne to his castile, was hastily pursued by *Fazil-Beg*: for which cause, making the more hast, he suddainly fell into the danger of the Turkes laid in ambush: where his men were all slaine, and he himselfe taken and brought before his own castile,

castile, and had there his head presently stricke off: whereupon the castile was forthwith by them that were therein (hauing now lost their captaine) surrendered, and *Chazi Il-Beg*, a valiant captaine of the Turkes, placed in the same: who from thence neuer ceased to trouble the countrey, euen to the walls of *DIDYMOTICHUM*, as did *Solyman* also out of *CALLIPOLIS*.

Thus in the space of one yeare the Turkes got strong footing in *EVROPE*, possessing diuers castles and towines, with the countrey about them, which *Solyman* gaue in reward vnto his captaines and souldiours, as appeareth by the mappe and tombes of *Ezes-beg* and *Fazil-beg*, the two which first came ouer into *EVROPE*, which are yet well knowne.

About this time it is reported, that as this mortall prince *Solyman* was for his sport hawking in the fields of *BORAYRA*, on *EVROPE* side, galloping in to his faulcon, was with his horse ouerthrowne in a ditch, of which fall he being hurt, he died shortly after. The newes of his death being brought to *Orchanes* his father, he was then (then being sicke) just occasion of great sorrow: so that within two moneths after hee died also, being fourescore yeares old, when hee had thereof reigned 31 yeares; and died about the yeare of our Lord 1359. Some histories report otherwife, both of his death, and of the time wherein hee lived: as that he should be lliane in a battell against the Tartars, or as others write, with an arrow at the siege of *PARISA*, in the yeare of our Lord 1349. But *Ioannes Leunclauius* in his historie collected out of the Turkes owne chronicles whom we follow as most probable, reporteth it as before.

This *Orchanes* was wise, courteous, and bountifull, more ingenious than his father in deuising warlike engines. He built diuers princely Churches, Abbeyes, Colledges, and Cels, and was in his superstitious religion very zealous: in somuch that he appointed pensions to all such as could in the church say the booke of *Mahomet* law, by heart, and appointed competent maintenance for all Iudges of his courts: because they should not take any thing in reward of his subjects, for the perverting of justice. He greatly enlarged his kingdome in *ASIA*, and not content to bee indolored with the seas of *EVXINUM* and *HELLASPONTUS*, set fast footing in *EVROPE*; which some attribute to his sonne, *Amurath*. He was vnto the Christians alwaies a most mortall enemy, and so was.

FINIS.

Emperours	Of the East	<i>Andronicus Paleologus the younger.</i>	1325. 29.
		<i>John Paleologus.</i>	1354. 30.
	Of the West	<i>Lewes of Bawaria.</i>	1314. 32.
		<i>Charles the fourth, sonne to John king of Bohemia.</i>	1346. 10.
	Of England	<i>Edward the third.</i>	1327. 50.
		<i>Philip Valois.</i>	1328. 22.
Kings	Of Fraunce	<i>John Valois.</i>	1350. 14.
		<i>Robert Bruce.</i>	1306. 24.
Bishops of Rome	Of Scotland	<i>David Bruce.</i>	1341.
		<i>John the XXV.</i>	1317. 18.
		<i>Benedict the XII.</i>	1335. 7.
		<i>Clement the V.</i>	1342. 12.
		<i>Innocent the VI.</i>	1354. 10.

The death of
Solyman Beg,
Orchanes his
eldest sonne.
The death of
Orchanes.



*Scaurus Amurathes animo dum maxima versat:
Discordes Gracos sternere Marte parat.
Totus & intentus fines extendere regni:
Europam penetrans, obuia queque rapit.
Attoniti trepidant, nimia formidine Thraces:
In medio quorum, sceptrum superba locat.
Hinc Masos premis ille feros, miserumque Dynasten:
Cossou in campis obruit, atq. necat.
Sed non longa fuit sceleris tam dira voluptas
A seruo casus, concidit ense ferax.*

RICH. KNOWLES.

Whilest Amurath in his deepe thoughts, of greatesse plots the ground:
The wrangling Greekes by force of arms he seekes how to confound.
And wholly bent for to extend his kingdome, with his power,
Piercing the confines of EUROPE, doth what he meets deuour.
As men dismayd, the Thracians quake, to fear their foule disgrace:
Amiddest whom, the tyrant stout his keeper proud doth place.
The fierce Bulgarians he did meet, and in the field subdue:
And in COSSOVA fatall plains, the wofull Despot flue.
But long is not the wicked joy, which they in mischief take;
Stab'd by a Slaue, the wretch his end in that same place did make.

*Lazarus,
Despot of
Serbia.*

R. K.



THE LIFE OF AMVRATH, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, THIRD KING OF THE TURKES, AND THE GREAT AVGMEN- TOR OF THEIR KINGDOME.

AMurath the yonger sonne of Orchanes succeeded his father in the Turkish kingdome, his elder brother Solymán being dead a little before his father. This Amurath with greater zeale than any one of the Turkish kings, aduanced the Mahometane religion, and had therein wonderfull successe. In the beginning of his raigne, he gathered a great armie out of all parts of his kingdome, to PRUSA; purposing to passe ouer HELLES PONTUS, to inuade the Christians in THRACIA. But vnderstanding, that the other Mahometane princes in ASIA, had combined themselves against him, hee was thereby enforced to leaue his former determination for EUROPE, and to turne his forces vpon them. In which warre he mightily preuailed against them, and returned with victorie to PRUSA. But hauing fo subdued those confederat princes, he the next yeare after prosecuted his warres before intended against the Christians in EUROPE. For which purpose hauing leuied a strong armie in ASIA, he passed ouer to CALLIPOLIS, accompanied with his tutor, whom the Turks call *Lala Schahin*: whose graue aduice and counsaile he most followed in all his waightie affaires, being at that time one of his cheefe counsellors. From CALLIPOLIS he marched to the castle of BENUTUM, which was by composition yeilded vnto him. From thence he went to TZVRVLUS, where the Christians gaue him a sharpe encounter: but in the end he wan the towne, and caried away the victorie. And so proceeding farther, tooke diuers other small castles and townes in that part of THRACIA, which of the ancient Romane Colonies was then called ROMANIA, and now of the Turks RUMILIA, namely MESINE, BURGOOS, and others; whereof some he viterly rased, and into the rest put strong garrisons. At this time also, *Chasi-ilbeg*, and *Eurenoses*, two of his most valiant captaines, tooke certaine forts standing vpon the riuer MERITZA, in auncient time called HERCULUS. Whereby they much troubled the inhabitants of the countrey thereabouts. Wherewith the captaine of DIDYMOTICHUM offended, gathered his souldiours together, intending to haue intercepted the great captaine *Chasi-ilbeg*: in which attempt he lost most of his followers, and was himselfe there taken prisoner. For whose rancome and certain other condicions, the citizens of DIDYMOTICHUM yeilded the citie vnto the Turks.

Amurath, succeeding his father Orchanes in the Turkish kingdome.

Didymotichum yeilded vnto the Turks.

Shortly after Amurath sent his tutor *Lala Schahin* to besiege HADRIANOPLE, now called ANDRINOPLE, but in auncient time ORESTIAS: of whose comming the Christians hearing, encountered him vpon the way, and fought with him a great battaile, wherein many were on both sides lost: but in the end, the Christians being put to the worst, retired againe to the citie. Of this victorie *Schahin* sent newes vnto Amurath, with certaine of the heads of the slaine Christians: who thereupon sending *Chasis* and *Eurenoses* before, he himselfe with a great armie followed after to the siege of HADRIANOPLE: of whose comming, the gouernour of HADRIANOPLE vnderstanding, fled secretly out of the citie by night to ENUS. The citizens seeing themselves forsaken of their gouernour, yeilded their citie vnto Amurath, in the yeare of our Lord 1362.

Hadrianople yeilded vnto the Turks.

The taking of these strong cities in THRACIA, especially of DIDYMOTICHUM and HADRIANOPLE is (by some of the Turks owne Histories) otherwise reported: which, because it is neither improbable nor disagreeing from the subtile dealings of the Turkes, and of themselves also recei-

received, I haue thought good to set downe as their owne Historiographers report the same.

The Turkish king *Amurath* had (as they say, and as truth was) in the beginning of his reigne concluded a peace with the Christians of *THRACIA*: during which peace, the Gouvernour of *DIDYMOTICHUM* intending to fortifie his citie with new and stronger fortifications against the assaults of the Turkes, entertaigned all the masons, carpenters, and other workemen hee could by any meanes get: which *Amurath* vnderstanding, secretly caused two hundred good and lustie workemen and labourers to come out of *ASIA*, to offer their seruice vnto the gouernour, who gladly entertained them, vsing their helpe in that his great and hastie worke. Which thing some of the wiser sort of the citizens disliking, wished the Gouvernour to beware of those Asian workemen, as by them suspected. But hee presuming vpon the peace made with *Amurath*, and considering they were but base workemen, and no souldiers, had the lesse care of them: neuertheless (vsing their work all day) hee commanded them to lodge without the wals of the citie euery night. *Amurath* vnderstanding that these workemen were thus by the Gouvernour chieftained, sent for the valiant capitaine *Chafis-Ilbeg*, and requested him with thirtie other good souldiers disguised as poore laborers to go to *DIDYMOTICHUM* to seeke for worke, and in doing thereof to espie if any oportunitie might be found for the surprising of the citie. *Chafis* with these thirtie according to *Amurath* his direction, comming as poore men lacking worke, found entertainment at *DIDYMOTICHUM*, where they caried stones, mortar, and such like things, euer shewing themselves verie diligent in their worke: *Chafis* with vigilant eye still awaying what might best serue his turne for the surprising of the citie. When night was come, the Turkish workemen and labourers after their accustomed manner, and as they were by the gouernour appointed, went out of the citie into the suburbs to their lodgings: from whence *Chafis* secretly departing in the night, came to *Amurath* and shewed him how one of the gates of the citie might vpon the sudden be taken, if it would please him to place a sufficient number of Turkes in ambush neere vnto the citie, to joyne with him and the other Turkish labourers when occasion should serue. Which being resolved vpon, *Amurath* sent him backe againe to put this his deuise in execution: so *Chafis* returning to *DIDYMOTICHUM* brake the matter to so many of the Asian workemen as hee thought conuenient, fully instructing them what was to be done. The next day (according to his appointment) the Christians being then at dinner, these Turkish workemen and labourers fell at wordes among themselves, and from wordes to sayned blowes: in which counterfait brawle & tumult, they suddenly ran to one of the gates of the citie fast by (as was before appointed) and there laying hands vpon the warders weapons, as if it had bene to defend themselves against their fellowes, suddenly set vpon those warders, being in number but few, and then at dinner also, and so presently slew them: which done, they opened the gate of the citie, and let in the other Turkes which lay in wait not farre off: who with great celeritie entering the citie, presently took the same, and there put the cheefest of the citizens to the sword, sparing the rest of the meaner sort.

Rhodes was surprised by the Turke.

The citie of *RHODESTUM* (of the old writers called *RHODESTUM*) was by *Amurath* his commaundement, in this time of peace, by sudden assault giuen in the night by the lord *Eurenos*, taken also.

With this foule dealing and breach of league, yet in force, the Christians hardly charged *Amurath*, who turned it ouer to the vtmost of his captaines and men of warre, whom he threatened with great seueritie to punish: and to giue the better colour that it was done without his prouocitie, hee had fained himselfe sicke all the while these things were in doing. But being requested to restore these cities so wrongfully taken fro the Christians, hee utterly refused so to do, saying, That it was against the law of his great prophet *Mahomet*, to deliuer againe vnto the Christians, any towne or citie wherein the Mahometan religion had ben once openly taught. Wherevpon warre began againe to arise on fresh betwixt the Christians and him, wherein sometime the one preuailed, and sometime the other: in such sort as that those warres at length became vnto them both verie tedious. Wherefore *Amurath* made peace againe with the Christians of *HADRIANOPLE*, *SELYERIA*, and *CONSTANTINOPLE*: yet desiring nothing more in heart, than to take the citie of *HADRIANOPLE*: which the better to bring to passe, hee caused *Chafis-Ilbeg* as a discontented capitaine to flye to *HADRIANOPLE*, pretending himselfe to haue been hardly vsed by the tyrant his master: where hauing in his companie other such dissembling fugitiues as was himselfe, hee oftentimes issued out of the citie and valiantly skirmished with the Turkes: which so

greatly

greatly pleased the gouernour of *HADRIANOPLE*, that he thereby grew into his great fauour. Many other Turkes also vnder pretence of like discontentment, resorted vnto *Chafis*: where with finding himselfe well strengthened, hee writ letters secretly vnto *Amurath*, That he would deliuer one of the gates of *HADRIANOPLE* vnto him at a certaine appointed time, if he would against the same time be ready to send him present succors. All things being agreed vpon, *Chafis* at the appointed time came in the dawning of the day to one of the gates of the citie, accompanied but with ten of his followers, as if he would haue gone forth to hunt, as he had before accustomed. But so soone as the gates were opened, hee with the other ten well appointed for the purpose, furiously set vpon the warders, whom they slew; and being aided by the rest of the fugitiue Turkes (which with all speed by appointment before made, resorted vnto them) they possessed the gate; vntill a great power of the Turkes, whom *Amurath* the night before had placed in ambush neere vnto the citie, hauing knowledge what was done, and hearing the alarme, speedily came on, and by that gate entered the citie: where was fought a cruell fight all that day, euen from morning vntill night. But in the end the Turkes preuailed, tooke the citie, which they haue euer since possessed vnto this day.

These great cities of *THRACIA* thus take, or otherwise as aforesaid (for that I leaue for the Reader to thinke of as he pleaseth) *Amurath* appointed the seat of his royall Court at *HADRIANOPLE*, as a place of all others most fit for the further inuasion of the Christians, and enlarging of his kingdom in *EUROPE*: from whence such a world of mischiefs & woe hath since that time ouerflowed a great part of Christendome & drowned so many goodly kingdoms in *EUROPE*, as that both they, and most part of the rest that yet remaine (dayly in dread of like destruction) might iustly accuse and detest the wofull carelesse and degenerate cowardise of the Greekes, were not they themselves together with the glorie of their church and empire, swallowed vp in the same gulfe of calamitie and woe, and so become of all others most miserable: but what auaille vaine complaints, but to encrease old griefes: wherefore againe to that we haue in hand.

The prowd Sultan *Amurath* (hauing to his great content thus seated himselfe at *HADRIANOPLE*, in the middest of *THRACIA*) presently sent out his tutor *Lala Schahin* with a great power to inuade the countrey about *PHILIPPOPOLIS* with the countrey of *ZAGORA*, which lyeth towards the great mountain *Hæmus*, where the best Turkish Scimitars were made; giuing like charge vnto *Eurenos*, for the subduing of the territorie of *IPSALA*: who both notably performed what hee had commaunded, and in short time brought all those countreys vnder his subjection, wherein hee shortly after placed diuers sanzacks or gouernours, for the better assurance thereof being so lately gayned.

About this time (by the suggestion of *Cara Rustemes* a doctor of the Mahometan law) *Zinderlu Chelil*, then Cadilether or chiefe Iustice amongst the Turkes, but afterwards better knowne by the name of *Carradin Bassa*, by the commaundement of *Amurath*, tooke order that euery fifth captiue of the Christians, being about fifteen yeeres old, should bee taken vp for the king, as by law due vnto him: and if the number were vnder fiue, then to pay vnto the king for euery head 25 aspers, by way of tribute: appointing officers for collecting both of such captiues and tribute mony, of whom the aforesaid *Cara Rustemes* himselfe was chiefe, as first deuiler of the matter. By which meanes great numbers of Christian youths were brought to the court as the kings captiues, which by the counsell of the same *Zinderlu Chelil*, were distributed amongst the Turkish husbandmen in *ASIA*, there to learne the Turkish language, religion, and maners: where after they had been brought vp in all painefull labour and trauaile by the space of two or three yeeres, they were called vnto the court, and choise made of the better sort of them to attend vpon the person of the prince, or to serue him in his warres: where they dayly practising all feats of achuie, are called by the name of *Ianizars* (that is to say, new souldiers.) This was the first beginning of the *Ianizars* vnder this Sultan *Amurath* the first, but had great encrease vnder *Amurath* the second, in so much that *Iouius* with some other Historiographers, attribute the beginning of this order vnto him: which neuertheless (as appeareth by the Turkes owne histories) had the beginning as is aforesaid: and hath euer since been continued by the Turkish kings and emperors, by the same and some other greater meanes: so that in processe of time they be grown to that greatness as that they are oftentimes right dreadful vnto the great Turke himselfe: after whose death, they haue sometimes preferred to the empire such of the emperours sonnes as they best liked, without respect of prerogative of age, contrarie to the will of the great Sultan himselfe: and are at this day the

Hadrianople the royall seat of the Turkish kings in Europe.

Amurath third king of the Turks.

the greatest strength of the Turkish empire, and not vnlike in time to be the greatest cause of the ruine thereof: the finger of the highest oftentimes (as wee haue before said) turning euē those helps which were by mans wisdome provided for the establishing of kingdoms, vnto their more speedie destruction; and especially these continuall garisons of martiall men, no lesse to be feared than trusted, as in the course of this historie may appeare.

When *Amurath* had thus a great while continued at *HADRIANOPL*, determining now to returne vnto *ASIA*, he made *Schahin* his tutor *Beg-Lerbeg* or viceroy of *ROMANIA*; and *Eurenoses* lord gouernour of the marches; *Zinderlus Chelil* hee made *Vezir Azemes* or lord president of his counsell, and changing his name called him *Cairadin Bassa*, that is to say, The *Bassa* that had well deserued, his name witnessing his good desert. After this hee returned into *ASIA*, where he spent that winter at *PRUSA*. These two great men *Cairadin Bassa* & *Cara Rustemes* before named, sometimes two doctors of the Mahometan law, were (as the Turkish histories report) the first that corrupted the Turkish court with couetousnesse and briberie, and are therefore of them euē yet much blamed.

Whilst *Amurath* thus wintered in *ASIA*, news was brought vnto him, That the Christians of *SERVIA* and *BULGARIA* had gathered a great armie for the besieging of *HADRIANOPL*: which caused him to prepare great forces in *ASIA*, to aid his captaines in *EUROPE*. But in returning out of *ASIA*, hee by the way tooke the towne of *BOGA*; where hee put to sword all the Christians that were therein able to beare armes, leading the rest into captiuitie, and with the spoile rewarded his souldiours. This strong towne was not long after againe recovered by the Christians, who required the Turks with like measure, and doubting the keeping thereof, raised it downe to the ground: yet was it afterwards reedified by the Turks, as it is at this present to be seene: which was done in the yeare of our Lord 1365.

In the meane time, the Christian armie of *SERVIA* and *BULGARIA*, in number berwixt forty and fiftie thousand, marching towards *HADRIANOPL*, and now come very neere the same, fell in mutinie among themselves. Whereof the Turks by their espials hauing intelligence, suddenly in the night set vpon them: who blinded with inward hatred, and no lesse fearing one another, than their enemies, neglected to joyne their forces against them, but were readie to turn their weapons one vpon another; and so by their owne discord, more than by the enemies force, were made a prey vnto the Turks, by who they were put to flight, & slain, with so great a slaughter, that the place wherein they fell, not far frō *GERMIA*, is thereof at this day called *Zirf Zindugi*, that is to say, the place wherein the Seruians were ouerthrowne. The news of this so notable victorie, with the list part of the spoile, & a great number of the heads of the slaine Christians, were (after the barbarous manner of the Turks) sent to *Amurath* into *ASIA*, being now readie with a great power to haue come ouer *CALIFOLIS*: who joyfull thereof, & glad to see such a present, the assured witness of the victorie, returned againe to *PRUSA*. This was done in the yeare 1366. In which yeare also *Amurath* with wonderfull triumph circumsified his two sonnes, *Baiazet*, and *Iacup*. At which time he also built a temple, with a monasterie, and a colledge, at *BILRUGA*: and another faire church at *NEAPOLIS*: at *PRUSA* he also built a stately pallace in the castle, with a great church at the gates thereof: in which citie he also founded an abbey and a colledge.

German Oghli, a great Mahometane prince in *ASIA* (whose territorie for the most part lay in the greater *PHRYGIA*, and the countries thereabout, bordering vpon the *Orthoman* kingdome) hauing alwaies enuied at the rising of the *Orthoman* kings (as did all the rest of the Mahometane princes of the *Selzuchian* familie) and fearing that their greatnesse might after his death grow dangerous vnto his sonne *Iacup*, being now himselfe very aged; thought good for the more safetie of his state, to joyne in alliance with *Amurath*. And for that purpose sent *Isaach* (a learned doctor of the Mahometane law) embassadour vnto him, with many rich presents, and to offer his daughter, the ladie *Hatum*, in marriage vnto his sonne *Baiazet*: promising with her in dowrie diuers great cities and townes, with their territorie in *PHRYGIA* and *BITHYNIA*, adjoining vpon the *Orthoman* kingdome; namely *CUTATE*, *SIMAU*, *ELEGROS*, *TAUSANIE*, and others. Neither was this a small dowrie, but well becomming so great a prince: the citie of *CUTATE* being at this day the place whereat the Turkish emperours great lieutenant or viceroy in *ASIA*, is alwaies resident, as in the heart of his kingdome in the lesser *ASIA*. Of which match so offered, *Amurath* liking well, contracted his sonne *Baiazet* vnto the said ladie: and for solemnization of the marriage, prepared all things with great magnificence, sending his embassadours to most of the Mahome-

Amurath third king of the Turks.

tane kings and princes, both farre and neere, to inuite them thereunto: commaunding also most of the nobilitie of his kingdome, to honour the same with their presence. The time of this marriage drawing neere, embassadours came to *Amurath* his court, from all the princes before inuited: amongst whom the embassadour from the *Egyptian* Sultan had the highest place. These embassadours brought with them many great and rich gifts, such as well becomming the great princes their masters, which they with all reuerence presented vnto *Amurath*. At length amongst the rest of his owne nobilitie came the lord *Eurenoses*, whom he had before left gouernour of the frontiers of his kingdome in *EUROPE*: who besides many other rich gifts, not easily to be valued, presented vnto *Amurath* an hundred goodly boyes, with as many beautifull yong maidens, all Christian captiues, suitably attired in garments richly embrodered with gold and siluer, euē one of them carrying a cup of gold in the one hand, and a cup of siluer in the other; the cups of gold hauing in them diuers precious stones of great value, and the cups of siluer being filled with gold. The richnesse of this present was so great, that all the embassadours of the forraigne princes much wondered thereat. All which rich gift, *Amurath* most bountifullly bestowed vpon the strange embassadours: and the presents which were sent vnto him from other princes, he liberally gaue to *Eurenoses*. The learned and religious which came to that marriage, hee so bountifullly rewarded also, that none came to the same poore, but he went away rich. He had before sent diuers of his nobilitie, with an hundred ladies and gentlemen, and a guard of three thousand horsemen, to attend the comming of the bride. On the other side, the old prince *German Oghli* meeting this honourable companie vpon the way, saluted euery man of account, according to his degree: and bringing them to one of his cities, in most royall manner feasted them, bestowing vpon them many rich and princely gifts: all which things with great solemnitie performed, he deliuered his daughter the bride to two of the most ancient ladies, whereof the one had bene *Baiazet* his nurse; and so taking leaue of his daughter, sent her away, accompanied with his wife *Iehses*, and other of his courtiers: who conueying her to *PRUSA*, she was there in most roiall manner married to *Baiazet*. The cities and townes promised in dowrie, were accordingly deliuered into the possession of *Amurath*, who shortly after tooke possession of the same, and furnished them with his owne garrisons.

At this marriage *Chusen Beg*, prince of *AMISUM* in *GALATIA*, by his embassadour sold his territorie of *AMISUM* vnto *Amurath*, with many faire cities and townes: doubting as it was thought, how to be able to keep them, now that *Amurath* was come so neere him, whom he saw not to let slip any occasion offered vnto him for the enlarging of his kingdome. When *Amurath* had in this sort spent great time in *ASIA*, hee gathered a strong armie to returne into *EUROPE*: but before his departure, he committed the gouernment of his kingdome in *ASIA* (which the Turks call *ANATOLIA*) vnto his sonne *Baiazet*, joyning with him *Temurtas*: a valiant man of great experience: and hauing set all things in order in *ASIA*, passed ouer *HELLESPOINT* to *CALIFOLIS*, from whence hee marched towards *HADRIANOPL*; and because hee would take some thing in his way, he besieged *MAGALARA*, which hee in short time woon: where *Lala Schahin* and *Eurenoses* with all their forces came to him: which two captaines he sent to besiege the citie *PHERR*, which was by them after a few dayes siege taken. But he himselfe to bee reuenged vpon *Lazarus* the Despot, led his armie into *SERVIA*: where after hee had without resistance forraged the countrey foureteene daies, vnderstanding by his captaines, that the strong citie of *NISSA*, being the metropolitane citie of *SERVIA*, was as it were the key of that kingdome, he presently marched thither, and laid siege to the same, and by the aduice of *Saxis Beg*, the sonne of *Temurtas*, in short time woon it. Which thing so daunted *Lazarus*, Despot or lord of *SERVIA*, that he despairing in his owne forces, hauing so soone lost one of his strongest cities, forthwith sent embassadours to *Amurath*, to entreat a peace: offering to pay him a yearly tribute of fiftie thousand pounds, and to aid him with a thousand men in his wars, whensoever he should require: vpon which conditions *Amurath* graunted him peace, and so departed out of *SERVIA*. In this expedition he also with much ado woon the great citie of *APOLONIA*, neere vnto the mount *ATHOS*, and gaue leaue vnto most of the Christians with their wiues and children to depart, and such part of their goods as was not in the taking thereof spoiled by the souldiours. This done, he returned backe to *HADRIANOPL*, leauing *Eurenoses* vpon the marches, who shortly after tooke *BERRHEA*, with diuers other townes. At which time also, *Lala Schahin* woon *ZICHNE* and *SERES*, in the confines of *MACEDONIA*, with many other strong townes

Boga taken by
Amurath, and
recovered again
and raised by the
Christians.

Boga new built
by the Turks.

Amurath himselfe
deserveth
Nissa taken by
the Turks.

Appollonia woon
by the Turks.

upon the frontiers of **Thessalia** and **Thrace**. In the citie **Seres Eurenoses** made his abode as in a cheefe frontier towne: and because the Christians for feare of the Turks were all fled out of the country about **Seres**, great numbers of people were sent for out of **Asia**, to inhabit that country by the Christians forsaken in the confines of **Macedonia**. **Amurath** had not long continued at **Hadrinople**, but that he was aduertised out of **Asia**, that **Aladin** his sonne in law, king of **Caramania**, did with fire and sword invade his dominions in **Asia**: with which newes he was exceedingly troubled. And for that cause sending for his counsaillors and nobilitie to the court, told them, how that **Aladin** forgetting all the bonds of religion, faith, peace, and alliance, with all hostilitie invaded his prouinces in **Asia**, whilest he with the great danger of his person, and greater terror of his enemies, fought with honour the encrease of the Mahometane sincere religion (as he termed it) in **Europe**: from which godly warres (said hee) I am against my will enforced to turne my sword, in just defence of my selfe, against men joyned with vs both in religion & alliance. And hauing thus declared his mind, he appointed **Chairadin Bassa** his lieutenant generall in **Europe**, and also made his sonne **Alis Bassa**, one of his counsaile, although he were by some thought too young for so great a place. And so hauing set all things in order according to his mind in **Europe**, tooke passage from **Callipolis** into **Asia**, and so to his court at **Pruasa**, where he spent that winter. In which time embassadours came vnto him fro the Sultan of **Egypt**, for the renewing of their former amitie and friendship, which **Amurath** tooke very thankfully, and sent them backe againe laden with kind letters and princely rewards.

When the Spring was come in the year 1387, he leuiued a mightie armie to make war vpon the **Caramanian** king, his sonne in law. Whereof **Aladin** certainly informed, prepared no lesse power to meet him, associating vnto him all the other lesse Mahometane princes of **Asia**, which were not vnder **Amurath** his obeisance, to whom the **Othoman** kings were now growne terrible; which princes brought with them great supplies to joyne with **Aladin**.

Aladin thus aided by his friends, thinking himselfe now strong ynough for **Amurath** his father in law, sent an embassadour vnto him, certifying him, That he was nothing in power inferior to him, and therefore did nothing feare him: yet if it pleased him to haue peace, that hee could for his part be content to hearken vnto the same vpon reasonable conditions: but if hee had rather haue warre, he should find him readie to dare him battaile in the field, whensoever hee should come. For answer of which embassage, **Amurath** willed the embassadour to tell the perjured king his master, That he had of late contrarie to his faith before giuen, in most cruell manner invaded his dominions, whilest he was busied in most godly warres (as hee termed it) against the misbeleuing Christians: from prosecuting whereof, hee was by his violence (as hee said) withdrawn, contrarie to the law of their great prophet: for which outrages and wrongs, hee would shortly come and take of him sharpe reuenge; and that therefore hee was to expect nothing at his hands but warre, for which he willed him so to prouide, as that at his coming he might not find him wanting to himselfe. **Aladin** by his embassadour hauing received this answer from **Amurath**, assembled all the confederate princes, his allies, with great persuasions and greater promises encouraging them to this warre: and they againe kissing the ground at his feet, as the manner of that nation is before great princes, promised with solemne oaths neuer to forsake him, but to doe all things which princes desirous of honour and fame, ought by their oath to doe for their soueraigne, to whom they ought homage and dutie.

The death of
Chairadin Bassa.

In this great preparation for wars in **Asia**, **Chairadin Bassa**, generall gouernor in **Europe** directed: which **Amurath** vnderstanding, appointed **Alis Bassa** his sonne to goe into **Europe**, there to be gouernor in his fathers stead. But he was staied in his journey by vrgent occasions, which **Amurath** vnderstanding, sent for him backe againe in post.

Aladin foreseeing the great dangers like to ensue of this warre, sent another embassadour to **Amurath**, with reasonable conditions of peace: to whom **Amurath** answered; That if **Aladin** had made that offer one moneth before, hee would perhaps haue accepted thereof: but for so much as he had done him great wrong, and that hee had now to his infinite charge drawne him into the field so farre from home, hee would not make any other end, than such as the chance of warre should appoint: And whereas he in disgrace had called me a heardsman or shepheard (said he) if he be not such a one himselfe, as he saith me to be, let him meet me in the field, and there trie his valour. Hereunto the embassadour replied, saying, That the king his master made this offer of peace not for any feare, but to saue the effusion of innocent blood; which consideration set

apart,

apart, he should find him not inferior to himselfe, either in number of most expert souldiours, or other warlike prouision: and that therefore, if he rejected this offer of peace, hee needed not to doubt but to meet with men of courage, which would beate themselves so valiantly in the field against his Turks, as that he should haue no great cause to reioice of his comming thither. Which words of the embassadour so needed **Amurath**, that in great rage he commaunded him to depart, and to will his master, if hee were a man of such courage and valour as he said, to shew himselfe in the field with all his forces, there to make an end of all quarrels: where hee doubted not but in short time to chastise him according to his due deserts. So after the embassadour was departed, marching forward three daies, **Alis Beg** came vnto him, of whose comming hee not a little rejoyced: for why, he loued him deere, and although he was yet of yeares but young, relied much vpon his counsaile.

The Embassadour returning, recounted vnto **Aladin** all that **Amurath** had said, not omitting his hard speeches and proud threats, and how that hee hoped shortly to take from him **Icönium** and **Larenda** (the principall cities of **Caramania**) with many things more, leauing nothing vtold. Which **Aladin** hearing, said vnto the confederate princes that were with him, **Venitie Amurath** threatneth to take from vs our cities of **Icönium** and **Larenda**, but let him take heed that we take not from him his faire citie of **Pruasa**. Then demanding of the embassadour, of what strength **Amurath** might be? It was answered by him, that he deemed him to be about seuentie thousand strong. Whereat **Aladin** not a little rejoycing said: Assuredly when hee shall see our armie, he will not dare to giue vs battaile; or if he do, he shall fight vpon great disadvantage, his men being both fewer in number than we, and sore wearied with long and painefull trauaile.

In the meane time **Amurath** held on his way towards **Caramania**, daily encouraging his souldiours with persuasions and gifts bountifullly bestowed vpon them, filling their heads with promises of greater, the warres once happily ended. At length he came to the great plaines in **Caramania** called the French plains, because in former time the Christians (whom the Turks for most part call Franks) in those places encamped their great armies, as they went to the winning of **Ierusalem** (as in the former part of this historie is declared:) into these plaines also came **Aladin** with his armie, and was now encamped within one daies march of **Amurath**, and so rested that night.

The next morning **Amurath** put his armie in order of battaile, appointing the leading of the right wing, to his youngest sonne **Iacup**, with whom he joyned **Cutluces Beg**, **Eine Beg**, **Subbassa**, **Egridum Subbassa**, **Seraç**, and **Custendil**, two Christian princes; all capitaines of great experience: the left wing was led by **Baiazer** his eldest sonne, with **Ferize** and **Horç**, both valiant capitaines: in which wings were also placed the Christian souldiours sent by **Lazarus** out of **Serua**, according to the late conuention of peace: in the maine battell he stood himselfe: the vauntgard was conducted by **Temurtases**; and the reareward by the **Subbassa** of **Oxylihus** (called also **Temurtases**) and **Achmetes**. **Aladin** on the other side, with no lesse care and diligence set his men likewise in order of battaile, placing himselfe in the maine battaile as did **Amurath**; and the princes his Allies, with his other expert capitaines, some in the right wing and some in the left, as he thought most conuenient: in such sort, as that in all mens iudgement he was in force nothing inferior to his father in law.

These great enemies thus ranged, with ensignes dislaid came on couragiously, one directly vpon the other: where approaching together, the confused noise of trumpets, drummes, fifes, with other instruments of warre, the neighing of horses, and clattering of armour, was so great, that whilst warlike minds thereat rejoyced, cowards thought heauen fell. But the signe of battaile on both sides giuen, **Samagaç**, one of the confederate princes, with exceeding courage first charged **Temurtases** in the vauntguard, and broke his rankes: at which time **Teberruses**, a Tartar prince, and **Varsacides**, another of the confederats, deliuered their arrowes also vpon the vauntguard, as if it had been a shower of haile. Which **Baiazer** seeing, and how hardly **Temurtases** was charged, hauing before obtained leaue of his father, brake in vpon the enemy with such violence, as if it had been the lightening: whereof he was euer after surnamed **Gilderun**, which is to say, the Lightening. **Ferizes** and **Horç**, with the other valiant capitaines in that wing, following **Baiazer**, with inuincible courage entered the battaile; where for a great space was made a most dreadfull and doubtfull fight. A man would haue thought two wrought seas had met together,

The great battaile in the plaines of Caramania between Amurath and Aladin.

swaying one against the other, doubtfull which way the current would at length fall. In this conflict many thousands were on both sides slain, so that the field lay covered with the dead bodies of worthe men and valiant souldiours: yet at length these confederate princes, finding themselves ouermatched by *Baiaſet* and his souldiours, referuſing themſelues to their better fortunes; turned their backs and fled: when *Aladin* ſeeing a great part of his armie thus ouerthrowne; and himſelfe now ready to be charged with *Amurath* his whole power, deſpairing of victorie, ſped himſelfe in all haſt to *Icönium*, his ſtrong citie. The ſpoile which *Amurath* got in this battell was great, moſt part whereof he gaue in reward to *Temortaſes* and his ſouldiours, which had endured the greateſt furie of that battaile. *Amurath* after this victorie with all ſpeed marched to *Icönium*, and there beſieged *Aladin* the Caramanian king, in his ſtrongest citie, giuing out proclamation in the mean time, That none of his ſouldiours vpon paine of death ſhould vie any violence to any of the countrey people, or take any thing from them: to the intent it might appeare vnto the world, that he made that warre againſt that Mahometan king, rather to propulſe injurie and wrong, than for deſire of ſoueraigntie or ſpoile. Which his ſo ſtraight a proclamation, the Chriſtians ſent by *Lazarus*, amongſt others, tranſgreſſed; and therefore by his commandement ſuffred (many of them) exemplarie puniſhment: which was the cauſe of the Seruian war which not long after enſued, ſatall both vnto *Amurath* and *Lazarus* the Deſpot, as hereafter ſhall appeare.

Aladin now on euerie ſide beſieged in *Icönium*, and without all hope of eſcape, ſent vnto the queene his wife, *Amuraths* daughter, bewailing vnto her his deſperat eſtate, and requeſting her by all the loue that ſo honourable a minded ladie might beare to her miſerable huſband, to aduerture her ſelfe to goe to her angrie father, and to craue pardon for his great treſpaſſe and offence. The queene forthwith attiring her ſelfe, as was fitteſt for her huſbands preſent eſtate, came vnto her father: where falling downe at his feet vpon her knees, with wordes wiſely placed, and teares diſtilling downe her faire cheeks from her fairer eyes, as if it had been from two fountaines; in moſt ſorrowfull manner, craued her huſbands pardon, imputing vnto the heat of youth what ſoouer he had done; and would not be comforted or taken vp, vntill ſhe had obtained grace.

Amurath moſt entirely loued this his daughter; and therefore for her ſake not onely graunted vnto her, her huſbands life (which in ſhort time was like to haue been in his power to haue ſpilt) but alſo his kingdom, which he as a victorious conquerour might by law of armes haue of right detained. She now aſſured of her fathers promiſe, ſent vnto her huſband *Aladin*, willing him the next day without feare to come out of the citie, and in humble ſort to acknowledge his fault before her father. VVho the next morning accordingly came out, and proſtrating himſelfe before *Amurath*, acknowledged his vndutifulnes: of whom (for his wiues ſake) he obtained pardon, and reſtitution to his kingdom, with many other great gifts, contrarie to his euil deſert. The Latine hiſtories miſtaking the man, report that this Caramanian warre, to haue been fought againſt the king of *CARAMANIA*, *Amurath* his owne grandfather by the mothers ſide; and that he was by *Amurath* then ſpoiled of a great part of his kingdom: but it agreeth not with the Turkiſh hiſtories, which make *Amurath* to be the ſonne of *Orchanes* and *Luluſer*, the daughter of the gouernour of the caſtle of *IARCHISER*, as is before declared in the life of *Othoman*; which *Luluſer* lieth buried by her huſband *Orchanes*, in *PRUSA*.

This great victorie gotten by *Amurath* againſt the Caramanian king, and the other confederat princes, was the true beginning of the greatneſſe of the *Othoman* kingdom in *ASIA*: wherewith the other Mahometan princes of the *Seſſuccian* family were ſo diſcouraged, that they were glad to ſubmit themſelues thus firſt vnto *Amurath*, and after that vnto his ſonne *Baiaſet*: vntill that *Tamerlan* the great Tartarian prince, ſome few yeares after, taking *Baiaſet* priſoner in a great battaile at mount *SEBLA*, abated the *Othoman* pride, and reſtored the other oppreſſed Mahometan princes to their old poſſeſſions and kingdoms.

Amurath returning homewards, by the way tooke the citie of *DESPOTOLIS*, and coming to *CUTAT* brake vp his armie, and ſo in triumph returned to his court at *PRUSA*.

Lazarus, Deſpot of *SERBIA* (in old time called *MYSIA*) had ſent a thouſand armed men to *Amurath* in this the late Caramanian warre, according to the conuention of the peace not long before made betwixt them: ſome of which ſouldiours, were with great ſeueritie (to the terror of others) executed in *CARAMANIA*, for tranſgreſſing *Amurath* his commandement. This great warre being ended, and the armie broken vp at *CUTAT*, they with others were licenſed to depart into

into their own countrey. VVhoſe Generall (whom they call the *Vayuod*) returning home reported vnto *Lazarus* the Deſpot, the ſucceſſe of that war, and withall in what cruell and tyrannicall manner the men he had ſent were in that ſeruiſe vſed by the commandement of *Amurath*. VVith whom (ſaid this Generall) you without cauſe haue made a moſt diſhonourable peace: firſt by giuing your faith to ſuch a miſcreant, and then in ſending your loyall ſubiect in recompence of their good ſeruiſe, to be ſo butchered at his pleaſure; beſide the ſhamefull tribute which you yearly pay vnto him. VVhereas if it would pleaſe you in the depth of your wiſedome, but to know your owne ſtrength, you ſhould find your ſelfe in warlike force and power, nothing inferior to the tyrant: for wee your ſeruants being in number but a handfull, were in theſe his late wars a terror vnto his enemies, and by our valour and not his owne, hee got the victorie ouer them. VVhat cauſe is there then, that you ſhould ſubject your ſelfe vnto your inferiour? I know he cannot of himſelfe bring into the field aboute fiftie thouſand fighting men: but admit he were able to bring a hundred thouſand, are not you (if you ſo pleaſe) able to leuie a farre greater power? and for all other warlike prouiſion, you are ten fold better prouided than hee. Beſides that, the mightie Chriſtian princes will ſend you ſuch aid againſt this hatefull and common enemy, that being vnitd with yours, his Barbarian forces will be nothing in compariſon of thoſe which you ſhall then be able to bring into the field againſt him: which no doubt the Chriſtian princes will the rather doe, as men deſirous to quench this deuouring fire, in another mans houſe rather than in their owne.

Theſe wordes of the *Vayuod* ſo much mocked *Lazarus*, that he determined in him ſelfe, to breake that ſeile league which he before had made with *Amurath*. And for that cauſe ſent his embaffadour with ſecret inſtructions to the king of *BOSNA* (in time paſt called *ILLYRIA*) his neighbour: whereof the cheefe point was, to craue his aid againſt the Turke their common enemy. By whom the king of *BOSNA* returned anſwere, That it had been much better ſuch conſideration had been thought vpon, before the foule contract (full of diſgrace both to himſelfe, and all other Chriſtian princes) was vpon a vaine feare, by him raſhly made with the Turkiſh tyrant: Yet for ſo much as things done, could not bee vndone, letting that paſſe which was remedieſſe, he promiſed to joyne with him his whole forces, againſt ſo dangerous an enemy. And therevpon appointing a place for an enteruiew, met accordingly, and there fully concluded all the articles of their confederation.

There was in the confines of *BOSNA* a caſtle called *ALEXANDRIA*, the captaine whereof being a Chriſtian, was yet tributarie vnto the Turke; wiſhing vnto him ſuch good, as men oppreſſed vſe to doe to them by whom they are ſo wronged. This captaine vnder the colour of frienſhip went to *Amurath*, and in great ſecrecie opened vnto him the whole ſtate of the kingdom of *BOSNA*; and withall, that the king thereof intended ſome great matter againſt him: for preuenting whereof, he offered his owne ſeruiſe, and ſhewed ſome probable means, how that kingdom might be brought into his ſubjection, if hee would but ſend ſome wortheie Generall with a conuenient power for the vndertaking thereof. This wonderfully pleaſed the ambitious old tyrant, who therefore commaunded a rich garment to be caſt vpon the captaine (which amongſt the Turks is taken for a ſure token of the kings great fauour) and forthwith appointed his tutor *Lala Schahin*, according to this captains direction, to inuade the kingdom of *BOSNA*. Who joyning himſelfe with this deceitfull captaine of *ALEXANDRIA*, with an armie of twenty thouſand men entred into *BOSNA*; where ouerrunning a ſide of the countrey, he without reſiſtance tooke great booties: and ſeeing no apparent cauſe of feare, to doe the more harme, by the aduice of the ſame captaine, deuided his armie, which he ſent into diuers parts of the countrey, the more to burne and ſpoile the ſame. Of all whole proceedings, the king of *BOSNA* by ſecret meſſengers from the captaine aduertified, had in conuenient places laied ſtrong ambuſhes for the intercepting of his enemies. So that as *Schahin* was returning homeward with a rich bootie, hauing then with him but a thouſand men, ſuddenly appeared in his way thirtie thouſand Chriſtians well armed: which *Schahin* ſeeing, thinking it ſollie to oppoſe ſo few againſt ſo many, would haue preſently fled; but the reſt of the gallants that were with him, preſuming of their good fortune, and loth to looſe their rich prey, would needs firſt skirmiſh with the Chriſtians: in which deſperate conflict they were almoſt all ſlaine, and the ſpoile they had taken, all recovered by the Chriſtians. As for *Schahin*, he was glad by ſhamefull flight to ſaue himſelfe. The like miſhap beſell the other Turks in the other parts of *BOSNA*, who for the moſt part were likewiſe intercepted

Amurath third king of the Turks.

maine battell stood *Lazarus* himselfe; the Italians, Valachians, Hungarians, Bohemians, and Bulgarians, he placed in both wings. It is thought, greater armies than these two had sildome before met in *EUROPE*, *Lazarus* as the Turkish histories report (but how truly I know not) having in his armie six hundred thousand men; and *Amurath* scarce halfe so many.

To begin the battaile, *Amurath* had drawing a thousand of his best archers, vnder the leading of *Malcozzens*, out of the right wing of his armie; and the like number of archers out of the left, vnder the conduct of one *Mustapha*: which so placed on both sides of the armie, as he thought best, *Eurenos* a man of great experience, told *Amurath*, That the Christians were for the most part well and strongly armed, and shouldering close together in their charge, would be like a rock of yron, vnable to be pierced: but if in joyning the battaile, hee would a little retire, the Christians following vpon good hope, would so loose their close standing (the cheefe part of their strength) and leaue an entrance for his men. Vpon which resolution, *Amurath* commaunded the archers to giue the first charge: which they courageously performed. At which time, the Turks armie gaue ground a little: which the Christians perceiuing, with great force assailed the left wing of their armie, and after a hard and cruell fight put the same to flight: which *Baidzet* seeing, with such furie renewed the battaile, that the Turks which before as men discouraged fled in the left wing, began now to turne againe vpon their enemies; and the Christians hauing as they thought already got the victorie, were to begin a new battell. In which bloodie fight many thousands fell on both sides: the brightnesse of the armour and weapons, was as it had been the lightning: the multitude of launces and other horsemens stauies shadowed the light of the sunne: arrowes and darts fell so fast, that a man would haue thought they had powred downe from heauen, the noise of the instruments of warre, with the neighing of horses, and outcries of men was so terrible and great, that the wild beasts in the mountaines stood astonied therewith: and the Turkish histories, to expresse the terrour of the day (vainly say) that the Angels in heauen amazed with that hideous noise, for that time forgot the heavenly hymnes wherewith they alwaies glorified God: About noone time of the day, the fortune of the Turks preuailling, the Christians began to giue ground, and at length betooke themselves to plaine flight; whom the Turks with all their force pursued and slew them downe right, without number or mercie. In which battell

Lazarus slain. *Lazarus* the Despot himselfe was also slaine. Howbeit some histories report otherwise, as that he with his son were taken prisoner, and by and by afterwards (in reuenge of *Amurath* his death) cruelly slaine: other some also reporting that he died in prison. *Amurath* after this great victorie, with some few of his cheefe captaines taking view of the dead bodies, which without number lay on heapes in the field like mountaines; a Christian souldiour, sore wounded and all bloodie, seeing him, in staggering manner arose (as if it had been from death) out of a heape of slaine men, and making towards him, for want of strength fell downe diuers times by the way as he came, as if he had been a drunken man: at length drawing nigh vnto him, when they which guarded the kings person would haue stayed him, hee was by *Amurath* himselfe commaunded to come neerer: supposing, that he would haue craued his life of him. Thus this halfe dead Christian pressing neere vnto him, as if he would for honour sake haue kissed his feet, suddenly stabbed him in the

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bottom of his bellie with a short dagger, which he had vnder his souldiours coat: of which wound that great king and conquerour presently died. The name of this man (for his courage worthy of eternall memorie) was *Miles Cobelitz*: who before sore wounded, was shortly after in the presence of *Baidzet* cut into small peeces. The Turks in their Annales somewhat otherwise report of the death of *Amurath*: as that this *Cobelitz*, one of the Despot his seruants, in time of the battaile, comming to *Amurath* as a fugitive, offering him his seruice, and admitted to his presence, in humbling himselfe to haue kissed his feet (as the barbarous manner of the Turks is) stabbed him into the bellie and so slew him: being himselfe therefore shortly after (as is aforesaid) in the presence of *Baidzet* most cruelly hewen into small peeces. Whereupon ever since that time, the manner of the Turks hath been, and yet is, that when any embassadour or stranger is to come to kisse the Sultan his hand, or otherwise to approach his person, hee is as it were for honours sake, lead by the armes vnto his presence, betwixt two of the great courtiers: but indeed by so entangling him, to be sure that he shall not offer him the like violence, that did this *Cobelitz* vnto *Amurath*.

The dead bodie of *Amurath* was presently with all secrecie conueied into his tent by the Basses and captaines present at his death: whether *Baidzet* was also brought with an ensigne before

Amurath third king of the Turks.

before him, as the successeur in his fathers kingdome. His younger brother *Iacup* surnamed *Zelebi* (or the noble) yet ignorant of that had hapned, was by the great Basses sent for, as from his father: who casting no perill, but comming into his fathers tent, was there presently by them strangled, by the commaundement of *Baidzet*, as most histories report: howbeit the Turkes annales charge him not therewith. This was the beginning of the most vnaturall and inhumane custome, euer since holden for a most wholesome and good policie amongst the Turkish kings and emperours, in the beginning of their raigne, most cruelly to massacre their brethren and nearest kinsmen, so at once to rid themselves of all feare of their competitors.

This *Amurath* was in his superstition more zealous than any other of the Turkish kings; a man of great courage, and in all his attempts fortunat: he made greater slaughter of his enemies, than both his father and grandfather: his kingdome in *ASIA* hee greatly enlarged by the sword, marriage, and purchase: and vsing the discord and cowardise of the Grecian princes, to his profit, subdued a great part of *THRACIA*, called *ROMANIA*, with the territories thereto adjoining, leauing vnto the emperour of *CONSTANTINOPLE*, little or nothing more in *THRACIA* than the imperiall citie itselfe, with the bare name of an emperour, almost without an empire: hee was a great part of *BULGARIA*, and entred into *SERUIA*, *BOSNA*, and *MACHEDONIA*: hee was liberal, and withall seuerer: of his subjects both beloued & feared: a man of verie few words, and one that could dissemble deeply. Hee was slaine when hee was threescore eight yeares old, and had thereof reigned thirtie one, in the yeare of our Lord 1390. His dead bodie was by *Baidzet* conueied into *ASIA*, and there royally buried at *PRUSA*, in a faire chappell at the West end of the citie, neere vnto the Bathes there: where, vpon his tombe lieth his souldiours cloake, with a little Turkish tulipant, much differing from those great turbants which the Turkes now weare. Neere vnto the same tombe are placed three launces, with three horse tailes fastened at the vpper end of them, which he vsed as guidons in his wars: a thing in ancient time not strange. There standeth a castle with a tombe, made in remembrance of him, in the plaines of *COSSOVA*, where he was slaine and his entrailles buried: which giueth occasion for some to report that hee was there also himselfe entred.

FINIS.

Emperours	Of the East	<i>John Paleologus.</i>	1354. 30.
		<i>Andronicus Paleologus.</i>	1384. 3.
		<i>Emanuel Paleologus.</i>	1387. 30.
Of the West		<i>Charles the fourth.</i>	1346. 32. 27
		<i>Wenceslaus son to Charles</i>	
		<i>king of Bohemia.</i>	1378. 22.
Of England		<i>Edward the third.</i>	1327. 50.
		<i>Richard the second.</i>	1377. 23.
Of France		<i>John Valois.</i>	1350. 14.
		<i>Charles the fifth.</i>	1364. 16.
		<i>Charles the sixth. Surnamed, The welbeloued.</i>	1381. 42.
Of Scotland		<i>David Bruce.</i>	1341. 29.
		<i>Robert Stuart.</i>	1379.
Bishops of Rome		<i>Innocent the VI.</i>	1354. 10.
		<i>Urban the V.</i>	1364. 8.
		<i>Gregorie the II.</i>	1372. 7.
		<i>Urban the VI.</i>	1378. 11.



Phi. Lonicer.
Hist. Tur. l. ii.

*Fulminis in morem celeri vapit agmina motu
Baizethes fidei pacis & impatiens.
Regni Hadrianopolim sedes sibi legit ut esset.
Possit ut Europa iungere regna sua.
Constantinopolim gemina obsidione fatigat:
Iam Græcas vana spe sibi spondet opes,
Cum Tamburlano præbet sua terga, cæternis
Vincit, & in cauea probra pudenda subit.*

Proud Baiazet most false of faith, and loathing blessed peace:
His warlike troupes like lightening, to shake he doth not cease.
Of HADRIANOPLE he makes choice, for his imperiall seat,
That EUROPE kingdoms he might joyne vnto his empire great.
CONSTANTINOPLE he distrest, twice with straight siege and long:
And vainly thought to haue posselt the Græcians wealth by wrong.
But ouercome by Tamberlane, fast bound in fetters sure,
Trod vnder foot, and cloas'd in cage, great shame did there indure.



THE LIFE OF BIAZET, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, THE FOVRTH AND MOST VNFORTVNAT KING OF THE TURKES.



Biazet, or as the Turks call him, *Baiafit*, of his violent and fierce nature furnamed *Gilderun*, or lightening; succeeded his father *Amurath* in the Turkish kingdome, his younger brother *Iacup* being strangled immediately after his fathers death, as is before declared. He in the first yeare of his raig inuaded *SERVIA*, and there besieged *CRATOVA*, a citie of the Despot: whereunto the siluer mines of *SERVIA* (not the least cause of that warre) belonged. Which citie was yeelded vnto him, vpon condition, That the Christian inhabitants might with life and libertie depart. Who were no sooner gone out of the citie, but that by his commaundement they were all most cruelly slaine by his men of warre, for that purpose sent out after them. At this time hee also woon *VSCURIA*, with diuers other castles in the countrey neere vnto *CRATOVA*.

*Biazet imitator
deus Serbis,*

Sigismund at the same time king of *HUNGARIE* (a yong prince of great hope, and brother to *Venceslaus*, then emperor of the West) aduertised from the Seruians his allies and confederats, of these proud proceedings of *Biazet*: by his embassadours sent of purpose, requested him; That as he was a iust prince, and wished to liue in quiet with his owne, to desist from doing of such open wrong, and from inuading off such countries of his friends and confederats, as he had no right in. Which embassadours so sent, *Biazet* detained without answer, vntill such time as he had ouertun a great part of the Despot his country, and therein done what he thought good. Then calling the said embassadours vnto him into one of the strong townes, which hee had in euery corner filled with his owne fouldiours, told them that they might there see, that his right both vnto that towne and the rest by him taken, was good enough, for as much as the vetie was acknowledged the same: and so giuing them leaue to depart, willed them so to tell their master. Which his proud answer, by the same embassadors reported vnto the yong king, no lesse troubled him, than if open warre had by them been denounced vnto him, seeing the tyrant (as should seeme) pretending right vnto whatsoeuer hee could by force get: neuerthelesse, being himselfe not yet well settled in his kingdome, and in doubt of the contrarie faction (that altogether liked not of his election into *HUNGARIE* for their king) he was glad at that time to put it vp, and so to hold himselfe content.

The next yeare, *Biazet* by *Ferises Beg*, tooke the citie of *VIBINA*, with many other strong townes and castles in *SERVIA*, and afterwards returned to *HADRIANOPLE*. But whilest that hee thus raged in *EUROPE*, the Caramanian king inuaded and spoiled the frontiers of his countreies in *ASIA*: which although he was not then at leisure, hee forgot not afterwards to reuenge to the full. At the same time *Eurenos*, lord gouernour of the marches of his kingdome in *EUROPE* towards *GRÆCIA*, departing from *SERBS* (where he then lay) tooke the citie of *SERROS* in *THESALIA*. And *Ferises Beg*, not content to haue taken *VIBINA* (as is aforesaid) passed ouer the great riuer of *DANVBIUS*, and greuously spoiled *VALACHIA*: from whence he returned loaden with a great prey. This was the first time (that I read of) that the Turkes euer passed ouer

*Serua the se-
cond time inuad-
ed by Biazet.*

over the river DANUBIUS. At this time also *Iegides Bassa* entered the kingdome of BOSNIA from whence he carried a great number of captiues to HADRIANOPLE, where *Baiazet* spent that Winter.

In the beginning of the next Spring *Baiazet* passed ouer HELLESPOINTVS to PRUSA, where he built a faire Mahometane temple, with a colledge, and an almes-house: which works finished, he returned againe into EUROPE, and built a monasterie at HADRIANOPLE: and so returned againe into ASIA, leauing *Temurtases*, *Begler-Beg* (or his vice-roy) in HADRIANOPLE. After he was come into ASIA, he laied siege to the strong citie of PHILADELPHIA in LYDIA, which was at that time the onely citie in the lesser ASIA, yet holden by the Christians in the midst of the Mahometane princes: for now was the Greeke emperour by the *Othoman* kings and the other Turkes quite driuen out of the lesser ASIA. In the beginning of this siege, *Baiazet* gaue straight commaundement to his souldjors, That they should not spoile or hurt any thing in the country belonging to the citizens: hoping by such faigned courtesie to make them the more willing to yeeld themselves vnto his obedience. But disappointed of his expectation, and finding them resolu'd to hold it out vnto the last, he forthwith gaue out contrarie commaundement not to spare any thing they could waite or destroy: which was accordingly by his greedie souldiours performed. After long siege, the citizens seeing the country about them vterly wasted, & themselves vnable longer to indure, and out of all hope of releefe, yeelded their citie vnto the pleasure of *Baiazet*. It is written by some, that this famous citie was not besieged without the consent of the emperour of CONSTANTINOPLE: and that the Greekes themselves, mooued with enuie to see that citie so long hold out, did helpe the Turks in the winning thereof.

In time of this siege *Aiden Oglu* prince of CARIA, a Mahometane, came to *Baiazet*, and yeelded himselfe into his power as his vassale: vnto whom *Baiazet* restored certain places which he had in this expedition a little before taken from him: yet vpon such condition, as that hee should not from that time coine any money in his owne name, either be remembered in publicke prayers as a prince in their Mahometane temples, as he had before been: but that all such things should be done in the name of *Baiazet*, as his dread lord and soueraigne. With which disgrace the poore prince was glad to content himselfe, and to liue as his vassale. From PHILADELPHIA he led his armie into the country of SARUCHANIA, in ancient time called IONIA MARITIMA, which he subdued vnto himselfe vpon like conditions. After that he passed farther, to MENTESIA, or MENTZ, sometime called MYNDOS in CARIA: the prince whereof for feare fled to *Cutrun Baiazet*, prince of CASTAMONA and part of PONTVS, leauing his country to the pleasure of the tyrant. And for as much as the young king of CARAMANIA had inuaded his countries whilst he was busied in EUROPE, *Baiazet* in reuenge thereof entred with his armie into CARAMANIA, and tooke CESARIA, with diuers other places there: so that the yong king discouraged with the losse of his towns, and fearing *Baiazet* his greatnesse, was glad to hold himselfe content with his losse, and to make peace with him as it pleased him to graunt it. As *Baiazet* was making this expedition into CARAMANIA, another yong Mahometane prince, the sonne of prince *Germian*, came vnto him with one of his cheefe counsellors, and were both by him sent prisoners ouer the strait to the castle of IPSALA, where they lay in durance many yeares after. Thus *Baiazet* hauing oppressed and wronged most of the Mahometane princes, the successours of Sultan *Aladin* in the lesser ASIA, at last returned againe himselfe in triumph to PRUSA.

The prince of MENTESIA, who for feare of *Baiazet* was fled out of his country, as is aforesaid, had now incited *Cutrun Baiazet*, prince of CASTAMONA, with a great power to inuade that side of *Baiazet* his kingdome which bordered vpon him. Which *Baiazet* vnderstanding, gathered a great armie to goe against this Mahometane prince. At which very time the Vayvod of VALACHIA, hearing of *Baiazet* his troubles in ASIA, with a strong armie passed ouer DANUBIUS into those parts of SERBIA and BULGARIA that were by the Turks as then possessed; where he spoiled the country, and slew great numbers of the Turkes, making Mahometane saints and martyrs by heapes: for so the Turks account all them whom the Christians kill in their warre: which done, hee retired backe againe into VALACHIA, carrying with him also many of the Turks prisoners. *Baiazet* thus at once inuaded both in ASIA and EUROPE, deferred his warres purposed against the prince of PONTVS, vntill a more conuenient time, conuerting his forces against the Valachians. Wherefore passing ouer the strait to HADRIANOPLE, he sent his armie from thence to NICOPOLIS, and there passing the river of Danubius, entered

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into VALACHIA, burning and spoiling the countrey before him as he went. Where the Vayvod to repress his furie, met him in the field, and gaue him battaile, but was therein ouerthrowne and many of his people slaine; so that at last he was glad to sue for peace, which he obtained, by submitting himselfe to *Baiazet*, and yeelding to pay him a yearely tribute.

Whilst *Baiazet* was thus busied in VALACHIA, newes was brought vnto him that the Christians of the West with a fleet of gallies did great harm alongst the coasts of his dominions in ASIA. In reuenge whereof he entred with his armie into THESSALIE, destroying all the countrey vnto THESSALONICA: in which expedition he took the citie of NEAPOLIS in GREECE, and IOANNINAIN Aetolia, and after that returned into ASIA where he spent that Winter.

In the beginning of the next Spring, hee with a great power passed the strait of CALLIPOLIS to HADRIANOPLE, intending to haue inuaded HUNGARIE. But as he was vpon the waie, it chanced that a Constantinopolitan spie was by the Turkes intercepted, with letters from the Greeke emperour to the king of HUNGARIE, giuing him warning both of the Turks preparation and comming. By which spie *Baiazet* also vnderstood of another messenger before sent into HUNGARIE, for like purpose. Whereupon *Temurtases* (then his great lieutenant in EUROPE) perswaded him to desist from his intended warres in HUNGARIE, and to besiege the imperial citie of CONSTANTINOPLE, as a thing of more honour and lesse danger; the citie being already (as he said, and as in truth it was) surrounded with the Turkish provinces: bringing in PHILADELPHIA (but a few yeares before woon) for example of the like exploit. Of whose counsaile *Baiazet* liking well, returned with his armie, and shortly after came and sat downe therewith before CONSTANTINOPLE: laying hard siege thereunto, first by land and after by sea, with his gallies sent from CALLIPOLIS. Which hard siege continued (as most histories report) the space of eight yeares: in which long time, hee draue the emperour *Emanuel Palaeologus* to that straight, that he was glad to leaue his citie, and himselfe in person to craue aid of *Wenceslaus* the Germane emperour, and *Charles* the sixt the French king, and other Christian princes also. At which time the citizens were at length brought to such extremitie, that they were euen at the point to haue yeelded vp the citie: and happily had so done, had not *Sigismund* king of HUNGARIE (assisted with a great armie of the French and other voluntarie Christians, almost out of euery part of Christendome, to the number of an hundredth and thirtie thousand, vnder the leading of *Iohn*, countie of NIVERS, & after duke of BURGUNDIE) for the releefe of the besieged emperour, passed ouer Danubius into the Turkish dominions; and there hauing recovered VINDINA, with certaine other strong holds in BULGARIA, laied siege to NICOPOLIS: out of which citie the Turks oftentimes sallied, and gaue him many an hot skirmish. It is reported that the young king *Sigismund* beholding the greatnesse of his armie, in his great iolitic hearing of the comming of the Turkes, should proudly say: *What need wee to feare the Turke, who need not at all to feare the falling of the heauens; which if they should fall, yet were we able with our speares and halberts to hold them up for falling vpon vs.* But *Baiazet* vnderstanding what spoile the Hungarian king had made in his late gained countries, and of the siege of NICOPOLIS; commaunded the ladders and other great prouision now in readinesse for the skaling and assaulting of the citie of CONSTANTINOPLE to be burnt: because they should not come into the hands of the Christians: and so raising his siege, marched with a right puissant armie to NICOPOLIS, sending *Eurenoses* before of purpose to intercept some of the Christians, thereby to learne the state of their campe and armie. But they hearing of his comming, so well looked to themselves, that he with shame returned to his master as he came, without any one prisoner taken. Which thing much troubled *Baiazet*, as fearing he should haue to doe with a warie enemy. *Sigismund* vnderstanding of the approach of *Baiazet*, leauing a sufficient power for the continuing of the siege, rose himselfe, and with the rest of his armie went to meet his proud enemy. Of whose comming and approach *Baiazet* vnderstanding, diuided his armie into two parts: & being now come within the sight of the Christian armie, made shew but of the one halfe, keeping himselfe close in secret ambush not farre off with the other. The Christians deeming themselves (as they were) farre more in number than the Turks which they saw, deuided their armie also into two parts, purposing betwixt them to haue inclosed the Turks. Of all the Christians that were there present, the French desired to haue the honour of the first charge to be giuen vpon the Turks, and in their heat vpon good hope set forward (the Hungarians with a great part of the armie, not yet set in order) and so began the battaile: where betwixt them and the Turks was fought a right cruell fight, and in a

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little time many thousands slaine. But this fight had not long endured, when *Baiazet* with the other halfe of his armie suddenly arising, came on with such violence, as well became his surname of *Gilderun* or lightning; and so hardly charged the French, that they amazed at the suddenesse of the danger, and oppressed with the furie and multitude of the vnexpected enemy, stood at the first as men dismayed: but seeing no remedie, encouraging one another, valiantly fought it out vntill they were almost all either slaine or taken prisoners; still in hope to haue been releued by the Hungarians and the rest. In this hard conflict diuers of the French horsemen hauing forsaken their horses, fought on foot as their manner was: which horses running backe without their riders, vpon the Hungarians, caused them to doubt that the French were quite ouerthrowne; wherewith dismayed, they without further comming on all turned their backs and fled, in so great hast as that it bootied not the king or any other great commander to goe about to staie their flight. The French thus by their too much hast ouerthrowne, the Turks pursuing the Hungarians and the rest of the Christians, made of them a great slaughter: of whom also many were drowned in the great riuier *Danubius*. At which time also the Turks tooke so many prisoners, that it was thought euerie scuerall Turke had his prisoner. King *Sigismund* himselfe, who but a little before had despised euen the falling of the heauens, had then also vndoubtedly fallen into the enemies hands, had hee not in a little boat by good hap got ouer *Danubius*: not vnlike another *Xerxes*, who hauing couered the seas with his ships, and with a world of men passed ouer into *Grecia*, was afterwards by the strange change of fortune, himselfe alone in a small fisher boat glad to get backe againe into *Asia*. *Sigismund* being thus got ouer *Danubius*, and fearing the violence of the Hungarians for the losse of the battaile, fled by sea into *Thracia* vnto *Constantinople*; from whence he sailed vnto the Island of the *Rhodes*, and from thence sailing through the *Aegean* and *Ionian* sea, landed at length in *Dalmatia*: and so hauing wandered from place to place, tossed with many fortunes, after eightene moneths long and painefull trauaile, returned againe into *Hungarie*. Where hee found the state of his kingdome in his absence much troubled, the contrarie faction in the meane time hauing made choice of *Ladislau* king of *Naples* for their king; who was euen then with a great armie going to haue taken possession of the kingdome, had not *Sigismund* in good time by the helpe of certaine of the cheefe of the Hungarian nobilitie preuented him. In this battaile, called the battaile of *Nicopolis*, were of the Christians twentie thousand slaine, and of the Turkes threecore thousand. The countie of *Niviers*, the French kings neere kinsman, was there taken prisoner, with three hundred great commanders more: where after he had endured great contumelie and reproch in the presence of *Baiazet*, hee was commaunded to make choice of fise other of the captiues, such as he liked best, all the rest being presently cut in peeces before his face, and he with the other fise left aliue, sent prisoners to *Prusa*: from whence they were afterwards ranfomed for two hundred thousand duckats. This bloodie battaile of *Nicopolis* was fought in the yecre of our lord 1396.

Baiazet after this great victorie, hauing worthily releued his besieged citie, returned againe to the siege of *Constantinople*, laying more hardly vnto it than before, building forts and bulwarks against it on the one side towards the land: and passing ouer the strait of *Bosphorus*, built a strong castle vpon that strait ouer against *Constantinople*, to impeach so much as was possible all passage therunto by sea. This straight siege (as most write) continued also two years, which I suppose by the circumstance of the historie to haue been part of the aforesaid eight yecres. *Emanuel* the besieged emperor wearied with these long wars, sent an embassador to *Baiazet* to entreat with him a peace: which *Baiazet* was the more willing to hearken vnto, for that he heard news that *Tamerlane* the great Tartarian prince intended shortly to war vpon him. Yet could this peace not be obtained, but vpon condition that the emperor should graunt free libertie for the Turkes to dwell together in one street of *Constantinople*, with free exercise of their owne religion, and laws, vnder a iudge of their owne nation; and further, to pay vnto the Turkish king a yearly tribute of ten thousand duckats. Which dishonourable conditions the distressed emperor was glad to accept of. So was this long siege broken vp, and presently a great sort of Turkes with their families were sent out of *Bithynia* to dwell in *Constantinople*, and a church there built for them: which not long after was by the emperor pulled downe to the ground, and the Turkes again driuen out of the citie, at such time as *Baiazet* was by the mightie *Tamerlane* ouerthrowne and taken prisoner.

Baiazet

Baiazet in the beginning of his raigne, presently after the death of *Lazarus* the Despot slaine in the battaile of *Cossova*, wan part of *Serua* (as is aforesaid) the other part being still holden by *Lazarus* his sonne, called *Stephen* the Despot; who about this time sent an honourable embassadour to *Baiazet* with louing letters, and royall presents: by which embassadour also the old princeesse, *Lazarus* his widdow, offered her faire daughter *Despina* (*Stephen* his sister) a ladie of incomparable beautie, in mariage to him, if it should please him to vouchsafe his handmaid (as shee termed her) so high a place. This ladie was long before promised vnto him, whilst his father *Amurath* yet liued. Of this embassadour *Baiazet* was verie glad, but especially for the faire ladies sake: which being knowne vnto the princeesse her mother, and the Despot her brother, she was forthwith honourably sent to *Baiazet*, and so to him with great solemnitie and triumph shortly after married. Of all his wiues, he held her dearest, and for her sake restored vnto her brother *Stephen* the citie and castle of *Semendre* (otherwise called *S. Andrevv*) and *Colubartum* in *Serua*: she allured him to drinke wine, forbidden the Turkes by their law; and caused him to delight in sumptuous banquets, which his predeceffours *Othoman*, *Orchans*, and *Amurath* neuer vied.

As the Turkish kingdome grew in greatnesse, so corruption the canker of great states and common weales increased likewise: but especially in the men of law and iudges of his courts. Wherewith *Baiazet* greivously offended, commaunded diuers of the same iudges to be apprehended, determining (to the terrour of others) to haue executed them; whose dangerous estate was much pitied, and also fauoured of *Alis Bassa*, and other the king his great counsellours: yet for so much as *Baiazet* was of a furious nature, and in his anger dangerous to bee spoken vnto, none of them durst aduenture to intreat him in their behalfe; no not *Alis Bassa*, *Charadyn Bassa* his sonne, sometime iudge of *Prusa*, although he was a man in such speciall fauour with him that he was therfore of the comon people not only reuerenced, but as the king himselfe honored.

There was at that time in the court an *Ethiopian* jester, who vnder some couert pleasant jeast, would many times bolt out that to the king in his greatest heat, which his grauest counsellours durst not once speake to him of in secret: this jester, *Alis Bassa* requested to deuise some means to intreat with the angrie king in the behalfe of these Iudges, promising to giue him what he would reasonably desire, if he could appease the kings displeasure. The *Ethiopian* without feare vnderooke the matter: and presently putting vpon his head a rich hat all wrought ouer with gold after the manner of the Turkes embassadours, and fitting himselfe with other apparell better becoming an embassadour than a jester; thus attired presented himselfe before the king with a great counterfait grauitie. Whereat *Baiazet* maruailling, asked him the cause why he was so gaie. I haue a request vnto your maiestie, (said he) and wish to find fauour in your sight. *Baiazet* more desirous than before to know the matter, asked what his request was. If it stand with your pleasure (said the jester) I would faine goe as your embassadour to the emperor of *Constantinople*, in hope wherof, I haue put my selfe in this readinesse. To what purpose wouldst thou goe, said *Baiazet*? To craue of the emperor (said he) some fortie or fiftie of his old graue monkes and friers, to bring with me hether to the court. And what should they doe here, said *Baiazet*? I would haue them placed (said the jester) in the roomes of the old doting iudges, whom you intend (as I heare) to put to death. Why (said *Baiazet*) I can place others of my own people in their roomes. True (said the *Ethiopian*) for grauitie of looke and countenance, and so would the old monkes and friers serue as well; but not so learned in your lawes and customes of your kingdome, as are those in your displeasure. If they be learned (said *Baiazet*) why doe they then contrarie to their learning peruert iustice and take bribes? There is a good reason for that too, said the jester. What reason said the king? That can hee that there standeth by tell better than I (said the jester) pointing to *Alis Bassa*: who forthwith commaunded by *Baiazet* to giue the reason, with great reuerence before done, shewed that those iudges so in displeasure, were not conveniently provided for, and were therefore enforced many times for their necessarie maintenance to take rewards, to the staying of the due course of iustice. Which *Baiazet* vnderstanding to be true, commaunded *Alis Bassa* to appoint them convenient stipends for their maintenance, and forthwith graunted their pardon. Wherevpon the *Bassa* set downe order, That of euerie matter in suit exceeding one thousand aspers, the iudge should haue twentie aspers fee for judgement; and for euerie writing and instrument out of the court, twelue aspers: which fees they yet take in those courts at this day.

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Constantinople
the second time
besieged by Baia-
zet.

Baiazet marrieth
Despina the
faire daughter of
Lazarus the
Despot.

Not long after, *Baiazet* in his furie sent for certaine of his captaines and commaunders of his men of warre, with whom he was for some small occasion greuously offended, intending in his rage to haue put them all to death; which was with him no great matter. These captaines being brought before him, the counsellors seeing him all in choler, (at looking vpon the ground, hanging downe their heads (as the manner of the Turks is) not daring to looke him in the face, nor to speake a good word for them. When suddenly the aforesaid *Æthiopian* iester stept forth, earnestly requesting the king, not to shew them any fauour, but to execute them presently as villains and traitours; rayling vpon them, as if he had knowne some great fault by them. *Baiazet* (thinking he could haue accused them of some great crime, because of his earnestnes) asked what reason hee had so to exclaime against them. Reason (quoth the iester) because the knaues be good for nothing, and they say that *Tamerlan* is with a great armie comming against vs: if you will but take vp an ensigne in your hand, and I goe before you with a drum, I will strike vp such a terrible march, and you make such a dreadfull shew, that wee shall neede none of these bad fellows or their fouldiours in the field to get the victorie ouer our enemies. This conceit of the iester stricke such a melancholic imagination into *Baiazet* his head, that hee stood musing a great while as it were in a deepe studie: at last hauing well considered the drift of the jesters speech, and his furie now somewhat assuaged, graunted them pardon which they looked not for.

This *Æthiopian* iester, *Baiazet* vpon a time sent vnto the old queene his mother to bring her news of the good successe of his wars against the Christians, for that she had so desired: who comming vnto her, and by her commaunded to sit downe, she began to demaund of him, how the king her sonne did, and of the successe of his wars. Wherevnto he answered, that he did verie well, and had won from the Christians a great countrey, and greatly enriched his fouldiours. But after a little more talke, the queene mother desirous to heare againe the good newes (or else after the manner of some which thinke nothing sufficiently told except it be told an hundred times) asked him againe how the king her sonne did, and how he sped in his wars. Wherevnto he answered euery word as before: but asking him the third time the verie same question, how her sonne did? Doeest thou aske me so often (said the *Æthiopian*) how hee doth? Bre *Cachpe* (O whoore, said he) thou hast brought forth a sonne like a diuell, who roaming vp and downe doth nothing but burne and destroye the world where he commeth. Whereat the queene crying out; vp start the *Æthiopian*, and betaking himselfe to his heeles was neuer more afterwards seene.

In the wars which *Baiazet* had against *Sigismund*, the Vayuod of *VALACHIA* had giuen aid vnto the Hungarian king; wherewith *Baiazet* being offended, determined now at length to be reuenged: and therefore intending to make warre vpon the Valachian prince, left *Temurtas* his great lieutenant at *ANCYRA* in *ASIA*, & so passed ouer *HELLESPONTUS* himselfe against the Valachian. Vpon whose departure, *Aladin* his sisters sonne, the yong king of *CARAMANIA*, with a great power came suddenly in the night to *ANCYRA*, and tooke *Temurtas* prisoner: who then feared nothing lesse, than in time of peace to haue been so surprised, and carried away in bonds into *CARAMANIA*. But when he vnderstood that *Baiazet* had ended his wars in *VALACHIA*, and was with victorie returned to *PRUSA*, he fearing his heauie indignation for so great an outrage, presently released *Temurtas* out of prison, appalled him richly after the manner of that nation, craved pardon for the wrong he had done him, and set him at libertie to goe whither he would, and withall sent one of his noblemen with great gifts and presents to *Baiazet* to make his excuse in best maner he could: vnto which ambassador *Baiazet* (yet in choler) would not giue audience, or suffer him to come in his sight: but at the same time leuied a great armie to inuade *CARAMANIA*. Which *Aladin* vnderstanding, and now out of all hope to appease this mightie enemy, leuied all the forces he could in his owne kingdom, and withall entertained all the mercenarie soldiours he could get, intending to trie his fortune in the field, as a man of valour, rather than to be thrust out of his kingdom like a coward: & so in readinesse, hearing of the coming of *Baiazet*, met him vpon the way, & at a place called *ACZACGAU* him battell: but being too weak, he was overcome & put to flight; in which flight his horse stumbling, & he so falling to the ground, was there before he could recouer himself, takē by his enemies which had him in chase, & so brought bound to *Baiazet*: his two sons, *Muhamet Beg* & *Alis Beg*, being takē in that battell also, were sent prisoners to *PRUSA*. *Aladin* himselfe was by *Baiazet* his commandement deliuered to his enemy *Temurtas*: who in reuēge of the wrong he had before done him, presently caused him to be

Temurtas, *Baiazet* his great lieutenant, prisoner by *Aladin*, the yong son of *Caramania*.

be hanged: which when *Baiazet* vnderstood, hee seemed verie sorry that he had so put him to death, for that he was his owne sisters sonne. *Baiazet* following the course of his victorie, won *ICONIUM*, *LARENDIA*, *NIĞDE*, with all the rest of *ALADIN* his kingdom: About this time also, *AMASIA* the great metropolitall citie of *CAPPADOCIA* was by the prince thereof deliuered vnto *Baiazet*, being too weak himselfe to defend the same against the force of *Cass-Burghanimin*, prince of the great and strong citie of *SEBASTIA*, his enemy; now growne to be a man of great power in that part of *ASIA*, and had solicited the Sultan of *EGYPT* to aid him against *Baiazet*. Whereupon *Baiazet* returning from the conquest of *CARAMANIA*, led his armie towards *SEBASTIA*, where the citizens had a little before deuiued *Cass-Burghanimin* of his gouernment, for his crueltie; and placed his sonne in his stead: but in short time no lesse wearie of the sonne than before of the father, they with like inconstancie sent word to *Baiazet*, that if he would come that way, they would yeeld vnto him the citie: vpon whose approach, *Cass* (his son) for feare fled out of the citie to prince *Nasraddin*, his brother in law. After whose departure, the cittizens according to their promise deliuered the citie vnto *Baiazet* at his comming, wherein hee left *Solyman* his eldest sonne gouernour. And so hauing in this notable expedition conquered the kingdom of *CARAMANIA*, and taken the great cities of *AMASIA* and *SEBASTIA*, with most part of *CAPPADOCIA*, and all that part of *ASIA* which the Turks call *RUMILIA ASIATICA*, he returned to *PRUSA*, and there wintered.

Amasia deliuered vnto *Baiazet*.

Sebastia deliuered to *Baiazet*.

The next Spring *Baiazet* (hearing that his old enemy *Cutrum Baiazet* prince of *CASTAMONA* and *PONTUS*, was dead) came to *CASTAMONA* with a great armie: of whose comming, *Isfendiar* (*Cutrum Baiazet* his sonne, and then prince of that countrey) hearing, fled out of the citie to *SYNOPE*, a little citie vpon the coast of the *Euxine*: from whence he sent an ambassador vnto *Baiazet*, humbly requesting him, to suffer him to haue that little citie, as his seruant to liue in, (which he was sure he would otherwise bestow vpon some other of his seruants) & not to seeke the innocent blood of the sonne for the fathers offence. Which his request, *Baiazet* moued with pitie, graunted: yet neuertheless tooke from him *CASTAMONA*, with the greatest part of his dominion in *PONTUS*, which he gaue to his sonne *Solyman*. At the same time he violently oppressed the prince *Germean*, and tooke from him the cities of *DESPOTOPOLIS* and *HIERAPOLIS*, with all the rest of his dominion.

Baiazet sheweth *Isfendiar*, prince of *Castamona*.

The prince of *MENTESIA* long before driven out of his countrey by *Baiazet* (as is before declared) and hauing all this while made his abode at *CASTAMONA*, doubting now of his own safetie after the death of his good friend *Cutrum Baiazet*, in the habit of an hermit fled to the great Tartarian prince *Tamerlane*.

Baiazet returning to *PRUSA*, there built a magnificent Mahometane temple; during which worke, hee with great superstition forbore drinking of wine, reposing himselfe with the company of graue and learned men, and the administration of justice: whereby hee greatly won the hearts of his subjects, and had now so enlarged his kingdom, that all kings and princes bordering vpon him stood in great feare of him.

It fortuned about this time, that *Achmetes* king of *BAGDAD* (or new *BABYLON*) & *ETRACVM*, with *Iosephus Niger* king of *CHOLCHIS*, enforced with the violent incursions of *Tamerlane* and his Tartars, for safegard of their liues were glad to flie into *SYRIA*: where they being discovered, were both cast in prison by the commandement of the *Ægyptian* Sultan, who then commaunded ouer *SYRIA*: from whence they afterwards hardly escaping, fled to *Baiazet* his court. Where after *Achmetes* had staid two moneths, he by the aid of *Baiazet* recouered the possession of *ETRACVM*, part of his own inheritance. *Iosephus* the other Mahometane king, hauing tarried in *Baiazet* his court eight moneths, at length procured him to inuade the dominions of the *Ægyptian* Sultan, in which expedition hee mightily preuailed: and hauing slaine the *Ægyptian* Sultans generall, and discomfited his forces, took the citie of *MATATIA* or *MARTINE* in *ARMENIA*, with *DIORIGI*, *DERENDE*, and *BEXANE*, taken from the Turcomans, and spoiled all the countrey thereabouts. From thence marching with his armie towards *ERZINZANE*, the prince thereof, called *Tachretin*, met him vpon the way, yeelding his citie and countrey into his power; which *Baiazet* presently gaue to *Iosephus Niger*: who after he had six daies enjoyed this new gouernment, finding the people vnwilling to be gouerned by him a stranger, surrendered the same again into the hands of him that gaue it. Whereupon the citizens of *ERZINZANE* humbly requested of *Baiazet*, That they might be again gouerned by their old prince *Tachretin*, now

The Mahometan princes of Asia oppressed by Baiazet, disguised flye vnto Tamerlane for aid.

his vassale, VVhich thing he at their earnest request graunted: but taking his wife and children as a pledge of his loyaltie, sent the away to PRUSA, where they were all not long after made away. VVhen *Baiazet* had now many yeares thus mightily preuailed against the Christian princes in ROMANIA, BULGARIA, BOZNA, THESSALIA, VALACHIA, and other places of EUROPE, as is before declared; and inflamed with insatiable ambition, had in worse manner oppressed the Mahometan kings and princes of ASIA, of whom some were by him slaine, some driven out of their dominions into exile, some imprisoned; and other some brought into such subjection that they liued as it were but at his deuotion; and was now growne to that greatnesse; that in the pride of his heart he stood in feare of no man; but was (as he thought) a terror vnto the world, hauing ynder his obeisance great and large dominions in EUROPE, but faire greater in ASIA. It fortuned diuers of these miserable oppressed and discontented Mahometan princes, by great fortune as if it had been by appointment, to meet together at the court of the great Tartarian prince *Tamerlane*, whether they were fled for releeve and succour. The prince *German Ogh*, after long imprisonment in the castle of IPSA in EUROPE, brake prison, and with *Hissar-beg* his great counsellor and prison-fellow, comforted themselves with a companie of loytering companions, roaming from place to place, delighting the countie people with their apish toies: in which companie hee passed HELASPONTUS, as a beateward, and at length with much ado came to *Tamerlane* his court: whether the prince of MENTESTAS was come before, in the habit of an Hermit (as is aforesaid) with his head and beard shaven: *Sidin Ogh* passing through the countie as a pedler, with a packe at his backe, came thither also: The prince *Tachyretin* a servingman, came attending vpon the prince *Isfendiar*: who came also (but in some better sort than the rest) as an embassadour from some other prince. All these poore princes, with diuers others in like miserie, in short time arrived at SAMARCAND (great *Tamerlane* his court): euerie one particularly complaining of his owne priuat greefe, and all together earnestly requesting that mightie prince, to take vpon him their defence, and to reuenge the wrong done vnto them by the Turkish tirant *Baiazet*. VVhose pitifull complaints much moued the noble Tartarian: but especially the long and wrongfull imprisonment of *German Ogh*: and the pitifull complaint and moane of *Tachyretin*, who had of late lost his wife and children, by the crueltie of *Baiazet*. Yet in this matter of so great and important consequence, *Tamerlane* made no great shew of his forwardnesse (although he was by nature in nothing more delighted, than in the releueing of the distressed, and chastising of the proud) but coldly answered those princes, That he could not tell, whether all were so as they had reported of *Baiazet*, or not, but that he well knew him to be a verie zealous king in setting forth of the Mahometane religion; and that hee had therefore made great warres vpon the Christians, in which godly cause (he said) perhaps they had refused to assise him, or else had giuen him some other greater occasion of offence, to him vnknowne: For I can hardly beleue (said he) that so great and religious a prince as he, would without just and sufficient cause, offer such violence as you complaine of, especially vnto you his neighbour princes, and of the same religion with himselfe: neuertheless, whatsoeuer I intend concerning your request (said *Tamerlane*) I will send first an embassadour vnto him, to vnderstand more of him and his proceedings before I resolve vpon any thing: with which answer hee willed them vntill then to hold themselves contented. But as *Tamerlane* was about to haue dispatched his embassadour to *Baiazet*, he was aduertised that *Achmetes* late king of new BABYLON, and *Iosephus* king of COLCHIS, both by him driven out of their kingdomes, hauing broken out of prison from the Sultan of EGYPT, were now come to *Baiazet* his court, to craue his aid and assistance: wherefore he deferred to send his embassadour, suspecting that *Baiazet*, incited by these two exiled kings, would first in their quarrell begin to make warre vpon him. But not long after vnderstanding that they were both againe departed from his court (as is before declared) hee then dispatched his embassadour to *Baiazet*, with many rich gifts and presents, courtously requesting him, the rather for his sake, to deale kindly with these poore Mahometane princes, his friends; as also with the Greeke emperor *Emanuel* his allie, for whom he was now become an intercessour vnto him. Some report also, that he besides this, requested to haue the two aforesaid Mahometan kings of BAGDAT and COLCHIS deliuered vnto him; and withall seemed not a little to dislike of *Baiazet* his proceeding against the Turcomans his friends. But *Baiazet* being a prince of a great and haughtie spirit, and vnaccustomed to heare of any thing which fitted not his humor, highly offended with this embassage, in great scorne reiected the presents by *Tamerlane*

lane sent vnto him; and especially certaine garments which *Tamerlane* after the manner of those Eastern nations, had in kindeesse amongst other things sent him: willing the embassadour to bid his maister meddle with his owne matters, and to prescribe laws vnto his owne subjects, and not vnto him, with whom he had nought to doe; and to send his ragges for presents vnto his inferiours, and not vnto princes of greater power and state than himselfe. Adding thereto many other words full of despight and disdain, affoording him no better stile than the plain name of *Tamerlane*: calling him the husband of an whore, if he met him not in the field; and wishing vnto himselfe againe, to take vnto him his thrice diuorced wife, after she had been polluted by another man (as the greatest dishonour that might be) if he failed to meet him: wheresoeuer he durst to dare him battaile. VVhich proud answere of the Turkes, by the embassadour reported vnto *Tamerlane*, and agrauated by *Asalla* (a Christian of the race of the Genowais, borne at CAPHRA, and then one of the greatest counsellors about him, and the Greeke emperors great friend) was so euill taken by him, that all other things set apart, hee resolved to goe against the Turke, and to take in hand that war, as of all other the fittest for the encrease of his honour and glorie. Besides that, he thought it not in reason fit for the greatnesse of the Tartarian empire, to suffer such an vniquiet neighbor to grow great; as still encroching vpon other the weake princes confining vnto him; and adding conquests vnto conquests; and yet neuer the more contented, might in the end proue dangerous vnto his owne estate and soueraigntie: a common care to such as both themselves great, and mounted vnto the highest degrees of worldly honor, to haue in ielousie and distrust the suddaine rising of others neere or farther off, as petillous or disgracefull to themselves, or their estate: whose growing greatnesse they therefore seeke by all means to hinder; as did now the mightie *Tamerlane* the proceedings and encreasing of the great *Othoman* king, *Baiazet*: &c. the rather being continually prickt forward so to do, by the solicitation of the Greeke emperor *Emanuel*, the other oppressed Mahometane princes; and by the great capitaine *Asalla*, (as is aforesaid) a Christian: of whom for all that *Tamerlane* himselfe, a Mahometane, for the great fidelitie, valour, and vertue he found in him, made no small reckoning, but was contented euen in his greatest and most waightie affaires to be by him aduised; disliking of no man for his religion whatsoeuer, so as he did worship but one only God, creator of heaven & earth, and of all that therein is. Being himselfe of opinion, That God in essence one, & in himselfe immutable, without change or diuersitie: yet for the manifesting of his omnipotencie & power, as he had created in the world sundry kinds of people, much differing both in nature, manners, and condition, and yet all framed to the image of himselfe: so was he also contented to be of them diuersly serued, according to the diuersitie of their natures and manners; so that they worshipped none other strange gods, but him alone, the maker and creator of all things. VVhich was the cause that he permitted the vse of all religions within the countries subject to his obedience, were they not meere Atheists, idolaters, or worshippers of strange and vaine gods.

Tamerlane his opinion concerning the diuersitie of religions.

Neither was proud *Baiazet* as one ignorant of the power or purpose of *Tamerlane*, in the mean time idle, but still prosecuted his good fortune for the enlarging of his empire, & encreasing of his strength: wisely deeming (as the truth was) whatsoeuer messages were sent vnto him from *Tamerlane*, to be no other than meere threatenings and forewarnings of his more dangerous purposes and designs against him and his state: which he was so far from fearing, as that to prouoke him the more, he spared no intemperat speech, which might moue him to wrath; wishing (as should seeme) for nothing more than to meet him in the field, there to trie the fortune of a battell with him. So weak is our foresight of our fortunes to come, and the reach of our vnderstanding for the apprehension or declining of the fatall doome euen presently hanging ouer our heads; as that we oftentimes through ignorance most desirously wish for those things which are vnto vs the cheefe occasions of our vtter ruin and destruction.

But here before we enter into farther discourse of the mortall warre betwixt these two so puissant princes, it shall not bee much from our purpose to step a little out of the way, to see what this mightie *Tamerlane* (of whom so many princes craued aid) was: who liuing, held the East in such awe, as that he was commonly called, *The wrath of God*, and *Terrour of the World*: which he then filled with the glorie of his name. Most Historiographers report him to haue ben poorly borne, of base and obscure parents; and so himselfe also in his youth to haue liued as a poore shepherd or heardinan in the mountaines; where conforing himselfe with other studie companions of like qualitie and disposition, such as there liued by robbing of marchants and other passengers,

The base opinion some haue, concerning the birth and rising of *Tamerlane*.

passengers, hee became a masterfull theefe amongst them: vnto whom other such leaud men daily still more and more resorting, hee in short time grew (as they say) to that greameffe, that he is reported to haue beene of such power, as neuer man but hee euer yet came vnto. A matter al most incredible. For albeit, that the Romane empire, yea and this great empire of the Turks also, with some others, had their beginnings not much better or greater, the one vnder *Romulus*, and the other vnder *Othoman*: yet grew they not as vpon the suddaine, in their times, to any great lustre (neither was it possible for them of so small beginnings so to doe) but by many degrees, and that in long time; euerie of the succeeding princes, according to their fortunes, adding something to their state, before it could be made great: whereas he (by their report) contrarie to the course of things both naturall and ciuile (which from their small beginnings grow to no notable perfection or greatnesse, but by degrees, and that in the long reuolution of time) taking his beginning of nothing, grew vpon the suddaine to be a burthen & terror vnto the world. Wherein our late Historiographers seeme too much to haue followed the report of the Turks; who by him brought low, and their kingdome almost in one battell subuerted, report nothing simply of him; but in what they may, detracting from his wortheie praises, wrongfully charge him with many vntruths, not concerning his parentage onely, but euen in the course of his whole life also: making him (as they would haue the world to beleue) first to haue beene a very abject amongst men; and then for his inhumane crueltie a very monster in nature, or (as it was long before, but more truly said of another great one much like himselfe) a lump of earth tempered with blood. Which incredible reports concerning so great a monarch, I list not to follow, as too full of dishonour: especially whereas others of no lesse credit than they, with farre more modestie and greater probabilitie report of him the greatest honour that may be. Hee was (as they and the others also say) borne at *SAMERCAND*, the cheefe citie of the *Zagataian* Tartars, pleasantly situated vpon the riuier *IXARTES*: his father was called *Zain-Cham*, or as some others will, *Og*, prince of the *Zagataian* Tartars, and of the countrey of *SACHETAY* (sometime part of the famous kingdome of *PARTIA*) third in descent from *Zingis*, the great and fortunate leader of the Tartars, before in the former part of this historie remembred. Which *Og*, as a prince of a peaceable nature (accounting it no lesse honour quietly to keepe the countries left him by his father, than with much trouble and no lesse danger to seeke how to enlarge the same) long liued in most happie rest with his subjects, no lesse happie than himselfe: not so much seeking after the hoording vp of gold and siluer (things of that nation not regarded) as contenting himselfe with the encrease and profit of his flocks of sheepe, and herds of cattell; then, and yet also, the principall reuemes of the Tartar kings and princes: which happily gaue occasion vnto some, ignorant of the manner and custome of those Northerne nations and countries, to account them all for shepherds and heardsmen; and so also to haue reported of this mightie prince, as of a shepherds sonne, or heardsman himselfe: vainly measuring his nobilitie by the homely manner of his people and subjects, and not by the honor of his house, & heroicall vertues, such as were hardly to be found greater in any prince of that or other former ages. His peaceable father now well stricken in yeares, and wearie of the world, deliuered vp vnto him (not yet past fifteene yeares old) the gouernment of his kingdome, joining vnto him two of his most faithfull counsellours, *Odmar* and *Aly*, to assist him in the gouernment of his state (retiring himselfe vnto a solitarie life; the more at quiet to serue God, and so to end his daies in peace:) which two his trustie seruants and graue counsellors he dearly loued whilest they liued, and much honoured the remembrance of them, being dead. The first prooue of his fortune and valour, was against the *Moscovite*, for spoiling of a citie which had put it selfe vnder his protection; and for entering of his countrey; and for proclaiming of warre against him: whom he in a great battaile ouerthrew, hauing slaine fife and twentie thousand of the *Moscovites* footmen, and betwene fifteene and sixteen thousand horsemen, with the losse of scarce eight thousand horsemen and foure thousand footmen of his own. After which battell he beholding so many thousands of men there dead vpon the ground, was so farre from reioicing thereat, that turning himselfe vnto one of his familiars, he lamented the condition of such as commaunded ouer great armies, commending his fathers quiet course of life, accounting him happie in seeking for rest, and the other most vnhappie, which by the destruction of their owne kind, sought to procure their owne glorie; protesting himselfe euen from his heart to be grieved to see such sorrowfull tokens of his victorie. With this ouerthrow the *Moscovite* discouraged, sent embassadours to him for peace, which vpon such honourable conditions as

Tamerlane honorably disced.

The cause why some haue reported him to haue been a shepherd or heardsman.

pleased him to set downe, was by him graunted; and so the peace concluded. Now the Great Cham of *TARTARIA* (his fathers brother) being growne old, and out of hope of any more children, moued with the fame of his nephew, after this victorie sent vnto him diuers presents, and withall offering him his onely daughter in marriage, and with her to proclaime him heire apparent vnto his empire; as in right hee was, being his brothers sonne, and the daughters not at all succeeding in those empires. Which so great an offer *Tamerlane* gladly accepted, and so the marriage was afterwards with great triumph at the old emperors court solemnized; and he proclaimed heire apparent vnto that great empire. Thus was *Tamerlane* indeed made great, being euer after this marriage by the old emperour his vnckle, and now his father in law, so long as hee liued, notably supported, and after his death succeeding him also in that so mightie an empire. Yet in the meane time wanted not this wortheie prince the enuious competitor of these his so great honours: in so much, that whilest by the aduise and perswasion of the old emperour, he was taking in hand to make warre against the great king of *CHINA* (who had as then gone far beyond his bounds) and so was now well on wards on his way, he was by the conspiracie of *Calix* (a man of greatest power and authoritie in the Great Cham his court) almost thrust out of his new empire: *Calix* with a right puissant armie hauing already seized vpon the great citie of *CAMBALU*, and the citizens also generally fauouring those his traitorous proceedings, as disdaining to be gouerned by the *Zagataian* Tartar. For redresse whereof, *Tamerlane* was enforced with the greatest part of his armie to returne, and meeting with the rebell (who then had in his armie fourescore thousand horse, and an hundred thousand foot) in a great and mortall battell (wherein of the one side and of the other were more than fiftie thousand men slaine) ouerthrew him (though not without the great danger of his own person, as being there himselfe beaten down to the ground) tooke him prisoner, and afterwards beheaded him. Which so dangerous a rebellion, with the death of the traitour, and the cheefe of the conspiratours repressed, and his state in the newnesse thereof by this victorie well confirmed, he proceeded in his intended war against the great king of *CHINA*; brake downe the strong wall, which the Chinoies had made foure hundred leagues long betwixt the mountaines, for the repressing of the incursions of the Tartars, entered their countrey; and meeting with the king, leading after him three hundred and fiftie thousand men (whereof there were an hundred and fiftie thousand horsemen, and the rest on foot) in a great and dreadfull battaile, with the slaughter of 60000 of his men, ouercame him, and tooke him prisoner: whom for all that he (in the course of so great a victorie wisely moderating his fortune) shortly after set againe at libertie; yet so, as that hauing before taken from him the one halfe of his kingdome, and therein left *Odmar* his trustie lieutenant, with a sufficient power for the restraining of the proud king, if he should againe begin to raise any new stirres; and withall, imposed such other conditions as pleased himselfe, with the yearely tribute of three hundred thousand crownes, he well provided for the assuring of those his new conquests: and so in triumph returned with victorie vnto the old emperour his father in law at *CAMBALU*, not a little glad to see both him and his daughter, who had in all those warres still accompanied him. But leauing him, now thus by birth great, by his fortune greater, but by his vertue greatest of all (as able now to draw after him almost the whole power of the East) let vs againe returne thither from whence we haue for the better knowledge of him, thus with him digressed.

The warre against the Turkish Sultan *Baiazet* (as is aforesaid) by *Tamerlane* resolved vpon; he sent *Axalla* the great capitaine to his countrey of *SACHETAY* (called of some *ZAGATAY*) to giue beginning to the assembling of his forces from all parts; to the end, that with the first of the Spring he might set forward for the releefe of so many distressed princes, and the abating of the pride of so great and mightie a tyrant as was *Baiazet*. Now had *Tamerlane* procured from the great Tartarian emperour, his vnckle and father in law, an hundred thousand footmen, and fourescore thousand horsemen; hoping to haue as many more from *SACHETAY* his owne countrey, besides the lords that for honours sake would accompanie him in that his so honourable an expedition, from whence hee made account also of fiftie thousand men more which they would bring vnto him, and diuers other great supplies which hee expected from other places also: wherewith he doubted not well to performe what he had so honourably determined to take in hand, for the abating of the *Othoman* pride: for which and other such like, he was (as hee would often times say) by God himselfe appointed. So taking his leaue of the old emperour his father in law, and of the princeesse his wife (then left behind him for the

Tamerlane married the daughter and heire of the great Cham of Tartarie.

the comfort of her aged father, he departed from CAMBALU towards SAMARCAND, the place of his birth and seat of his empire; leaving behind him the forces brought from the great empire: your his vncler, to come after him to OZARA, where hee had appointed the generall meeting of his armie. At which time amongst other princes that thither brought or sent their supplies, the great Muscouite being requested so to doe, promised to send him fiftene thousand horse, with a certaine summe of money, and leaue for his armie to passe through so much of his territories as should be necessarie: all which hee afterwards performed vnto *Tamerlane*, being glad that hee did set vpon others, rather than on himselfe; and that so great a preparation, should fall vpon them, whose greatnesse was as dreadfull and dangerous vnto him as to any other. All the earth almost at that time being astonished at the sudden greatnesse of this *Othoman* king, and the happie successe he had in all his warres; nor the least cause that moued *Tamerlane* to oppose himselfe against him, deeming it much better to goe and set vpon him in his new conquests, than to stay vntill he therein settled, were come neerer vnto him, and so should debate the quarrell within his owne empire, to his dammage. A good and sound resolution: first in that it tended to the destruction of the enemies countrey; and then, that if any thing should fall out otherwise with him than well, his countrey should not thereby receiue any such astonishment as if the danger were neerer or within the bowels of the same. Now in the mean time that *Tamerlane* lay at SAMARCAND, *Axalla* the great captaine and *Tamerlane* his lieutenant generall, had assembled all the armie at OZARA. Whereof *Tamerlane* vnderstanding, sent for him to SAMARCAND to conferre with him about the setting forward of his armie. For although he were still accompanied with great renowned princes, yet were they no body in comparison of *Axalla*, whose found counsell had won him such credit with his lord & master, as by his aduice he did all things, and without him nothing: which his so great authoritie and fauour with his prince, wanted not the enuie of the court; but that his great vertues, and rare found courtesie (in so great fortune) together with so many worthie seruices as he had done, supported him against the malice of the same. He by the commaundement of *Tamerlane*, leaving the charge of the armie at OZARA, with the prince of *THANATS*, another of *Tamerlane* his great captaines, came himselfe to SAMARCAND, and there at large discoursed with him, about the estate and order of his armie. And shortly after, departing with *Axalla* and the rest from SAMARCAND, for to goe to OZARA the place where all his armie met: being come thither, entered into a great consultation with his most expert captaines, about the taking of his journey, and conducting of his armie; as whether it were better to lead the same by the coasts of the Muscouite directly towards *CAPHA*, or else on the other side of the Caspian sea by the skirts of *PERSTA*. Where after long discourse and sundry opinions with their reasons deliuered, it was in the end resolved (although the way were the longer) to passe by the Muscouit, so to come vnto the Georgians, and to *TREBIZONDA*, and from thence to enter into the *Othoman* king his countrey. And so setting forward from OZARA, hee came at length to *MARANT*, where he staid three daies looking for the forces which prince *Odmar* should send him from *CHINA*, not long before by him conquered: whereof he there receiued news, and there caused his armie to be paid, and a generall muster thereof to be taken. He had there also newes of the aid the Muscouite did send him: and caused an infinite quantitie of victuals, and most part of his furniture to be conuayed by the Caspian sea; being a great commoditie and ease vnto his armie, which marching by land, was of necessitie to passe some twentie leagues through places destitute both of victuals and water. *Tamerlane* all the way coasting alongst the sea shore, passed the time in hunting, his armie not coming neere him by ten leagues; which was so great, that it extended it selfe full twentie leagues. Comming to the riuer of *EDLE*, he staid at *ZARAZICH* whilst his armie passed the riuer at *MESCHET*, and two other bridges which he had caused to be made for that purpose. Now the Circassians, and Georgians, hearing of the approach of *Tamerlane* with his huge armie, by their embassadours offered him all the helpe and assistance they could, in his journey as he passed that way. These Georgians were (and yet are) Christians, a great and warlike people, of long time tributaries vnto the Greeke emperours: and afterwards sometimes tributaries, and sometimes confederats vnto the Persians: but alwaies enemies vnto the Turks, by whom (of late and in our remembrance) but especially by *Amurath* the third, they together with some part of the Persian kingdome, haue been greuously oppressed, as in the proecesse of this historie may appeare. Of these warlike people glad of *Tamerlane* his comming, for the repressing of the Turke, *Axalla* drew great numbers vnto the seruice of his prince: who not a little esteemed of them, being all tall men, verie beautifull, of great strength

Prince. Axalla
in great credit
with Tamerlane.

and courage, and withall most expert souldiours; as hauing oftentimes resisted the power of the *Othoman* kings, by reason of the aduantage their countrey affordeth them, being verie rough and hard to come into. By these kind people, *Tamerlane* was in euerie place honourably entertained, and his great armie with all necessaries plentifully releued. In passing through which countrey and the rest as he marched, he tooke such order with his souldiours, that none of the people whereby he passed, were any thing by them injured; insomuch that if a souldiour had taken but an apple, or other thing of like valour from any man, he died therefore, so seuerely were his commaunds. It is reported that one of his souldiours, hauing taken a little milke from a countrey woman, and she thereof complaining, he caused the said souldiour to be presently killed; and his stomacke to be ripped; where the milke that he had of late drunke being found, he contented the woman & so sent her away, who had otherwise vndoubtedly died for her false accusation had it not so appeared. Which his so great seueritie, and in other like cases, was of many accounted for extreme crueltie: yet was it indeed the wholesome preseruacion of his armie, being so great, as that it was thought almost impossible to haue found sufficient victuals for the reliefe thereof; whereof for all that, there was no want, either of any thing else necessarie for the vse of man, his campe being still as a most populous and well gouerned citie, stored with all manner of things: wherevnto both artificers and marchants, from farre countreys resorted with their commodities and marchandise, as vnto some famous mart; and the countrey people, without feare from euerie place brought in their countrey commodities, for which they receiued present money, and so in safetie againe departed. So marching on, he at length came to *BACHTICH*, where hee staid to refresh his armie eight daies, and there againe tooke a generall muster thereof, wherein were found (as most write) foure hundred thousand horse, and sixe hundred thousand foot: or as some others that were there present affirme, three hundred thousand horsemen, and fiftie hundred thousand foot, of all nations. Vnto whom he there gaue a generall pale, and as his manner was, made vnto them an oration, informing them of such orders as he would haue kept, to the end they might the better obserue the same: with much other militarie discipline, whereof hee was verie curious with his captaines. At which time also, it was lawfull for euerie common souldiour to behold him with more boldnes than on other daies, forasmuch as he did for that time, and such like, lay aside his imperiall maiestie, and shew himselfe more familiar vnto them.

Now could he hardly be perswaded, that *Baiazet* hauing subdued the most part of *GRECIA*, distressed the Greeke emperour, and so great meanes to recouer whatsoever hee should loose in *ASIA*, would bee so aduenturous as to come ouer the straits out of *EUROPE*, to trie the fortune of a battaile with him; but rather warily protract the time, to wearie him at length with wants, that in a strange countrey drew such a world of people after him: wherein hee found himselfe much deceived, for hauing passed the Georgian countrey, and being come to *BUYSABUCH*, *Axalla* (whom he had not seen in eight daies before, because he led the head of the armie) came vnto him with such news as he knew would be right welcome vnto him: which was, that *Baiazet* had raised his siege of *CONSTANTINOPLE* (as indeed he had) for to come and defend his new conquests in *ASIA*; and that hee was certainly resolved, to come to a day of battaile, not so much trusting vnto the multitude of his armie as to the valour and experience of his souldiours, being all men of long well trained vp in the wars. At which vnexpected newes *Tamerlane* greatly rejoiced: yet without insolencie or vaunting, but rather with the countenance of such an one as judged the events of battailes to be (as they are) alwaies doubtfull: saying sometimes, That a small number well conducted, did oftentimes carie away the victorie, from the confused multitude. Three daies he staid at *BUYSABUCH*, and caused his souldiours continually to march forward, which at *GARGA* and *CHUSERT* passed ouer the riuer *EUPHRATES*: which he did the rather to maintain his armie vpon the spoile of the enemy, in attending his coming, than vpon himselfe, or his allies. All the cities that yielded vnto him by the way as he marched, he fauourably receiued: the other that refused to submit themselves to his obedience, he vied with all extremitie: especially the great and strong citie of *SEBASTIA*, where certain of the fore-runners of his armie were by the Turks there in garrison cut off, and slaine, and the gates of the citie as it were in contempt of him, set wide open. Wherewith *Tamerlane* offended, sent out certaine of his Tartarian horsemen, commaunding them vpon paine of his displeasure so to beare themselves against their enemies, as that he might at his coming either find the citie taken, or the gates thereof shut against him: for he had his men at so great commaund, that no danger was

The number of
Tamerlane his
great armie.

the number of
his great armie

vnto

vnto them more dreadfull than his displeasure, neither did he punish any thing so seuerely, as cowardise: inso much, that if in his disport of hunting the wild beast, any did for feare giue way to the Lyon or Beare, and slew him not, was sure to die therefore himselfe: and to turne his backe vpon the enemy, was no lesse danger than to run vpon his owne death. Now the Turkes in garrison at SEBASTIA, seeing these Tartarian horsemen marching towards the citie, making little account of them, for that they were not in number many, issued out for to meet them; where they were so furiously charged by these few horsemen, that they were glad to retire, and for hast to shut part of their owne men out of the citie, lest the enemy following them at their heeles, should haue entered the gates together with them. Which Turkes so shut out, were by the Tartarians slaine at the gates of the citie. Shortly after came Tamerlane with all his armie, and sat downe before the citie, where he lay still seuen dayes, not making shew of any violence at all, the defendants because the citie was of great strength, all that while thinking that he had intended by long siege to distresse the same, and the more because of his long lying still. But about the eighth day, the wals and towers of the citie in many places vndermined, were suddainely ouerthrowne, leauing large breaches for the enemy to enter. Wherewith the Turkes in the citie dismayed, forthwith yielded the citie to Tamerlane, in hope so to haue saued their liues: but hee (as the Turkes report) being entered the citie, commanded a great number of deepe pits to be digged, and all the people of the citie, without respect of age, sex, or condition, to be throwne into the same, and there buried quicke. Which done, the citie was by his commaundement vterly rased also. After that, calling vnto him Malcozzius, the gouernour of the citie, whom he had for that purpose onely spared, he commaunded him to goe and tell his master what was happened to his strong citie of SEBASTIA, and what hee had there himselfe scene. Of which tragicall action, Malcozzius hauing made true relation vnto Baiazet, was by him demanded, whether of the two armies he thought bigger or stronger: for now Baiazet had assembled a mightie armie of three hundred thousand men, or as some report of three hundred thousand horsemen, and two hundred thousand foot. Whereunto Malcozzius hauing before craved pardon, answered, That it could not bee, but that Tamerlane might in reason haue the greater number, for that hee was a commaunder of faire greater countries. Wherewith proud Baiazet offended, in great choller replied: Out of doubt, the sight of the Tartarian hath made this coward so afraid, that he thinketh euery enemy to be two.

Most of the Latine histories report, that when Tamerlane had taken SEBASTIA, he put all the men to the sword, and bringing the women and chidren into the fields without the citie there ouer-ran them with his horsemen, excepting some few which were referred for prisoners. As also that Baiazet there lost his eldest sonne Erthogrul (of some called Orthobulus) whose death with the losse of the citie, so much greeued him (as is reported) that marching with his great armie against Tamerlane, and by the way hearing a countrey shepheard merrily reposing himselfe with his homely pipe, as he sat vpon the side of a mountaine feeding his poore flocke; standing still a great while listening vnto him, to the great admiration of many; at last fetching a deepe sigh, brake forth into these words: O happie shepheard, which haddest neither Orthobulus nor SEBASTIA to loose: bewraying therein his owne discontentment, and yet withall shewing, That worldly blisse consisteth not so much in possessing of much, subject vnto danger, as in ioying in a little contentment, deuoid of feare. Howbeit the Turkes themselves reporting the taking of SEBASTIA, speake not of this at all, but giue him lost six yeares before in the warres against Cassi Burchanians, and hath buried by his father at PRUSA. In this citie of SEBASTIA was lost twelue thousand Turkes, men, women, and children, as their histories report. The rest of the cities all the way as Tamerlane marched, warned by the destruction of SEBASTIA, yielded themselves for feare of like danger: the citizens whereof he courteously vsed, especially the Christians, whom he set at libertie, in respect of Emanuel the Greeke emperour, whom hee seemed wholly therein to gratifie. But he had not gone farre into the Turkes dominion, but that hee was certainly aduertised, how that Baiazet, with a great armie was comming against him, and now within thirte leagues of him: which caused him after that time, to march with his armie more closely, Acalla leading the vangard sent forth Chianfon prince of CIARCAN, with foure thousand Parthian horsemen, to get knowledge of the Turkes armie, and where Baiazet lay, as also what countrey that

Sebastia besieged
by Tamerlane.

Sebastia yielded
to Tamerlane.

A shepheard
more happie
than Baiazet.

was

was beyond SENNAS; and if he could learne any thing thereof, to make relation of it vnto him. This prince of CIARCAN was Tamerlane his kinsman, a man of great reputation, and next vnto Acalla, in whose absence he had the commanding of the auantgard, his charges who also sent before him another Parthian captain with 500 horsemen. So he had not ridden ten leagues, but that he heard news of Baiazet his comming, & hauing surprised SENNAS, vnderstood there the certaine estate of the Turkes armie, which was then at TATAIA, & so marching forward. VV herof Tamerlane certified, commanded him not to retire fro that place, vntill he did see the arriuall of the enemy, and thereof to giue him aduertisement euery hower, being himselfe resolu'd to passe on no farther, as come to a faire large plaine, and a countrey of aduantage for the order of his battaile: for he knew that his armie was farre greater than Baiazets, and therefore made choice of those great plaines. Yet for that his armie consisted of diuers nations, and withall considering that hee was not to fight against the Chinois, a soft effeminate people (as of late) but against the Turkes, a most warlike nation, and well acquainted with all manner of fights and martiall stratagemes, hee thought it good to be well aduised how he proceeded against them. VV herefore hee presently sent for Acalla, with him to view the said place, and to haue his opinion, VV whether it would be for his aduantage or not, there to stay: who not miliking of the choice of the place, yet aduised him also to keepe SENNAS so long as he possibly could: and so sent word vnto them that were therein, vpon the approach of the enemy to set fire vpon the same, and so to withdraw themselves from thence, to the end, that the enemy should not haue any desire to encampe there, but come still forward neere vnto those plains where Tamerlane desired to fight, especially for that he was stronger in horse than Baiazet. Thus the Turkes still marching on, thought to haue surprised some of their enemies in SENNAS, who as soone as they drew neere, retired all, excepting some hundred, left of purpose to fire the towne: who hauing performed the same, retired of purpose in great disorder. Now the prince of CIARCAN had diuided his forces into two parts, and giuen commaundement to the first, that as soone as they perceiued the enemies to pursue the hundred horse, that so disorderly of purpose fled, they should receiue them, and so retire all altogether. He in the meane time with the rest of his power stood close in a valley, neere vnto a wood side, vnto which before retired, now turning vpon them also: so that the Turkes seeing themselves thus beset, and hardly laied vnto both before and behind, as men discouraged fled: in which flight most of them were slaine, and the rest taken prisoners. This was the first encounter betwixt the Turkes and the Parthians: all the prisoners there taken, were by the prince sent to Tamerlane, and amongst the rest the Bassa of NATOLIA, who led these troopes: of whom Tamerlane earnestly demaunded, what caused Baiazet so little to esteeme of him, as to shew so great contempt of his armie, which he should find strong ynough to abate his pride. VV hereunto the Bassa answered, That his lord was the Sunne vpon earth, which could not endure any equal: and that he rather was altoned to see, how he from so farre, had enterprised so dangerous a journey, to hinder the fortune of his lord, in whose fauor the heauens (as he said) did bend themselves, to further his greatnesse, and vnto whom all the world subjected it selfe; and that he committed great follie in going about to resist the same. Vnto which so proud a speech Tamerlane replied, That hee was sent from heauen to punish his rashnesse, and to teach him, that the proud are hated of God, whose promise is to plucke downe the mightie, and raise vp the lowly. As for thy selfe (said he) thou hast already felt (although I pitie thy mishap) what the valour of my Parthian horse is against thy Turkish: and thy master I haue already caused to raise his siege of CONSTANTINOPLE, and to looke to his owne things here in ASIA. Furthermore, Tamerlane changing his speech, demaunded of him, If his master did come resolu'd to bid him battaile: Assure your selfe (said he) there is nothing he more desireth: and would to God I might acknowledge your greatnesse, in giuing me leaue to assilt my lord at that battaile. Good leaue haue thou, said Tamerlane, goe thy waies, and tell thy lord, that thou hast scene me; and that he shall in the battaile find mee on horsebacke, where he shall see a greene ensigne displayed. The Bassa thanking him, swore that next vnto his lord, he vowed vnto him, his seruice. And so returning, declared vnto Baiazet, how that he had scene Tamerlane: and truly reported vnto him all that he had willed him to say; not forgetting ouer all to publish his courtesie and bountie: who besides that he had frankly set him at libertie, had also giuen him a very faire horse well furnished, although he well knew hee was

The prince of
Ciarcan dealeth
politically with
the seruicers
of the Turke ar-
mie.

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to serue against himselfe. Whereunto *Baiazet* answered no more, but that hee would shortly make triall of him, and that he well hoped, before the match were ended, to make him acknowledge his owne follie. The next day the two armies drew neere together, and encamped within a league the one of the other: where all the night long you might haue heard such noise of horses, as that it seemed the heauens were full of voices, the aire did so resound, & euery man thought the night long, to come to the triall of his valour, and the gaining of his desires. The Scythians (a people no lesse greedie than needie) talked of nothing but the spoile; the proud Parthians of their honour, and the poore Christians of their deliuerance, all to be gained by the next dayes victorie: euery man during the night time speaking according to his owne humor. All which *Tamerlane* walking this night vp and down in his campe, heard, and much reioyced to see the hope that his soldiours had already in generall conceived of the victorie. Who after the second watch returned vnto his pavillion, and there casting himselfe vpon a carpet, had thought to haue slept a while. But his cares not suffering him so to doe, he then (as his manner was) called for a booke, wherein was contained the liues of his fathers and auncetors, and of other valiant worthies, the which he vsed ordinarily to read, as he then did: not as therewith vainly to deceiue the time, but to make vse thereof, by the imitation of that which was by them worthily done, and declining of such dangers, as they by their rashnesse or oversight fell into. And afterwards hauing a little slumbered, he commaunded *Axalla* to be sent for, who forthwith came vnto him with diuers other great lords and captaines, the cheefe commanders of his armie, with whom after he had a while consulted of the order of the battaile, he mounted on horsebacke himselfe, and sent euery one of them vnto their owne charges, to put the same in readinesse. At the which very instant he receiued newes, that the enemy marched forward, and came to take his ground for the battaile: whose order of march *Tamerlane* was desirous to see, that so accordingly he might match his owne. And hauing caused three thousand horsemen to aduance forward, with charge to begin the skirmish, himselfe followed after to lodge euery part of his forces in such places, as he had foreseene to be fittest for his aduantage. Now seeing the Ianizaries march in a square battell in the midst, and vpon the two fronts, two great squadrons of horsemen, which seemed to be thirtie thousand horse; and another which aduanced and couered the battaillon of the Ianizaries: he thought this their order to be very good, and hard to be broken; and thereupon turning himselfe vnto *Axalla*, who was neere vnto him, said: I had thought this day to haue fought on foot, but I see that it behoueth me now to fight on horsebacke, to giue courage vnto my soldiours to open the great battaillon of our enemies. And my will is, that my men come forward vnto me as soone as they may, for I will aduance forward with an hundred thousand footmen, fiftie thousand vpon each of my two wings, and in the midst of them thirtie thousand of my best horsemen. My pleasure is, that after they haue tried the force of these men, that they come vnto my auantgard, of whom I will dispose, and fiftie thousand horse more, in three bodies, whom thou shalt commaund: which I will asist with foure score thousand horse, wherein shall be mine owne person; hauing an hundred thousand footmen behind me, who shall march in two squadrons: & for my arereward I appoint 40000 horse, & 50000 footmen, who shall not march but to my aid. And I will make choice of 10000 of my best horse, whom I will send into euery place where I shall thinke needfull within mine armie, for to impart my commaunds. Ouer the first thirtie thousand horse the prince *Ciarcan* commaunded: ouer the foremost footmen was the lord *Synopes* a Genouois, kinsman to *Axalla*, and his lieutenant ouer the footmen, a captaine of great estimation: the prince *Axalla* his owne charge consisted of five squadrons of horsemen. *Baiazet* his armie being also both faire, and great, came brauely still on forward towards their enemies, who stirred not one whit from the place they had taken for the battaile: except certaine light horsemen Scythians, Parthians, and Muscovits, who sent out as loose men, hotly skirmished betwixt the two armies. Now was *Tamerlane* by an espie aduertised, that *Baiazet*, hauing before giuen order for the disposing of his armie, was on foot in the midst of thirtie thousand Ianizaries, his principall men of warre and greatest strength, wherein he meant that day to fight, and in whom he had reposed his greatest hope. His battaile of horse was verie faire, amounting to the number of an hundred and thirtie thousand horse, all old souldiours. The Sultan of Egypt hauing also sent vnto his aid thirtie thousand Manalukes, all verie good horsemen, with thirtie thousand foot. So that his armie marching all in one front, in forme of an halfe Moone (but not so well knit together as was *Tamerlanes*, whose squadrons directly followed one another) seemed

The great and
mortall battaile
betwixt *Baiazet*
and *Tamerlane*.

seemed almost as great as his. And so with infinite numbers of most horrible outcries, still aduanced forward: *Tamerlane* his souldiours all the while standing fast, with great silence.

There was not possible to be seen a more furious charge, than was by the Turks giuen vpon the prince of *Ciarcan*, who had commandement not to fight before the enemy came vnto him: neither could haue been chosen a fairer plaine, and where the skillfull choice of the place, was of lesse aduantage for the one or the other; but that *Tamerlane* had the river on the left hand of his armie, leuening him to some small aduantage. Now this yong prince of *Ciarcan* with his fortie thousand horse, was in this first encounter almost wholie ouerthrowne: yet hauing fought right valiantly, and entered euen into the midst of the Ianizaries (where the person of *Baiazet* was) putting them in disorder, was himselfe there slaine. About which time, *Axalla* set vpon them with the auantgard, but not with like danger: for hauing ouerthrowne one of the enemies wings, and cut it all to peeces, and his footmen comming to ioyné with him as they had been commaunded, he faced the battaillon of the Ianizaries, who right valiantly behaued themselves for the safetie of their prince. This hard fight continued one hower, and yet you could not haue seene any scattered, but the one still resolutely fighting against the other. You might there haue seene the horsemen like mountaines rush together, and infinite numbers of men die, erie lament, and threaten all at one instant. *Tamerlane* had patience all this while, to see the euent of this so mortall a fight: but perceiuing his men at length to giue ground, he sent ten thousand of his horse to ioyné againe with the ten thousand appointed for the arereward, and commaunded them to asist him at such time as he should haue need of them: and at the verie same time, charged himselfe, and made them giue him roome; causing the footmen to charge also, ouer whom the prince of *Thanaïs* commaunded, who gaue a furious onfet vpon the battaillon of the Ianizaries, wherein was yet the person of *Baiazet*, who had sustained a great burthen. Now *Baiazet* had in his armie, a great number of mercinarie Tartarians, called *Desseynes*, with many thousands of other soldiours taken vp in the countries of the poor exiled Mahometan princes; in whose just quarell, and the Greeke emperours, *Tamerlane* had chiefly vnder taken that war: these Tartarians and other souldiours, seeing some their friends, and other some their naturall and louing princes in the armie of *Tamerlane*; stricken with the terrour of disloyaltie, and abhorring the crueltie of the proud tirant, in the heat of the battaile reuolted from *Baiazet* to their owne princes: which their reuolt, much weakened *Baiazet* his forces. Who neuerthelesse with his owne men of warre, especially the Ianizaries, and the helpe of the Christian souldiours brought to his aid from *Serua*, and other places of *Europe*, with great courage maintained the fight; but the multitude, and not true valor, preuailed: for as much as might be done by valiant and courageous men, was by the Ianizaries and the rest perfourmed, both for the preservation of the person of their prince, and the gaining of the victorie. But in the end, the horsemen with whom *Tamerlane* himselfe was giuing a fresh charge, and his auantgard wholly knit againe vnto him, reconfirming the charge, he with much adoe obtained the victorie. *Baiazet* himselfe wounded, and now mounted on horsebacke thinking to haue scaped by flight, fell into the hands of *Axalla*. Vnto whom he yeelded himselfe (thinking it had been *Tamerlane*) who for a space knew him not, but tooke him for some other great commander of the Turks. *Musa* (surnamed *Zebe* or, The noble) one of *Baiazet* his sonnes, with diuers other of *Baiazet* his great captaines, were there taken also: and amongst the rest, *George* the Despot of *Serua*, who notwithstanding this misfortune had that day gained vnto himselfe the reputation of a great and worthie captaine; in somuch that *Tamerlane* euen in the heat of the battaile, maruailing to see him, and the Seruians with the other Christians which he had brought to the aid of *Baiazet*, so valiantly to fight, said vnto some of the captaines that were neere vnto him, See how courageously yonder religious fight: supposing them by their strange attire, to haue been some of the Turks superstitious votaries. But being now taken, and afterwards brought to *Tamerlane*, hee was by him courtously welcomed: but yet withall reprooued, for that he had fought for *Baiazet* against him, who was come in fauour of the Christian emperour, and the other poore oppressed princes, such as the Despot himselfe was. Who thereto boldly answered, That indeed it was not according to his dutie, but according to the prosperitie of *Baiazet*, vnto whom it seemed that all the world did bend: and that his owne safetie had caused him, though against his will, to take part with him. Wherevpon *Tamerlane* held him excused: and so without more adoe gaue him leaue at his owne pleasure to depart.

The prince of
Ciarcan slaine.

The Turks ouer-
throwne.

Baiazet and his
sonne *Musa* ta-
ken prisoners.

Baiazet brought
before Tamer-
lane with his
pride.

Baiazet also himselfe, being afterwarde brought vnto *Tamerlane* as a prisoner, and by him G
courteously entertained, neuer shewed any token of submission at all, but according to his proud
nature, without respect of his present state, presumptuously answered him vnto whatsoeuer he de-
maunded. Wherewith *Tamerlane* moued, told him, that it was now in his power to make him
to loofe his life. Vvherevnto he answered no more, but; Doe it: for that, that losse should bee his
to greatest happinesse. *Tamerlane* afterwards demaunding of him, what made him so proud as to
enterprife to bring into his subiection so noble a prince as was the Greeke emperor: he answered,
red, Euen the same thing that hath moued thee to inuade me, namely the desire of glory and so-
ueraintie. But wherfore then (said *Tamerlane*) dost thou vse so great cruelty towards them thou
hast overcome, without respect of age or sex: That did I (said he) to giue the greater terrour vnto
fortune to haue fallen into thy hands, as thou art now in mine: I would (said *Baiazet*) haue en-
closed thee in a cage of iron, and so in triumph haue caried thee vp and downe my kingdome.
Euen so (said *Tamerlane*) shalt thou be serued. And so causing him to bee taken out of his pre-
sence, turning vnto his followers said: Behold a proud and cruell man, he deserueth to be chastis-
ed accordingly, and to bee made an example vnto all the proud and cruell of the world, of the
just wrath of God against them. I acknowledge that God hath this day deliuered into my hands,
a great enemy, to whom we must therefore giue thanks: which he performed the same day. For
the battaile was won at foure of the clocke, and there was yet fise houres of day light. The next
day *Tamerlane* commaunded the dead to be buried, where amongst the rest, they found the bo-
die of the prince of *CIARCAN* dead, in the midst of the Ianizaries, where he lay enclosed with
their dead bodies, in token he died not vnreueged: whose vniuely death *Tamerlane* for all
that greatly lamented; for he was his kinsman, and like mough one day to haue done him great
seruice. Whose dead bodie *Tamerlane* caused to be embalmed, and with two thousand horie,
(and diuers of the Turks prisoners, chained and tied together) to be conuaid to *SAMERCAND*,
vntill his comming thether. All the other dead bodies were with all honor that might be, buried
at *SENNAS*.

This great bloodie battaile fought in the yeare of our lord 1397 not farre from the mount
STELLA (where sometime the great king *Antihrydates*, was by *Pompey* the Great, in a great bat-
taile ouerthrowne) was fought from seuen a clocke in the morning, vntill foure in the after noone: K
victorie all that while as it were with doubtfull wings, honering ouer both armies, as next vnto
where to light; vntill at length the fortune of *Tamerlane* prevailed. Vvhoise wisdom (vnto
God) gaue that daies victorie vnto his souldiours: for that the politike tiring of the strong for-
ces of *Baiazet*, was the safegard of his owne; whereas if hee had gone vnto the battaile in one
front, assuredly the multitude finding such strong resistance, had put it selfe into confusion: wher-
as this successefull manner of aiding of his men, made them all vnto him profitable. The number
of them that were in this battaile slaine is of diuers, diuersly reported: the Turks themselves re-
porting that *Baiazet* there lost the noble *Mustapha* his sonne, with two hundred thousand
of his men, and *Tamerlane* not many fewer: and some other speaking of a farre lesse number, as that
there should be slaine of the Turkes about threecore thousand, and of *Tamerlane* his armie not
past twentie thousand. But leauing the certaintie of the number vnto the credit of the repor-
ters, like inough it is that the slaughter was exceeding great in so long a fight, betwixt two
such armies, as neuer before (as I suppose) met in field together.

By this one daies euent, is plainly to be seen the vncertaintie of worldly things, and what small
assurance euen the greatest haue in them. Behold *Baiazet* the terrour of the world, and as hee
thought, superiour to fortune, in an instant with his state in one battaile ouerthrowne into the
bottome of miserie and dispaire: and that at such time as he thought least, euen in the midst of
his greatest strength. It was three daies (as they report) before he could be pacified, but as a des-
perate man, still seeking after death, and calling for it: neither did *Tamerlane* after he had once spo-
ken with him, at all afterwards courteously vse him, but as of a proud man caused small account
to be made of him. And to manifest that he knew how to punish the haughtie, made him to bee
shackled in fetters and chaines of gold, and so to bee shut vp in an iron cage made like a grate, in
such sort, as that he might on euerie side be seen; and so caried him vp and downe as hee passed
through *ASIA*, to be of his owne people scorned and derided. And to his farther disgrace, vpon
festiual daies vied him for a footstool to tread vpon, when he mounted to horie: and at other times

Baiazet in a
brass shute in
an iron cage.

A times scornefully fed him like a dogge, with crums fallen from his table. A rare example of the
vncertaintie of worldly honour, that he vnto whose ambitious mind, *ASIA*, and *EUROPE*, two
great parts of the world were to little; should be now caried vp and downe cooped vp in a little
iron cage, like some perillous wild beast: All which *Tamerlane* did, not so much for the hatred to
the man, as to manifest the just iudgement of God against the arrogant follie of the proud: It is
reported that *Tamerlane* being requested by one of his noble men that might be bold to speake
vnto him, to remit some part of his seueritie against the person of so great a prince, answered; That
he did not vse that rigout against him as a king, but rather did punish him, as a proud ambitious
tirant polluted with the blood of his owne brother.

B Now this so great an ouerthrow, brought such a feare vpon all the countieys possessed by
Baiazet in *ASIA*, that *Axalla* sent before by *Tamerlane* with fortie thousand horie, and an hun-
dred thousand foot, without cariages, to prosecute the victorie, came without resistance to *PRUSIA*;
whether all the remainder of *Baiazet* his armie was retired, with the Bassa *Mustapha* the
countiey as he went, still yeelding vnto him. Yea the great Bassa, with the rest, hearing of his
comming, and thinking themselves not now in any safetie in *ASIA*, fled ouer the strait of *HE-
LESPONTUS* to *CALYPOLIS*, & so to *HADRIANOPLE*, carrying with them out of the battaile
Solyman, *Baiazet* his eldest sonne, whom they set vp in his fathers place; *Mahomet* his younger
brother presently vpon the ouerthrow being fled to *AMASIA*: of whom; and the rest of *Baia-
zet* his children, more shall be said hereafter. *Axalla* comming to *PRUSIA*, had the cite without
resistance yeelded vnto him, which he rifled: and there with other of *Baiazet* his wiues & concu-
bines, tooke prisoner the faire *Despina*, *Baiazet* his best beloued wife, to the doubling of his greefe.

C *Emanuel* the Greeke emperor now hearing of *Tamerlane* his comming to *PRUSIA*, sent
his embassadours (the most honourable of his court) thether before to *Axalla*: by whom they
were there stayed, vntill the comming of *Tamerlane*, who receiued them with all the honour
that might be, shewing vnto them all his magnificence, and the order of his campe, to their great
admiration. For it resembled a most populous and well gouerned cite; for the order that was
therein, which brought vnto it plentie of all kind of victuals, and other marchandise, as well for
pleasure as for vse. By these embassadours, the Greeke emperor submitted all his empire toge-
ther with his person, vnto *Tamerlane* the great conquerour, as his most faithfull subject and vas-
saile: which he was bound (as he said) to doe, for that hee was by him deliuered from the most
D cruell tirant in the world: as also for that the long journey he had passed, and the discommodities
he had endured, with the losse of his people, and the danger of his person, could not bee recom-
penced, but by the offer of his owne life, and his subjects; which hee did for euer dedicate to his
seruice, with all the fidelitie and loyalty that so great a benefite might deserue: besides that his so
many vertues, and rare accomplishments, which made him famous throughout the world, did
bind him so to doe. And that therefore he would attend him in his cheefe cite, to deliuer it into
his hands as his owne, with all the empire of *GREECE*. Now the Greeke embassadours looked
for no lesse than to fall into bondage to *Tamerlane*, thinking that which they offred to be so great
and delicate a morcell, as that it would not be refused, especially of such a conquering prince as
E was *Tamerlane*; and that the acceptance thereof in kindnesse, and friendship, was the best bar-
gain they could make therein. But they receiued answer from this worthe prince, farre beyond
their expectation. For he with a mild countenance beholding them, answered them, That he
was not come from so farre a countiey, or vnderaken so much paines for the enlargement of his
dominions already large inough, (too base a thing for him to put himselfe into so great danger
and trauaile for) but rather to winne honour, and thereby to make his name famous vnto all po-
steritie for euer: And that therefore it should well appeare vnto the world, that hee was come to
aid him, being requested as his friend and allie: And that his vpriht meaning therein, was the
greatest cause, That God from aboue had beheld his power, and thereby brused the head of the
greatest and fiercest enemy of mankind that was vnder heauen: And now to get him an immor-
F tall name, would make free so great and flourishing a cite as was *CONSTANTINOPLE*, go-
uerned by so noble and ancient an house as the emperours: That vnto his courage, hee had
alwaies faith joynd, such as should neuer suffer him to make so great a breach in his repu-
tation, as that it should be reported of him, That in the colour of a friend, he came to in-
uade the dominions of his allies: That he desired no more, but that the seruice hee had
done for the Greeke emperor, might for euer be ingrauen in the memorie of his poste-
ritie,

Solyman set up
in his fathers
seat.
Pruse taken by
Axalla.

ritie, to the end they might for euer wish well vnto him and his successours, by remembering the good he had done them; That long might the noble emperor liue, happily to gouern his estate. And that before his returne he would so well consider for the establishing of the same, as that he should not lightly fall againe into the like jeopardie, alwaies assuring himselfe of his good will and fauour towards him. Easie it is to judge, what joy these Greeke embassadours receiued, to heare this so kind an answer from the mouth of *Tamerlane* himselfe: who rather than he would seeme to breake his faith, refused an empire offered vnto him, with one of the most stately and magnificent cities of the world. Few princes (I suppose) would performe such a part: but so there be likewise but few *Tamerlans* in the world. These embassadours by the commaundement of *Tamerlane*, were by *Axalla* royally feasted, and all the honour done them that might be. One of them being sent backe to carrie these v unexpected newes vnto the Greeke emperor, filled both him and all the citie of *CONSTANTINOPLE* with exceeding joy and gladnesse, which both he and his subjects in generall spared not with bonfires and all other signes of joy and pleasure to manifest. And the more to shew his thankfulness, shortly after by the aduice of his graue counsaillours, passed ouer the strait into *ASIA* to see *Tamerlane* at *PRUSA*, and in person himselfe to giue him thanks: who hearing of his comming, and very glad thereof, presently vpon the first dayes journey sent the prince *Axalla* to meet him, and to certifie him of the joy that he conceiued, to haue the good hap for to see him, as also to conduct him to *PRUSA*: where those two great princes, with the greatest magnificence that might be, met, and so spent one whole day together. The Greeke emperor the next day taking his leaue, was by *Tamerlane* with much honour conducted out of the citie. Now had *Tamerlane* himselfe conceiued a secret desire to see this so famous a citie as was *CONSTANTINOPLE*, from which he was not now farre, yet would he not goe thither as a conquerour, but as a priuat person: which by the meanes of *Axalla* was accomplished, and he thereto by the Greeke emperor priuately receiued, and with all familiaritie possible, entertained: the emperor shewing vnto him all the rare and excellent things that were therein to be seene: and the other Greeke princes deuising all the meanes they could to do him pleasure, and them which did accompanie him; who were in a manner all apparelled after the Greeke fashion. At which time the Greeke emperor himselfe was curious to shew vnto him all the faire gardens alongst the sea coast, a league or two from *CONSTANTINOPLE*, and so priuately conducting him, spent fife or six daies, with all the mirth that might be possible: *Tamerlane* by the way oftentimes saying, That he had neuer seene a fairer citie: and that it was indeed the citie (considering the faire and rich situation thereof) of right, worthie to commaund all the world. He wondered at the costly buildings of the temples, the faire ingrauen pillars, the high pyramids, and the making of the faire gardens, and oftentimes afterwards said, That he nothing repented him of his so long and dangerous a voyage, if it had been onely but to haue presented from fire and sword so noble a citie as that was. In the Greeke emperor he commended greatly his mild nature and courtesie: who knowing him aboue all things to take pleasure in faire seruicable hordes, gaue vnto him thirtie of the fairest, strongest, and readiest, that were possible to be gotten, all most richly furnished; and sent likewise faire presents vnto all the princes and great commanders of the armie, and bountifully caused to bee deliuered vnto them all things which he thought to be necessarie for the armie. So after many great kindneses in short time passed, and a strait bond of friendship made, and by solemne oath confirmed betwixt the two great princes, *Tamerlane* with great contentment tooke his leaue of the emperor, and returned againe to his armie at *PRUSA*. Wherewith he now at his pleasure without resistance wasted and spoiled all *Baiazet* his dominion in *ASIA*, no man daring to make head against him.

The yeare being now well spent, and *Winter* drawing on, *Tamerlane* dispersed his armie into diuers of the prouinces of the lesser *ASIA*, expecting still when some of *Baiazet* his sonnes or other friends should make succor or meanes vnto him for his deliuerance, but none came: some fearing *Tamerlane* his heauie indignation, and others no lesse dreading the fierce nature of *Baiazet* himselfe, who if hee had bene deliuered, was like ynough (as was thought) to haue taken sharpe reuenge vpon all them which forsooke him in the late battaile, and therefore neuer made intercession for him. Whereupon *Tamerlane* one day passing by him, said vnto him: I maruell that none of thy sonnes or friends either come to see thee or to entreat for thee, it must needs be that thou hast euill deserued of them, as thou hast of others: yet how thinkest thou, If I should set thee at libertie, would they againe receiue thee as their lord and soueraigne, or not? To whom

Baiazet

Baiazet boldly answered: VV ere I at libertie, thou shouldest well see, how that I want neither courage nor meanes to reuenge all my wrongs, and to make those disobedient & forgetfull, to know their duties better. VVhich his proud answere made *Tamerlane* to keepe a straighter hand ouer him.

In this great and bloodie warre, wherein the *Othoman* empire had almost taken end, the Sultan of *Egypt* had (as is aforesaid) giuen aid vnto *Baiazet*: which *Tamerlane* tooke in so euill part, as that he resolved to be thereof reuenged. For as he was vnto his friends of all others most kind and courteous, so was he to his enemies no lesse terrible and dreadfull. Yet thinking it good before his departure out of the lesser *ASIA*, to take some good order with these his new conquests: and finding nothing more honourable to resolve vpon, he restored vnto the poore *Mahometane* princes (*Tachretin*, *Isfendiar*, *Germian*, and the rest before fled vnto him for refuge) all their ancient inheritance, with something more, as he did also diuers cities and countries of *NATOLIA* vnto the Greeke emperor, for the yearely tribute of foure hundred thousand ducats of gold, and eight hundred thousand franks of siluer, which the emperor promised to pay vnto him yearely. And so hauing enticed his armie with the spoiles of the *Othoman* empire in *ASIA*, he turned his forces against the *Egyptian* Sultan, and so passing through *CARAMANIA*, entred into *SYRIA*, then part of the Sultans kingdom: where neere vnto *ALLEPPO* (being before yielded vnto him) was fought betwixt them a great and mortall battaile, the Sultan hauing in his armie an hundred thousand foot, and seuentie foure thousand horse: whereof there were thirtie thousand *Mamelukes*, accounted the best horsemen of the world. In which battaile, *Axalla* the great capitaine, with the auantguard of *Tamerlane* his armie, was hardly distressed, and *Axalla* himselfe taken: but forthwith againe rescued by *Tamerlane*: who had hee not by his comming on with new forces, speedily restored the battaile, cunningly protracted by *Axalla*, that day was like ynough to haue made an end of his good fortune. But the victorie after a long and cruell fight (wherein were fourescore thousand men on both sides slaine) inclining to *Tamerlane*, the Sultan fled, *Tamerlane* pursuing him by the space of three leagues. After which victorie, *Tamerlane* deuising his armie, sent *Axalla* with fortie thousand horse and fiftie thousand foot, to pursue the Sultan alongst the coast of *ARABIA*: who oftentimes shewed himselfe, with some foure thousand horse to haue hindered *Axalla*, who hauing the smallest forces, followed him the nearest. *Tamerlane* himselfe in the meane time with threescore thousand horse, & an hundred thousand foot, marching alongst the sea coast, had all the cities as he went yielded vnto him, as *MAGATA*, *AMAN*, other wise called *APAMBA*, *TORTOSA*, *BARRUTO*, & *NEPHTHALIN*: only the strong citie of *DAMASCO* refused to receiue him, whereinto the Sultan had put the prince *Zamaden*, with a strong garrison, who did what hee might to haue defended the same. But all in vaine, for *Tamerlane* hauing by batterie ouerthrowne a great part of the wall, by assault woon the citie, only the castle yet remaining, as being of a wonderfull strength, and almost impregnable: whereinto such a multitude had at the taking of the citie retired themselves, as was not possible therein long to liue: who in short time pinched with hunger, and many of them dead, the rest vpon safeguard of their liues offered to yeeld: whom for all that *Tamerlane* would not receiue to mercie, to make them feeble what it was to hold out against him: so that most of them dying of famine, the rest yielded without condition, and were for their obstinacie almost all slaine. VVhich his feruor towards them of *DAMASCO*, caused, that thirtie leagues off they brought the keyes of their cities vnto him, in token of their submission: whom he no way molested, more than in contributing vnto the charge of his armie. From *DAMASCO* he turned directly towards *IERUSALEM*, at which time they of the citie had driuen out the Sultans garrison, as had almost all they of *IUDAEA*, submitting themselves vnto *Tamerlane*. At *CHORAZNI* the Sultan had left fix thousand men in garrison for the defence of the place, who at the first seemed to stand vpon their guard: but afterward dismaied to see so great an armie before it, and that *Tamerlane* hauing approached the wals, was set downe to haue it, they submitted themselves and found mercie. In which citie *Tamerlane* left certaine of his men in garrison, for the better repressing of the *Mamelukes*, who with often incursions troubled his armie. So marching on, he himselfe with certaine horsemen for his guard, rode to *IERUSALEM* to visit the sepulchre so much reuerenced of all nations, and there to make his oblations: where hee was of the inhabitants joyfully receiued, and hauing sought out all the antiquities of that ancient citie, would be conducted vnto all the places thereabouts, where *Iesus Christ* had preached, euen as the pilgrimes doe: and comming

Tamerlane commeth to Ierusalem.

Tamerlane goeth to Constantinople.

Tamerlane much delighted with the pictures of Constantinople.

A great battell fought betwixt the Sultan of Egypt and Tamerlane.

Damascus won by Tamerlane.

to the sepulchre, gave therunto, and the deuout there, many rich and precious gifts, to the great contentment of all men (to see him honour those holy places) but of the Jews only, who greatly blamed him for so doing: of whom of all others *Tamerlane* made no reckoning, but called them the accursed of God. There had he newes that the Sultan had gathered all his forces, and being come into *Ægypt*, was there fortifying of his cities, especially the great cities of *Alexandria* and *Cairo*. *Tamerlane* his armie in the meane time by his commandement came towards *Ægypt* to *Damiata*: which strong citie hee thought not good to leave behind him, although he was by some perswaded so to do, for that it was thought impregnable, as well in respect of the castle, as of the strong garrison that the Sultan had put therein. But he whose fortune nothing could hinder, would needs goe thither; and so hauing commaunded *Axalla* to set vpon it, followed himselfe after with the rest of his armie. Now *Axalla* hauing summoned the citie, and declared vnto the inhabitants (who were most of them Christians) the mildnesse and courtesie of *Tamerlane*, as also who himselfe was, and what religion he held: causing many of the Greeke captaines to speake vnto them, and to tell them of the miserie they endured vnder the Moores and Mamalukes: so faire preuailed with them, that they all determined to aduantage their liues, to put the Mamalukes out of the citie, with all them that saquered the Sultan. And so in the night taking vp armes, made themselves masters of one quarter of the citie, and deliuered one of the gates to *Axalla*: whereby he entering, put all the Mamalukes to the sword, or tooke them prisoners, and so gained the citie. Whereof *Tamerlane* hearing, being as yet vpon his march, was in good hope of so prosperous a beginning, to find an happie end also of his designs in *Ægypt*. For besides the good fortune thereof, hee knew that this haven of *Damiata*, might serue him with victuals out of all the parts of *Greece*, as the emperor *Emanuel* had promised him, and wherein hee nothing failed him. Into which port *Tamerlane* hauing made his entrie, left there in garrison two thousand of the emperor *Emanuel*'s souldiours, with a gouernour, of whom he tooke an oath for their obedience. So hauing stayed a space at *Damiata*, he caused his vanguard to march towards *Alexandria*: and hauing passed ouer the riuer, euen in an instant turned directly vnto *Cairo*: to the great astonishment of the Sultan, who made prouision for the defence of *Alexandria*, as the necesse vnto danger. But vnderstanding of these newes, vied such diligence, that he entered into the citie with fortie thousand horse, and threescore thousand foot, euen as *Tamerlane* his armie approached, purposing in person himselfe to defend it. By whose coming, the great citie ready before to haue reuolted, was againe in his obedience confirmed, to the great hinderance of *Tamerlane* his affaires; for to remaine long before it, was impossible, for want of victuals for so great an armie in the enemies countrey. Yet notwithstanding all this, did not *Tamerlane* forbear to draw neere vnto it, and with all his armie to encampe neere vnto the same, hauing caused a great trench to be made for to couer his horsemen, and thereby to lodge his armie more safely: during which time he caused diuers onsets to be giuen, as well to trie what confidence the enemy had in himselfe, as to see how the people of the citie, especially the slaues (which in that populous citie are infinite) were affected towards him: who certainly enformed him of the state of the citie, and the armie; as glad to see the same by him shut vp, and the proud Mamalukes still put to the worst. But thus lying still at the siege, one day he thought it good to shew his armie before the citie, for to trie whether the enemy had a desire to come to a daie of battaile or not: as also to view what forces he had, and so indeed to seeke occasion to fight. In hope also, that if the Sultan did come forth with all his armie into the field, some reuolt might happen within the citie, as well by the slaues (vnto whom libertie was by him promised) as by the citizens themselves (discontented with the insolencie of the Mamalukes entered of late into the citie with the Sultan) vnto whom he had made it knowne by certaine slaues (for that purpose fled as fugitiues out of his armie into the citie) how that hee was not come to hurt them, but onely for the destruction of the Mamalukes, both his and their enemies. But betimes standing so in battaile array, no man came forth, neither was there any tumult or sturre raised in the citie, as hee had expected. For the Sultan in so great a citie well provided of all things, was resolved to wearie him out with lying still, and not to put all to the hazard of a battaile. Which *Tamerlane* perceiving, and set downe not to depart thence, but victorious, resolved likewise to force him euen in his greatest strength, in the heart of his greatest citie; although it were not to be done, but with great aduen-

Damiata taken by Axalla.

Tamerlane marches towards Cairo.

Cairo besieged by Tamerlane.

adventure: such confidence he had in the strength and multitude of his armie. Now his purpose was, first to take one of the cities (for *Cairo* is diuided into three) & therein encamping himself, by litle & litle to aduance forward as he might, still fighting with the enemy. Vpon which resolution, he commaunded an assault to be giuen, and hauing brought his footmen vnto the place where he would haue them to giue the onset (for the citie was not walled, but onely fortified with ditches and trenches) he commaunded the prince of *Thanaïs* with fiftie thousand footmen, to begin the assault, euen in the face of the enemy: which hee most valiantly performed, and there began a most terrible and cruell fight. *Axalla* in the meane time, deeming (as the truth was) that the Sultan had drawn his greatest forces vnto the place where the prince of *Thanaïs* fought to enter, as vnto a place of greatest danger: set a compasse about, and vpon another quarter of the citie, with small resistance passed the trenches; where he presently left thirtie thousand men to fill vp the ditches, and to make way for the horsemen to enter: aduancing forward himselfe, against twentie thousand sent by the Sultan to haue stopped his further passage: the prince of *Thanaïs* being at the same time almost beaten backe by the Mamalukes. But the way being made plaine, by them that were for that purpose left by *Axalla*, and ten thousand horse entered, which charged vpon the backs of the Mamalukes, where the Sultan himselfe was; and they seconded by ten thousand more sent in by *Tamerlane*, following himselfe after, with all his power: the Sultan retired vnto a second strength, which he had made in the next citie. The fight endured full the space of seauen houres, wherein were slaine of the Sultan his men aboue sixteene thousand: and of *Tamerlane*'s betwixt seauen and eight thousand. Who contented to haue lodged the enemy, and gained a third part of the citie, caused a retrait to be sounded, in hope the next daie to winne all the rest, as indeed he did. For the prince of *Thanaïs* the next daie forcing the enemies trenches in one place, and *Axalla* in another, the Sultan after a great fight finding himselfe hardly pressed by the obstinate enemy, and too weake long to hold out, retired, and so forthwith abandoned the citie, and encamped himselfe along the side of the riuer *Nilus*, with purpose to passe the same, and to flye to *Alexandria* his second strength and refuge. Which *Tamerlane* suspecting, followed after him with his horsemen (who onely were in order) and some few foot, hardly drawne from the citie, which their fellowes were in spoiling; so as hee was glad to promise them especially, to regard and reward their good seruice. Against whom the Sultan vpon a narrow cawsey, had opposed twelue or fiftie thousand men, whom he called his slaues (to fauour his passage) but were indeed his best souldiours, and stood fast, the place seruing greatly for their aduantage: who for all that at length forced by their enemies, still increasing vpon them, (though not without great losse) cast themselves into the great riuer, and made a most honourable retrait: euerie man hauing his weapon in the one hand, and swimming with the other to the farther bank. The Sultan flying with some eightene thousand horse (for the rest were sundrie waies fled or else drowned) is reported in his flight, to haue comforted his men, by telling of them, That they were not men that had vanquished them, but gods, there appeared in them so great wisdom, force, and valour: diuers of the Mamalukes taken in the late fight, being brought before *Tamerlane*, and by him courteously vied, were of him demanded, if they could be content to serue him, now that their maister was fled and gone? which they all vterly refused. Whom notwithstanding, for their fidelitie, *Tamerlane* set at libertie to goe againe vnto the Sultan: as no lesse desirous to be admired of his enemies for his bountie and courtesie, than feared for his force and valour. The wonderfull wealth of this so great and famous a citie became a preie vnto his souldiours: who for the space of foure and twentie houres had the spoile thereof, being then by open proclamation commaunded euerie man to repaire to his quarter. The citizens hest all at libertie, not suffering any of them to be taken prisoners. And so leauing ten thousand good souldiours with a great number of others (whereof he caried a great multitude in his armie, planting euerie where as he passed as it were new colonies) and carrying away with him such of the inhabitants as he thought might hurt him, and taking order for all things necessarie for the keeping of such a citie, he caused his armie to passe ouer the riuer for to follow the Sultan vnto *Alexandria*, to the end not to leaue his victorie vnperfect. *Axalla* hastening before with the auanguard, for to hinder the Sultan for joyning his forces againe together; and the rest of his armie conducted by the prince of *Thanaïs*. He himselfe with an infinite number of boats, and souldiours to attend vpon him, going by water, taking great pleasure to behold the faire riuer, and his swift course sometimes, and in an instant to become so calme as if it scarce mooued.

Cairo assaulted by Tamerlane.

The

The citizens of ALEXANDRIA hearing of his coming, and fearing what might betide them, besought the Sultan to haue compassion of their estate, and to withdraw himselfe into LYBIA, whether *Tamerlane* for the barrenesse of the countrey could not with any great power follow him; resolved for their parts to giue place vnto fortune, and to doe as the time required; and no more to resist so great a force, whereof they had alreadie made sufficient triall: promising yet to remaine in heart still his, and vpon the first occasion offered, to make the same to him appeare. Whereupon the Sultan seeing all things desperate, determined for a time to retire, in hope, that time would bring some change: as also that *Tamerlane* his populous armie would not long remaine there. And so departing out of ALEXANDRIA with teares standing in his eyes, oftentimes said, That God was angrie with him and his people, and that hee must of necessity suffer the fatall ouerthrow of his estate, himselfe hauing done as much as in him lay, according to his charge, and the expectation the world had of him: and yet that he hoped at length to returne againe, and deliuer his people from the bondage, whereunto they must now needs submit themselves. *Tamerlane* coming to ALEXANDRIA (before yeelded to *Ascalla*) there staid a great while, sending *Ascalla* to pursue the Sultan, exceedingly grieved that he could not get him into his hands: and therefore still fearing some innouation to be by him raised, which caused him to deale the more hardly with them whom he suspected to fauour him. Now the bruit of these victories hauing with *Ascalla* passed beyond ALEXANDRIA into LYBIA: had brought such a feare, not onely vpon the people adioyning vnto these conquests, but also vpon all AFRICA (they supposing that *Tamerlane* did follow,) that two and twentie of the Moore kings sent their embassadours vnto him, to offer vnto him their obedience: the Sultan as a man forsaken of fortune, still flying before him. Of the nearest of which kings, *Tamerlane* tooke hostages: as for the other farther off, he contented himselfe with their faith giuen, and with the other outward signes of their good wils.

Tamerlane des-
cends to retorne
into his country.

Now after this long trauaile and paines taken, was *Tamerlane* more desirous than hee had before vsed, to see the pleasures of his owne natiue countrey: the rather thereunto moued by the request of his wife, then longing for his returre; and the newes hee heard of the sicknesse of the old Tartarian emperour his father in law; besides that, age it selfe began to bring vnto him a desire of rest: with whom also, the desires of his souldiours well agreed, as men now wearie to haue run so many and diuers fortunes: The onely stay was, that hee expected the coming of *Calibes*, an old and faithfull seruant of his, whom he for his good desert had of his owne accord appointed gouernour of all his new conquests in ÆGYPT and SYRIA: A great honour no doubt, but not too great for him that had so well deserved. So mindfull was he of the good deserts of his faithfull seruants, as that he needed not by others to be of them put in remembrance, were they neuer so farre off, as was now *Calibes*, who at this time was with the third part of his armie making way for him along the great riuer EUPHRATES, for the conquest of MESOPOTAMIA and PERSIA: whose coming was now with great deuotion looked for of the whole armie, desirous to returne. Which their expectation he long delayed not, but being sent for, came to ALEXANDRIA, whither the whole armie was now by the commaundement of *Tamerlane* againe assembled. Vpon whose coming, *Tamerlane* departed from ALEXANDRIA, hauing there left the prince *Zamalkan* (a man of great reputation) with six thousand horsemen and ten thousand foot, as gouernour of that place, and lieutenant generall vnder *Calibes*: whom *Tamerlane* (as I haue said) had now appointed to commaund ouer all ÆGYPT and SYRIA, together with the countries newly conquered in LYBIA and BARBARIE: and now conducting him vnto the great citie of CAIRE, and there taking the best order he could for the preservation of his new conquest, left him with fortie thousand horse and fiftie thousand foot. And so hauing sufficiently instructed him, how he would haue those kingdomes gouerned, dismissed him, not like a master, but as a companion, seeming very sorry to leave him destitute of his presence. So setting forward with his armie, conducted by the prince of THANAIS, *Tamerlane* himselfe, with a few to guard him, by the way turned aside vnto IERUSALEM: where he remained eluen dayes, daily visiting the Sepulchre of Christ Iesus (whom hee called the God of the Christians) and the ruines of *Salomon* his temple: much wondering thereat, and at IERUSALEM, the seat of *Dauids* kingdom, and of that great *Salomon*, but grieved that he could not see them fully in their former beautie. He only despised the Jews, which had committed so cruell a murder against him that came to saue them. And to shew his deuotion to-
wards

towards the holy citie, commaunded it to be free from all subsidies and garisons of men of warre: and gaue great gifts vnto the monasteries, and honoured them so long as he remained there. Departing from IERUSALEM, he came to DAMASCO: which great citie, as well for that it was infected with the opinion of *Iezides* (accounted an arch hereticke among the Mahometanes) as also euill affected to his proceedings, he caused to be rased, and the bones of *Iezides* the false prophet to be digged vp and burnt, and his graue before much honoured, in despite to be filled with dung. So marching on, and blasting the world before him as he went (for long it were, and from our purpose to recount all his victories) he passed ouer the riuer EUPHRATES, and hauing conquered MESOPOTAMIA, with the great citie of BABYLON; and all the kingdom of PERSIA, loaded with the spoile of the world, and eternized for euer, he returned at length to SAMERCAND, the famous place of his birth, and glorious seat of his empire.

Now had *Baiazet* (but a little before one of the greatest princes on earth, and now the scorner of fortune, and a byword to the world) with great impatiencie laie two yeares in most miserable thraldome, for most part shut vp in an yron cage, as some dangerous wild beast: and hating no better meanes to end his loathed life, did violently beat out his braines against the barres of the yron grate wherein he was inclosed, and so died about the yeare of our Lord 1399. Yet of his death are diuers other reports: some saying, That hee died of an ague, proceeding of sorrow and greefe: others, that he poysoned himselfe: and the Turks affirming, that he was set at libertie by *Tamerlane*, being by him beforehand poysoned, whereof hee died three dayes after hee was enlarged (a report not like to be true:) but howsoeuer it was, his end appeareth to haue ben right miserable. His dead bodie at the request of his sonne *Mahomet*, was by *Tamerlane* sent to ASPRAPOLEIS, from whence it was afterwards conueyed to PRUSA, and there lieth buried in a chappell neere vnto the great Mahometane temple without the citie Eastward: where also lieth his beloved wife *Despina*, with his eldest sonne *Erthogrul*. And fast by in a little chappell lieth buried his brother *Iacup*, whom he in the beginning of his raigne murdered.

The miserable
death of *Baia-*
zet.

These two great and mightie princes, *Tamerlane* and *Baiazet* (both of them whilest they liued, a burthen vnto the world) as they tooke their beginning from the Scythes or Tartars, so were they of like honourable progenitors descended: *Baiazet* being the fourth in descent from the warlike *Othoman*, the raiser of his familie; and *Tamerlane* in like degree from the great *Zingis*, the first and most fortunat leader of the Tartars (his countrey men) vnto the pleasures of the East: both princes of great power and like spirit, wise, hardie, painefull, resolute, and most skilfull in martiall affaires; but ambitious about measure, the ground of all the former troubles by them raised, to the astonishment of the world. Howbeit, the great vertues and other the honourable qualities of *Baiazet*, were in him by his chollericke and waiward nature much obscured: which made him to exceed both in crueltie and pride: being also much more handfast than were his honourable predecessors. For which causes he was much feared and lesse beloued of his souldiours and men of warre in generall, and of them at his most need forsaken. He vsed commonly to say, That his treasures were his childrens meat, and not his souldiours pay: which by way of reproch was by a common souldior cast in his teeth, when hee raged to see himselfe by them forsaken in the great battell against *Tamerlane*, telling him as he fled, That he ran not away, but went to seek his pay, wherewith to prouide his children bread. Whereas all the aforesaid vertues in *Tamerlane* were graced with diuers others of like nature, no man being vnto his friends more courteous or kind, either vnto his enemies more dreadfull or terrible. The good seruice of his seruants hee neuer forgot, either left the same long vnrewarded: being thereof so mindfull, as that he needed not by them or others in their behalfe, to be put in remembrance thereof, hauing alwaies by him a catalogue both of their names and good deserts, which he daily perused. Oftentimes saying that day to be lost, wherein he had not giuen them something: and yet neuer bestowing his preferments vpon such as ambitiously sought the same (as deeming them in so doing, vnworthie thereof) but vpon such, as whose modestie or desert he thought worthie those his great fauours; so tempering the seueritie of his commaunds with the greatnesse of his bountie, as that it is hard to say, whether he was of his nobilitie and men of war, for the one more feared, or for the other beloued; both, the great staies of princes states: feare keeping the obstinat in their obedience, and loue, the dutifull in their deuotion. But with *Baiazet* it was not so, who deeming all done for him, but dutie, and by nature chollericke and proud (after the manner of tyrants) desired about all to be of his subjects feared, not much regarding how little hee was of them beloued: not the least
cause

A comparison
betwixt *Baiazet*
and *Tamerlane*.

Baiazet in his
posteritie more
fortunate than
Tamerlane.

Baiazet fourth king of the Turks.

cause of his great fall and miserie, and that therein he was of his owne so finally regarded: where in for all that he is to be accounted more fortunat than the other great conquerour hisemie, hauing euer since in the lineall descent of himselfe, had one of the greatest Monarchs of the world to succeed still in his kingdome and empire: as hee hath euen at this day, the great Sultan *Mahomet*, the third of that name, who now in great majestie raigeth in *CONSTANTINOPLE*: Whereas the glorie of *Tamerlane* his empire, euen in his owne time growne to the height thereof, and labouring with the greatnesse of it selfe, and by him deuided amongst his sonnes, shortly after his death decayed, rent in sunder by ambition and ciuile discord; and not long after, together with his posteritie, rooted out by *Vsun-Cassanes* the Persian king, to the worlds woonder tooke end: nothing of the huge greatnesse thereof now or since then remaining, more than the same thereof: as doth also the miserie of the other so brought low. But leauing this mirrour of mishap (*Baiazet*) vnto his rest, and *Tamerlane* for a while to triumph in *SAMERCANDE*: let vs now proceed in the course of our Historie, yet not forgetting by the way to remember such Christian princes as then liued together with these two great Monarchs.

FINIS.

Christian princes of the same time with Baia- zet the first.	Emperours	Of the East	{ <i>Emanuel Palaeologus.</i>	1387. 30.
		Of the West	{ <i>Wenceslaus, son to Charles</i>	1378. 22.
			{ <i>king of Bohemia.</i>	
			{ <i>Rupertus duke of Banaria.</i>	1400. 10.
	Kings	Of England	{ <i>Richard the second.</i>	1377. 23.
			{ <i>Henric the fourth.</i>	1399. 12.
		Of Fraunce	{ <i>Charles the sixth, surna-</i>	1381. 42.
			{ <i>med, The welbeloued.</i>	
		Of Scotland	{ <i>Iohn Stuarf, otherwise</i>	1390. 16.
			{ <i>called Robert the third.</i>	
	Bishops of Rome		{ <i>Vrban the VI.</i>	1380. 11.
			{ <i>Boniface the IX.</i>	1390. 14.



Phil. Lonicer.
Hist. Turc. lib. i.

*Vindicibus Mahomet patrum sibi vindicat armis
Imperium, & fractas feruidus auget opes.
Quod patri abstulerat violentia Tamberlani,
Imperio reddit Marte fauente suo.
Ille sagittiferosq; Dacos, validosq; Triballos
Contudit, & populos Ister amare tuos.
Turcica sic rursus sublata potentia, stragem
Attulit imperio Romule magne tuo.*

By force of armes stout Mahomet his fathers kingdome gaines,
And doth the broken state thereof repaire with restlesse paines.
What so the force of Tamerlane had from his father tane,
He by his fortune and his force restor'd the same againe.
The Dacians he vanquished, and Seruians in field,
And forc'd the people neere to thee faire ISTER, for to yeeld.
So once againe the Turkish state (by him rais'd vp on hie)
Hath to thine empire, Romulus, brought great calamitie.



THE LIFE OF MAHOMET, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, FIFTH KING OF THE TURKS, AND RESTORER OF THEIR SORE SHAKEN KINGDOME.



Ow wonderfully the Turkish kingdome was by the violence of Tamerlane shaken, and the majestie thereof defaced, it well appeareth, in that the Histories of that time, as well those of the Greekes, as of the Turks, in nothing more differ, than in the successors of Baiaſet, their late vnfortunat king. Some writing, that hee had two sons, Orchanes, (otherwise called *Calepinus*) and Mahomet: and that *Calepinus* in the second yeare of his raigne was slaine, and his kingdome possessed by Mahomet his brother. Others reporting, That Baiaſet had two sons, namely, *Calepinus* and *Mustapha*: and that *Calepinus* succeeding his father in the Turkish kingdome, when hee had raigned six yeares, died, leauing behind him two sonnes, Orchanes and Mahomet: and that Orchanes being young, was slaine by his vncl: whom Mahomet in reuenge of his brothers death, afterwards slew, & possessed the kingdome himselfe. Others reckon vp seuen sonnes of Baiaſet: *Iosua*, *Musulmanes*, *Moses*, *Calepinus*, *Iosua* the yonger, *Muſtapha*, and *Halis*; with an vncertaine succession amongst them also. This diuersitie of opinions, full of no lesse vncertainetie; as I meane not to follow in report of this historie, so will I not spend any time in refuting the same (although much might be said in the matter) but leaue these reports, together with the historie following, to such credit, as they shall hap to find with the considerat readers.

The Greeke Historiographers (best like to know the Turkish succession, as well by reason of their neerenesse, as in that they were by them as their bad neighbours, so much troubled) make no mention at all either of *Calepinus* or of Orchanes: In like manner, *Historie Musulmane Turcorum*, diligently gathered out of the Turks owne histories by *To. Leunclavius* (a learned physician, and himselfe a great traualer amongst them, and therefore deseruing the more credit) do not so much as name the succession of *Calepinus* or Orchanes, after the captiuitie of Baiaſet, but rejecteth them both as counterfeits. But in mine opinion (without prejudice to any, that vpon better reason may deeme otherwise) the great confusion of the Turkish kingdome, in short time wrought by the mightie Tamerlane and his Tartarians, with the ciuile discord and warre afterwards arising among the sonnes of Baiaſet, struiuing (all as it were at once) for the restlesse roome of soueraignetie, which suffereth no parteners; and euery one of them, according to his hap or power, laying hand vpon some oie part or other thereof, and beating himselfe therein for a time as a king, in countries so far distant; neuer leauing, vntill they had like the earth-borne brethren, wrought one anothers destructions; might giue iust occasion of such diuersitie of reports as is before spoken of, concerning the succession of that time, in that troubled and rent kingdome: some reckoning one, some another: and some, such as neuer were, to haue succeeded in the government, and so vntuly augmenting the number of the Turkish kings. VV herefore leauing *Calepinus* & Orchanes vnto them that first found them, with that little, which without any good ground and lesse probabilitie is written of their supposed raigne: I (following the authoritie of the Turkish historie) reckon this Mahomet, one of the youngest sonnes of Baiaſet (of whom we are now

Diuers opinions concerning the successors of Baiaſet.

Mahomet fifth king of the Turkes.

to intreac) fifth king of the Turkes: who after great and dangerous wars, as well against his own brethren, as his forraigne enemies, was at length solely inuested in the Turkish kingdom, about ten yeares after the captiuitie of his father *Baiaſet*, as shall hereafter be declared.

The true posterity of *Baiaſet*.

Baiaſet after the manner of the Turkish kings, hauing laied vp the hope of his posteritie in the common treasure house of nature, rather than in the bodie of one lawfull wife, had by diuers wiues and concubines seuen sonnes, *Ertogrud*, otherwise called *Orthobules*, *Emer-Soliman*, *Muſtaſpha-Zelebi* (that is to say, the noble) *Iſa-Zelebi*, *Muſa-Zelebi*, *Sultan Mahomet*, and *Casan-Zelebi*. Of whom, *Ertogrud* the eldest was lost in the wars against *Cass. Butchaniden*, as is before said in the life of *Baiaſet*. *Muſtaſpha* was slaine in the great battaile against *Tamerlane*, and there buried in the bed of fame. *Casan* the yongest was a child in *Baiaſet* his court, when his father was taken, and afterwards with his sister *Fatime* deliuered as hostages, by their brother *Solyman*, vnto *Emmanuel* the emperor of *CONSTANTINOPLE*, where they both happily became Christians, and so shortly after died.

Solyman was by *Alis Bassa* president of *Baiaſet* his counsell, and other great captaines, conueyed out of the battaile against *Tamerlane*, into *EVROPE*: and so by them at *HADRIANOPLE* saluted Sultan. *Mahomet* fled out of the same battaile to *AMASIA* in *CAPADOCIA*, where he was in his fathers time gouernour. *Iſa* hearing of his fathers captiuitie, after the departure of *Tamerlane* with his Tartars, seized vpon *PRUSA*, a citie of *BITHYNIA*, the ancient seat of the Turkish kings, with the countrey adioyning, and there reigned as king. *Muſa-Zelebi* was taken prisoner with *Baiaſet* his father, and afterwards set at libertie by *Tamerlane*. But of their fortunes more shall be said in this historic following.

Mahomet's Conquest of *Amasia*.

Mahomet was but fiftene yeares old, when his father *Baiaſet* in the vnfortunate battaile at mount *STELLA* was taken prisoner, and was at the same time by his appointment gouernour of *AMASIA*, with a great part of *CAPADOCIA* adioyning: which places became so troublesome after the great victorie of *Tamerlane*, that the Turkes in that countrey were glad day and night for the safeguard of themselves, their wiues, and children, to keepe continuall watch and ward: inso-much, that many of them, wearied with those troubles, and despairing of better times, went into voluntarie exile, because they would not see so great miseries: which thing much greeued young *Mahomet*. Wherefore calling vnto him his most faithfull counsellors, to consult what course to take in the midst of so many dangers, it was by generall consent thought best (for so much as they could not without apparent danger continue neere vnto *Tamerlane* his forces) to get themselves farther off into places of more strength: and from thence to expect the departure of their enemies, and in the meane time to content themselves with such aduantages as occasion and chance of war might minister; cutting them short by policie, whom they were not able to meet in the plaine field: and so by little and little to weaken or wearie their mightie stragling enemies: For albeit that *Tamerlane* himselfe was not neere him, as then lying in *CARIA*; yet did the captaines of his great and victorious armie, at their pleasure spoile and forrage the countries farre and neere all ouer the lesser *ASIA*. Vpon this resolution, hee with all his forces departed from *AMASIA*, to *DERBYN* in *PAPHLAGONIA*: where by the way he encountered with *Cara Tabin*, a nigh kinsman to the prince *Iſfendiar* of *CASTAMONA*, his enemies; whom he put to flight, with great slaughter of his men. This was the beginning of *Mahomet* his good fortune. From thence he went to *KEREDEN*, and there staying certaine daies, sent a spie into *Tamerlane* his campe, to see how all things went there: and afterwards entered againe into counsell with his captains concerning his further proceedings. In which consultation, some were of opinion, That it was best for him to withdraw himselfe into the mountaines of the lesser *ASIA*, as a place of good safetie, vntill the departure of *Tamerlan*, which was shortly hoped for: for that it was not to be thought that *Tamerlane* would with his huge armie pursue him in that mountainie countrey, flying from hill to hill, and as it were from strength to strength. Others better aduised, thought those mountaines to be no places to trust vnto, and therefore that it were more honourable and as free from danger, for him to returne againe to *AMASIA*, and there to liue amongst his subjects, protecting them in such sort as he might, and not to leaue them for a prey to euery stragling company of the rude Tartarians. Which counsell he followed, as most reasonable: & being ready to set forward, the spie before by him sent into *Tamerlanes* campe, returned, certifying him, That he had seen his father *Baiaſet* in good health in the Tartars campe, but could not by any means speake with him by reason of the straight guard set ouer him: and that all that part of *ASIA* was by *Tamerlane* pos-

Mahomet sent a spie into *Tamerlane* his campe.

Mahomet fifth king of the Turkes.

possessed, who then with his armie wintred in *CARIA* and *LYSIA*: whereupon *Mahomet* returned backe againe to *AMASIA*: where he had not long staid, but that newes was brought vnto him, That one of the Tartarian princes called *Cara Duletſchach* (that is to say, the fortunate blacke king) was with an armie of twentie thousand comming to spoile his countrey, being giuen him by *Tamerlane*. With which newes he was exceedingly troubled. Wherefore with all speed calling together his forces, for the safeguard of his countrey, he sent before a spie to discouer the enemies doings. This diligent spie returned in all haſt, told *Mahomet*, That *Cara Dulet* lay at the towne of *EGIOLVIS* in *GALATIA*, in great securitie, lauding about him but a small power: for that he fearing no danger, had at that time disperſed his armie, to seeke after pillage abroad in the countrey. *Mahomet* taking hold of this oportunitie, marched thither with great celeritie, and suddenly setting vpon *Cara Dulet*, ouercame him. In which conflict *Cara Dulet* himselfe was shot through the head with an arrow and slaine, and his armie vtterly diſcomfited. *Mahomet* returning backe to *AMASIA* with victorie, refreshed and rewarded his souldiours, yet no lesse carefull for the safetie of his kingdom than before.

Cara Dulet slain.

Shortly after, he was aduertised that *Cubad Oglu* with a great armie laied hard siege to the citie of *CASARTIA* in *CAPADOCIA*, and was like in short time to take it, if it were not speedily relieved. By taking of which citie, that Tartar prince was like to make a great entrance, to the hazzarding of the whole countrey. Wherefore *Mahomet* hauing his armie alwaies in readinesse, marched day and night with such speed to *CASARTIA*, as that he was vpon *Cubad Oglu* before he was aware of his comming, and there slew most of his souldiours, and put him with the rest to flight. After that, hee entered into *Cubad Oglu* his countrey in *PONTVS*, and greuously spoiled and destroyed the same: at which time, he also by force wane the strong castle *PALTAT* in the confines of *PHRYGIA*.

Immediately after that, *Inall Oglu* another of *Tamerlanes* captaines (which at their pleasure with-out let, foraged all the countreys of the lesser *ASIA*, during the time that *Tamerlane* made his abode within the Turkes dominions) vpon the suddaine entered into *CAPADOCIA* with an armie of twentie thousand fighting men, killing the inhabitants, and spoiling the countrey before him: so that the people for feare left their dwellings, and fled into the woods and mountaines to hide themselves from his furie. Whereof *Mahomet*, hearing, was therewith exceedingly greeued, and wrote vnto him as followeth:

Sultan Mahomet vnto the Prince Inall Oglu.

Whereas without any iust or lawfull cause, or any war proclaimed, you haue invaded our kingdom, and cease not cruelly to kill our subjects, by God committed to our protection; and to spoile their wealth and labours, to the great disturbance of the Mahometan common weale; and make no end of your malice and cruelty: you doe therein quite digresse from the manners and lawes of the true Mahometans or right beleeuers. For if thou wouldest not onely bee accounted, but indeed bee a true Musul-man, thou shouldest forthwith depart out of my kingdom with thine armie; thou shouldest not thus shed the innocent blood, or without cause thus wrong my people: but forasmuch as thou knowest not what besee-meth thee, neither wilt listen vnto good counsaile, but wilfully proceed in thy wicked purpose; falsely persuading thy selfe, this my kingdom to bee destitute of a lawfull inheritor; and therefore doeſt so great wrong and iniurie vnto the defendours of the true Mahometan religion: I would thou shouldest know, that I with my so often victorious armie, will shortly by the power of God come against thee, and in plaine field according to thy deserts chastise thee. Therefore whileſt thou yet mayest, reclaim thy selfe, and proceed not too farre in thine obstinacie: too late repentance did neuer man yet good. Thus much we thought good to aduerſe thee, that thou shouldest not bee ignorant of our purpose, but mightest so better consider and dispose both of thy selfe and thine affaires. In the yeare after the departure of the great Prophet Mahomet 806.

Mahomet his letters to Inall Oglu the Tartar Prince.

Vnto which letters *Inall Oglu* returned this answer in writing.

Prince Inall Oglu to Mahomet.

Why doeſt thou Mahomet with such letters provoke me? why doeſt thou so vniuſally taunt me? be-

X iij

Inall Oglu his answer to Mahomet.

Mahomet fifth king of the Turkes.

to intreat) fifth king of the Turkes: who after great and dangerous wars, as well against his own brethren, as his fortaime enemies, was at length solely inuested in the Turkish kingdome, about ten yeares after the captiuitie of his father *Baiaſet*, as shall hereafter be declared.

The true poſſeſſion of *Baiaſet*.

Baiaſet after the manner of the Turkish kings, hauing laied vp the hope of his poſteritie in the common treaſure houſe of nature, rather than in the bodie of one lawfull wife, had by diuers wiues and concubines ſeuſon ſonnes, *Ertoghrul*, otherwiſe called *Orthobules*, *Emer-Soliman*, *Muſtaſpha-Zelebi* (that is to ſay, the noble) *Iſa-Zelebi*, *Muſa-Zelebi*, *Sultan Mahomet*, and *Cafan-Zelebi*. Of whom, *Ertoghrul* the eldeſt was loſt in the wars againſt *Cafi Buichaniden*, as is before ſaid in the life of *Baiaſet*. *Muſtaſpha* was ſlaine in the great battaile againſt *Tamerlane*, and there buried in the bed of fame. *Cafan* the yongelt was a child in *Baiaſet* his court, when his father was taken, and afterwards with his ſiſter *Fatime* deliuered as hoſtages, by their brother *Solyman*, vnto *Emmanuel* the emperour of CONSTANTINOPLE, where they both happily became Chriſtians, and ſo ſhortly after died.

Solyman was by *Aliu Baſſa* preſident of *Baiaſet* his counſell, and other great captaines, conueyed out of the battaile againſt *Tamerlane*, into EUROPE: and ſo by them at HADRIANOPOLE ſaluted Sultan. *Mahomet* fled out of the ſame battaile to AMASIA in CAPADOCIA, where he was in his fathers time gouernour. Iſa hearing of his fathers captiuitie, after the departure of *Tamerlane* with his Tartars, ſeized vpon PRUSA, a citie of BITHYNIA, the ancient ſeat of the Turkish kings, with the countrey adioyning, and there reigned as king. *Muſa-Zelebi* was taken priſoner with *Baiaſet* his father, and afterwards ſet at libertie by *Tamerlane*. But of their fortunes more ſhall be ſaid in this hitoriſe following.

Mahomet Go-
uerneur of Amaſia.

Mahomet was but ſitcene yeares old, when his father *Baiaſet* in the vnfortunate battaile at mount STELLA was taken priſoner, and was at the ſame time by his appointment gouernour of AMASIA, with a great part of CAPADOCIA adioyning: which places became ſo troubleſome after the great victorie of *Tamerlane*, that the Turkes in that countrey were glad day and night for the ſafegard of themſelues, their wiues, and children, to keepe continuall watch and ward: inſomuch, that many of them, wearied with thoſe troubles, and deſpairing of better times, went into voluntarie exile, becauſe they would not ſee ſo great miſeries: which thing much greued young *Mahomet*. Wherefore calling vnto him his moſt faithfull counſellors, to conſult what courſe to take in the middeſt of ſo many dangers, it was by generall conſent thought beſt (for ſo much as they could not without apparent danger continue nere vnto *Tamerlane* his forces) to get themſelues farther off into places of more ſtrength: and from thence to expect the departure of their enemies, and in the meane time to content themſelues with ſuch aduantages as occaſion and chance of war might miniſter; cutting them ſhort by policie, whom they were not able to meet in the plaine field: and ſo by little and little to weaken or wearie their mightie ſtragling enemies: For albeit that *Tamerlane* himſelfe was not nere him, as then lying in CARTA; yet did the captaines of his great and victorior armie, at their pleaſure ſpoile and forrage the countries ſane and nere all ouer the leſſer ASIA. Vpon this reſolution, hee with all his forces departed from AMASIA, to DERBY in PAPHLAGONIA: where by the way he encountered with *Cara Iahia*, a nigh kinsman to the prince *Iſfendiari* of CASTAMONA, his enemy; whom he put to flight, with great ſlaughter of his men. This was the beginning of *Mahomet* his good fortune. From thence he went to KAREDEN, and there ſtaying certaine daies, ſent a ſpie into *Tamerlane* his campe, to ſee how all things went there: and afterwards entered againe into counſell with his captaines concerning his farther proceedings. In which conſultation, ſome were of opinion, That it was beſt for him to withdraw himſelfe into the mountaines of the leſſer ASIA, as a place of good ſafetie, vntill the departure of *Tamerlane*, which was ſhortly hoped for: for that it was not to be thought that *Tamerlane* would with his huge armie purſue him in that mountainie countrey, flying from hill to hill, and as it were from ſtrength to ſtrength. Others better aduiſed, thought thoſe mountaines to be no places to truſt vnto, and therefore that it were more honourable and as free from danger, for him to retorne againe to AMASIA, and there to liue amongſt his ſubjects, protecting them in ſuch ſort as he might, and not to leaue them for a prei to euery ſtragling company of the rude Tartarians. Which counſell he followed, as moſt reaſonable: & being ready to ſet forward, the ſpie before by him ſent into *Tamerlane* his campe, returned, certifying him, That he had ſeen his father *Baiaſet* in good health in the Tartars campe, but could not by any means ſpeake with him by reaſon of the ſtraight guard ſet ouer him: and that all that part of ASIA was by *Tamerlane* poſ-

Mahomet ſent
deſp ſpies into
Tamerlane his
campe.

Mahomet fifth king of the Turkes.

poſſeſſed, who then with his armie wintred in CARTA and LYSIA: when vpon *Mahomet* returned backe againe to AMASIA: where he had not long ſtaied, but that newes was brought vnto him, That one of the Tartarian princes called *Cara Duletſchach* (that is to ſay, the fortunat blacke king) was with an armie of twentie thouſand comming to ſpoile his countrey, being giuen him by *Tamerlane*. With which newes he was exceedingly troubled. Wherefore with all ſpeed calling together his forces, for the ſafegard of his countrey, he ſent before a ſpie to diſcouer the enemies doings. This diligent ſpie returning in all haſt, told *Mahomet*, That *Cara Dulet* lay at the towne of BOGIOLVS in GALATIA, in great ſecuritie, lauing about him but a ſmall power; for that he fearing no danger, had at that time diſperſed his armie, to ſeek after pillage abroad in the countrey. *Mahomet* taking hold of this oportunitie, marched thither with great celeritie, and ſuddenly ſetting vpon *Cara Dulet*, ouercame him. In which conflict *Cara Dulet* himſelfe was ſhot through the head with an arrow and ſlaine, and his armie vtterly diſcomfited. *Mahomet* returning backe to AMASIA with victorie, reſtrefhed and rewarded his ſouldiors, yet no leſſe carefull for the ſafetie of his kingdome than before.

Cara Dulet
ſlaine.

Shortly after, he was aduertified that *Cubad Ogli* with a great armie laied hard ſiege to the citie of CESARTIAN CAPADOCIA, and was like in ſhort time to take it, if it were not ſpeedily releued. By taking of which citie, that Tartar prince was like to make a great entrance, to the hazzarding of the whole countrey. Wherefore *Mahomet* hauing his armie alwayes in readineſſe, marched day and night with ſuch ſpeed to CESARTIA, as that he was vpon *Cubad Ogli* before he was aware of his comming, and there ſlew moſt of his ſouldiours, and put him with the reſt to flight. After that, hee entred into *Cubad Ogli* his countrey in PONTVS, and greedouſly ſpoiled and deſtroied the ſame: at which time, he alſo by force wan the ſtrong caſtle PELTA in the confines of PHRIGIA.

Immediatly after that, *Inall Ogli* another of *Tamerlane* his captaines (which at their pleaſure without let, forraged all the countreys of the leſſer ASIA, during the time that *Tamerlane* made his abode within the Turkes dominions) vpon the ſuddaine entred into CAPADOCIA with an armie of twentie thouſand fighting men, killing the inhabitants, and ſpoiling the countrey before him: ſo that the people for feare left their dwellings, and fled into the woods and mountaines to hide themſelues from his furie. Whereof *Mahomet* hearing, was therewith exceedingly greued, and wrote vnto him as followeth:

Sultan Mahomet vnto the Prince Inall Ogli.

Whereas without any juſt or lawfull cauſe, or any war proclaimed, you haue inuaded our kingdome, and ceaſe not cruelly to kill our ſubjects, by God committed to our protection; and to ſpoile their wealth and labours, to the great diſturbance of the Mahometan common weale; and make no end of your malice and crueltie: you doe therein quite digreſſe from the manners and lawes of the true Mahometans or right beleeuers. For if thou wouldeſt not onely bee accounted, but indeed bee a true Maſul-man, thou ſhouldeſt forthwith depart out of my kingdome with thine armie; thou ſhouldeſt not thus ſhed the innocent blood, or without cauſe thus wrong my people: but ſo far as thou knoweſt not what beſeemeth thee, neither wilt liſten vnto good counſaile, but wilfully proceed in thy wicked purpoſe, falſely perſuading thy ſelfe, this my kingdome to bee deſtitute of a lawfull inheritor; and therefore doeſt ſo great wrong and iniurie vnto the defendours of the true Mahometan religion: I would thou ſhouldeſt know, that I with my ſo often victorior armie, will ſhortly by the power of God come againſt thee, and in plaine field according to thy deſerts chaſtiſe thee. Therefore whileſt thou yet mayeſt reclaim thy ſelfe, and proceed not too farre in thine obſtinacie: too late repentance did neuer man yet good. Thus much we thought good to aduerſe thee, that thou ſhouldeſt not bee ignorant of our purpoſe, but mighteſt ſo better conſider and diſpoſe both of thy ſelfe and thine affaires. In the yeare after the departure of the great Prophet Mahomet 806.

Mahomet his
letters to *Inall*
Ogli the Tartar
Prince.

Vnto which letters *Inall Ogli* returned this anſwere in writing.

Prince Inall Ogli to Mahomet.

Why doeſt thou Mahomet with ſuch letters provoke me? why doeſt thou ſo vniuſually taunt me? be-

X iij

Inall Ogli his
anſwere to *Mahomet*.

ing thy selfe but a boy and in truth a verie child. It becometh thee not to haue entred into these countreys, or to lay hands thereon, wrongfully gracing thy selfe with the title of a Sultan. Neither is there any cause, why thou shouldst complaine that I should lie in waight or seek after thy life, thy kingdom, or any thing that thine is. I challenge vnto my selfe this kingdom, but none of thine: out of which it is reason for thee, as a wrongfull intruder of thy selfe, to depart; whom otherwise I will forthwith thrust out, and joyne the same vnto the rest of my territories. Wherefore except thou without delay get thee packing, and cease to oppose thy selfe against my designs. I denounce vnto thee all the calamities of warre: and wish thee with speede to prepare thy selfe to battaile, for that I meane shortly to meet with thee. This yeare of our great Prophet, 806.

In all Oglower-
throwne by Ma-
homet.

Shortly after, Mahomet according to his promise meeting with this Tartar prince, by plaine force ouerthrew him, and had of him a notable victorie.

The like good hap he had also not long after, against *Cosser Oglu*, and *Kiupeck Oglu*, two other Tartarian captaines, at the castle of *CHARACHIZAR* and the plaine of *ARTUCK OVA*. And hearing that one *Mesites*, a Turk, had fortified himselfe in the ruines of *SEBASTIA*, and from thence spoiled the countrey round about, he sent *Baiazet* one of his Bassaes against him; who in short time tooke him and brought him bound vnto him: by whom he was adjudged to die. But seeing in the man an inuincible courage, and contempt of death, at such time as he should haue been executed; mooued therewith, he gaue him his pardon: for which he euer after continued vnto him faithfull, and did him great seruice.

Mahomet hauing many times thus vanquished the stragling Tartarian princes, which had fought the spoile of his countrey, became thereby famous amongst the great commanders of *Tamerlane* his armie: in so much that the bruit of his name came at length to *Tamerlane* his care, yet lying in the lesser *ASIA*: who as he thought it not worth his greatnesse and labour, himselfe in person to goe against so weak an enemy; so he thought it not good or conuenient quite to neglect him, but by some other meanes (if he could) to ouertake him. For which purpose he began to speake many times verie honourably of him, highly commending his great valour and forwardnesse in so tender yeares. And calling for *Baiazet*, told him what great commendation he had heard of his sonne *Mahomet*, and that he was therefore verie desirous to see him: where if he found that true which was reported of his great vertues, he would bestow one of his daughters vpon him in marriage, with many other great preferments: and therefore willed *Baiazet* to write vnto him, Not to doubt to come vnto him, to the great good both of himselfe, and his father. VVhich thing *Baiazet* at the first doubting the worst, requested *Tamerlane* not to beleue of his sonne, being yet verie young and not worthie of so great a fauour. Neuerthelesse partly perswaded by *Tamerlane* his protestations, and importuned by him that might now command him: hee with an euill will wrote to his sonne *Mahomet* to such effect as *Tamerlane* required. VVith which letters, and others of like purport from himselfe, with many rich presents, *Tamerlane* sent *Hozza Mahomet*, (one of his secret counsellours) embassadour to *Mahomet*, of whom he was right honourably receiued, and likewise entertained. But hauing read the aforesaid letters, and thereby vnderstood the cause of his comming; hee entred into counsaile with the great Bassaes about him, whether he were best to goe to *Tamerlane* or not. VVhere his counsellours were all cleere of one opinion, That it was not good for him to aduenture his person to the danger of such a journey, or the mercie of so mightie an enemy, of whose faith he had no assurance. And if so be (said they) he therewith offended, will by force seek to haue you, we at his comming will take the refuge of the woods and mountaines, and there shroud our selues vntill he be departed againe: for that he with his huge armie cannot here long stay in this bare countrey, for want of necessaries. Neuerthelesse *Mahomet* hoping his journey might be both for the good of his father, and his owne aduancement; contrarie to the mind of all his counsellours, resolved to goe: and so hauing prepared all things needfull for the honour and safetie of his journey; set forward. But as he was vpon the way in the marches of *PONTVS*, *Carahabia* whom he had before ouerthrowne, vnderstanding of his comming that way, thinking now to bee reuenged; and hauing got vnto him some of the prince *Isfendiars* forces, set vpon him by the way: but with as euill successe as before, most of his men being there by *Mahomet* slaine, and himselfe glad shamefully to flie. So traauiling on further, hee vnderstood that *Alis Beg*, a great lord in those countreys, went about to intercept him also: which caused him in such hast to goe on, that hee

was

was vpon *Alis*, before he was aware of his comming, or well prouided for him: so that for feare he was glad to betake himselfe to flight. *Mahomet* considering the danger he had escaped in that journey, and that the neerer he came to *Tamerlane*, the more like hee was to fall into greater, although happily without *Tamerlane* his knowledge: by the aduice of his graue and faithfull counsellours, resolved to go no further. Wherefore calling vnto him *Tamerlane* his embassadour hee thus spake vnto him:

Thou see the dangers and injuries I endure in this my journey, and my mind forbodeth greater to ensue: for which causes I may not goe any further, but here returne. Commend me therefore I pray you vnto the most mightie *Tamerlane*, with my father: and tell them what dangers haue happened vnto me vpon the way. Which considered, I hope they will haue me excused: For which purpose I will also send in your companie an embassadour of mine owne.

Mahomet his
speech to Tamer-
lane's embassadour

Mahomet at that time had with him a graue, wise, and learned man, called *Sophis Baiazet*, sometime his schoolemaister: whom he sent embassadour to *Tamerlane* and his father, to haue him vnto them both excused: and so departed, he homewards leauing the way he came (for feare of further danger): and they towards *Tamerlane*, who honourably receiued *Mahomet* his embassadours and letters. But taking pleasure in the man sent vnto him, gaue him his honourable entertainment, but would neuer after suffer him to returne againe vnto his maister.

It was not long after, but that old *Baiazet* died of impatiencie (as is aforesaid): whose dead bodie *Tamerlane* left at *APROPOLIS* with the prince *German*, to be deliuered vnto his sonne *Mahomet*; with *Musa* his elder brother (who all this while had ben kept prisoner with *Tamerlane*) if *Mahomet* should require them. And so the mightie prince *Tamerlane*, after he had long time wasted *PHRYGIA*, *CARIA*, *LYDIA*, with the most part of the lesser *ASIA*; and conquered all *SIRIA*, *IUDEA*, *EGYPT*, and *PERSIA*, with many other great countreys and prouinces; returned at last into his owne kingdom, vnto the great citie of *SAMARCAND*, which hee woonderfully enlarged, and beautified with the spoiles of a great part of the world, before by him wasted: where he afterwards in great peace and glorie reigned, no lesse honoured than feared of all the princes of the East. To the terror of whom, and for the assuring of his estate, he kept alwaies a standing armie of fortie thousand horse, and threescore thousand foot readie at all assaies: beside other his great garrisons which he kept in *SIRIA*, *EGYPT*, *CHINA*, and *CAMBALV*; as also against the *Muscovits* and *Turks*; being commonly in euery place threescore thousand strong, though not still in field, but as occasion required. Vntill that at length hearing of the rising againe of the Turkish kingdom, vnder the *Osman* princes, the sonnes of *Baiazet*, with whom the oppressed *Mamelukes* of *EGYPT*, and the Greeke emperor (as doubtfull of his estate) had now also for feare of him combined themselves: he by the perswasion of *Axalla* (then Generall of his imperiall armie) made great preparation for a second expedition to be made for the vter rooting out of the *Osman* familie, and the conquest of the Greeke empire. But hauing now all things in readinesse, and also giuen a good beginning vnto these his intended conquests, (one of the Turks great Bassaes being by *Axalla* his lieutenant in a great battaile ouerthrowne, and thirtie thousand of the Turks slaine) hee in the midst of these his great hopes, as also of his greatest power, died of an Ague the 27 daie of Ianuarie, in the yeare of our lord 1402. A little before whose death, appeared a great and terrible blasing starre, portending as it were vnto the world the death of so great a prince. Hee was a man of the middle stature, somewhat narrow in the shoulders, otherwise well limmed, and of a great strength. In his eies fat such a rare majestic, as a man could hardly endure to behold them without closing of his owne: and many in talking with him, and often beholding of him became dumbe; which caused him oftentimes with a comely modestie to abstain from looking too earnestly vpon such as spake vnto him, or discoursed with him. All the rest of his visage was amiable and well proportioned: he had but little haire on his chinne; and ware the haire of his head long and curled, contrarie to the manner of the *Tartars*, who shaued their heads, hauing the same alwaies couered: whereas he contrariwise was for the most part bareheaded, commanding his sonne also to be so by his tutors brought vp: his haire was of a dark colour, somewhat drawing toward a violet right beautifull to behold: which his mother comming of the race of *Sampson* (as he gaue it out) willed him to nourish, in token of his descent: the cause that made him to be the more respected of his men of war; most part of them beleeuing that in those haire was some rare vertue, or rather some fatall destinie: an old practise of many great commanders of former ages, to fill the heads of their souldiours with

The great power
Tamerlane con-
tinually kept

The death of
Tamerlane.

The description
of Tamerlane.

Some

Mahomet fifth king of the Turks.

some strange opinion conceiued of them, to bee the more of them honoured; as if in them had ben some one thing, or other more than in other men. His lively counterfeit, as I find it expressed by them that write the best of him, you may here behold, with the testimonie of his greatnelle following:

TAMERLANE.



Paulus Iouis
us Illust. vi-
rorum, Elog.
lib. 1. pag. 97.

*Ille nouus Xerxes, orientis victor, & ingens
Quacunque permearet, horror gentium:
Compleuit totos Scythico qui milite campos,
Hoc se ferebat ore trux Tamerlanes.*

Cutus in aduentum tuta altis mœnibus vrbes

Ipsūque terra contremiscebat solum;

Ipsi adeo montes, ipsa per denia vallis,

Vim Barbarorum non ferebant agminum.

Quare ab caucaseis Asiam conuallibus omnem,

Ad usque Nilū flumina armis subdidit;

Eufratem, & Tigrim, & rapidum tranxit Orontem;

Vi, vastitate, cæde, cuncta proterens;

Vtque olim fœda cum tempestate coorta

Erumptit atra nube fulmen igneum!

Obuia quæque cadens perumpit, & alæ sonanti

Templa atque solidas strage turres disiecit.

Subsidit vasto Tellus labefacta fragor;

Humilisque mentes heruit humilis paucor:

Hand

Mahomet fifth king of the Turks.

*Hand secus ille viam ferro molitus, & igni,
Euerit arces, opida equauit solo.
Regem Asia horribili capium impete Baiazetem
Caucaeque clausum ferrea circumtulit.
Hæc agitantem illum, & spirantem immania iussa
Quæ cunctis undique orbis expauesceret;
Exiguo cæca domitum molimine febris
Fatalis vno soluit hora triduo.
Deque tot insania opibus, de tot modo regnis,
Reliqua vna paruo gleba texit puluere.*

In English thus,

Of Tamerlane a Xerxes new, which did the East subdew,
And in all places where he came, the nations ouerthrew;
That filld the fields with Scythian troupes, brought from those climates cold,
This was the feature and the shape which thou doest here behold.
At whose approach, the strongest townes could small resistance make,
The earth it selfe vnder his feet seeming for feare to quake.
The mountaines high, mating the skie, and vncouth valleys low,
Vnable were the force to beare, where he did come or goe.
All ASIA from mount CAYCASVS, vnto the bankes of NILE,
With valiant hand he vanquished and made his force to feele.
EUPHRATES, TIGRIS, and the swift ORONTES gaue him way,
With force, wast, and destruction great, on what he list to prey.
And as in tempests great oft times, when all things goe to wracke,
The fierie lightning flashing forth, out of the clouds so blacke,
Doth breake downe what it lights vpon, and with a dreadfull fall
Ouerthrowes the temples, with their towers, and stately buildings all,
So that the earth dismayd therewith, doth lower downe descend,
And fearefull wights wrapt vp in woe, are brought to their wits end:
In like sort he with fire and sword seeking all to confound,
The strongest castles, towers, and townes, laid equall with the ground.
And like an whirlewind taking vp great Baiazet away,
Coupt vp in cage, so carried him, for his disport and play.
But whilest he rageth thus about, and plotteth in his head
Such hard commaunds and heauie doomes, as all the world should dread:
A little feauer in three fits, oppressed him with woe,
And cloasing vp his vitall spirits, did lay his head full low.
So that for all the world of wealth and kingdomes he possest,
The small remainder of himselfe in simple graue doth rest.

His great empire by himselfe deuided betwixt his sonnes, was by their discord, and the ambition of some of their disloyall subjects, in short time after brought to great confusion, and his posteritie utterly rooted out by *Vjun-Cassans*, the Armenian prince, as in the processe of this historie may appeare. But to returne againe vnto our purpose, *Mahomet* deliuered of his greatest feare, by the departure of Tamerlane out of those countie, determined to goe to PRUSA in BYTHINIA, where his brother *Isa* as then reigned: But vnderstanding that *Isa* had before taken the straits whereby he should passe the mount HORMINVS, he tooke another way about, & came to PALBO-CASTRON, where the valiant capitaine *Eine-beg-Sub-bassa* then remained: who with all honor and gladnesse receiued him, and there for certain daies refreshed both him and his armie. Afterwards greater forces still repairing vnto him, he marched thence to VLEAD, called in ancient time LOPADIVM. Of whose comming *Isa* before vnderstanding, and hauing assembled his armie, marched thither also, and encamped on the other side of the town towards PRUSA, ready to giue him battaile. But *Mahomet* seeing his brother so forward, consulted with his

*Mahomet goeth
against his brother
Isa.*

Mahomet fifth king of the Turks.

captaines what were best to bee done : where *Eine Sub-bassa* a man of great experience, and of late one of *Baiaſet* his great counsellours and captaines, told him; That it was not for their honours being brethren, to pollute their hands one in the others bloods; but to assaie if the quarrell might by some other good meanes be composed, and they made friends. For which purpose *Mahomet* presently sent letters vnto his brother *Isa*, concerning the partition of their fathers kingdome in *ASIA* betwixt them: offering vnto him the prouinces of *AIDINIA*, *SARYCHANIA*, *GERMEANIA*, *CHARASIA*, *CHARAMANTIA*, with other countreys to them belonging: so that he might haue *PRVSA* with all the other prouinces about the saide. Which letters, when *Isa* had read, and saw that *Mahomet* offered him but titles for kingdomes, and such countreys as were rather sometimes tributaries vnto their father *Baiaſet*, than any part of his kingdome, and now of late by *Tamerlane* againe restored vnto their ancient libertie and gouernours, sharing out the best, and strongest part thereof vnto himselfe, he brake forth into choler and said:

The answer of
Isa to Mahomet
his offer.

What? doth not my fathers kingdome of right belong vnto me being the elder brother? Mahomet is yet but a youth, and scarce crept out of the shell: by what right then can hee claime my fathers kingdome as his inheritance? If he can by the sword win it, let him take it, and so hold it.

Mahomet hauing receiued this answer, prepared himselfe to the field, where his brother as readie as himselfe, stood expecting his comming: and hauing set his armie in order of battaile, gaue the first charge: which was the beginning of a most cruell and bloodie fight, wherein as it commonly falleth out in doubtfull battailes, many were on both sides slaine. At last the fortune of *Mahomet* preuailling, *Isa* his armie began to retire: which he seeing, left nothing vndone for the encouraging of his fainting souldiours, which belonged to a politicke Generall, or valiant souldiour to doe; but presing into the thickest of his enemies, there with his owne hand slew the ancient and valiant captaine *Eine Subbassa*, who had many times beene Generall of the footmen in old *Batazet* his warres. But what preuaileth courage against euill fortune? *Isa* must either flie or die. And therefore hauing done what he could in so desperate a case, being himselfe on euerie side forsaken, in the end was glad himselfe to flie to the sea side: where finding a shippe readie bound for *CONSTANTINOPLE*, he passed ouer therether in fastie, and there yeclded himselfe vnto the protection of the Greeke emperour *Emanuel*. In this chase *Mahomet* his souldiours tooke the valiant captaine *Temurtases* prisoner, another of *Baiaſet* his great commanders, and brought him to *Mahomet*: who in reuenge of the death of *Eine*, commaunded his head presently to be smitten off, and his bodie to be hanged vpon a tree by the hie way side. Of this victorie, *Mahomet* certified his brother *Solyman* at *HADRIANOPLE*, and in token thereof sent him *Temurtases* his head. This battaile was much spoken of, both for that it was fought betwixt two brethren; and also for the death of the two famous old captains *Eine* and *Temurtases*, who both together as louing friends, had fortunadly fought many great battels vnder *Baiaſet* his ensignes; and now as it were by destinie, and against their wils, without any priuat grudge, were both drawne into contrarie factions and slaine: both whilst they liued wishing a good peace betwixt the ambitious brethren. But as the Turks vse to say, *What is by God written in a mans forehead before his birth, cannot in his life be auoided.*

After this victorie, *Mahomet* thiniking himselfe now in sure possession of all his fathers dominions in *ASIA*, led his armie to *PRVSA*, where he was of the citizens joyfully receiued as their Sultan: and for his great bountie, of all men highly commended and honoured. From thence he went to *NICA*, and so to *NEAPOLIS* and there in both places was likewise receiued. Thether resorted vnto him all the garrisons of *CARASINA*, *SARYCHANIA*, and *AIDINIA*, with other the inhabitants of those countreys, with all loyaltie submitting themselues vnto him, with such honour and reuerence as belonged to their king.

All things thus fortie according to his desire in *ASIA*, he sent to the prince *Germean* for the bodie of his father *Bataſet*, and for his brother *Musa*, which were there left by *Tamerlane*, as is before declared. This dead bodie was by the same prince at the request of *Mahomet*, with great solemnitie sent to *PRVSA*, and there sumptuously buried, with all the Turkish obsequies and ceremonies: the Turkish Alcoran or booke of their law, being read seauen daies vpon his tombe. All which time great chere was kept for all commers, and much giuen to the poore (vpon the Turkish deuotion) for *Baiaſet* his soule: but aboue all others, exceeding bountie was extended to the posteritie of their prophet *Mahomet*; which are knowne from others amongst the Mahometans, by the colour of their apparell, which is all greene, and not lawfull to be wotne of any but

The bodie of
Bataſet
honoured
by buriall
as
Turs.

Mahomet fifth king of the Turks.

but of them: so that they were by the bountie of *Mahomet* at that time greatly enriched. He also endowed the Abbey which his father had there lately built, with great lands and possessions for the maintenance thereof. All which things done, and the solemnitie past, he went in progresse to all parts of his kingdome, and was in euerie place joyfully receiued, and so afterwarde returned to *AMASTIA*: and there in great pleasure spent that summer. Where we will for a while leaue him to see what *Solyman* his eldest brother in the meane time doth at *HADRIANOPLE*: whole liuely countenance is by the skilfull workemans hand thus expressed.



*Non malus es nisi te enervet male suada voluptas
Quicque minus bello conuenit ingluuiis
Hospitio Mirxi fruitur iam Musa Valachi:
Ille tuum vi gelat pronus in exitium.*

IAC. BOISARDVS.

Euill art thou not, except leaue lust doe hasten on thy fall:
Or riot, which becometh not a martiall man at all.
Thy brother *Musa* entertained by *Marke* to thine annoy,
Doth take no rest, but waiteth still how he may thee destroy.

Solyman

Soliman the eldest sonne of *Baiazet* (who kept his court at *HADRIANOPLE*, there peaceably reigning all this while ouer the countries which his father *Baiazet* sometime possessed in *EUROPE*) hearing what his brother *Mahomet* had done, and how violently against all right hee had driuen *Isa* out of *PRUSA*, and made him glad to flie to *CONSTANTINOPLE*: was with this his outrageous dealing much offended, and thereupon calling vnto him his Bassaes & faithfull counsellors, declared vnto them the vnnaturall proceedings of *Mahomet* against his brother *Isa*. Wherein (said he) he doth me also great wrong in taking vpon him the soueraignie ouer those great dominions and countries in *ASIA*, which of right belong to me his eldest brother, and not to him the youngest of six. In reuenge of which iniurie and wrong, I intend in mine owne right to passe ouer into *ASIA* with a strong armie, and by force of armes to recouer mine inheritance there. If I may not otherwise come by it. Vnto which speech one of his graue counsellors replied: That in his opinion it was not the best course for himselfe to goe in person into those wars. For although (said he) your brother *Mahomet* be but young, and therefore by your greatnesse lesse accounted of, yet is his fortune great, and his experience aboute his yeares. None haue yet had to doe with him, but they haue had yongh of him: yea, it is worth the noting, how politically he hath borne himselfe for his owne safetie and the safeguard of the countries which he gouerned, all the while that the great and mightie *Tamerlane* with his innumerable forces couered the face of the countries fast by him: most part whereof, *Mahomet* hath now since his departure, againe recouered. Wherefore it were best for you to send for your angrie brother *Isa*, to *CONSTANTINOPLE*, and to make him generall of the armie you intend to send into *ASIA* against *Mahomet*. In which wayes it is not unlike, but that one of your brethren will be lost, whereby you shall haue one competitor of your kingdom the lesse. So shall you afterwards with lesse trouble subdue him that is left, or at leastwise please him with some part of that which they haue so mightily striuen for.

Good counsell.

Isa with a great armie sent by his brother *Solyman* into *Asa* against *Mahomet*.

This counsell was of *Soliman* and all the rest well liked of, and approued. So was *Isa* presently sent for vnto *CONSTANTINOPLE*, and a great armie leuiued. Who being come to *HADRIANOPLE*, was by *Soliman* courteously welcommed, and made generall of his armie: and there with shipped ouer the strait of *HELLESPONTVS* into *ASIA*. Where at his first coming, hee possessed the whole countrey of *CARASIA* or *LYDIA*: and passing further, in all places where he came, was receiued of the people with great reuerence; they all promising him their obedience, if it were his fortune to preuaile against his younger brother *Mahomet*: where with he held himselfe well contented. So comming to the citie of *BEGBAZER*, otherwise called *DESPOTOPOLIS*, he there wintered with his armie. In which time, hee with many kind and louing letters still directed to *Mahomet* as his younger brother, seemed to be glad that he was so well obeyed and liked of by his subjects: and that presuming of his loue and fauour, he was as his louing brother, and not as an enemy come into *ASIA*, to entreat with him of such matters as much concerned the good of them both. Whereunto *Mahomet* with like dissimulation answered, That hee was right glad of his comming, for which he needed not (as he said) to make any excuse; for that he was entered into a kingdom, in part his owne, and the rest open before him: in token whereof, he commaunded a rich garment to be cast vpon the messenger as a fauor, sending also diuers rich presents vnto his brother, with great prouision of victuals, and other necessities for his souldiers.

But Winter past, and the Spring come, *Isa* marched with his armie to *PRUSA*, and there shewed vnto the citizens the louing letters he had at sundry times before receiued from *Mahomet*: and telling them that hee was in good hope that they should in short time right well agree; requested to haue the citie deliuered vnto him, sometime their soueraigne: whereinto the better sort of the citizens had retired themselves, and made fast the gates against him: but when he saw that he could by no faire words or pollicie gaine the possession of the citie, enraged with that repulse, he set fire vpon that goodly citie, and burnt it downe to the ground. *Mahomet* not ignorant how his brother *Isa* romed vp and downe his kingdom, vising all kindnesse to such as yielded vnto him; and exercising no lesse crueltie vpon such as refused his obedience: and how that hee had rased the royall citie of *PRUSA*: hauing gathered a strong armie, marched in ten daies from *AMASIA* to *PRUSA*, and by the way meeting with his brother *Isa*, in a great battaile ouerthrew him with all his forces. *Isa* himselfe, accompanied with no more but ten persons, fled vnto *CASTAMONA*, prince *Isfendiar* his citie: who hearing of his arrival there, entertained him with all the honour he could; in recompence of the great friendship he had before found at his hands, at what time he was an humble suter in his father *Baiazet* his court.

Prusa burnt by *Isa*.

Mahomet comming to *PRUSA*, grieued exceedingly to see that faire citie so destroyed: yet to comfort the poore citizens, he gaue exceeding summes of money to be bestowed amongst them, and tooke order for the new building of the citie, and there continued certaine daies himselfe to see the worke begun.

Isa in the meane time, hauing incited the prince *Isfendiar* in his quarrell to invade his brother *Mahomet*, and going thither himselfe in person, was by him now the third time ouerthrowne and put to flight. Neuertheless he with some small forces, twice afterwards entred into *Mahomet*'s dominion, but finding few or none willing to follow his euill fortune, was glad at last to flie to the prince of *SMIRNA*, by whom he was both honourably entertained and comforted.

This prince of *SMIRNA* moued with *Isa* his pitifull complaints, in so manifest a wrong, did not onely promise him what helpe he could of himselfe, but also by his embassadours solicited the princes of *AIDINIA*, *SARUCHANIA*, and *MENESTIA*, to giue him aid in so iust a quarrell, for the releefe of *Isa* against his vsurping brother: These princes pitying the case of the distressed prince, and moued with the request of the prince of *SMIRNA*, and fearing also the ambitious spirit of *Mahomet*; amongst them sent such aid, that being all assembled together, *Isa* had now twentie thousand men in armes. *Mahomet* vnderstanding of this great preparation made against him, and hauing raised a strong armie, thought it not best to expect his brothers comming into his countrey (where perhaps many might joyne themselves vnto him, being so strong in field) but entred the prince of *SMIRNA* his country, with such speed, that he was vpon him and the rest of his enemies before he was looked for; where after a great & bloodie fight, he obtained of them a notable victorie. *Isa* hauing lost the battaile, and therewith his hope also, fled into *CARAMANIA*, and there in such obscuritie ended his daies, that no man can tell where nor how he died. This was the end of this noble prince, alwaies of greater courage than fortune. The prince of *SMIRNA* the chiefe authour of this watre, humbling himselfe to *Mahomet*, obtained his fauour. The other confederate princes which gaue aid to *Isa*, were shortly after by *Mahomet* for most part spoiled of their dominions. Which done he returned with victorie to the building of *PRUSA*, hoping now to liue at more quiet.

Isa fleeth into *Caramania*, and there dieth in obscuritie.

But whilst *Mahomet* after this victorie, dreading no danger, was in the midst of his pleasures at *PRUSA*, he was certainly aduertised, That his eldest brother *Solyman* had raised a great armie in *EUROPE*, to invade him in *ASIA*. Vpon which aduertisement, hee furnished the citie of *PRUSA* with a strong garrison, and all things needfull for the induring of a long siege, and placed *Iacup-Beg* (the sonne of *Firofes*) capitaine therein; and afterwards departed himselfe, because that citie lately before burnt by *Isa*, was not as yet to be defended, much lesse to be accounted of as a place to retire vnto, if need should so require. From *PRUSA* he came to *ANCYRA*, & from thence directed commissions for the taking vp of souldiers in all parts of his kingdom. At which time hee writ letters also to *Doioran* a Tartar prince (whom hee had many times greatly pleased) for aid: who presently came vnto him with certaine troupes of braue horse, promising him his faithfull seruice.

Not long after, hearing that his brother *Solyman* was with a puissant armie now come ouer *HELLESPONTVS*, he consulted with his best leaders, what course first to take; being himselfe of opinion, without delay to meet his brother in the field, deeming it great shame not to offer him present battaile. But he was by his more expert capitaines aduised, to consider that he was to fight against his eldest brother, of whose good or bad fortune hee had as yet no experience: and that many secretly fauoured his quarrell, and claime, as the eldest sonne and right heire of his father *Baiazet*: and that therefore it were better for him to retire farther off into the strength of his kingdom, and so temporizing, to await all good opportunities which might chauce, as it doth in nothing more than in martiall affaires; rather than to commit all to the hazard of one bartell, wherein if fortune failed him, all were then vtterly lost. Vpon which resolution he retired from *ANCYRA* towards *AMASIA*. At which time *Doioran* the false Tartarian, marching out at the other side of the citie, fell to robbing and spoiling of *Mahomet*'s subjects as an enemy, burning the countrey villages as they went: which thing when *Mahomet* vnderstood, he with his horsemen pursued him; and ouertaking him before he was looked for, slue most part of his men, and recovered all the spoile which hee had before taken; all which *Mahomet* gaue to his souldiers. *Doioran* himselfe hardly escaping by flight. And so *Mahomet* hauing reuenged himselfe vpon his dissembling friend, held on his way towards *AMASIA*.

Y

Solyman

The castle of
Prusa besieged
by Solymán.

Mahomet fifth king of the Turks.

Solymán being come into ASIA, led his armie towards PRUSA: where the citizens vnderstanding of his coming, went out of the citie to meet him, and hauing done vnto him such honour and reuerence as belonged to their Sultan, brought him peaceably into the citie. But Iacup-Beg stood vpon his guard, and would by no meanes deliuer vnto him the castle which was before by Mahomet committed to his charge: for which cause Solymán laid hard siege vnto it, and gaue therevnto diuers sharpe assaults, whereby the defendants were greatly weakened, many of them being slaine, and the rest for the most part wounded. Whereupon Iacup by letters sent by one Eine Hozze, certified Mahomet how things stood, and that the castle could not long be holden against the furious assaults of Solymán, except it were with speed releued: vpon which newes, he in all hast made towards PRUSA, returning the same messenger before him with letters to the capitaine of the castle, if happily he could find meanes to deliuer the same: Wherein he highly commended him for his faithfull seruice, and promised him speedie releefe. This messenger with his letters, chaunced by Solymán his souldiours to be intercepted, and brought to Alis Bassa, Solymán his chiefe counsellour (a man of a sharpe conceit) who of nothing could make something, but hauing any thing to worke vpon, could doe wonders: He hauing straightly examined the messenger, and perused the letters, suppressed the same, and presently writ others in the name of Mahomet, commending the capitaine for that hee had already done in his seruice; but yet for as much as he could not possibly in time releue him, he willed him therefore to deliuer vp the castle, and to prouide for the safetie of himselfe and his garrison, by such conditions as he could best obtaine. These counterfeit letters Alis Bassa found meanes to bee as cunningly deliuered vnto the capitaine, as they were craftily endited: who hauing read the same, and now out of all hope of releefe, expecting also euery houre to be assaulted by the furious enemy; vpon reasonable conditions yeelded the castle to Solymán. The newes whereof being brought vnto Mahomet, now come within one dayes march of PRUSA, exceedingly grieved him: but seeing no remedie, he returned backe againe to AMASIA; whither Solymán (now possessed of the citie and castle of PRUSA, and hauing thereby got a great name in ASIA) shortly after came with his armie, and hardly besieged his brother in AMASIA: but seeing no hope to win the citie, he retired backe againe to PRUSA, and there after his wonted manner spent his time in riot and excess, whereunto he was exceedingly giuen. Iacup Beg for yeelding of the castle, was afterward by Mahomet straightly imprisoned, and in danger to haue bene put to death, had not the great Bassas become earnest intercessours for him.

Mahomet lying at AMASIA, was by his secret espials aduertised, That his brother Solymán hauing dispersed his armie, lay in great securitie at PRUSA, guarded but with a small power, passing his time in all voluptuous pleasure, his common exercise. Whereupon he in all hast marched with his armie thitherwards, to haue surprised him, before hee should bee able to call together his dispersed forces. But when he was come to the riuer SANGARIUS, hee was discouered by Solymán Subbassa, a great capitaine, whom Sultan Solymán had sent, for the taking vp of men in that side of the countrey. Who returning in all hast, gaue Solymán knowledge of his brothers coming: with which suddaine newes he was so dismayed, being now of small strength, that for the auoiding of the imminent danger, he would presently haue fled into EUROPE, had not Alis Bassa otherwise perswaded him: telling him, That if he should so cowardly flie away, it would not onely blemish and defame his honour, but discourage his friends also in ASIA, and encourage his enemies to pursue him perhaps vnto the gates of HADRIANOPE: and that therefore it were better, with such forces as hee had, to take the straits about NEAPOLIS, and so to stay his brothers further passage into that countrey, vntill such time as hee might assemble the rest of his armie. According to which good counsell, he first tooke the beforenamed straits and passages, whereby Mahomet was of necessitie to passe, and there strongly fortified himselfe. Mahomet coming thither, with great force entered those straits, but was still valiantly by Solymán repulsed. The like attempt hee many times valiantly gaue, for that he knew himselfe to be at that time too strong for his brother: but Solymán hauing the aduantage of the place, with little danger or losse frustrated those his brothers braue attempts, although hee were then a great deale the weaker. Alis Bassa, whose willic head, fraught with long experience, could (with nothing) effect great matters, in the meane time was not idle, but (making Solymán before acquainted with his doings) sent a secret messenger (one of his owne trustie seruants) to Mahomet with letters, certifying him, That most of his nobilitie and great

Mahomet fifth king of the Turks.

captaines had secretly conspired to betray him into the hands of his elder brother Solymán, as the vndoubted heire of his father Baiazet; and so with the price of his head, to make their owne peace and attonement with him: and that for the performance thereof, they had bound themselves first vnto Solymán, and afterwards one to another, by solemne oath. Which treason hee discouered vnto him, with great protestation of his loue and good will, as hee that had of long time eaten bread and salt (as the Turkes vse to say) in his fathers court; and therefore could not but with well vnto him, being one of his lord and maisters sonnes. These letters something troubled Mahomet, breeding in his head many a jealous conceit: for all that, hee ceased not for six or seauen daies space, to giue many a hot skirmish for the gaining of those straight passages, but all in vaine. In which time, it chaunced one of his seruants neere about his person, to flie vnto the enemy; which caused him the more to suspect all that to be true, whereof Alis Bassa had forewarned him. Which considered, and that by lying there hee pretailed nothing, but lost and wearied his men (for it was all that while exceeding foule weather) and withall doubting to be betrayed, returned as he came, to AMASIA. And Solymán glad also of his departure retired to PRUSA, giuing order into all parts of his kingdome, for the assembling of a great armie: but vnderstanding that the king of CARAMANIA had made a league with his brother Mahomet, and that they were agreed to joyne their forces against him for the driuing of him out of ASIA, he forthwith drew all his forces to ANCYRA, as a place of more safetie.

Whilest Solymán thus lay at ANCYRA, it fortuned that Musa (which had all this while remained with his brother Mahomet, since he was set at libertie by Tamerlane) though not altogether well pleased with his owne estate, one daie by way of talke, thus spake vnto his brother: You see (said he) how our elder brother Solymán ceaseth not to vex and molest vs daily, and is not unlike in the end to preuaile against vs, to our utter destruction: Now if it might please you to giue me leaue, I would goe to Isfendiar prince of CASTAMON and PONTUS, our brothers enemy, and of him procure shipping to passe ouer the Euxine sea into EUROPE: where I doubt not to find oportunitie to make some great innovation in that kingdome, now in my brothers absence: by reason whereof, Solymán shall of necessitie be driuen to leaue ASIA, to be againe by you solie possessed: or else be brought in danger, there to lose his kingdome in EUROPE: which if it shall be my good hap to gaine out of his hands by your supportation, I promise you faithfully to hold the same of you, as of my lord and soueraine. This greatly pleased Mahomet, and therevpon not long after they concluded betwixt themselves, one to stand fast vnto another, and the one to help the other in what they could, during life; confirming the same with great solemnitie of their Turkish faith giuen, and taken. Wherevpon Mahomet furnished his brother Musa with great summes of money and other needfull things, for the taking in hand of so great an enterprize.

Musa thus furnished, taking his leaue of his brother, set forwards towards the prince Isfendiar: who hearing of his coming met him on the way, and entertained him as a great prince. But after that Musa had made him acquainted with his purpose for passing into EUROPE, and had obtained graunt of his helpe therein, he tooke his leaue of him for a time, and went to visite the king of CARAMANIA; who also most honourably entertained him, and the rather in despite of Solymán. But whilest Musa was thus passing the time in CARAMANIA, it fortuned that Marke (of some called Mirxes) prince of VALACHIA, hauing his countrey much spoiled by Solymán his garrisons; and hearing that Musa one of Baiazet his sonnes, was with the prince Isfendiar; he writ vnto him, promising to bestow his daughter and heire in marriage vpon Musa, if he would come ouer into EUROPE, and reuenge the wrong done vnto him by Solymán: whereof Musa aduertised by the prince Isfendiar, gladly returned out of CARAMANIA, and was by him transported ouer the Euxine or blacke sea, into EUROPE: where the prince of VALACHIA glad of this coming, receiued him with great honour, and according to his promise gaue him his daughter in marriage.

The fame of Musa his coming into EUROPE, and of his marriage, was in short time bruted through all Solymán his kingdome in EUROPE, and wrought such effect in the minds of the mutable vulgar people (alwaies desirous of noueltie) that they all as it were with one consent, submitted themselves vnto him, as vnto their lord and soueraine. In so much that coming to the royall citie of HADRIANOPE, in the absence of his brother Solymán, hee was there receiued as their king.

Solymán now lying at ANCYRA in ASIA, vnderstanding of these proceedings of Musa in EUROPE:

Musa married
the prince of Valachia his
daughter.

Musa in the absence of Solymán
receiued at Hadrianople as king.

EUROPE, and that he was possessed of a great part of his kingdom there, was therewith exceedingly troubled. Wherefore leaving his depute in ANCYRA, he with all his army came to the strait of BOSPHORUS, and there of Emanuel the Greeke emperor obtained passage, promising for the same to restore vnto him certaine places before taken from him in ASIA: for Musa had so provided, that he could haue no helpe of the Turkish shipping, which was by his commaundment all before brought ouer vnto EUROPE side. Musa hearing of Solymans his arriuall in EUROPE, made towards him with a great power: but after that both their armies were come the one within view of the other, and now readie to joyne bataille, many of Musa his captaines forsooke him and fled to Solymans the elder brother and their vndoubted king: which Musa beholding, was glad to flie, and to take the safegard of the woods and mountaines for his refuge. After which victorie, Solymans returning to HADRIANOPE, tooke againe possession of his kingdom, and there without measure gaue himselfe to riot and excesse, according to his wonted manner.

After the departure of Solymans out of ASIA, Iacup-Beg (but lately before againe received into Mahomet his fauour, and now left as Solymans his depute) deliuered ANCYRA with the castle of PRUSA, and all the rest that Solymans had gained in ASIA, to Mahomet; who shortly after led his armie through the countries of CARASIA, AYDINIA, SARUCANIA, TEBKENSIS, and GERMEANIA, reducing them once again vnto his obeisance: and afterwards returned to PRUSA, where he now the second time tooke possession of his fathers kingdom in ASIA.

Musa still aided by the Valachian prince his father in law, gaue many great attempts against his brother Solymans: but was still put to the worke. At length hauing gathered some good strength, and diligently attending the least smile of better fortune, drew neere vnto the place where Solymans lay, who at that time was (as his manner was) banqueting with great pleasure in his campe, and full of wine. In so much that when newes was brought vnto him, That his brother Musa was at hand with a great power; he in his drunkenesse caused the messenger that brought the newes to be beaten: and when he with greater earnestnesse than was to his liking, affirmed that his report to be true, he commaunded him to be slaine for troubling his mirth. But not long after, Musa was come so neere, that the vauntcourours of his armie did skirmish with some of Solymans his souldiours: when as Chafis Eurenoses one of his fathers old captaines, pressing in, told him that Musa was at hand, and had skirmished with part of his armie. Whereof Solymans (now farre in wine) had no regard, but said: Good tutor doe not trouble me no more, my brother Musa dare not come so nigh me, if I doe but hold vp my cappe, he is gone. With which answere the old captain going out discontented, sent in Chafan, Aga of the Ianizaries: who boldly coming vnto him, told him plainly of the iminent danger, and sharply reprooued him for his intemperance and securitie. With whose free speech, Solymans mooued, in great rage commaunded his beard to be cut off (then no smal disgrace amongst the Turks.) Chafan presently coming forth thus disgraced, said to them that stood waiting without: *This is the honour where-with Sultan Solymans in his excesse, rewardeth his most faithfull seruants. Wherefore bee it knowne to you all, I will from henceforth (and not without cause) seru: Musa, a prince of greater temperance and discretion: who so will follow me, come and welcome.* So mounting to horse, and accompanied with a number of his Ianizaries, of whom hee was greatly beloued, went ouer to Musa: as did many other great captaines also with their companies, mooued by his example so to doe. But when Solymans vnderstood that Chafan with most part of the Ianizaries, and many other worthy captaines with the greatest strength of his armie, were reuolted to Musa, then fast by, and readie to set vpon him; it then repented him too late of his dissolute folly: and finding no other remedy now to escape, hid himselfe vntill it was darke night; then taking horse, accompanied onely with

Solymans flyeth.

Caratze Beg and Cara Muchill, two of his noblemen, and one country Turke (whom they had retained for their guide) thought to haue fled to CONSTANTINOPLE. This malicious clowne, hauing of purpose led them by vnknowne waies all that night too and fro, as it were in a maze, oftentimes misnaming vnto them the places they passed by, as if they had been in the right way; brought them in the morning to a village not farre from the place from whence they departed the euening before: and there riding a little before them, of purpose, gaue warning to a sturdie peasant or two of his acquaintance, That Solymans was coming after: willing them to make stay of him. These rude country churles, with some others of like breed, running out with bats and stauces, and such other homely tooles as first came to hand, slew Caratze, and Cara Muchill, which

would

would not yeeld vnto them but stood vpon their guard, and tooke Solymans aliue: where, as it commonly falleth out in the vulgar peoples furie, some cried out to kill him, and so to end the warres; some likewise to burne him; and some to hang him; and some few to saue him: euerie one as his rude affection lead him. In the heat of this countrey vpror came Musa, who glad to see his brother Solymans so hardly beset, caused him presently to be there strangled, when hee had reigned in HADRIANOPE six yeates and ten moneths.

This was the miserable end of Solymans, the eldest sonne that Baiaze left aliue. A man much giuen to excesse, otherwise endued with many great vertues, being both of great valour and exceeding bountifull. In his time liued the learned doctor Schmetes which wrote the historie of Alexander the Great, in Turkish verse, and published it in the name of Solymans himselfe: for which he was by him bounteouslie rewarded. The dead bodie of Solymans himselfe, was by the commaundment of Musa conuained to PRUSA, and there lieth buried fast by the bodie of his grandfather Amurath. So now of these Cadmeian brethren, remained none but Mahomet and Musa, the one reigning in ASIA, and the other in EUROPE, diuers parts of world, and well bounded with the surest bounds of nature: yet not sufficient to content or containe their ambitious minds, vntill that the younger had most vnnaturally deuoured the elder: whose liuely counterfait, as it is by the skilfull workeman expressed, you may here behold.



*Quid properas insane tuum pessundare fratrem?
Nam sceleris tanti, Præmia digna feres.
Quicquid enim fratri malefeceris, hoc tibi frater.
Mox referet, nimis hæc in tua fata ruis.*

RICH. KNOLLEVS.

What hastest thou mad foole, thy brother to confound?
The gerdon of such villanie, shall to thy selfe redound.
For looke what mischief thou hast wrought shall turne to thee againe:
Why dost thou therefore foolish man so hasten on thy paine?

Y iij

Musa

Mahomet fifth king of the Turks.

Musa presently after the death of his brother *Solyman*, tooke vpon him the Turkish kingdome in *EUROPE*: who in the beginning of his raigne displaced most of them which had borne great offices before in the time of his brother *Solyman*, and had now of late reuolted to him, fearing to be by them betrayed or forsaken, as his brother was: and in their tooimes placed other his owne creatures. And not so content, proceeded farther, vpon small causes most vnkindly to inuade and put to death many of them that had of him well deserved. Which cruell dealing so alienated the minds of his nobilitie, that many of them kept themselves out of the way, doubtfully expecting the euent of such his tyrannicall gouernment: *Chasis Eirenos*, that old and renowned captaine, to escape his hands, was glad to feigne himselfe blind, so to absent himselfe from court. At this time hee also by his embassadours demanded of diuers Christian princes his neighbours, such tribute as they had in times past either paid or promised to pay vnto his father *Baiazet*: and in that quartell intaded diuers of them, namely, the princes of *SERVIA* and *BULGARIA*. Amongst others he sent *Ibrahim Bassa*, a learned man of great experience, and sometimes one of his fathers graue counsellours, vnto *Emanuel Paleologus*, the emperor of *CONSTANTINOPLE*, to demand the like tribute of him: Who so soone as he was come to *CONSTANTINOPLE*, from thence by letters aduertised *Mahomet* of the vndiscreet gouernment of his brother *Musa* in his new gotten kingdome; and what vntimely things he began to make, before he was therein well settled, loosing the loue both of his subjects and neighbour princes: with much other matter concerning his misgouernment. Which things when *Mahomet* vnderstood, he sent a messenger with letters backe againe to *CONSTANTINOPLE*, requesting the *Bassa* to come ouer vnto him into *ASIA*, and in token of his great fauour sent him diuers rich garments, with many great and princely promises: wherewith the *Bassa* moued, and detelling the cruell gouernment of *Musa*, went ouer vnto him to *PRUSA*, and there was of him honourably entertained, and sware one of his priue counsell: in which place of honour he long time afterwards serued him faithfully, and after him his sonne *Amurath* also.

Mahomet thinking vpon the aduantage of his brothers cruell gouernment, to find meanes to thrust him out of his kingdome, and so to draw the whole gouernment of the Turkish empire vnto himselfe, as well in *EUROPE* as in *ASIA*; assembled an armie of fiftene thousand choise souldiours to iugade his brother in *EUROPE*, before hee were there well established in his kingdome. And so shoking downe towards the straits of *BOSPHORUS*, by his embassador concluded a league with *Emanuel* the Greeke emperor, That one of them should neuer wrong or damme the other: and that if *Mahomet* should hap to obtaine the Turkish kingdome in *EUROPE*, he should alwaies honour and reuerence the emperor as his especiall good friend; but if it should chance him to be distressed or ouerthrowne by his brother *Musa*, that then the emperor should presently transport him and his armie backe againe into *ASIA*. This league was with great solemnitie of words on both parts confirmed. And shortly after *Mahomet* with all his armie was by the emperours shipping at the strait of *BOSPHORUS* nere vnto *CONSTANTINOPLE*, transported ouer into *EUROPE*: for *Musa* possessed of *GALLIPOLIS*, had stopped all the other passages.

Musa hauing before knowledge of his brothers comming, was forthwith in readinesse to meet him with a strong armie. So that *Mahomet* had not marched faire from the sea side; but that the vauntecounters of his armie met with his brothers; at a place called *INTZUG*; and there began a light skirmish: wherein *Musa* his forerunners were by *Mahomet* put to flight, and chased vnto *Musa* his campe. Whereof such a suddaine feare arose in the armie, that they were almost readie to flie, thinking *Mahomet* had beene vpon them with all his power: but vnderstanding the truth of the matter, both armies rested that night, which as then drew fast on. The next day these two brethren, armed with equall hope, brought their armies into the field, & gaue the signall of battaile, whereupon began a mortall and bloodie fight: in the furie whereof, *Mahomet* Oglu, *Bassa* of *ROMANIA*, and certaine other of *Musa* his great captaines, vpon secret discontentment reuolted to *Mahomet*: wherewith many of *Musa* his souldiours discouraged, fled. Which *Mahomet* his souldiours seeing, pursued the chace with such earnestnesse and furie, that few were left with himselfe: yet with such as were left, in hope of good hap, he set vpon his brother: who although hee was halfe discomfited with the flight of the greater part of his armie, whom the enemies had yet in chace, yet stood he fast himselfe with seuen thousand *Ianizaries*, his best souldiours; so taking the vnexpected good hap, presented vnto him by his brothers forwardnesse,

Mahomet fifth king of the Turks.

nesse, valiantly receiued his charge. But *Mahomet* finding there a greater strength than hee had before supposed, and himselfe too weake to withstand the furie of the *Ianizaries*, because most of his men also were following the chace, was now for safegard of his life glad to flie himselfe to *CONSTANTINOPLE*: whether hee came accompanied scarcely with two hundred men: and was from thence, according to the agreement before made betwixt him and the emperor, speedily shipped ouer into *ASIA*. *Musa* hauing thus put his brother to flight, with great slaughter of his men, presently tooke his tents with all that was therein, and there encamped himselfe. They of *Mahomet* his armie, which followed the chace of such as had fled in the beginning of the battaile, not knowing what had happened to *Mahomet*, returning to the campe, doubting no perill, and finding it at their returne possessed by their enemies, stood as men amased and vtterly discouraged: at which time *Musa* would not suffer his sculdious to put them to the sword, as they would faine haue done, but commaunded them to bee despoiled of their armes and such other things as they had, and so with life suffered them to depart.

After this ouerthrow, whilest *Mahomet* lay still at *PRUSA*, the prince of *SMYRNA* forcibly entred into *AIDINIA*, purposing to passe through into *SARUCANIA*: which thing *Mahomet* hearing, gathered a great armie, and entering into the princes countrey, made such spoile as hee went, and so distressed the prince himselfe, that he was glad to submit himselfe vnto him, and from thenceforth to hold his dominion of him, as of his lord and soueraine, and so returned vnto *AMASIA*.

Mahomet could not well digest the losse he had so lately receiued in *EUROPE*, and therefore leuied an armie of choise souldiours out of all parts of his kingdome, once againe to trie his fortune against his elder brother *Musa*. For the better successe whereof, he by his letters craued aid of the prince *Duldager Oglu*, written to this effect:

Sultan *Mahomet* vnto the prince *Duldager Oglu*, his father in law.

My purpose is to lead mine armie into ROMANIA in EUROPE, and there againe to trie my quarrell with my brother Musa. My hope is, that you will not with your aid be wanting vnto me your sonne in law, in my so great affaires, neither for want of good will to hinder this my purpose. Fare you well, in the year of our great Prophet Mahomet 814. From AMASIA.

Mahomet his letters vnto the prince Duldager Oglu his father in law.

Whereunto the prince returned this kind answer:

Prince *Duldager Oglu* vnto the great Sultan *Mahomet*.

I doubt not most mightie Monarch, but that whither so ever your desires shall draw you for the vnder-taking of any great exploit, he that ruleth above in beauen, will be alwaies your aid, prosper your attempts, minister vnto you fit occasions, and bring all your actions vnto most happie end, with most assured victorie. Wherefore seeing (God so disposing our affaires) I cannot my selfe in person come vnto you with my power, and give you my trustie helpe in this your intended warre: yet will I in no case faile with all speed to send my sonne your seruant, to aid you with our forces, in this warre. Fare you well this same year of our Prophet 814.

The answer of prince Duldager Oglu to Mahomet.

And so shortly after, the prince sent vnto him his sonne, according to his promise, with a companie of braue souldiours, excellently furnished: for the welcomming of whom, *Mahomet* his brother in law made a great and royall feast: and there in his mirth gaue vnto the young prince the rich apparrell hee wore himselfe, with the horse hee rode vpon, and all the rich plate of gold and siluer wherein they were serued at that feast, a matter of great value. And to euery one of his noblemen he gaue a rich garment, made for that purpose: with some other gift, as a fauour: and afterwards gaue them all to vnderstand, That he intended forthwith to passe ouer into *EUROPE*, and there to recouer all his fathers kingdome, or els there to end his daies: As for the spoile and prey (said hee) shall bee theirs that can win it: one horse, one sword, one horsemans mace shall content my selfe. So hauing furnished his armie with all things needfull for so great an enterprize, hee set forward, and came to the strait of *BOSPHORUS*; and from thence gaue knowledge of his

The battaile betwixt the two brethren, Mahomet and Musa.

his comming to the emperour of CONSTANTINOPLE: who glad thereof (for the displeasure he bare to *Musa*) transported him and all his armie ouer that itrait into EUROPE; and there in one of his countrey pallaces royally feasted him. At which time *Mahomet* requested the emperour to joine with him in that warre against their common enemy: but hee excused himselfe by reason of his great age; yet neuerthelesse, assisted him with certaine companies of valiant Christians, whose seruice afterward stood the Turke in great stead.

So *Mahomet* taking his leaue of the emperour, marched with his armie to the riuer *NYZEN* in THRACIA, where by the way he receiued letters from the ancient capitaine *Chafis Erenofes*, aduising him to be very circumspect in his marching, and not to make too much hast to joine battaile with his brother: counselling him also (if he could by any means) to allure *Iegides Bassa*, *Barac Beg*, and *Sinan Beg*, to forsake his brother, and to follow his ensignes; for that in those men consisted *Musa* his greatest strength: and promised in good time to come vnto him himselfe also, if he were not too hastie. This messenger that brought this newes, *Mahomet* bountifullly rewarded, and so sent him away. Shortly after, as he was marching towards *HADRIANOPLE*, part of the enemies armie, began to shew it selfe vnder the leading of *Cara Calile*, and was presently charged by *Michael Oglu*, and put to flight. So holding on his way to *HADRIANOPLE*, hee laid siege to the citie: where the citizens sent out vnto him certaine of their grauest and most substantiall burgeses, to certefie him, That by reason of the garrison there left by *Musa*, they could not as then deliuer the citie vnto him; but if it should please him to goe and trie his fortune in the field against his brother, who should be the commander thereof, he should find them readie to follow his good fortune, and to yeeld themselves, the citie, and all therein, to his pleasure, if it were his good hap to carrie away the victorie. With which answer *Mahomet* contenting himselfe, raised his siege, and tooke the way towards *ZAGORA*. In that place *Musa* is reported to haue come secretly disguised into *Mahomet* his campe, and to haue taken full view thereof, but perceiuing himselfe too weake to encounter his brother, withdrew his armie into the safegard of the great woods and strong places: and so from thence retired with his armie towards *PHILIPPOPOLIS*, and so marched along the riuer *MERTZE*, called in ancient time *HEBROS*: Where *Iegides Bassa*, with *Hamza Beg*, and *Ismir Oglu* (three of *Musa* his great captaines) set vpon the reuerward of *Mahomet* his armie, and were by *Michael Oglu* repulsed. *Mahomet* holding on his way, came to *SOPHTA*: where as he went, *Musa* diuers times from the mountaines made shew of his armie, but durst not come downe into the plaine to giue him battaile. *Mahomet* hauing refreshed his armie at *SOPHTA*, marched to *SARKIV*, where he receiued letters from *Iegides Bassa*, *Barac Beg*, and *Sinan Beg*, all secretly perswaded by old *Erenofes* to renolt vnto him: the tenor whereof in breefe was this.

Iegides Bassa, Barac Beg, and Sinan Beg, vnto the great Sultan Mahomet.

We are three young men (most mightie Monarch) and haue with vs three thousand choice soldiers, men of incomparable valor, such as the world hath scarce the like: draw your forces neare vnto vs with as much speed as you can, and you shall find vs readie to come ouer vnto you. Fare you well.

Musa his chiefe captaines renolt to Mahomet.

VV hereupon he marched all the next night after, vntill he came to the riuer *MORAVA*, and there encamped: where the three aforementioned captaines, according to their promise joined themselves vnto him with all their souldiours. Thither came also old *Erenofes*, of all others the most famous capitaine amongst the Turks, and now no longer blind, bringing with him a great companie of most expert souldiours. Marke the Despot of *SERVIA* (for the displeasure he bare vnto *Musa*) sent him aid thither also. By which supplies, *Mahomet* his armie was greatly encreased: who after he had courteously welcomed all these new come captaines, he began againe to march farther vntill he came to *COSSOVA*, the vnfortunate plaine; where *Hamza Beg* the prince of *MYRNA* his sonne, hauing forsaken *Musa*, came vnto him with fife hundred horse, certifying him that all the nobilitie had forsaken his father: so, as he marched from place to place, his forces still encreased by the reuolt of his brothers. *Musa* seeing his souldiours thus daily fall from him, in somuch that he had almost none now left, but the souldiours of the court (which were indeed his best men of warre, and alwaies vnto him faithfull, because he had been euer vnto them exceeding

ding bountifull) thought it best to attempt something, before he were left himselfe alone. Wherefore hauing yet with him seuen thousand of those expert souldiours, he drew neerer vnto his brother seeking to haue taken him at some aduantage. But *Mahomet* hauing knowledge of his purpose, and contented to be aduised by his old expert captaines, had euer a vigilant eye vnto him. Yet at last, whether it were vpon good hope, or els prickt forward with despair, *Musa* vpon the suddaine, valiantly set vpon his brothers armie: but his souldiours oppressed with multitude, rather than ouercome with true valour, after a hard and bloodie fight were put to the worst: which he seeing, desperately brake into the midst of his enemies, seeking there for death amongst the thickest of them. But being knowne by *Baiazet Bassa*, *Mahomet* his lieutenant generally, desirous to take him alive, he was beset on euery side: where seeing himselfe in more danger to be taken than slaine, hee with great courage brake from amongst the midst of them, and fled. In which flight his horse falling into a deepe muddie ditch (or as some others say, hoxed by *Sarutzes* his owne seruant, and himselfe wounded) ouerthrew him, and there before he could againe recouer himselfe was taken by *Baiazet Bassa* (the great lieutenant) *Michael Oglu*, and *Barac Beg*, *Musa* taken, which had hardly pursued him out of the battaile: and so was with his handes bound, by them brought through the midst of the armie. VVhich pittifull sight, greeued not a little the hearts of many; to see him but euen now so great a king, and one of the sonnes of great *Baiazet*, by the strange change of fortune, bound like a captiue slaue led forth to execution: yet were most part glad thereof, hoping this long ciuile wars would now in him take end. Shortly after came vnto him a noble man called *Balta Oglu*, sent (as was thought) from *Mahomet* himselfe: who after he had in few words bitterly reprooued him, for the crueltie by him before shewed vnto his brother *Solyman* in like case, caused him presently to be strangled with a bowstring. His dead body was by and by after, presented to his brother *Mahomet*: who seeing it, shed a few Crocadil teares ouer it. He reigned three yeares and seauen moneths, and was afterwards conuained to *PRUSA*, and there lieth buried by the bodie of his brother *Solyman*, in the same chappell with his grandfather *Amurath*.

Mahomet after the death of *Musa*, now free from all competetours, tooke vpon him the sole government of the Turkish kingdome, as well in EUROPE as in ASIA. And here the Turkish histories begin the raigne of this *Mahomet* fifth king of the Turks: accounting the troublesome time from the captiuitie of *Baiazet*, vnto the death of *Musa*, as a time of vacancie or Anarchie, wherein the Turkish kingdome was not at any time wholely possessed by any one of *Baiazet* his sonnes. Ifa possessing one part, whereof hee was by *Mahomet* dispossessed: who afterwards vsurped all that part of the Turkish kingdome in ASIA, being the right of his eldest brother *Solyman*: Who at that time raigning in EUROPE, was deposed and strangled by his brother *Musa*: who was in like manner serued by his youngest brother *Mahomet*, the onely sonne of *Baiazet* then left, as is before at large declared. Which diuers mutations, and interrupted successions, was the cause that the Historiographers doe so greatly dissent vpon the successour of *Baiazet*: some reckoning one, some another; and some more, some fewer; and some, such as neuer were. But forasmuch as *Mahomet* held all or most part of the Turkish kingdome in ASIA, during this troublesome time; and in the end possessed the other part thereof in EUROPE also; I reckon him for the fifth king of the Turks, and successour to his father *Baiazet*: including also in this Historie of his life, all that intestine and serpentine-like tragedie, wherein he himselfe was the principall actor.

Whilest *Mahomet* was (as is aforesaid) thus busied in his wars in EUROPE, against his brother *Musa*: the king of *CARAMANIA* taking the aduantage of his troubles there, with a great armie invaded his kingdome joyning vpon him in ASIA, burning and spoiling all before him as he went: *Einafes Bassa*, *Mahomet* his lieutenant, then lying at *PRUSA*, not able to withstand him; and fearing his comming thither, because it was the seat of the *Othoman* kings in ASIA, caused the citizens to bring the greatest part of their wealth into the castle: whereinto he also receiued so many of the citizens as he conveniently could, willing the rest to shift for themselves as they might, in such case of extremitie. Shortly after, the king of *CARAMANIA* (according to his expectation) came to *PRUSA*, and without resistance tooke the citie, not as yet fully fortified; which he without delaie caused the second time to be burnt downe to the ground: and afterwards laid siege to the castle, giuing many great assaults thereto by the space of thirte daies; but was alwaies valiantly repulsed by *Einafes* the Bassa, who ceased not continually to encourage his souldiours, still putting them in comfort, That *Mahomet* hauing now overcome his enemies in

EUROPE,

1415.

Prusa burns by the Caramanian king.

Mahomet fifth king of the Turks.

EUROPE, would in few daies vndoubtedly come to their releefe. It chaunced at the same time, that the dead bodie of *Musa*, sent to PRUSA to be buried, was honourably conuaid vpon the way, with much people following it. The Caramanian king hearing of the comming of such a multitude, and fearing it to haue been *Mahomet* with his power, raised his siege and with speed departed: whereat the Turks long time after jeasted, saying, If the Caramanian king runne away for feare of the dead bodie of the *Othoman* king; what would he doe if hee had come against him aliue? but the truth was, he feared *Mahomet* and his power.

Orchanes the sonne of *Solyman* (yet a boy) hauing liued at CONSTANTINOPLE euer since the death of his father, about this time departed thence, because of the league but lately made between the emperour and his vnkle *Mahomet*, purposing to haue gone into VALACHIA: but by the way as hee was traucelling, the Turkish voluntarie souldiours vnderstanding that hee was the sonne of their late king *Solyman*, resorted vnto him in great numbers, offering in his quarrell to spend their liues. Of which insurrection *Mahomet* hearing, marched thither in all hast, with a great power to suppress the same: of whose coming the souldiours with *Orchanes* vnderstanding, disperced themselves and fled. As for *Orchanes* himselfe, he was by his vnfaithfull tutor *Zaganos* betraied vnto his vnkle *Mahomet*: who presently caused his eies to be put out, and so sent him to PRUSA: allowing him great reuenues to liue vpon, and euer after vsed him with great honour. The sister of this *Orchanes* he gaue in marriage to one of his noblemen, with a great dowrie. This is that *Orchanes*, whom some historiographers reckon vp among the Turkish kings, as one of the successours of *Baiaŕet*; and that hee was betrayed to his vnkle *Moses*: erring as I suppose, both in the succession and the name, mistaking *Moses* for *Mahomet*.

Now *Mahomet* calling to remembrance the iniurie which the Caramanian king had done to him in his absence, returning to PRUSA, assembled a great armie to reuenge himselfe of that wrong. At which time, he sent to the prince *Isfendiar* for aid, who sent him his sonne *Cassumes*. He commanded also the prince *Germian Oglu*, to make prouision for the victualing of his campe, as he should passe by his countrey: which was accordingly done. And so prouided of all things necessarie, he with his armie entred into the Caramanian countrey: Where he tooke the cities ASPROPOLIS, DESPOTOPOLIS, HIEROPOLIS, and besieged ICONIUM: but by reason of the imoderate raine which at that time fell, he was glad to make peace with the Caramanian king, called also *Mahomet*. And so raising his siege, departed towards PONTUS, where hee had not long staid, but that newes was brought vnto him, That the Caramanian king renouncing his league, was againe vp in armes. Wherefore returning into CARAMANIA, and so to ICONIUM, he there ouerthrew the king in battaile, and tooke both him and his son *Mustapha* prisoners: who redeemed themselves by deliuering diuers of their strong cities and castles into his hands: and afterward concluded a peace, they receiuing from him an ensigne (as the Turkish manner is) in token they were now become his vassales.

The Caramanian warre thus happily ended, he went ouer into EUROPE, and passing ouer DANUBIUS, foraged the countrey of VALACHIA TRANSALPINA, making there great spoile: for redresse whereof, the Valachian prince by his embassadours sent him such tribute as hee demanded, and his son also to serue him in his court. About which time happened a great earthquake in PRUSA, and other places of ASIA, whereby many houses & towers were ouerthrowne; after which ensued great troubles in most parts of ASIA: howbeit *Mahomet* going thither, by his presence kept all his dominions in peace and quietnesse.

Isfendiar prince of CASTAMONA and part of PONTUS, reseruing vnto himselfe CASTAMONA, with a litle part more of his dominion, gaue the rest vnto *Mahomet*, vpon condition that he should restore no part thereof againe vnto his sonne *Cassumes*: who hauing long time serued in *Mahomet* his court and warres, could not be perswaded to returne againe vnto his father; and therefore was by him thus disinherited. VVhich great gift, *Mahomet* thankfully accepted, and in lieu thereof assigned vnto *Cassumes* other great and large possessions within his owne kingdom.

Mahomet after the death of his brother *Musa*, had sent *Scheiches Bedredin* (his brothers Cadescher) to NICIA in ASIA, as vnto a place of exile, allowing him neuertheless a great pension wheron to liue. This *Bedredin* had in his house one *Burghuzes*, *Mustapha* his steward: these two laid their heads together, how to raise some tumult or rebellion to trouble the peaceable government of *Mahomet*. For which purpose, *Burghuzes* (according to the plot by them laid) tooke his

way

Mahomet fifth king of the Turks.

way into AYDINIA (sometime called CARIA) & there pretending a great zeale of reformed religion, with a wonderfull grauitie began to broach diuers new and strange opinions, farre differing from the Turkish antient superstition, yet very plausible and well fitting the humour of the vulgar people. By which meanes he was in short time reputed for a famous learned deuout man, and had many followers, drawing after him much people, fit to begin some great innouation. *Bedredin* glad of his mans successe, fled from NICIA into the prince *Isfendiar* his countrey, from whence he tooke shipping ouer the Euxine into VALACHIA, and there withdrawing himselfe into a great Forrest, as if hee had beene some deuout and religious man, allured vnto him a great number of outlawes and theues which there liued. VVhom when he had sufficiently instructed and flamed to his purpose, he sent them in the habit of religious men into the countrey of ZAGORA, and other places in the frontiers of *Mahomet* his dominions, neere vnto him, as his disciples: who with great boldnesse and confidencie, published *Bedredin* his doctrine and authoritie; and how that he was by God appointed to be the king of iustice, and commaunder of all the world: whose doctrine and manner of gouernment was (as they said) already receiued (as they gaue it out) in ASIA, being set forth but by one of his schollers, *Burghuzes*, whose fame was now disperced throughout all the Turks dominion: and that therefore, if any were desirous of preferment, they should repaire to *Bedredin*, who would in short time shew himselfe vnto the world, and promote his followers according to their desires. Many of the countrey people deluded with this phantasie and practise of these seditious seed-men, resorted to *Bedredin* in hope of preferment, and with them some of good calling also. At last, out of the Forrest commeth this great prophet, with banner displaid, attended vpon with a great multitude of the seditious vulgar people, which daily resorted vnto him more and more. *Mahomet* for the representing of these dangerous tumults, sent his sonne *Amurath*, and *Baiaŕet* the great Bassa, with two thousand men to apprehend *Burghuzes* in AYDINIA: but when they came thither, they found him guarded with three thousand men well appointed, ready to aduenture their liues in defence of their foolish prophet. Neuertheless, *Amurath* and *Baiaŕet* not dismayed with the multitude of those vplandish people, set vpon them: where was fought a right bloodie battaile, for the number, and many slaine on both sides: yet at last the rebels fled; in which flight *Burghuzes* himselfe was slaine, and hewen all to peeces. After which victorie *Baiaŕet* from thence halted to MAGESIA, and there executed *Torlac Kemal*, another seditious Turkish monke, which with two thousand, by him seduced, did much harme in the countrey thereabout. At the same time also *Mahomet* sent another power against *Bedredin*; but most of his followers seeing in him no such matter, as was by his disciples and himselfe promised, and as they hoped for, were already fallen from him; so that of that great multitude which before followed him, few or none were left with him, whereby he was easily apprehended by them that *Mahomet* had sent against him: and so being brought to *Mahomet* at SERRAS, was there in the market place before a tauerne dore, faire hanged, without any further harme.

Mahomet in the short time of his raigne finished the great Mahometane temple at HADRIANOPLE, before begun by his brethren *Solyman* and *Musa*. VVhere he also built a princely pallace, the seat of the Turkish kings in EUROPE, vntill the taking of CONSTANTINOPLE. Hee also built another temple, with a most sumptuous abbey, and a publicke schoole thereto adjoining, endowing the same with great reuenues, such as had by him and those his brethren of late been taken from the Christians. He gaue also great summes of money, yearly to be paid at MEDINA and MECHA, for the releefe of poore pilgrims traouelling from far to the sepulchre of their great prophet *Mahomet*, at MEDINA, or his temple at MECHA.

Shortly after *Mahomet* fell sicke at HADRIANOPLE, and perceiuing himselfe in danger of death, by his last will appointed his eldest sonne *Amurath* to succeed him in his kingdom; and sent *Eliuan-beg* (a man in great fauour with him) in post to AMASIA, to will him with all speed to repaire to the court at HADRIANOPLE. But feeling death to approach, and that hee could not possibly liue vntill the comming of his sonne, he straightly charged his Bassas with all secretie to concale his death, vntill his comming, for feare least any trouble should arise vpon the bruit thereof, before his comming thither. And so hauing set all things in order, he departed out of this world vnto his prophet *Mahomet*, about the yeare of our Sauour Christ 1422, when hee had reigned seuentene yeares: accounting in his raigne that troublesome ten yeares next after the capitiue of *Baiaŕet*, in which time the Turkes kingdom was by his ambitious sonnes rent in

sun-

1416

Mahomet inuadeth the Caramanian king.

1417

Valachia tributary to the Turke.

Burghuzes slain.

Bedredin hanged.

Mahomet dieth at Hadrianople.

Mahomet fifth king of the Turkes.

under (as is aforesaid) vntill it was at length againe by this *Mahomet* restored vnto the former integrity, about 7 yeares before his death, which the Turkes account for the whole time of his reign: and the other troublesome 10 yeares as a vacancie or Anarchie of their kingdome, as is aforesaid.

Mahomet being dead, the three great Bassaes, *Eiuas*, *Baia*, and *Ibrahim* (to rid themselves of the feare they had of the Ianizaries, and other fouldiours of the court) called a Diuano or counsell for the warres, as if the king had been aliue: wherein it was pretended, That *Mahomet* had determined to make warre vpon the prince of *SMYRNA*: and that for that seruice it was his pleasure, That the Ianizaries should forthwith passe ouer into *ASIA*, to the castle of *BAGA*. Whereupon presse money was presently giuen them, and they sent ouer with letters directed to the viceroy of *ANATOLIA*, for the assembling of an armie for *BAGA*. In the meane time, the great Bassaes of the court sat daily in counsell, placing and displacing, promoting and disgracing whome they thought good, as if the king had so commaunded: The kings physicians also, to countenance the matter, were commanded continually to go too and fro with their potions and receits, after their wonted manner, as if they had had the king still in cure: And letters were sent in post to *Eliuan Beg*, for speedie dispatch of the businesse for which he was sent into *ASIA*. Yet for all this cunning dissimulation, the pensioners, and other fouldiours of the court, went to be nere vnto the kings person, and some of them alwaies of the priuie chamber, began to suspect the matter: and comming to the Bassaes, said they maruailed that the king in so long time did neuer shew himselfe as he had alwaies before done. Whereunto the Bassaes answered, That he had been dangerously sicke, and was as yet but a litle recovered, and that therefore the physicians would not suffer him to looke abroad, or take the aire, for feare of casting him downe againe. Then will we our selues said the pensioners goe in and see his majestie, and with that were readie to force in vpon the Bassaes. *Eiuas* seeing their importunitie, desired them to hold themselves contented, and not as then to trouble the king, for that hee had that day, as hee said, taken physicks: but to morrow (said he) we will request his majestie, if he so please to shew himselfe, that you may see him: wherewith they for that time held themselves content. Now amongst the kings physicians there was one *Geordiron*, a Persian, a man of a quicke spirit and subtill deuise, which found means to deceiue the pensioners: he deuised, that the dead bodie of the king being apparelled in royall large robes, should be brought betwixt two, as if he had been led into an high open gallerie: and being there set, to haue a boy so neatly placed behind him vnder his large robes, as that he vnperceiued, might moue the kings hand vp to his head, as if he should stroke his face or beard, as his manner was. The next day the dead king being accordingly brought forth by the Bassaes in his rich robes, and wrapped with clothes about his head, as if it had been for feare of the aire, or of taking cold, and so placed in an high open gallerie, as was before deuised: suddainely the physician came running in fuming and raging, as if he had been halfe mad, readie to teare his clothes for anger; and in great choller casting his cap against the ground, asked the Bassaes, if they meant to kill the king, by bringing him into the open aire? We (said he) haue with great pains, in long time, a litle recovered him, and will you thus foolishly cast him downe againe? Pardon vs good doctor (said *Eiuas*) for these gentlemen (pointing to the pensioners) were so importunat to see his majestie, that to satisfie their desires, he was content to be led forth of his chamber: wherof we hope shall ensue no harme. The pensioners seeing the king many times mouing his hand to his face, and as it were stroking his beard, held themselves well contented, supposing him to haue bene aliue, although but weake, and therefore not willing to speake vnto them. The physicians taking him vp amongst them, carried him into his lodging againe, which was but fast by, making as if they had carried an extreame sicke man. Thus was his death cunningly concealed one and fortie daies, vntill the coming of *Amurath* his sonne.

This *Mahomet* was both wise and valiant, and withall exceeding bountifull, but ambitious: and may of right be accounted the restorer of the Turkes kingdome; for he recovered againe all those countries in *ASIA* which *Tamerlane* had taken away and giuen vnto other Mahometane princes, after the ouerthrow of *Baia*. And when as the kingdome of the Turkes was rent in peeces and almost brought to naught by ciuile wars, and the ambition of himselfe and his brethren, he at length got possession of the whole, and so left it to his sonne *Amurath* an entire kingdome, in the former greatnesse, although not much by him augmented. His bodie lieth buried in a faire tombe made of artificiall stone, very beautifull to behold, in a chappell at the East side of *PUSIA*, where we leaue him at his rest.

F I N I S.

Christian princes of the same time with Mahomet the first.	Emperours	Of the East { <i>Emanuel Palaeologus.</i>	1387. 30.
		Of the West { <i>Rupertus duke of Bauaria.</i>	1400. 10.
		<i>Sigismund king of Hungarie.</i>	1411. 28.
	Kings	Of England { <i>Henrie the fourth.</i>	1399. 13.
		<i>Henrie the fifth.</i>	1413. 9.
		Of Fraunce { <i>Charles the sixth, surnamed, The welbeloued.</i>	1381. 42.
		Of Scotland { <i>John Stuart, otherwise called Robert.</i>	1390. 16.
		<i>James the first.</i>	1424. 13.
	Bishops of Rome	<i>Boniface the IX.</i>	1391. 14.
		<i>Innocent the VII.</i>	1405. 2.
		<i>Gregorie the XII.</i>	1407. 2.
		<i>Alexander the V.</i>	1410. 1.
		<i>John the XXIII.</i>	1411. 5.
		<i>Martin the V.</i>	1417. 13.



Phil. Ionicer.
Hist. Turc lib. i.

*Europam luctu & funestis cladibus implens
Seuus Amurathes totus in arma ruit.
Maior at Huniades virtute & fortibus ausis,
Cogit cum trepida vertere terga fuga.
Consilia Eugenij bellum furialia suadent,
Sacroorum antisfex Martia ad arma ruit:
(Arma viri tractent, cures sua templa sacerdos)
Europæ exitium res tulit ista grane.*

Fierce Amurath doth EUROPE fill with blood and wofull cries:
And wholic giuen to martiall deeds, doth whole in armes arise.
But yet Huniades (than he, of greater strength and might)
Enforced him right fearefully to turne his backe in flight.
Eugenius his infernall spels, stirs vp a fatall jarre:
Who hauing charge of sacred rites, runs headlong into warre.
(Leaue martiall deeds to martiall men, and let the priest goe praie)
Such diuelish counsell, worse receiued, wrought EUROPEs great decaye.



THE LIFE OF AMVRATH, THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, SIXT KING OF THE TURKES, AND THE GREAT ESTA- BLISHER OF THEIR KINGDOME.



After that the death of Mahomet had been politiquely concealed one and fortie daies by the three great Bassaes, Baiazet, Ethases, and Ibrahim: ^{Murat is the same that we call Desulerma.} Amurath or Murat. (as the Turkes call him) his eldest sonne, at that time comming to PRUSA, was by them placed in his fathers seat, and the death of Mahomet at the same time published: wherevpon great troubles began on euerie side to arise.

The princes of SMYRNA and MENTESI arose vp in armes: and at ^{Mustapha the supposed sonne of Baiazet raised rebellion against Amurath.} THESSALONICA an obscure fellow, crept as it were out of a chimneys corner, tooke vpon him the name and person of Mustapha, the sonne of Baiazet, which was slaine many yeates before, in the great battaile against Tamerlane at mount STELLA, as is before declared in the life of the ynfortunate Sultan Baiazet. This counterfait Mustapha animated by the Grecian princes, and going from THESSALONICA to VARDARIUM, let to good a countenance vpon the matter, with such a grace and majestie, that not onely the country people (apt to beleue any thing) but men of greater place and calling also, as Tzunites Beg, the prince of SMYRNA his sonne, with the sonnes of old Eurenoses Bassa, persuaded that he was the verie son of the great Baiazet, repaired vnto him, as vnto their naturall prince and soueraigne. From VARDARIUM he went to SERRAE, and from thence to HADRIANOPE, (Amurath being as then at PRUSA) where he was receiued as if it had been that noble prince Mustapha, whom hee feigned himselfe to be: so that in short time he was honoured as a king in all parts of the Turkish kingdome in EUROPE.

Amurath to repress this so great and dangerous a rebellion, sent Baiazet Bassa, a man of great authoritie in his court, with a strong armie into EUROPE. This great Bassa passing ouer HEBRESPONTUS, found all the country reuolted vnto their new found king Mustapha: but marching on towards HADRIANOPE, with purpose to haue giuen him battaile, he was first forsaken of the European souldiours, which he brought out of ASIA, and afterwards of all the rest also: and so being left post alone, with his brother Hamze Beg, was for safegard of his life glad to yeeld himselfe to Mustapha, of whom he was graciously entertained, and vpon promise of his loialtie, sworne one of his priuie counsaile.

Mustapha thus now possessed of the Turkish kingdome in EUROPE, and entertaining great thoughts, the better to maintaine his credit, leauied a great armie to make war vpon Amurath in ASIA. And as he was vpon his way, at a place which the Turkes call SASLIDERE, of the place of Willows, his other counsaileurs repining at the great honor he gaue to Baiazet Bassa, aduised him to beware that he trusted him not too farre, of whose small faith he had sufficient triall already, and was like ynough when occasion should serue, to reuolt from him to Amurath, and to draw after him some great part of his armie, to the great perill both of himselfe and all them his faithfull seruants and followers. Vpon which jealous conceit, this great Bassa Baiazet was there forthwith as a traitour apprehended, and without further triall executed: at which time his brother Hamze was with much adoe spared. This done, Mustapha proceeded on his journey, and passed

ouer with his armie at CALLIPOLIS into ASIA. *Amurath* vnderstanding of the proceedings of *Mustapha* in EUROPE, and of his preparation made for his inuasion of ASIA, created three new Bassaes, *Omer*, *Vruge*, and *Alis*, all three the sonnes of *Temurtases*; these he joyned with his old Bassaes, *Ibrahim* and *Eiuases*. All these fiue he vsed as counsellours for the wars, by whose aduice he sent for *Mahomet Beg*, surnamed *Michael Ogl*, who in the time that *Musa* reigned, was viceroy in EUROPE, and therefore a man well knowne to most principall men in *Mustapha*'s armie, but had been kept prisoner in the castle of AMASTIA, from the time that *Musa* was deposed and put to death by his brother *Mahomet*, vntill now that hee was after eight yeares imprisonment, for this speciall purpose enlarged and received into fauour.

About the same time that *Mustapha* set footing in ASIA, *Amurath* hauing gathered his armie, set forward from PRUSA to meet him; yet with such distrust in his forces, which were thought to be much inferior to the European souldiours which followed *Mustapha*, that hee was glad vpon a superstitious opinion or zeale, to prostrate himselfe at the feet of an Emir (one of the false prophet *Mahomet*'s posteritie) to receiue at his hypocritical hands a gracelesse blessing for his better speed: by whom he was made to beleue, that after two repulses, he had with much adoe, at the same time, obtained graunt of the great prophet *Mahomet*, that he should preuaile in that war: and therupon had his sword girt vnto him with the Emir his holy hands, with many other vaine and superstitious ceremonies. Yet for all these charmes, hee marched on with his armie in feare enough, vntill he came to the riuer of VLIBAD, (otherwise called RINDACUS) where hauing intelligence of the approach of *Mustapha*, he for feare caused the bridge ouer the riuer there to be broken downe, and encamped himselfe on that side the riuer. Not long after came *Mustapha*, and finding the bridge broken, encamped at the foot thereof on the other side: so that nothing parted the two armies but the breadth of the riuer onely. Whilste they lay thus neere encamped together, that the souldiours might on both sides take the full view one of another, and also talke together: *Mahomet-beg* surnamed *Michael Ogl*, but lately deliuered out of his long imprisonment (as is aforesaid) came to the riuer side, and with a loud voice called by name vpon the great captaines, and old souldiours that were in *Mustapha*'s armie; asking by name for many of his old friends and acquaintance: many of them being there present, rejoycing to see that honourable man (whom they supposed to haue been dead in prison many yeares before) came gladly to the side of the riuer to heare what he could say.

Then with a loud voice he began to perswade them, that the man whom they followed was not the honourable *Mustapha*, but some base minded fellow, set vp by the Grecians, abusing the obscuritie of his birth, as the vaile vnder the couert whereof, hee went craftily about to intrude himselfe into the honourable descent of *Baiazet*; and so masking in the counterfeit titles of stolen honor, had misseled them from their dutie to their naturall king and soueraigne, to follow him a meere deceiver. And further assured them, that *Mustapha*, *Baiazet* his sonne, was dead and buried in the bed of fame, two and twentie yeares before; honourably ending his daies in defence of his country, in the great battaile of mount SABELA, against *Tamerlane*: Wherfore they should doe well, to forsake that supposed *Mustapha*, and againe to yeeld their dutifull obedience vnto their vndoubted soueraigne *Amurath*. These words deliuered vnto them by *Mahomet*, whom they generally both reuerenced, and trusted; wrought such effect in their minds, that some presently aduencured to swimme ouer the riuer, and joyned themselves vnto him: and many others that staid still, began now to doubt, least they had worshipped a wrong saint. At the same time also, *Eiuases Bassa*, to terrifie *Mustapha*, sent vnto him letters as in great secret, aduertising him, That *Amurath* had the next night purposed with his armie to passe ouer the riuer about the broken bridge; at which time the chiefe captaines of his armie being (as hee said) corrupted, had promised to deliuer *Mustapha* into his hands, and with his head to pay the ranfome of them all. This he coloured with such faire glosses; that *Mustapha* partly beleeued the same. So when the dead time of the night was come, *Eiuases* with certain troupes of horsemen, passed ouer the riuer, at the verie same place hee had in his letters named; and that with such a noise and tumult, as *Amurath* with his whole armie had been comming. *Mustapha* seeing things begin thus to worke, according as *Eiuases Bassa* had before written: and with this, doubting also to be presently betrayed, and carying about him a guiltie conscience, the mother of feare and distrust, tooke horse (sleenderly accompanied, but with ten persons of his whole armie) and fled in hast, no man pursuing them, vntill he came to the riuer of BOGA, and there with a great summe

Mustapha's fly-
at

of money obtained passage, by corrupting the capitaine that dwelt in the castle vpon the passage of the riuer: and the third day after passing ouer the strait of HALLESPONTUS, landed at CALLIPOLIS. The flight of *Mustapha* once knowne in his armie, they all yeelded themselves to *Eiuases Bassa*: who taking possession of *Mustapha* his tent, caused the broken bridge to be repaired; whereby *Amurath* passing with his armie, joyned himselfe with *Eiuases*. The other *Bassa* (*Ibrahim*) counsailed *Amurath* to put to sword all those rebels that had followed *Mustapha*: but by the mediation of *Eiuases*, to whome they had yeelded themselves, they were generally pardoned.

Amurath departing from VLIBAD or LOPADIUM, came to BOGA; and there hanged vp the capitaine that had giuen *Mustapha* passage. From thence he held on his way to LAMPSCUM, intending to pursue *Mustapha* into EUROPE: but being come to the sea side, hee could find no passage, for that *Mustapha* had caused all the shipping on that side, to be brought ouer into EUROPE. Yet at last *Amurath* by good fortune chaunced vpon a great Genoway ship, which hee hired for foure thousand duckats to transport his armie, and so with much adoe, at length landed in EUROPE. *Mustapha* seeing that *Amurath* was now come ouer, fled to HADRIANOPLE, where he found such cold welcome, that fearing to bee betrayed hee, was glad to speed himselfe thence, thinking all the world to little to hide himselfe in: and so came to an obscure place in the countrey of the Turks called KISUL-A-GATZ-GENITZE: where, the souldiours sent to pursue him, ouertook him, and brought him bound to *Amurath* then being at HADRIANOPLE: by whose commandement he was shamefully hanged, from the battlements of one of the highest towers of the citie, and there left to the worlds wonder.

Mustapha hanged.

This *Mustapha*, is of some writers reported to haue been indeede the sonne of the great Sultan *Baiazet*, and that he was kept in prison all that long time, and thus at length set vp by the Greeks to trouble the state of the Turkish kingdome: but the Turkish histories report as before, calling him *Dusme* or counterfeit *Mustapha*. And it is verie likely, that if he had been one of the sonnes of *Baiazet*, he would haue found some meanes to haue made some great stirre long before that, as all the rest of the vnquiet brood of *Baiazet* did, which neuer rested vntil they had like the earth borne brethren one destroyed the other: besides that, their bloodie natures considered, it is verie like that *Mahomet* his younger brother, who reigned in HADRIANOPLE almost eight yeares, and was in league all that time with the emperor of CONSTANTINOPLE, would for his more safetie haue got him into his owne power, if hee had been in prison with the emperor; or else haue dispatched him, if he had been in prison with himselfe. All which I am the rather perswaded to thinke, for that *Orchanes* (a child, the son of *Solyman*) could find no safe place of abode at CONSTANTINOPLE in the reigne of *Mahomet*; but flying, was apprehended and his eyes put out, as is before declared in the life of *Mahomet*: much lesse is it like that *Mustapha*, being a warlike prince, and his elder brother, could haue been so long preserved and kept in prison from his furie.

It fortuned in these late broiles (as oftentimes it doth with others in like case) diuers of the rebels *Asapi*, or common souldiours (whom he for his greater countenance had apparelled and armed like the *Ianizaries*) to fall into the hands of the true *Ianizaries*, *Amurath* his faithfull guards; whose liues indeed they spared, but vsing them with all the despight and indignities possible. Amongst the rest, one of the *Ianizaries* being an hungred, brought two of these *Asapi* his prisoners vnto a cooke shop, offering to sell them vnto him for a little victuall: which the cooke refused to giue him, as hauing no vse for such vnneccessarie seruants. Wherewith the proud *Ianizarie* enraged, swore many a great oath, presently to cut off their heads, & to giue them him for nought, if he would not for a thing of nought redeeme them. And like ynough he was to haue so done, had not the cooke, moued with pitie, offered him for them both a sheepes head: which the *Ianizarie* tooke for them, swearing, That the cooke had giuen for the more than indeed they were worth. Which disgrace, so long since done vnto these *Asapi*, is yet oftentimes by way of reproch in great contempt, by the matterfull and insolent *Ianizaries*, objected vnto the whole bodie of the *Asapi* (the greatest part of the Turks huge armies) of whom for all that the proud *Ianizaries* make small reckoning, accounting them scarcely for men, & in their rage oftentimes telling them, That two of them are not worth a foddren sheepes head.

Amurath hauing at length with much adoe thus pacified the dangerous rebellion raised by the counterfeit *Mustapha*, both in EUROPE and ASIA, was yet not a little grieved, to thinke how the same had to the great hazard of his estate, bene first plotted by the Greeks, and afterwards

Constantinople in vain besieged by Amurath.

ouer with his armie at *CALLIPOLIS* into *ASIA*. *Amurath* vnderstanding of the proceedings of *Mustapha* in *EUROPE*, and of his preparation made for his inuasion of *ASIA*, created three new Bassaes, *Omer*, *Vrue*, and *Alis*, all three the sonnes of *Temurtases*; these he joynd with his old Bassaes, *Ibrahim* and *Eiuses*. All these fiue he vsed as counsellours for the wars, by whose aduice he sent for *Mahomet Beg*, surnamed *Michael Ogl*, who in the time that *Musa* reigned, was viceroy in *EUROPE*, and therefore a man well knowne to most principall men in *Mustapha*'s armie, but had been kept prisoner in the castle of *AMASTA*, from the time that *Musa* was deposed and put to death by his brother *Mahomet*, vntill now that hee was after eight yeares imprisonment, for this speciall purpose enlarged and receiued into fauour.

About the same time that *Mustapha* set footing in *ASIA*, *Amurath* hauing gathered his armie, set forward from *PRUSA* to meet him; yet with such distrust in his forces, which were thought to be much inferiour to the European souldiours which followed *Mustapha*, that hee was glad vpon a superstitious opinion or zeale, to prostrate himselfe at the feet of an Emir (one of the false prophet *Mahomet*'s posteritie) to receiue at his hipocritall hands a gracelesse blessing for his better speed: by whom he was made to beleue, that after two repulses, he had with much adoe, at the third time, obtained graunt of the great prophet *Mahomet*, that he should preuaile in that war: and therupon had his sword girt vnto him with the Emir his holy hands, with many other vaine and superstitious ceremonies. Yet for all these charmes, hee marched on with his armie in feare enough, vntill he came to the riuer of *VITBAD*, (otherwise called *RINDACUS*) where hauing intelligence of the approach of *Mustapha*, he for feare caused the bridge ouer the riuer there to be broken downe, and encamped himselfe on that side the riuer. Not long after came *Mustapha*, and finding the bridge broken, encamped at the foot thereof on the other side: so that nothing parted the two armies but the breadth of the riuer onely. Whilste they lay thus neere encamped together, that the souldiours might on both sides take the full view one of another, and also talke together, *Mahomet-beg* surnamed *Michael Ogl*, but lately deliuered out of his long imprisonment (as is aforesaid) came to the riuer side, and with a loud voice called by name vpon the great capitaines, and old souldiours that were in *Mustapha*'s armie; asking by name for many of his old friends and acquaintance: many of them being there present, rejoycing to see that honourable man (whom they supposed to haue been dead in prison many yeares before) came gladly to the side of the riuer to heare what he could say.

Then with a loud voice he began to perswade them, that the man whom they followed was not the honourable *Mustapha*, but some base high minded fellow, set vp by the Grecians, abusing the obscurity of his birth, as the vaile vnder the couert whereof, hee went craftily about to intrude himselfe into the honourable descent of *Baiazet*; and so masking in the counterfeit titles of stolen honor, had misseled them from their dutie to their naturall king and soueraigne, to follow him a meere deceiver. And further assured them, that *Mustapha*, *Baiazet* his sonne, was dead and buried in the bed of fame, two and twentie yeares before; honourably ending his daies in defence of his country, in the great battaile of mount *TELLA*, against *Tamerlane*: Wherfore they should doe well, to forsake that supposed *Mustapha*, and againe to yeeld their dutifull obedience vnto their vndoubted soueraigne *Amurath*. These words deliuered vnto them by *Mahomet*, whom they generally both reuerenced, and trusted; wrought such effect in their minds, that some presently aduencured to swimme ouer the riuer, and joynded themselves vnto him: and many others that staid still, began now to doubt, least they had worshipped a wrong saint. At the same time also, *Eiuses Bassa*, to terrifie *Mustapha*, sent vnto him letters as in great secret, aduertising him, That *Amurath* had the next night purposed with his armie to passe ouer the riuer about the broken bridge; at which time the chiefe capitaines of his armie being (as hee said) corrupted, had promised to deliuer *Mustapha* into his hands, and with his heaid to pay the ranfome of them all. This he coloured with such faire glosses, that *Mustapha* partly beleued the same. So when the dead time of the night was come, *Eiuses* with certain troupes of horsemen, passed ouer the riuer, at the verie same place hee had in his letters named; and that with such a noise and tumult, as *Amurath* with his whole armie had been comming. *Mustapha* seeing things begin thus to worke, according as *Eiuses Bassa* had before written: and with this, doubting also to be presently betrayed, and carying about him a guiltie conscience, the mother of feare and distrust, tooke horse (slenderly accompanied, but with ten persons of his whole armie) and fled in hast, no man pursuing them, vntill he came to the riuer of *BOGA*, and there with a great summe

Mustapha fled

of money obtained passage, by corrupting the capitaine that dwelt in the castle vpon the passage of the riuer: and the third day after passing ouer the strait of *HILLESPOINT*, landed at *CALLIPOLIS*. The flight of *Mustapha* once knowne in his armie, they all yeelded themselves to *Eiuses Bassa*: who taking possession of *Mustapha* his tent, caused the broken bridge to be repaired; whereby *Amurath* passing with his armie, joynded himselfe with *Eiuses*. The other *Bassa* (*Ibrahim*) counsailed *Amurath* to put to sword all those rebels that had followed *Mustapha*: but by the mediation of *Eiuses*, to whome they had yeelded themselves, they were generally pardoned.

Amurath departing from *VITBAD* or *LOPADUM*, came to *BOGA*, and there hanged vp the capitaine that had giuen *Mustapha* passage. From thence he held on his way to *LAMPSCUM*, intending to pursue *Mustapha* into *EUROPE*: but being come to the sea side, hee could find no passage, for that *Mustapha* had caused all the shipping on that side, to be brought ouer into *EUROPE*. Yet at last *Amurath* by good fortune chaunced vpon a great Genoway ship, which hee hired for foure thousand duckats to transport his armie, and so with much adoe, at length landed in *EUROPE*. *Mustapha* seeing that *Amurath* was now come ouer, fled to *HADRIANOPLE*, where he found such cold welcome, that fearing to be betraied hee was glad to speed himselfe thence, thinking all the world to little to hide himselfe in: and so came to an obscure place in the countrey of the Turks called *KISULAGATZ GENITZE*: where, the souldiours sent to pursue him, ouertook him, and brought him bound to *Amurath* then being at *HADRIANOPLE*: by whose commaundement he was shamefully hanged, from the battlements of one of the highest towers of the citie, and there left to the worlds wonder.

Mustapha hanged

This *Mustapha*, is of some writers reported to haue been indeede the sonne of the great Sultan *Baiazet*, and that he was kept in prison all that long time, and thus at length set vp by the Greeks to trouble the state of the Turkish kingdome: but the Turkish histories report as before, calling him *Dusme* or counterfeit *Mustapha*. And it is verie likely, that if he had been one of the sonnes of *Baiazet*, he would haue found some meanes to haue made some great stirre long before that, as all the rest of the vnquiet brood of *Baiazet* did, which neuer rested vntil they had like the earth borne brethren one destroyed the other: besides that, their bloodie natures considered, it is verie like that *Mahomet* his younger brother, who reigned in *HADRIANOPLE* almost eight yeares, and was in league all that time with the emperor of *CONSTANTINOPLE*, would for his more safetie haue got him into his owne power, if hee had been in prison with the emperor; or else haue dispatched him, if he had been in prison with himselfe. All which I am the rather perswaded to thinke, for that *Orchanes* (a child, the son of *Solyman*) could find no safe place of abode at *CONSTANTINOPLE* in the raigne of *Mahomet*; but flying, was apprehended and his eies put out, as is before declared in the life of *Mahomet*: much lesse is it like that *Mustapha*, being a warlike prince, and his elder brother, could haue been so long preserved and kept in prison from his furie.

It fortuned in these late broiles (as oftentimes it doth with others in like case) diuers of the rebels *Asapi*, or common souldiours (whom he for his greater countenance had apparelled and armed like the *Ianizaries*) to fall into the hands of the true *Ianizaries*, *Amurath* his faithfull guard; whose liues indeed they spared, but vsing them with all the despight and indignities possible. Amongst the rest, one of the *Ianizaries* being an hungred, brought two of these *Asapi* his prisoners vnto a cookes shop, offering to sell them vnto him for a little victuall: which the cooke refused to giue him, as hauing no vse for such vnneccessarie seruants. Wherewith the proud *Ianizarie* enraged, swore many a great oath, presently to cut off their heads, &c to giue them him for nought, if he would not for a thing of nought redeeme them. And like ynough he was to haue so done, had not the cooke, moued with pitié, offered him for them both a sheepes head: which the *Ianizarie* tooke for them, swearing, That the cooke had giuen for the more than indeed they were worth. Which disgrace, so long since done vnto these *Asapi*, is yet oftentimes by way of reproch in great contempt, by the matterfull and insolent *Ianizaries*, objected vnto the whole bodie of the *Asapi* (the greatest part of the Turks huge armies) of whom for all that the proud *Ianizaries* make small reckoning, accounting them scarcely for men, & in their rage oftentimes telling them, That two of them are not worth a foddren sheepes head.

Two *Asapi* sold by a *Ianizarie* for a sheepes head

Amurath hauing at length with much adoe thus pacified the dangerous rebellion raised by the counterfeit *Mustapha*, both in *EUROPE* and *ASIA*; was yet not a little grieved, to thinke how the same had to the great hazard of his estate, bene first plotted by the Greeks, and afterwards

Constantinople in vaine besieged by Amurath

wards countenanced by the Greeke emperor, of whom he thought now to be reueged. And therefore sending before him *Michael Ugli*, his lieutenant generall in EUROPE, with his European souldiors to invade the countrey about CONSTANTINOPL, followed himselfe after with the Ianizaries and his Asian forces: and encamping before the citie, filled all that necke of land which lieth before it, from sea to sea. And so encamped, began right furiously to batter the wals, in hope so to haue made a breach, and by the same to haue entered the citie: but finding the wals of greater strength than hee had before supposed, and the defendants still repairing whatsoever the furie of his artillerie had beaten downe or shaken, hee ceased his batterie, and coming on with all his forces, desperately attempted by assault to haue gained the citie: wherein his attempt was not answerable to his desire. For approaching the citie, with arrowes, as showers falling upon the defendants, and scaling ladders in the mean time clapt vp to the wals, and the Ianizaries with others of his best souldiors courageously mounting the same; they were by the defendants nobly repulsed and beaten downe, loosing some their hands, some their armes, some their heads, but most their liues, no shot falling in vaine from the wals. VVhich *Amurath* beholding, and grieved to see (though vnwilling) commaunded a retreat to be sounded, and the assault quene ouer: and shortly after seeing no hope to preuaile, in great rage raised his siege and departed. Vnto whom for all that the Greeke emperor not long after sent his embassadours, to entreat with him for peace; whereof he would by no meanes heare, but proudly threatened to be ere long of all his wrongs reuenged. VVhich caused the Greeke emperor to deuise what he might for the troubling of his estate, so to keepe him otherwise busied: as he did shortly after with the Caramanian king, by countenancing another *Mustapha* (surnamed *Cutzug* or the little) *Amurath* his younger brother, against him, to the raising of new stirres, and *Amurath* his no small trouble.

Mahomet the late king had fise sonnes and seuen daughters, whereof *Amurath* was the eldest, and succeeded in his fathers kingdom; *Mustapha* the second, surnamed the little; *Achmet* the third, who died before his father: the other two, *Iosephus* & *Machmutes*, both died of the plague, being but children, after the death of their father. Thre of their sisters were married to the three sonnes of the king of CARAMANIA, *Ibrahim*, *Aladin*, and *Isa*: other two were bestowed vpon the sonnes of the prince *Isfendiar*, *Ibrahim*, and *Casimes*: the sixt was giuen in marriage to *Cozza-Beg*, viceroy in ANATOLIA; and the seuenth to the sonne of *Ibrahim Bassa*, who died at *Mebra*, whither she went vpon superstitious deuotion on pilgrimage.

At such time as *Amurath* was busied in his warres in EUROPE against *Mustapha*, the supposed sonne of *Baiazer*: the younger sonne of *Mahomet* (called also *Mustapha*) being but thirteene years old, and *Amurath* his brother indeed, was set vp to raise new troubles, by the king of CARAMANIA, and other princes, as well Mahometans, as the Christian princes of GRECIA; who thought it good pollicie, by that meanes to impeach the greatnesse of *Amurath*. This young prince *Mustapha*, strengthened with the forces of his friends, entered into his brothers dominions in ASIA, and besieged *Nice*, which was at length yeilded vnto him. *Amurath* aduertised of this new rebellion, by great gifts and large promises corrupted *Ilias Beg*, the young princes tutor, to betray the prince into his hands. VVherupon *Amurath* with great celeritie set forward with his arme from *HADRIANOPL*, and in nine daies came to *Nice*, where he entered the citie with small resistance, as was to him before promised, where *Mustapha* was by his false tutor to him presented: who because he would not spill one drop of the sacred *Othoman* blood (as the Turks call it) commaunded the executioner presently to strangle him with a bow string; which was done accordingly, and his bodie afterwards buried by his father at *PRUSA*.

Amurath hauing suppressed these two rebellions, and now out of all feare of any competitor, thought his fise counsellors too many by three, and therefore remoued the three Bassas, *Omar*, *Vrutzi*, and *Alis* (the sonnes of *Temurtases*) into honorable places; retaining of his counsell, onely the two old Bassas, *Ibrahim* and *Eiuases*. But shortly after, *Eiuases* was secretly accused to *Amurath*, That he sought by his fauorites, the souldiors of the court, to aspire vnto the kingdom himselfe, and to depose the king; and that intending some such matter, hee did vsually weare a priuie coat. This suspicious report troubled the jealous tyrant: wherefore on a time as he rid accompanied with *Eiuases*, he cast his arme about him, as if it had bene in kindnesse: but finding him secretly armed, wou! needs know the cause thereof: whereunto *Eiuases* answered, That it was for feare of some enemies hee had in the court: but this excuse could by no meanes serue his turne: wherefore he was forthwith apprehended by the commaundement of *Amurath*, and both his

Mustapha betrayed & strangled.

Eiuases Bassa thus acc'd out.

eyes burnt out with a hot Steele glasse.

Whilest *Amurath* was thus busied in subduing rebellions at home, *Muhamethes* the Caramanian king besieged ATTALIA, a great citie in PAMPHILIA, by the space of six moneths, which was valiantly defended by *Hamza-beg*, *Amurath* his lieutenant there: at which siege the vnfortunat king himselfe, as he was taking view of the citie, was slaine with a great shot out of the citie: whereupon *Ibrahim*, which succeeded him in the kingdom, brake vp the siege, & returned home to burie his father. At this time also, *Dracula* prince of VALACIA, passing ouer DANUBIUS, did the Turks much harme about SILISTRA, but was afterwards enforced to submit himselfe to *Amurath*, and become his tributarie.

About this time also *Tzunites*, the prince of SMYRNA, which had before aided the rebell *Mustapha*, did by all meanes he could vex and molest *Iaxia-beg*, (*Amurath* his lieutenant in ARDINIA) & hauing by chance taken his brother prisoner, put him to death. This prince of SMYRNA was descended of the antient princes of ARDINIA, and therefore pretended an interest in that siegnorie: which his claime the people of the countrey secretly fauoured, so farre as they durst for feare of the Turks. *Amurath* hearing of the harmes that this prince of SMYRNA did, commaunded *Hamze-beg*, viceroy of ANATOLIA, with all his power to make warre vpon him. The viceroy without delay assembled a great armie, and invaded the princes countrey: and the prince being well provided for his coming, meeting him vpon the way, gaue him battaile: wherein *Hasan* the princes sonne, leading a great part of his fathers armie, had put one part of the Turkes armie to flight: and pursuing them with too much furie, left his father at the same time so hardly beset by the viceroy, that he was glad to flie to his castle of HIPSILY fast by. *Hasan* returning from the chace of the enemy, not knowing what had happened to his father, was by the Turkes in his returne overcome and taken prisoner. After which victorie the viceroy presently laid siege to the castle wherein the prince was. This siege continued a great while: at length, the prince brought to extremitie, was content to yeeld himselfe vnto the viceroy, vpon condition he should vse no violence against the person of himselfe or his sonne, but to send them prisoners vnto *Amurath*: which thing the viceroy by solenne oath promised, whereupon the prince came out of the castle, and yeelded himselfe prisoner to the viceroy. *Iaxia-beg*, whose brother the prince had before put to death, attended the going of *Hamze* the viceroy to his tent, where finding *Hasan* the princes sonne sitting vpon the ground, as the manner of the Turkes is, tooke him by the choller with great furie, and drawing him along to the feet of the prince his father, there most cruelly strucke off his head: and in the same rage laying his bloodie hands vpon the aged prince, strucke off his head also: to the great dishonour of the viceroy, who had before giuen his faith for their safetie. The heads of the prince and his sonne were set vpon two launces, within the sight of the castle; which the defendants seeing, and now despairing of all rescue, yeelded themselves, with the castle. This infortunat *Tzunites* was the last prince of SMYRNA, after whose death all his territorie was vnto the *Othoman* kingdom. After all these troubles, *Amurath* with great triumph married the daughter of the prince *Isfendiar*.

Amurath hauing laied vp in the depth of his thoughts the remembrance of that the Grecian princes had done, in giuing aid to the rebels aforesaid, thought it now high time to take reuenge of that wrong: and for that purpose gathered a great armie, wherewith he ranged at his pleasure through MACEDONIA, vntill he came to THESSALONICA, surprising by the way diuers cities and castles, at that time belonging to the Constantinopolitan empire. This famous citie of THESSALONICA, now called SALONICHI, for beautie and wealth sometime not inferiour to any of the greatest and most renowned cities of GRECIA, is situate vpon the borders of MACEDONIA, close vnto a bay of the ARCHIPELAGO or the sea EGEUM: which bay was in antient time called THERMATICUS-SINUS, and now the bay of SALONICHI. To the Christian congregation there dwelling, *S. Paul* wrote two Epistles, in the latter whereof, hee forewarneth them of a great defection to come before the latter day: Before this Christian citie, then in the protection of the Venetians, *Amurath* encamped his great armie of misbeleuing Turkes; and laied hard siege to it, with most terrible batterie: at which time hee by secret meanes corrupted certaine of the wicked citizens, to haue betrayed the citie by a secret mine; and to haue let him in: which treason was by the Venetian gouernors perceiued, and the plotters therof for safeguard of their liues glad to leape ouer the wals, and to flie into the Turkes campe.

Amurath hauing greatly battered the wals of the citie, the more to encourage his souldiors, promised

The king of Caramania slaine.

The Thessalonica besieged.

promised to giue them all the spoile thereof, if they could by force winne it. The greedie desire of this rich prey, wherein euery common souldior promised vnto himselfe whatsoeuer his foolish fancie or vnbridled affection could desire, so inflamed the minds of these barbarous souldiors, and especially of the Ianizaries, that giuing a most terrible assault to the citie, they by force entered the same, and wan it. The Venetian souldiors fled to their gallies, lying at anchor in the hauen, and so got to sea: but the infinite miseries which the poore Christian citizens indured in paine than the ignominious outrages and vspeakable villanies which many good Christians there suffered, heartily wishing to die, and could not; and yet the furious enemies sword deuoured all the people without respect of age or sex, except such as for strength of bodie, or comeliness of person, were reserved for painefull labour or beastly lust; which poore soules were afterwards disperfed into most miserable seruitude and slauerie, through all parts of the Turkish kingdome. The infinite riches of that famous citie, became a spoile vnto the barbarous souldiors; the goodly houses were left desolate, void of inhabitants. Thus the beautifull citie of *THESSALONICA*, sometime one of the most glorious ornaments of *GRÆCIA*, the late pleasant dwelling place of many rich Christians, was by the tyrant giuen for an habitation to such base Turkes, as at their pleasure repaired thether to seat themselves, and so is by them at this day possessed. This calamitie happened to *THESSALONICA* in the yeare of our Lord 1432.

Thessalonica taken by Amurath.

THESSALONICA being thus taken, *Amurath* returned to *HADRIANOPOLE* himselfe, and at the same time sent *Caratze* with the greatest part of his armie into *ÆTOLIA*. *Charles* prince of that countrey, dying a little before the coming of *Amurath* to *THESSALONICA*, and hauing no lawfull issue, had diuided the countrey of *ACHARNANIA* amongst his three base sons, *Memon*, *Turnus*, and *Hercules*, leauing all the rest of his dominion to his brothers sonne, called also *Charles*. But shortly after, such discord fell among these brethren, that *Amurath* sending his Turkes to aid one of them against the other, as he was by them requested, in fine brought all that countrey of *ÆTOLIA* into subjection to himselfe, leauing nothing for the foolish brethren to strue for, more than the bare titles of imaginatiue honour. The other *Græcia* princes of *ATHENS*, *PHOCIS*, *BOETIA*, and all the rest of *GRÆCIA*, vnto the strait of *CORINTH*, terrified by their neighbours harness, were glad to submit themselves to the barbarian yoke, and to become tributaries vnto the Turkish tirant; vnder which slauerie they of long time most miserably liued, if intollerable slauerie joyned with infidelitie may be accounted a life. Thus the Grecians lost their libertie, (which their auncestors had many times before, to their immortall praise, worthily defended against the greatest monarchs of the world) and are now so degenerate, by the meanes of the Turkish oppression, that in all *GRÆCIA* is hardly to be found any small remembrance of the ancient glory thereof: insomuch that whereas they were wont to account all other nations barbarous in comparison of themselves, they are now become no lesse barbarous than those rude nations whom they before scorned. Which miserie with a thousand more, they may justly impute to their owne ambition and discord.

At this time amongst the distressed princes of *MACEDONIA*, and *GRÆCIA*, one *John Castriot* reigned in *EPIRUS*: who seeing how mightily the Turke preuailed against the princes his neighbours, and considering that hee was not able by any meanes to withstand so puissant an enemy, to obtaine peace, he was glad to deliuer into *Amurath* his possession, his foure sonnes, *Stanisus*, *Reposius*, *Constantine*, and *George*, for hostages: whom *Amurath* faithfully promised, well and honourably to intreat. But as soone as he had got them within his reach, he falsified his faith, and caused them to be circumcised after the Turkish manner, and to be instructed in the Turkish superstition, to the great griefe of their Christian parents: and afterwards, when he vnderstood of the death of *John Castriot* their father, hee poisoned all the three elder brethren: And by *Sehahie* (one of his great captaines) seized vpon *CROIA*, his chiefe citie, and all the rest of his territories, as if they had by good right deuolued vnto him. But *George* the youngest, whom the Turkes named *Scander-beg* or lord *Alexander*, for his excellent feature, and pregnant wit, he alwaies entirely loued, and as some thought, more passionatly than he should haue loued a boy. Him he caused to be diligently instructed in all kind of actiuitie, and feats of warre, wherein he excelled al other his equals in *Amurath* his court; and rising by many degrees of honor, came at last (being yet but verie young) to be a great Sanzack or gouernor of a prouince, and was many times appointed

appointed by *Amurath* to be generall of his armies; in which seruice hee so behaued himselfe, that he got the loue of all that knew him, and increased his credit with *Amurath*: vntill at last he found oportunitie by great policie and courage, to deliuer both himselfe and his natie countrie, from the horrible slauerie of the Turkish tyrannie, as shall be afterwards declared.

Shortly after that *Amurath* had thus daunted the princes of *GRÆCIA*, he turned his forces into *SERVIA*: but the prince of *SERVIA* vnable to withstand so mightie an enemy, to procure his fauour, sent embassadours, offering to pay him a yearely tribute, and to doe further what he should reasonably demaund. *Amurath* beside the yearely tribute, required to haue *Marie* (this princes faire daughter) in mariage; and that he should not suffer the Hungarians to passe through his countrey to inuade him; and further, not at any time to denie passage vnto the Turkish armie, when he should send forth the same for the inuasion of the kingdome of *BOSNIA*. All which unreasonable conditions the prince was glad to agree vnto, and sent his faire daughter by *Saratze*, who was afterwards married to *Amurath*.

About this time, *Iosephus* and *Machmites*, *Amurath* his brethren, and *Orchanes* the sonne of *Plague among the Turke.* *Solyman*, who had his eyes put out by his vncl *Mahomet*, with many other men of great account among the Turkes, died of the plague at *PRUSA*.

Whilest *Amurath* was thus busied in his wars in *EUROPE*, the king of *CARAMANIA* his brother in law, inuaded his dominions in *ASIA*: for so it was agreed betwene the Christian princes of *EUROPE*, and the Mahometan princes of *ASIA*, to whom the greatnesse of the *Othoman* kingdome was now become dreadfull, That whensoever hee inuaded the Christians in *EUROPE*, the Mahometan princes should inuade his countie in *ASIA*; and that whensoever hee should turne his forces into *ASIA*, the Christian princes should spoile his countie in *EUROPE*. Against this *Caramanian* king, *Amurath* transported his armie into *ASIA*: and as he went, seized vpon the countie of *SARUCHANIA*, *MENTESIA*, and other prouinces, which were before but tributaries vnto him, driuing out the poore princes before him: and so entered into *CARAMANIA*, and inforced the king so farre; that he was glad to agree to such conditions of peace as it pleased him to propound vnto him, and to send his sonne to wait at his court. And at the same time picking a quarrell with *Isfendiar* prince of *CASTAMONA*, caused him to become his tributarie, and to send his sonne to his court also. By which means the name of *Amurath* became terrible to all the Mahometan princes.

When *Amurath* had thus quieted all his troubles in *ASIA*, he returned to *HADRIANOPOLE*: and vnderstanding that the Hungarians passing ouer *DANUBIUS*, had in his absence made diuers incursions into his dominions, hee was therewith greatly offended, and in reuenge thereof first sent *Alis Bassa* the sonne of *Eurenosis*, with an armie to inuade *HUNGARIA*; which he performed accordingly by the space of a month, and returned from thence with rich bootie. Not long after, he himselfe in person made another road into *HUNGARIE*, commanding the prince of *SERVIA* his father in law, to giue his armie free passage through his countrey, and charging *Dracula* prince of *VALACHIA* to aid him with his forces in that expedition: which his commandement both the Christian princes (more for feare, than of good will) diligently performed. So *Amurath* hauing enriched his souldiors with the spoile taken in *HUNGARIE*, returned home and wintered at his court at *HADRIANOPOLE*.

Hungarie spoiled by Amurath.

The secret confederation betwene the Hungarians and the Mahometan king of *CARAMANIA*, was not suspected of *Amurath*; which he was the rather induced to beleue, for that whensoever he inuaded the one he was presently set vpon by the other, either in *EUROPE* or in *ASIA*: of which plot hee doubted not but that *George* prince of *SERVIA* (his father in law) was chiefe author, although in shew he was therein the least actor. Wherefore *Amurath* intending to spill the play, sent for the prince his father in law to come to the court at *HADRIANOPOLE*: but hee doubting some Turkish tragedie, pretended great occasions that he could not come; and fearing that which afterwards fell out, fortified and manned all his strong cities and castles: by all meanes he could possibly, especially his chiefe citie *SEBENDRE* (otherwise called *SEBENDROVIA*) and left therein his sonne *Gregorie* (or as some call him, *George*) as gouernour; for his other sonne *Stephan* was long before in *Amurath* his court, with the queene his sister. The prince of *SERVIA* himselfe went into *HUNGARIE* to procure from thence some aid, hauing there also himselfe certaine territories, which he had in exchange of *Sigismundus* (late emperor and king of *HUNGARIE*) for the citie of *BALGRADB*. It was not long after, but *Amurath* forgetting both

the

Amurath contrary to his faith invaded Serbia and subdued it.

the affinitie and league hee had with the prince his father in law, entered with a great armie into SERBIA, destroying all before him, and hardly besieged SEMENDRE: where, after long siege, the young gouernour (the princes sonne) doubting to fall into his enemies hands by suddaine assault, yielded himselfe, with the citie. Which thing so discouraged the rest of the Seruians, that in short time SOPHIA, NOVOMONT, with all the rest of the cities of SERBIA were yielded into the power of Amurath. After which conquest he returned to HADRIANOPLE, and hearing that the prince of SERBIA with the Hungarians, were making head against him; and that the two yong Seruian princes, Gregorie and Stephen his wiues brethren, had intelligence with their father, he commaunded them both to be cast in prison at DIDYMOTICHVM, and their eyes cruelly to be burnt out with a brasse balon made red hot, a comon vnmerefull practise among the Turks.

About this time Albertus duke of AVSTRIA hauing before married Elizabeth the only daughter of Sigismund the emperor, and succeeding his father in law both in the empire and kingdome of HUNGARIE (vnto which type of highest honour nothing more furthered him than the remembrance of Sigismund:) in the second yeare of his raigne, before hee was well settled in those new atchieued honours, died of the flux, as he was making great preparation against Amurath the Turkish king: who hauing lately driuen George prince of SERBIA and RASCIA out of his dominions, had now extended the Turkish kingdome euen vnto the borders of HUNGARIE. This Albertus dying, left his wife great with child. The Hungarians, in whose minds the remembrance of Sigismund was yet fresh, could haue bene contented to haue liued vnder the gouernment of the queene his daughter, the widow of Albertus (then great with child:) but that the Turkish king was now growne so great, and come so nigh, that it was thought more than needfull by John Huniades, and other of the Hungarian nobilitie, for the defence of that kingdome, not wholly to rest vpon the deuotion of the people toward the queene, and the expectation of her issue, whereby they should be nothing strengthened: but to make choice of some great prince, by whose power they might the better defend themselves and the kingdome against their dangerous enemies. Whereupon with consent of the queene it was resolved vpon, to make choice of Vladislavus, the yong king of POLONIA, then a prince of great power, but of farre greater fame and expectation: and by embassadors to offer vnto him the mariage of the queene, & with her the kingdome also. This embassage being sent vnto Vladislavus, the matter was too and fro debated in the Polonian court, whether it were to be accepted of or not? Some began to speake of the inequalitye of the match, considering that the king was but in the prime of his youth, and the queene well steep into yeares: vrging farther, that nothing was offered in that match but wars; and that the Hungarians therein sought for nothing more, than by the Polonian forces to defend themselves against the Turks. Others of contrarie opinion, said, That the vniuing of those two mightie kingdoms would be to the great good of them both, and to the great honour of the king, whose very name would thereby become terrible vnto the Turkes: and that it were greater pollicie, by the forces of both the kingdomes, to keepe the Turkish king from entring into HUNGARIE, than to leaue that kingdome to him for a prey, and afterward be inforced to fight with the same enemy in the heart of POLONIA: and as for inequalitye of yeares betwixt the king and the queene, it was not so great a matter, that in regard thereof so honourable and commodious alliance should be rejected; for as much as princes doe more regard the vertues of their choice, with the increase of their honour, and wealth of their kingdomes, than the Summer fruit of youth and beauty: which of itselfe in short time doth rot and perish, although it be neuer so carefully kept and preserved: and that for as much as there can be but one king in a kingdome, such choice was to be preferred of kings as had not therein the greatest hope of many children. After long deliberation, Vladislavus gave answer vnto the embassadors, That he would accept of the offers by them made: whereupon some of them returned to make relation thereof vnto the queene, and some of them staid behind to haften the king forward. But whilst these things was adoeing, the queen in the mean time was deliuered of a faire son, whom she caused to be baptized and named Ladislavus. After the birth of this child, the queene mooued with a motherly affection, began to repent her selfe, that she had given her consent for the calling in of the Polonian king, to the prejudice of her sonne: And being animated by some of the Hungarian nobilitie (who presuming of the good grace they were in with the queene, hoped to grow great themselves, if they might first draw the gouernment of that kingdome to the queene and her young sonne) determined now by all possible means to exclude the Polonian king: but the greater part of the nobilitie better considering what was most expedient for

Vladislavus accepteth of the kingdome offered.

for the present estate, and that they could neither with honor nor safetie flie from that which was before (for the common good) by the embassadors concluded; continued firme in their former resolution, for the bringing in of Vladislavus: so that by this meanes, some taking part with the queene and her young sonne, and others standing fast for Vladislavus, the kingdome of HUNGARIE was deuided into two factions, and as it were rent in peeces, and so grew to ciuile wars. The queene with such as fauoured her claime, the more to gaine the minds of the common people (which are many times no lesse carried away with shewes than matter) caused her sonne Ladislavus being then but three moneths old, to be solemnly crowned king at ALBA-REGALIS, the vsuall place for the coronation of the Hungarian kings. But after that the Polonian king had entred into HUNGARIE with a goodly armie, and joined his forces with his friends, most part of them which before followed the queene and her sonne, reuolted vnto Vladislavus. So that when she had done what she could, she was glad at last to commit the tuition of her sonne, together with the crowne of HUNGARIE, vnto Fredericke the third, then emperor: neuer ceasing for all that, to the vttermost of her power, to trouble the gouernment of Vladislavus, continually stirring vp great wars against him both at home and abroad, vntill that at the last by her death her quarrell tooke end, together with her life.

In the midst of these ciuile warres, Amurath thought a faire oportunitie presented vnto him, to make an entrance vnto the conquest of HUNGARIE, which kingdome he had in his ambitious mind already deuoured. And therefore gathering a great armie, he marched along the riuer DANVBIUS, vntill he came to the strong citie of BELGRADE, called in ancient time TAV-RUNVM, and of some ALBA GRACA, but now commonly GREIS WEISENBURG. This citie is enuironed on the East side with the famous riuer DANVBIUS, and on the South with the great tiuer of SAUS or SAWE, which there falleth into DANVBIUS; and on the other two sides is defended with strong wals, with deepe and large ditches; and was then accounted the gate or entrance into HUNGARIE. Vnto this citie Amurath at his first comming gaue two terrible assaults, & was in good hope so to haue woon the same, but yet was both times valiantly repulsed, with great slaughter of his men. Wherefore finding it to be a matter of more difficultie than was by him at the first supposed, he began to raise mounts against the citie, and high towers of wood to annoy the defendants, and furiously battered the wals. At this time also he caused great numbers of gallies and small pinnaces to be brought into both the riuers of DANVBIUS and SAWE to assault the citie on those parts where was least feared, and by that meanes also to keepe them of the citie from all succours to be sent that way out of HUNGARIE. Yet for all he could doe or devise, the citie was still valiantly defended by the Christian soldiours, which vnder the leading and conduct of Ioannes Vranus, a Florentine, gouernor thereof, with often sallies and continuall shot slew great numbers of the Turks. At the time of this siege, Vladislavus, king of POLONIA, and lately elect king of HUNGARIE, was sore troubled by the queene and her faction in HUNGARIE: which thing the Turkish king knew right well, and thereupon continued his siege, although famine began greatly to encrease in his campe; hoping in nothing more, than that the defendants despairing of helpe from the king, would in short time yeeld vp the citie. Vladislavus being so entangled with ciuile wars, as is aforesaid, that he could not possibly prepare such force as might relieue the besieged citie: yet for as much as the Turkish king had not long before by his embassador required to ioine with him in league & amitie, he thought good now to assay if he could raise the siege, by sending vnto him the like embassage. Whereupon he sent Dobrogensis, Ostrogensis, and Lucas Gorfensis, three of the Polonian nobilitie, embassadors vnto Amurath: declaring vnto him, That for so much as he had first offered by his embassadors, to ioine with him in league before he came out of POLONIA, the remembrance thereof had taken such deepe impression in his mind, that hee would not take vp armes against him, although it were in his owne iust defence, before hee had offered vnto him reasonable conditions of peace: wherefore if hee would desist from inuading of HUNGARIE, whereof Vladislavus was now by God his permission, and consent of the people, chosen king, and so raise his siege, that then they should afterwards easily agree vpon the desired peace: in concluding whereof, he should not find Vladislavus inferior to himselfe in any manner of princely courtiesie; but if he had rather to proceed in armes, & to make prooffe of his strength, he would then doe the best that he could, to make him know, that he was of sufficient power, in so iust a quarrell, to withstand his greatest forces, and to reuenge the wrongs to him done. When Amurath had receiued this embassage, he appointed the embassadors to with- draw

Belgrade besieged of the Turks.

Belgrade in vain assault.

draw themselves for a while to SYNDEROVIA (a citie of SERVIA, not farre off) untill he might better consider of their demands: pretending, that he did it for their safetie; but as appeared afterwards, secretly resolving with himselfe, presently to do his uttermost deuoir for the gaining of the citie, and vpon the successe thereof to shape them answere accordingly. Wherfore he soon as the embassadours were departed to SYNDEROVIA, hee first by his messengers assailed the minds of the citizens and souldiours with magnificall promises of large liberties; and infinit rewards and preferments, if they would yeeld vp the citie: and many arrowes with letters made fast vnto them, full of like promises, were at the same time shot into the citie. But when he saw no hope to preuaile by that means, hee called together the capitaines and commanders of his armie, and there in the presence of them all spake vnto them as followeth:

The notable speech of Amurath sixt king of the Turks to the souldiours to the assault of Belgrade.

Although I know it is in mine owne power, to graunt, or not to graunt, the peace wherof our enemies haue made a motion: yet it is my pleasure (worthie souldiours) to know your minds also. For so much as we haue that warre in hand, wherein with worldly felicitie, (whereof amongst you I hold the cheefe place) is also in dangered our religion, and puritie of life; the defence and care wherof equally belongeth vnto vs all: for although we differ much one from another in the manner of our vocation and liuing here, yet after death we all hope for one and the selfsame felicitie. And therefore I would haue you to understand, all that I shall say, as proceeding not of any regard of mine owne priuate, but vpon the consideration of the common good of you all. For as concerning mine owne estate, I possesse so large countries in ASIA, such great dominions in EUROPE, that either part thereof (in good time bee it said) might seeme a sufficient kingdome: so that perhaps it might better stand with my estate, for the more care for keeping of that I haue, than to trauell for the gaining of more: but you are to consider with your selues, whether you haue euery man sufficient to suffice himselfe or not, and how long you thinke your selues assured of the same; and moreover, that together with these worldly things we shall be driuen at length to forsake our profession and religion, if we shall now lay downe armes. For our enemies require, that we should first cease from warre, and then afterwards they thinke it meet to talke of peace. I will not speake of the indignitie, that men besieged, and in euill plight, should propound conditions of peace to them that besedge them, and are well furnished of all things; that feeble and cowardly men should promise peace vnto courageous and expert souldiours: omit what labour and paines we haue taken in laying our siege, in raising of mounts, in making of shipping, all which our enemies command vs to forsake, as if they had vs already bound or coup'd up in hold, as we haue them. All BULGARIA, and the greater part of RASCIA is now by vs conquered, and most part of SERVIA is at our command: all which places are either by vs to be kept, or els all the rest of that we possesse in EUROPE, is with them to be quite lost and forsaken. Whosoener shall haue in their power this citie which we besiege (and that our enemies know right well) shall haue not onely as it were a fortresse and bulwarke of defence for his owne, but also a castle and entrance for the subduing of others. The kingdome of HUNGARIE is now deuided in it selfe, and full of domesticall sedition: neither is it so much strengthened by the uniting of the kingdome of POLONIA, as it is by ciuile dissention weakened: and in this motion of peace nothing is sought for, but to gaue time for the pacifying of their priuate quarrels, that they may afterwards with their doubled forces set vpon vs. For if we shall breake vp our siege before we haue woon the citie, they will easily find deluies so long to protract the conclusion of peace, untill that either Vladislavus his good fortune, or els the Hungarians being of themselves better aduised, shall make an end of their ciuile wars. What manner and conditions of peace will they then require of vs, when they are at unitie amongst themselves, and in armes against vs; seeing that now being in danger with mutuall discord, and almost by vs vanquished, doe thinke it reasonable (as if they had woon the field) that we should first raise our siege, and then entreat of peace? Their proud demands for the restitution of BULGARIA and RASCIA, with other countries and cities woon by our trauell and danger; already sound in mine eares: which if wee shall refuse to graunt, not onely the Hungarians being then at unitie among themselves, but also the Polonians, joined vnto them, will bring those wars home to our dores which we now at great aduantage make vpon them, troubled with discord and ciuile broiles. And if for desire of peace we could be content to yeeld vnto such shamefull and miserable conditions, and restore vnto them all they should or in reason could desire; do you thinke the prince of SERVIA would rest contented with his owne? whose haughtie mind (I am sure) being inflat with the combining of two such mightie kingdomes, thinketh not onely of the recouerie of that hee hath lost, but euen now gapeth at all that is ours in EUROPE. He will not thinke himselfe satisfied, before hee (himselfe)

ning brought the Hungarian and Polonian forces against vs) shall see the same hauocke and spoile made in our kingdome with fire and sword, which he hath before seene made by vs in his owne. Where if his fortune should answere his desires (which God forbid, but yet it may chance) beside all the miserable and intollerable outrages, which are to be feared of an angrie conquerour, it is accounted with them for a godly and religious worke, to vse all cruell and unspeakable villanies against our nation, except wee will forsake the faith and religion deliuered vnto vs by our ancestors, and follow their new and incredible ceremonies. Neither doe they thinke they can more easily and effectually procure the fauor of God with any other kind of sacrifice or seruice, than by ouerthrowing and prophaning our temples, by scoffing at our most sacred and secret rites and ceremonies, by scorning our religion, and priests: and that you may know all the furie wherewith they rage against vs and our religion, they account all them for holy saints which die in fight against vs. There is no cause (valiant souldiours) that vpon the vaine hope of peace, we should expect, whilst the enemy doth gather and unite his forces and armes against vs, especially such an enemy as propoundeth not spoile and worldly honours, but immortalitie it selfe, as a reward of his victorie. We haue already taken much more labour than we haue to take, we haue filled the ditches with reslesse labour, we haue cast up bulwarkes equal with the wals, and part of the wals we haue beaten euen with the ground, so that you see the towne halfe opened: and that towne, by gaining wherof, all that ours is, may be made safe and quiet; and that which our enemy possesseth, subject to our spoile and prey. If you will but a little inforce your selues as men mindfull of our good fortune and forwardnesse, you shall find our temples, our sacrifices, our religion, all worldly and heauily felicitie to bee then assured vnto vs, when as you shall to morrow ouerthrow the very foundation of the enemies wall. Then (courageous souldiours) we may crie victorie, not for the present, but for euer. If this warre should bring vnto vs nothing els but an assured securitie of our estate, it were sufficient reward: for which we ought cheerefully to aduenture our selues to all dangers, and to challenge in combat euen death it selfe. But as this victorie doth defend all our things as with a deep trench or sure wall, so doth it lay open and expose all our enemies dominions vnto danger & spoile. Hitherto we haue stricken with nature her selfe in the rough and abrupt mountains of BULGARIA & RASCIA, where we were to stricke with hunger, thirst, labor, & desperation: all them we haue ouertome, allured with no other reward, but that at length we might attaine vnto the wealth of fruitfull HUNGARIE, from whence we must fetch the querdon of our victorie, and the ground of our glorie. We are come to the gates, which being laid open, we are not to passe over inaccessible rocks, or uncouth deserts, but we shall go through most pleasant places, dec'd both by nature her selfe, and the industrie of man; where the temperatnesse of the aire, and liuely springs with the fruitfulness of the soile, doth euery where yeeld plentie of all manner of food both for man and beast, not only to serue for natures necessitie, but euen to glut our wanton desires. What thing soeuer curious in-dewor hardly bringeth forth in other places, that the fertilitie of this soile yeeldeth plentifully of it selfe: so that it is to be thought, that nature adorned HUNGARIE with a certain extraordinary care, when as she would set forth a pattern of good husbandrie, for other countries to imitate. Neither hath she in any place been more bountifull in bestowing her rich gifts: for gold, which other men most painfully dig up, & that in few places shee Hungarians gather at their ease, as if it were a growing plant. It is in your power (worthie souldiours) whether you will to morrow open a way to all these good things for your selues for euer, or els leaue the way open for your enemies vnto all that you hold. I would that you would remember when you goe vnto the breach, that all the store of happie fortune is laid open vnto you for a prey, without any other defence, without any other garrison, without any other keeper; and that behind you are your wiues, children, your houses, your temples, and religion, together with the rewards of all your former victories: our whom (except you win this citie) the furie and insolencie of the victorious enemy, will most cruely and shamefully insult. I, according as I shall see you fight at the breach to morrow, shall easily perceiue how you are set downe: to command as conquerors, or els as slaues to be commanded; and also what to answere to the most insolent demands of the proud embassadours. In the meane time make much of your selues, and together with your armour haue all things in readinesse, that to morrow with the dawning of the day we may assault the breach.

The Turkish capitaines for that time joyfully departed, as if they had been already assured of the victorie, and of all those good things which Amurath had so liuely set before their eyes. The next morning very early, Amurath commanded the assault to be given vnto a great breach which he had made in the wall with continuall batterie: the souldiours with great courage assailed the breach, especially the Ianizaries, who vnder the leading of *Haly-Bassa* valiantly woon the same,

Belgrade notably
defended by the
Christians.

and were entering the citie with assured hope of victorie. The Christians seeing all in danger to be lost, running to the breach from all parts of the citie, so forcibly charged the proud Ibanizars on euerie side, that they were glad to retire with more hast than they before entered. In which trait, many of them were slaine, and the rest flying out at the breach, were either slaine or burnt to death in the towne ditch with wild fire; whereof the defendants had cast great store vpon the Turks at the breach, which hauing taken hold vpon the faggots, hurdles, and other light matter, wherewith the Turks had vpon the sudden made their way ouer the towne ditch, did so terribly burne, that the Ibanizars which had entered the breach, being againe repulsed, were in that fierie lake consumed, or else with smoke strangled. In this assault *Amurath* is reported to haue lost eight thousand of his best men, beside seauen thousand others ouerwhelmed or strangled in the mines, by the countermines of the Christians. The other part of the Turks which at the same time assailed the citie by water, out of their gallies and small ships, had as euill or rather worse success: many of them were sunke with great shot, and some burnt by the fire cast from the wals, and so fired one another; and diuers of them in that sudden feare, for avoiding of that present danger, ran a ground vpon the shells in the riuer, and so split. *Amurath* wonderfully discouraged with the slaughter of his men, and shamefully beaten from the assault, returned to his camp with his Turks, much like men which had lately escaped from some great shipwracke. And thus partly by famine, and partly by the defendants force, hauing lost the greatest part of his armie, he determined now after seauen moneths siege to returne home. Yet because hee would not encourage his enemies, by shewing his feare, he sent for the embassadours into the campe, and with sterne countenance answered them in this sort.

Amurath his
answer to the
embassadours.

*I*ve will (said hee) then talke of peace, when *Vladislaus* shall deliuer vnto vs all that part of *Rascia* which he yet holdeth, and also this citie of *Belgrade*, as a pledge of the league. And for this time I will raise my siege, to giue *Vladislaus* time to aduise himselfe: yet I would wish him, rather to accept of my friendship vpon these conditions, than by denying that little which is demaunded to hazard the state of both his kingdomes. I aske but that which is mine owne by law of armes, before *Vladislaus* was called into *Hungarie*: and the Hungarians cannot transfer vnto him that right which they had not themselves. Wherefore if hee will proceed rather to strue for that which is other mens, than quietly to possesse his owne, I will in good time reparaire hether againe, with my God the beholder and reuenger of wrong.

With this answer he dismissed the embassadours, and forthwith rise with his armie, fore-repenting his comming thither: yet because he would take something in his way, he left his nephew *Isa-beg* with certaine troupes of horsemen at *Scopia* in *Servia*, who so troubled the king of *Bosna*, that he was glad to require peace of *Amurath*, and to promise vnto him a yearly tribute of fife and twentie thousand duckats.

Vladislaus newly elected king of *Hungarie*, seeing that part of his kingdom which is called *Transilvania*, or *Pannodacia*, to bee much subject to the incursion of the Turks, (who hauing got into their possession all the countrey of *Moldavia*, and growne insolent by continuall victories ceased not to inuade and spoile the countrey of *Transilvania*) for remedie of that daily mischiefe, created *Iohn Huniades* Vayvod, or his vice-gerent in *Transilvania*. This *Huniades* as some write, was Earle of *Bestrice*, borne in *Valachia*: others say that he was borne but of meane parents, and called *Humades* of the village wherein he was borne, and grew to be great by his vertue and prowesse. Whatsoeuer his parents were, he himselfe was a most pollicke, valiant, fortunate, and famous capitaine, his victories so great, as the like was neuer before by any Christian prince obtained against the Turks: so that his name became vnto them more so dreadfull, that they vsed the same to feare their crying children withall. This worthie capitaine according to the trust reposed in him, began to keepe the Turks short, by cutting them off; whensoever they presumed to enter into his countrey; and also by shutting vp the passages wherby they were wont to forrage the countrey of *Transilvania*; & when he had put his owne charge in good safetie, hee entered into *Moldavia*, and neuer rested till hee had won it quite out of the Turks hands. And not contented with this, passed many times ouer *Danubius* into the Turks dominions, making hauocke of the Turks, and carying away with him great bootie, with many captiues.

Now

Now were two great and worthie captaines met together, in places nigh one to another, *Huniades* in *Transilvania*, and the next part of *Hungarie*; and *Isa* in *Rascia*, and the vpper part of *Servia*: the one lying at *Temesvvar*, and the other at *Sinderovia*; both men of great spirit, and desirous of honour. Of these two, *Isa* in great fauour with *Amurath*, and by him highly preferred, to increase his credit with the Sultan his vnle, & to enlarge the bounds of the Turkish kingdom committed to his charge, continually foraged the countrey about *Belgrade*, to the intent that hauing wearied the inhabitants with the harms he daily did them, and brought the citie into great wants, he might so at length gaine the same; for the most part abandoned of the citizens, which *Amurath* could not by force obtaine; and so to open a way into *Hungarie*. Thus was the countrey by him spoiled, the villages rifled and burnt; and great numbers both of men and cattell daily caried away: yea sometimes not contented to haue spoiled the open countrey, he assailed the verie suburbs of the citie, and was thence hardly repulsed: and finding *Huniades* the onely man that hindered his further proceedings; to requite him, and prouoke him the more, he brake sometimes into his countrey, laying in euerie corner as he went strong ambushes, so to haue circumuented that warie capitaine, if it had been possible. But hee greued to see the countrey thus spoiled, and purposing to be therof reuenged, secretly raised a strong power, both of horse and foot, and with his companion *Nicholas Vilach* a right valiant capitaine, passing ouer *Danubius*, came and encamped betwixt *Belgrade* and *Sinderovia*, being about twentie miles distant. Of whose comings *Isa-beg* vnderstanding, forthwith set forward with a great armie against him, least he should by longer delaie, seeme to stand in doubt of his enemy, whom he had by many injuries so often prouoked. So marching on with his armie ranged in order of battaile, hee found *Huniades* as readie for battaile as himselfe, who in both wings had placed his light horsemen, and behind them his men at armes, with certaine companies of crossbowes on horsebacke: in the middest stood his armed men with his archers, and other souldiours more lightly armed, readie at all assaies, all strongly guarded with men at armes: after whom in the reareward followed also a strong squadron of valiant footmen. The signall of battaile being giuen, there began a great and cruell fight, as amongst men desirous either to overcome, or there honourably to end their daies. At the first encounter, the wings of *Huniades* his battaile were by the Turks enforced to retire: but comming to the men at armes, their furie was there staied, and a cruell battaile fought, wherein many fell on both sides, but of the Turks more; who trusting to their agilitie and nimblenesse of bodie, were not able long to endure the shocke and strength of the men at armes, but were there by heapes ouerthrowne, and most miserably slaine. Which *Isa-beg* beholding, and perceiuing the Hungarians couragiously to fight, as men almost in possession of an assured victorie; to saue himselfe turned his backe and fled to *Sinderovia*. The rest beholding the flight of their generall, betooke themselves to flight also: after who the Hungarians fiercely followed, especially *Huniades* himselfe, who by his example to animate the rest, left not the chase vntill he was come almost to the suburbs of *Sinderovia*: few of the Turks escaped, the rest being either taken or slaine. *Huniades* after so great a victorie, with a rich prey and a multitude of prisoners returned to *Belgrade*: hauing now sufficiently reuenged himselfe of the wrongs he had before receiued: after which time, *Isa* the Turke was more quiet, as hauing sufficient proofe of his valour. The fame of this victorie increased not a little the fame of *Huniades*, the report whereof comming to *Buda*, filled the citie with joy and gladnes; but most of all king *Vladislaus*, who therevpon caused publique praiers, with thanksgiving to be made in euerie Church: and by his letters gratulatorie, with many rich presents, encouraged *Huniades* to the prosecution of the religious warre, wherein was propounded vnto him not onely the increase of his wealth (a base regard in the honourable) but the immortalitie of his name, and hope of eternall blisse.

Not long after this victorie, *Huniades* obtained a farre greater in *Transilvania*. For *Amurath* much greened with the losse he had first by himselfe, and after by his lieutenant *Isa*, re- ceined at *Belgrade*, and in the countrey thereabout; least he should seeme to yeeld vnto the Hungarians, repaired his broken forces with new supplies, with purpose againe to renew his warres in *Valachia*. And so hauing put all things in a readinesse, sent one of his Bassas called *At-sites* (his Viceroi in *Asia*, a man of great wisedome, experience, and valour) with a puissant armie vpon the suddaine by the way of *Valachia Transalpina*, to inuade *Transilvania*. This worthie capitaine according to his charge, departing out of *Servia*, and pas-

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Transilvania in-
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Bassa.

ling ouer DANVETVS, suddenly entred into *Huniades* his countrey; burning and spoyling what focuer came in his waie, and killing all that he light vpon, man, woman, and child, without respect of age, sex, or condition; filling all the countrey as he went, with tumult and terror. Whereof *Huniades* (but lately come into the countrey) vnderstanding, and hauing as then; no sufficient forces to oppose against the furie of so puissant an enemy, either meanes to raise any; in so great a confusion and feare; was wonderfully grieved thereat, and perplexed in mind, as not well knowing which way to turne himselfe.

Huniades flieth.

At length hee tooke his flight into *ALBA IULIA*, vnto his old friend *George Lepe*, Bishop of that citie, a man of great vertue and grauitie: but whilest hee there staie with his friend, about the raising of a tumultuarie armie, the enemy was now come nere vnto him; who hauing ouer-runne the greatest part of the countrey; had scraped together such a bootie, and taken such a multitude of prisoners, that surcharged as it were with the spoile, he was glad to march soe slower: yet still burning the countrey before him. Which *Huniades* and the good bishop beholding out of the citie, so much grieved thereat, that albeit that they both well knew themselves, with an handfull of men in half taken vp hand ouer head, too weake to encounter with their enemies: yet thought it better with such power as they had, to goe out; and so in defence of their countrey honourably to die, than longer to behold the most miserable destruction of the same.

Huniades & the bishop of Alba Iulia entrapped by the Turkes.

But whilest they vpon this resolution (caried forth with too hot a desire of reuenge) march vnadvisedly on headlong, without any scouts or espials sent out before them; they fell before they were aware into such ambushes, both of horse and foot, as the craftie enemy had in the secret woods and vallies wherby they were to passe, laid of purpose to intercept them; which now with great force and horrible outcries breaking out vpon them on euerie side; dismayed them with a great feare. *Huniades* and the bishop, seeing themselves so entrapped and beset with the multitude of their enemies, as that they must needs perish if they should longer staie; fled incessantly backe againe; after whom followed all the rest of their armie, and at their heeles the egre Turkes, who spared none of the flying Christians they could ouertake, but put them all to the sword: neuertheless, most part of them escaped backe againe to *ALBA IULIA*. The Bishop thinking to haue saued himselfe by the swiftnesse of his horse, comming to a riuer, in taking the same was ouerthrowne, and there by the enemy slaine. With whose death the Bassa encouraged, as also with the present victorie, began now more at libertie to range abroad, and at his pleasure with fire and sword to wast that part of the countrey which yet remained vnspoiled: leauing in the meane time (as a man out of feare) the rich prey hee had taken, together with his baggage and cariages, to be carried all together, as a notable testimonie of his victorie vnto his great lord and maister. *Huniades* in the meane time, with wonderfull celeritie running about the borders of his countrey, and out of euerie towne and village taking such souldiours as he could, perswaded also the Sicilians (or people commonly called Siculi) in defence of their wiues and children to take vp armes: who all, in respect of the present necessitie, cheerefully did whatsoeuer he commaunded. With this tumultuarie armie, he followed the Bassa (who the in great pride was returning, laden with the spoile of the whole countrey) with purpose to set vpon him, as time or place should giue him occasion. In the meane time *Mesitis* being told, that *Huniades* with a great power was comming after him, and now euen at hand: is reported to haue made no great reckoning thereof, but to haue proudly answered vnto him that brought the newes, *Let him come, and with the spoile of himselfe enrich our victorie*. There was present when he thus said, one *Iohn*, one of *Huniades* his espials, who discovered vnto him many of the Turkes designs, concerning the joyning of battaile with him; but especially, that the Bassa had commanded through his armie, That about all things they should in the beginning of the battell assaile the person of *Huniades* himselfe, for that he being once slaine, the rest would easily be put to flight, as all depending on his direction: and that for the performance thereof, he had appointed certaine companies of his best souldiours, giuing them certaine tokens whereby they might know both him and his horse. There was then in the armie, one *Simon Kemene* a right valiant and couragious gentleman, not much vnlike vnto *Huniades*, with whom he chaunged both his horse and armour, appointing vnto him a strong troupe of his choise horsemen to attend vpon him: neither was this counterfait *Huniades* vnwilling to expose himselfe vnto the danger, accounting it honour inough, if by his death he might giue the life of his friend, and preferre so worthie a defender of the common weale. *Huniades* following fast after the Bassa marching before him, fought by light skirmishes sometimes on the one side, sometimes on the other, and sometimes in the reareward, to stay him; and at some ad-

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uantage, if any such were giuen, to fight with him, before he should get out of the countrey. At length finding such an oportunitie as he thought good to lay hold vpon, he with all his forces, as if it had been a violent tempest, came vpon the Turkes so suddenly, that they had not time to put themselves into order of battell, but were glad confusedly to fight as they might, and without order: in which disordered fight many fell on both sides, but farre more of the Turkes. But whilest both armies with like obstinacie encounter together, certaine troupes of the most valiant Turkes defying *Simon* the counterfeit *Huniades*, and by the signes before deliuered vnto them, both of his horse and armour, supposing him to haue been *Huniades* indeed; with all their power made towards him, to haue slaine him, according as they had in charge: where meeting with right valiant men, of no lesse courage than themselves; there was fought a most terrible & bloodie battell, in such sort, as if in that very place should haue ben tried the whole fortune of the day. But the Turkes still bending their forces more & more thither, for the killing of him, of who they stood in more dread than of all the rest: at length by plain force made a way vnto him; & hauing slain them that were about him, though not without their own great losse, furiously assailing him, slew him vainly supposing it to haue ben the very generall himselfe: who had he there perished (as like inough it was he should, had hee not bene before warned of the Bassas purpose) no doubt, but that the whole countrey had bin with him, or shortly after, quite lost. But *Huniades* in the meane time riding too and fro in the armie, encouraged his souldiours not to forsake the victorie they were now as it were in possession of, nor leaue vnreueged so many slaughters and harries so lately committed by their enemies, but to remeber as they were fighting, that they caried in their hands their wiues and children, and were in that one battell to reuenge the wrong by them done both to God and man. Sometime he with new supplies encouraged such as were ouercharged and euen now ready to flie; other some he with cheerfull words staied, that had already turned their backs; performing in euery place all the parts both of a wortheie commander and valiant souldior, as the necessitie of the time and place required. In the heat of this battell, fortune yet fauoring neither part, but both fighting with all their power, the Transiluanian prisoners: that in great number were kept in the campe, wishing rather there to die than to be caried away in captiuitie, and thinking it now or neuer, time for them to attempt their deliuerance; with one consent brake in sunder their bonds, & with such weapons as first came to hand, set vpon their keepers, of whom they slew a great number: and so desperately issuing out into the battell, encouraged their countermen, and discouraged their enemies. Yet was the battell hardly fought, though not altogether with like courage, or for like cause: for why, the Transiluanians fought for their countrey, their wiues, their children, their liues, their libertie, their religion and altars: but the Turkes for the rich prey they had before taken, and that they were by victorie in hope of. But at length the Turkes by the breaking out of the prisoners (who laid about them like desperat men) out of hope of the victorie, began by little and little to retire: and the other on the contrary part, by this vnexpected aid encouraged, and quickly finding the enemies fainting, fought more fiercely than before: *Mesitis* seeing his armie thus in euery part wauering, was therewith exceedingly troubled: but presently after, beholding some of his men retiring, as if they had fled, and other some flying outright, and no means to stay them, for safeguard of his life turned his horse and fled also: after whom the Hungarians followed with most terrible execution, as men desirous of the blood of the that had done them so great harme. In this chase *Mesitis* himselfe with his son, were both slaine: the report of whose death, in the pursuit, added swiftnesse vnto the Hungarians to the increasing of the slaughter of the Turkes, who for the desire of reuenge, they ceased not for certain daies to pursue, vnto the top of the alps. In this battell were slaine of the Turkes 20000, & of the Hungarians about 3000. *Huniades* with this victorie recouered all the prey the Turkes had taken of the spoile of the countrey, together with their tents & baggage: vnto whom at his returne into the campe, a wonderfull number of the poore captiues came, and falling at his feet and kissing them gaue God thanks for their deliuerance by him: some called him the father, some the defender of his countrey; the souldiours, their inuincible generall; the captiues, their deliuerer; the women, their protectors; the yong men & children, their most louing father. In all which joyfull acclamations, no honourable additions was heard, which in the iudgement of all men, worthely agreed not with his deserts. He againe with teares standing in his eyes, courteously embraced them, reioicing at the publicke good: and himselfe giuing most heartie thanks vnto God, commaunded the like to be done in all churches of that prouince. Sometime he commended the souldiours valour, and in generall, the peoples loyalty. The nobilitie and worthie

A great battell betwixt Mesitis and Huniades.

Great reioicing for the victorie.

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captaines he extolled by name, according as their deserts had beene in that notable battaile; nor detraacting any thing from any manis worthie praises: part of the spoile of the Turks he appointed vnto deuout vles, and the other part he deuided amongst the souldiours; and willing as it were with the first fruits thereof to gratifie king *Vladislaus*; and the Despot of *SARVIA*, then present with him, he sent a great waggon, which ten horses could scarce draw, laden with the *Turkes*, signes and the cheefe of their heads, where the heads of the Bassa and his sonne stood, for most, and about them was placed an old *Turke*, sometime well knowne vnto the Despot, who in this order presented vnto them, is said to haue thus deliuered his message, as followeth:

The speech of an old *Turke*, in delivering the present vnto the king.

Huniades your maiesties most humble seruant, and the most honourable Despot's sonne, sendeth vnto you this part of the spoile gained by this late victorie, least he should seeme to defraud you of the honor of the battaile happily fought vnder your good fortune. These heads of the *Asian* nobilitie, bee senden you for a present, that you should not want the assured testimonie of so notable a victorie: these are two princes heads, the one of *Mesites* Bassa the generall, and the other of his sonne. The rest are the heads of the other great commanders and *Sanzacks*. All these witnesse the greatnesse of the late slaughter, and exhort you to greater atchieuements. What your royall maiestie for the naturall instinct of pietie and religion ingrafted in you, may hope for; and what an occasion of immortalitie and glorie is offered vnto you, *Huniades* wisheth you hereby to consider: and humbly requesteth, that generall supplications may be commaunded, and a great armie provided, for as much as all men suppose, that the *Turke* will gage his whole forces, and leaue nothing unattempted, in reuenge of so great a slaughter of his people.

Having ended his speech, he shewed vnto them the grisly mortified heads: which the nobilitie and others there present, earnestly beheld and wondered at, especially the king and the Despot, who by letters farther vnderstanding the whole proceeding of the warre, and fortune of the battaile, highly commended the discreet valour of *Huniades*, together with the glorious victorie, worthie (as they said) of a *Romane* triumph: for which, *Vladislaus* commaunded publicke supplications to be made in all churches through *HUNGARIE*, and by honourable messengers sent of purpose to *Huniades*, gaue him great thanks, according to his deserts, with many rich presents also, commending his faithfull and worthie seruice: and requesting him with like courage and care to prosecute the warre so happily begun, promising him, That hee should want neither men nor money, or any thing els needfull thereunto. Vpon this victorie, the countries of *MOLDAVIA* and *VALACHIA*, before tributaries vnto the *Turks*, now reuolted againe vnto the *Hungarians*, to the great griefe of *Amurath*: & the fame of *Huniades* was in short time disperfed through all *EVROPE*, and a generall hope conceiued of him, as of one most like to be one of the greatest champions of the *Christian* commonweale, as in his time vndoubtedly he was.

The report of this late ouerthrow, with the death of the Bassa *Mesites*, and the losse of his armie, being brought to *HADRIANOPLE*, much troubled the *Turkish* tyrant: but most of all the reuolt of the two countries of *MOLDAVIA* & *VALACHIA*. So that full of wrathfull indignation and desire of reuenge, he commaunded a great armie to bee raised against the next Spring, with intent to haue gone therewith himselfe: but afterward vpon better aduice changing his purpose, he committed the leading thereof vnto one *Schech Abedin Bassa* (corruptly called *Sciabedin Bassa*) an eunuch, and yet neuertheless a right valiant and expert captaine, and his viceroy in *EVROPE*; with charge first to enter into *VALACHIA*, and there hauing done what harme hee could with fire and sword, to doe the like in *MOLDAVIA*: and after that with all his power to breake into *TRANSILVANIA*, there to reuenge vnto the full, the losses before receiued, and with the slaughter of the *Hungarians* to sacrifice vnto the ghosts of their dead friends & companions. The Bassa according to his charge, departing out of *MACEDONIA*, and marching through *MYSTIA*, and so passing ouer *Danubius*, with an armie of fourescore thousand fighting men, whereof foure thousand were of the best *Janizaries*, entered into *VALACHIA*, filling the country with feare and tumult: the *Valachians* now altogether in despaire to bee able to defend themselues against the furie of the *Turks*, and sore repenting them of their reuolt from them vnto the *Hungarians*. Whom for all that, *Huniades* comforted with cheerefull words, willing them betime to retire themselues vnto the safest places of their countrey, and not to expose themselues with their too weake forces against the furie of the *Barbarians*, promising in good time to come himselfe to their releefe; not doubting by the power of *Iesus Christ*, to dare them battell in the plaine field, & to haue of them

Valachia grievously spoiled by the *Turks*.

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a glorious victorie, although they were in number farre more than they were reported to be. The Bassa diuiding his armie into two parts, foraged the countrey farre and neere, burning the countrey townes and villages before them, spoyling whatsoeuer came in their way, and killing who-soeuer they light vpon, men, women, or children, without respect of age, sex, or condition. But the *Valachians* for the most part, had retired themselues, some into the mountains, some into the strong townes, and some into places further off; so that few fell into the enemies hands, but such as were not able to flie, or not regarding the danger had negligently staid the enemies coming, and so perished. *VALACHIA* thus spoiled, the *Turks* passing ouer the mountains, descended into *TRANSILVANIA*, as *Amurath* had commanded, with purpose there to haue done the like or greater harme, if possible it had been to haue so done: but there was *Huniades* with 15000 chosen souldiours readie to encounter the. A small power indeed, in comparison of the multitude the Bassa led: but all men of great experience and resolution, in valour counteruailing the great number of their enemies, men resolute rather to die than to flie. Of whose approach the Bassa (vnto whom the name and fortune of the man was dreadfull) by his espials vnderstanding, stayed his intended furie, and as one well aware with whom hee had to doe, without farther proceeding, encamped himselfe with his armie, to see what power and courage the enemy had. But certainly informed by his scouts, for that purpose sent out, That he was not in number a quarter so many as the *Turks*, but lay strongly encamped with his waggons and carriages, as in a sure fort, in such order, as that he could not without great danger bee assailed, and yet might at his pleasure come forth, and so if need were retire againe, as into a strong hold: he wondered at his courage and skilfull manner of encamping; yet presuming of his own multitude and strength, he doubted not to march forward, and to offer him battell. Being come within halfe a mile the one of the other, although they were on neither side vnwilling to fight, yet hoping both for a great victorie, they thought it not best to attempt any thing rashly, but betooke themselues both vnto the highest of their wits, as willing in so great a conflict as well to shew the vttermost of their policie and skill, as of their courage and valour. The *Turke* thought it best not to ioine battaile with his enemies in one front, for feare of confounding so great a multitude, but to deuide his armie into certaine battalions, and so to fight by degrees and in good order, whereby to make all his men profitable: or if he could not do so, then with his multitude to enclose the *Christians* round, and so to ouerwhelme them. On the other side, *Huniades* charged his souldiours, about all things to keepe their order, and in no case to suffer themselues to bee deuied by their enemies. The next day, being come vnto a place which they call *VASCARIE*, both the armies by the breake of day began to dislodge, at which time the Bassa spent a good space in the martialling of his great armie, as did also *Huniades*, seeking by prouident foresight and policie to match the multitude of his enemies. And so hauing set all things in order, calling vnto him the cheefe captaines and commanders of his armie, with cheerefull countenance encouraged them as followeth:

No courage (believe me) worthie companions, and fellows in arms, could haue induced me to encounter so great a multitude, did not necessitie it selfe enforce me, your approoued valour persuade me, & the assured hope I haue in *Christ Iesu* above all things confirme me: hauing made choice of vs to fight this his sacred battaile, and by our right hands to reuenge the dishonour of his holy name. In which his especiall choice we are to consider how much hee hath beloued vs: and for the same to praise his infinite goodnesse and mercie. Three such commodities hath God thereby euen this day propounded vnto vs, if we will be the same men we haue been in times past, as that the least thereof were sufficient to encourage men of worth, for the same to lay downe their liues, held they them neuer so deare: First, you are to fight for the health and welfare of your children, wiues, and countrey, ioyned with your whole estate: then, for eternall glorie and renoune in this world: and last of all, for immortalitie and a crowne that shall neuer be taken from you, in the world to come. How many miseries and calamities we haue in former times, and of late, receiued from the *Turks*, would to God you had rather heard thereof by report, than seene the same with your eyes, and endured them in your selues. You had long since been bereft of your welbeloued wiues and children, whom most miserable seruitude had ouerwhelmed; you had had neither house nor church, wherein to dwell or to serue God, had not the diuine power of God, and your rare prowesse been at hand for present rescue: your countrey, your goods, your honour, your libertie, you could not haue kept, had not your valor, confirmed by an assured confidence in the highest, preserved all these things vnto your selues: The horrible furie of the *Turke* had now brought all these things into

The most *Christian* speech of *Huniades* to encourage his souldiours against the *Turks*.

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the power of it selfe, had they not been by your armes defended: and he by so many bloodie overthrowes repressed. He could not before be staied: the Grecians, the Macedonians (both sometimes the greatest commanders) the bold Thracians, the strong Bulgarians, the valiant Epirots, and Dalmatians, could not abide their force: The Athenians, the Thebans, the Lacedemonians, authors and masters of the antient discipline of warre, willingly gave place vnto these. Vnto vs, is this praise and great glorie of this victorie by God assigned, who often times with a small power, yea and that sometime against all hope, haue with a notable slaughter ouerthrowen them; vanquished them, & put them to flight. Neither is there any men in the world whom they more feare and stand in dread of, than you, whom though in number but few, they haue by their daily slaughter and losses, learned no lesse to feare, than if you were many. And now to trie the vittermost of their power, they are come with their innumerable legions: but are not for that of you any thing the more to be feared than before, seeing that we all beare armes vnder the conduct of the most mightie God; and are by daily victorie, long experience and approoued valour taught, what we are to dare: besides that, the greatest part of their armie is of common souldiours, slaves, or rude countrey peasants, or men by force by them compelled; more than the Ianizaries, are no good souldiours among them, the rest as men enforced, serue them for feare, and against their wills, and they by their cowardize brought into that bondage and slauerie. What Greeks, Macedonians, or Sclauonians sooner are sent to their aid, forasmuch as they are not yet reuolted from the Christian faith, deeme them not to stand for them, but for vs; they long for vs the reuengers of their wrongs, and for you as victorious conquerours: in this warre they haue giuen vnto the Turkes their names, but vnto vs their hearts, and power, and pray heartily for our victorie: wherefore you ought so much the more valiantly and courageously to fight, by how much greater you see the victorie, the honour, the prey before your eyes. We are not to fight for other mens houses, and altars, but for our owne; so our present necessitie requireth, in such sort, that if wee our selues deliuer not our selues, and beare our selues vpon our wonted hope and valour, wee shall this day be enforced to endure the greatest miserie that men may possible: First, the losse of our goods and substance, the captiuitie of our children, the despoiling of our daughters, the rauishing of our wiues, the slaughter of our parents, the burning of our houses, and churches; and that which worse is than all this, the scorning of our Saviour Christ Iesus, and his saints, whose images you shall see in despite broken, or dragged in the dirt, or moulden and conuerted into other prophane uses; all religion trodden downe, and God himselfe (if it were possible) with violence and dispaire drinen out of our hearts, if we stand not manfully vpon it as becometh worthie champions. God is able with his little finger, if he so will, forthwith to destroy all the Turkes in the world; but seeing he hath committed vnto our right hands the defence of his name, he first maketh prooffe of our courage and valour, that finding the same faithfull, and readie, hee may strengthen and defend it with his owne right hand. He neuer yet forooke any faithfull or deuout man, neither will our Saviour Christ be wanting vnto you, if you be not wanting vnto your selues: in the power of his name, which is aboue all names, he shall tread down his rebellious enemies, and exalt the righteous that put their trust in him. Moreover, the causes that we and they combat for are diuers, and our hopes much stronger: They fight for their Prophet, a most prophane man, author of all impietie, for spoile and prey, for the destruction of nations and countreys, for other mens kingdomes, for the enlarging of their dominions and territories, for worldly praise and glorie: But wee contrariwise beare armes for the sauiour of the world, for our faith and religion, for the Christian common wealth, for our native countrey, for our wiues and children, for our fortune and state; than which nothing can be more excellent, more commendable, or honourable. What reward is laid up for them in heauen which haue worthily protected or deliuered their countrey, or laid downe their liues in defence of their faith and religion? Neither, hauing often prooued, are we ignorant, that God will neuer forsake them that honour, feare, and serue him. Whereby (fellow souldiours) you may plainly perceiue, how farre your hopes are beyond theirs. Beluee our Saviour promising vnto you an eternall reward: and shew your fidelitie and valour vnto God and your countrey together. Wherefore, seeing without the power of God wee can doe nothing, before the signall of battaile be giuen, I beseech you colonels, captaines, and lieutenants, by your effectuall and Christian exhortations in your regiments and companies, to encourage your souldiours, valiantly to fight the Lords battaile; and for the present, euerie man by taking a little earth in his mouth, to prepare himselfe according to the necessitie of the time, as it were to the receiuing of the lords supper: so hauing clenfed your soules, embrace you one another, plight your mutuall faith with your right hand and a kisse; and make a perpetuall couenant among your selues, none of you to forsake one another in this holy battaile, but for your religion and countrey valiantly to fight it out, even vnto the

the last man. And a little refreshing your selues with a short repast as you stand, vpon the signall giuen, thrice calling aloud vpon the mightie name of Christ Iesu, fight with the like valour and courage so nere as you can, that he in the agonie of death fought for your redemption and libertie: which that you will willingly do, I request and charge you this for our sauiours sake, for the loue of our countrey, and for the faith you owe both to God and man. I also pray and beseech you, so to fight, as men resolu'd either to gaine a most glorious victorie, (whereof I doubt not) or else if it should otherwise chauce, this day to purchase vnto your selues a blessed life in the kingdome of heauen: not to slip in Hell with the Turkes, but with the blessed wights in heauen: For Christ Iesus our Saviour will be alwaies present with vs, who (beluee me, and so hope) will this day not onely deliuer vs out of the hands of the Turkes, but to our immortal glorie lode vs with the rich spoiles of our enemies, and so in safetie bring all home againe with much ioy and triumph.

The Bassa on the other side likewise encouraged his souldiours, putting them in remembrance of their former victories, exhorting them not to degenerate from their worthie ancestours and themselves, by whose great valour the glorie and empire of the Turkes had been so mightily increased: and vnto whom their great prophet Mahomet, the interpreter of the gods, had foretold the empire of the whole world to be by all the gods allotted; and had by diuine inspiration prophesied, that ancient and stately nation in time to become the terror of the world, the scourge of the wicked, and commander of all nations. He farther declared vnto the what an increase of kingdomes they had got in that short time, since which they first passed ouer into Europe and filled them with the hope of a great spoile; promising vnto them that should in the battaile valiantly bechaue themselves, not onely the spoile and prey, but whole villages, towns, and cities, and other great preferments, according as they should deserue. As for the victorie, considering the weak power of their enemies, and the great number of themselves, hee assured them thereof, if they would but a while valiantly fight it out like men. In conclusion, he told them, that hauing overcome Huniades, whom onely, as hee confessed, he had found to bee the most valiant and skilfull capitaine of the Christians, nothing should afterward be able to stand in their way, or to hinder their farther conquests: and that if this day they should vterly ouerthrow him, they should gain the most honourable victorie that was euer yet got in Europe. Wherefore hee willed them about all things, in the battell to seeke after him; promising vnto him that should kill him, a great reward, with most honourable preferments. Hauing thus sufficiently, as he thought, encouraged his Turkes, he set forward with his armie in order of battaile. His horsemen and footmen he deuidd into two great wings, betwixt which marched the Ianizaries in a square battaile, all men of approoued valour: after whom followed the rereward: vnto the wings he had also ioyned certaine loose companies of light horsemen to begin the battaile, and to flie about the enemies, and so as occasion should serue, either to charge or retire. Huniades likewise had placed in both wings two square battailions of men at armes, and with them certaine horsemen with crosse-bowes: before these wings he had also placed certaine troupes of light horsemen, to encounter the enemies: in the midst stood two square battailes of men at armes: and betwixt them a strong squadron of armed men, guarded behind with a conuenient number of pikemen and archers: both the wings he had compassed about with a multitude of carts and waggons, and they also well manned. So marching forward, and both armies being come within a quarter of a mile together, the signall of battaile was on both sides giuen, and the battaile begun. Huniades seeing the multitude of his enemies, cast his first battaile into the forme of a wedge, the more easily to deuide them: and they on the other side in forme of a paire of sheeres, were readie to receiue him: where on both sides they encountered together with such furie and outcrie, as neuer was thing more terrible to be heard or scene. The Turkes trusting vnto the multitude of their nimble light horsemen, first with their light staues, and afterward with their crooked Scimitors fiercely assailed the Christians light horsemen, in which first encounter many fell on both sides. But the wedge battaile of the Christians could not of the Turkes be broken, as consisting all of valiant expert souldiours, and they also strongly armed; who, doe the Turkes what they could, with a great slaughter cut their armie in sunder, but not without a great fight, and some losse also vnto themselves. In the wings also the light horsemen for a while fought courageously and with like hope: But the Turkes with that kind of fight better acquainted than the Christians, & better appointed for that purpose, and exceeding in number also, put the Christian light horsemen to the worst, and enforced

Acruell battell
betwixt Huniades
and Abedin
Bassa.

ced them to retire to the men at armes. Here began the fortune of the Turks to stay, where both parts desperately assailing the one the other, was made a most terrible fight, wherein most part of the Turks light horsemen were slaine: for why, they were not able to abide the force of the men at armes, although in comparison of them, but few; but were with their launces & arming swords ouerthrowne and slaine, no otherwise than if they had beene naked men: so that in both wings the Turks began now to faint. But the battaile in both the wings yet wauiing and the victorie doubtfull, in the maine battaile was fought a most cruell fight: the Ianizaries with a strong power of men at armes, and certaine troupes of light horsemen, compassed about the men at armes that stood (as we said) in the maine battell of the Christians, where the old Ianizaries with their crooked Scimitaries, with great courage cut in funder the legs of the horses of the men at armes; of whom many fell downe, and lying along vpon the ground, were made shorter by the head: as likewise on the other side, the Ianizaries whilest they seeke the destruction of the men at armes, were themselves ouerborne and troden vnder foot. VV hereupon such a slaughter was made, that the blood ran like riuers, whilest they desperately fight with furious rage both on the one side and the other. In this cruell fight most part of the Ianizaries were slaine, and many of the Christian men at armes also. The Bassa now perceiuing the Hungarians to haue the better, both in the wings and in the maine battaile, and yet in hope that with long fight they would faint (although hee saw great slaughter of his men in euery place) came on with the rereward, and a number of other fresh souldiours which he had left for the guarding of his baggage, all yet sound men, in good hope so to ouerwhelme the wearied Hungarians. It was now foure houres that this cruell fight had endured, when as the Bassa began it afresh: neither was this by him done without reason; for why, he was afraid least if his men should turne their backs and flie, the whole armie should follow after: and therefore to make vse of all the men he had, he brought on his rereward, in hope that his enemies, now spent with long fight, would not longer endure a fresh charge. And the more to encourage his men, he commaunded them to compasse in the Hungarians round, and to dispatch their wearied enemies, vainly boasting, That it would bee the last battaile that euer the Hungarians would fight. On the other side, Huniades perceiuing the enemies purpose, sufficed his men to bee in part enuironed, and by and by, caused the waggons with the armed cars and waggons to thrust in behind them, and so to compasse them in, deuicid in part from the rest, and afterward with fresh supplies renewed the battaile with the enemy. The fight was great, and in euery place right terrible: and albeit that the slaughter of the Turks was in many places great, yet by reason of their multitude they felt it not much, but fought yet still most desperately: vntill that they in the right wing seeing themselves compassed in behind with the waggons, & so from thence charged with shot, darts, and other such misliue weapons; standing in doubt which way to turne themselves, and beset with danger on euery side, began to faint, and fearing the danger behind them, shrunk from the fight. On the other side, the Hungarians, now in good hope of victorie, with great and cheerefull outcries, as men inspired with fresh spirits, more furiously assailed their fainting enemies afront, than before; encouraging them also that assailed the behind in the waggons, to approach them neerer: with which double danger the Turks hardly beset, fought disorderly, and doubting to be all inclosed round, first retired, and presently after betook themselves to plaine flight. But they which were already shut in betwixt the waggons and them that fought before the, perished euery mothers son. They which fought in the left wing also, discouraged with the flight of their fellowes, fled likewise: after whom the Hungarians fiercely followed. The Bassa himselfe seeing both the wings of his battell put to flight, & his own battell fore broken also, stricken with dispaire fled, with certain companies of the Ianizaries, which he had still kept about him against al euent, for the safegard of his person: after who followed also so many other of the Turks as could; the rest disperdely flying through the woods, forrests, & mountains, either there perished with hunger, or falling into the hands of the Valachians, were by them slain. Of so great an armie as the Bassa brought into TRANSILVANIA, scarce the one halfe returned againe ouer Danubius. It is reported by some that were in that battell, that if Huniades hauing them in chace, had pursued them vnto Danubius, scarcely one man of them had escaped ouer the riuer. But he contented with so great a victorie, & to haue driuen his enemies out of the field, pursued them not far: but enuing into their campe, with the spoile thereof greatly enriched both himselfe and his souldiours. Beside the great multitude of the Turks here slaine, 5000 more were taken prisoners, & 100 of their ensignes. Long it were to rehearse and reckon vp the rich spoile there taken, the guilt armour, and goodly

The Turks flie.

furniture, both of men and horses, beside the rich pavillions and tents there standing. In breefe, the wealth there found, was so great, as that there was no man in Huniades armie, which was not thereby for euer enriched. Huniades for this so great a victorie, and for his countrey, deliuered from so great a feare, caused generall prayers with thanks giuing, for the space of three daies, to be made in all churches of those three prouinces, vnto whom that danger was threatened; and at VASCAPE, where the battaile was fought, hanged vp certaine of the Turks ensignes, as trophies of the victorie there gotten. This was the famous battaile of VASCAPE, wherein Huniades got the greatest victorie that euer any Christian prince before that time obtained against the Turkish kings. The fields thereabouts lay couered with the dead bodies of the slaine Turks, whose carion carcases so infected the aire, that many of the better sort of the inhabitants of the countrey were glad for a season to leaue their dwellings, and to get them further off, for feare of infection. Afterwards he in great triumph came to BUDA, and there presented vnto king Vladislavus the enemies ensignes, with such a part of the spoile, as might both well declare the greatnesse of the victorie, and beseeke the greatnesse of so great a prince, which the king thankfully receiued, highly commending his great valour, the same wherof had in short time filled euery corner of EUROPE.

Amurath a little before this great ouerthrow of his armie in TRANSILVANIA, assuring himselfe of the victorie, had sent a proud embassage vnto king Vladislavus into HUNGARIE, offering him peace, vpon condition, That he should deliuer vnto him the strong citie of BELGRADE or els yeeld to pay him a yearly tribute: vnto which, vpon the first report of the victorie, answer was giuen by the king, answerable to the proud demaund, That according to the issue of matters in TRANSILVANIA, hee would shortly in person himselfe come and giue him farther answer. VVith which short answer the proud embassadors were dismissed and gone, a little before the coming of Huniades to BUDA.

How much this late ouerthrow greeued the great king Amurath, Vladislavus was not ignorant; either of his power and desire of reuenge, as sufficiently warned thereof by the worthe Huniades: for the withstanding whereof, he thought it good not to be vnprovided. VVherefore calling together the states of his kingdome, and with them Julian the Cardinall of S. Angel, the Popes Legat at such time as they were all assembled, he propounded vnto them the greatnesse of the danger threatened by the angrie Turke, leauing it vnto their graue consideration, to determine how the same were by strong hand and plaine force, or otherwise to be auerted. In which most honourable assemblie, Julian the Cardinall, of purpose sent thither by Pope VRBANE to stirre vp the Hungarians against the Turks, being requested by the king to deliuer his opinion first, spake vnto them as followeth:

Since the time that the Turkish pestilence began to rage in EUROPE, no man was euer more welcome vnto the great Bishop, vnto the Apostolicall Senate, and other princes of ITALIE (most mightie king, and you other most worthe princes) than when it was told them, That Vladislavus, king of POLONIA, was by you also chosen king of HUNGARIE. For a fitter gouernour of the Hungarian state, and leader of their power, could not the Hungarians any where haue found: as he in whom iustice, religion, wisdom, valour, and martiall skill, doth so abound, that he seemeth rather for the good of this kingdome by God sent from heauen, than here in earth chosen by men. By this happy & fortunate choice, the minds also of all the Italians, which before lay heauie and discouraged, were lightened and reuiued: and therefore, that this choice might be vnto the Christian commonweale both glorious and fortunate, they made their solemn vowes and prayers. At such time as the most holy Senat vnderstood of the ciuile discord of this kingdome, and the danger of the Turks fast by, it sent me hither to deale with you for the appeasing of those troubles, and repressing of that mischeefe (as you haue oftentimes heard me say.) The kingdome is by your force and valour, by my mediation, and the death of the queene, well pacified: but yet the other remaineth full of honour, full of profit, full of safetie, glorie, and immortality, best fitting Vladislavus conduct and fortune, and the valour of the Hungarians. The Turkish tyrannie and their proud command (worthe princes) is to be repressed: yea their seruile yoke, hanging euen now ouer our neckes, is to be shaken off, and to be driuen away. What you are to doe, the valour and fortune of Huniades foretelleth you: the fortune said I of Huniades, pay the fortune of the Christian commonweale, and present meycie of our blessed Saviour, which suffereth his people to be up and downe tosed, but not quite drowned. If so great an armie of the enemies was vanquished and put

The effectuall speech of Julian the Popes legate in the parliament to perswade the warre.

to flight by the power of one of thy captaines, and that but small: what is to bee hoped of thee. (most mightie king) if thou shalt lead forth thine armies thy selfe in person, vnder thine owne conduct, and the protection of Christ Iesu. The eyes of all Christian princes are cast vpon thee, vpon thee, Hungarian and Polonian forces; vpon thee haue they reposed all their hopes, they all expect that thou shouldst be the reuenger of the Barbarian crueltie, the defender of the faith, and protector of EYBOLIA; and this is it for which the Pope doth with his letters dayly sollicite and importune you. And albeit that the common cause and quarrell of the Christian religion require it yet doth the necessitie of HUNGARIA and POLONIA no lesse enforce it: of which, the one is most miserably and daily vexed with the Turki forces and furie out of SERBIA and DALMATIA; and the other out of MOLDAVIA and VLACHIA. Now if any there be, whom neither the Zeale of religion, the necessitie of the cause, the hope of immortall fame and glorie, can moue, let their owne safetie, the present seruitude of their wiues and children, the safeguard of their wealth and substance, the lawfull reuenge of the wrongs done them, stir them vp to take in hand this sacred expedition. So fit an oportunitie is now giuen vnto you, that at one and the selfesame time you may set your bodies in perpetuall safetie and happinesse, your soules in quietnesse and rest, and vnto both giue eternall glorie and happinesse. You lacke not (worthie captaines) money, the sinewes of the warre, which shall be brought vnto you from all parts of the Christian commonwealth, not lustie and courageous souldiours, not policie, not fortune, not the propitious heavenly powers, which haue made choice of you for the defence of the true faith and religion: you want nothing (worthie princes) but will. It is an expedition necessarie, religious, profitable, and honourable: wherein are propounded most ample rewards both in this life, and in the life to come. Wherefore (most mightie prince, and you right worthie princes all) I pray and beseech you by the faith of Christ Iesu, by the love of your children, by the health of your kingdome, and deliuerance from your present destruction, with valiant courage, and one consent to take this sacred war in hand, and so thereby to enroll your names in the eternall booke of fame. And sith that you are to goe, not so much to a worldly as a spirituall war, against the enemies of Christ and his truth, take up your armes with such Zeale, courage, and cheerefulness, as the expectation and hope of men, as your valour, the present danger, and the mercies of God towards you seeme of right to require.

The pitifull complaint of the Despot, of the cruelty of the Turks, perswading the Hungarians to take the warre against them in hand.

The Legat hauing made an end, forthwith ensued the miserabie supplication and teares of the Despot, perswading them, of the necessitie of that expedition to be taken in hand, declaring vnto them the cruelty of the Turks, their torments and strange tortures, his sonnes deprivied of their fight, and spoiled of their genitoires, many halfe mangled, and moe cut in sunder with lawes; some flaine quick, and other buried aliue, with many other strange kinds of death, such as would abhorre any Christian eares to heare. And warning the Hungarians, by his example to beware how much they had need to looke to themselves, told them, That they were but by the riuer Savaus, deuided from the Turks; which in Summer was oftentimes to be waded ouer, and in Winter hard frozen, and so to bee passed: that the countrey beyond DANUBIUS lay all open vpon them; and that he, sometime the rich king of SERBIA, was now driuen into exile by the power of the Turke, deprivied of his kingdome, of his children, shamefully disgraced, spoiled of his wealth and fortune, glad to flie from place to place, and yet not able to find any safe place to rest in. First he fled (as he said) to RAGVSIVM, where by and by he was sought after, and endangered by the Turks: then into HUNGARIE, which was also forthwith by them on euery side infected; and whereof the Barbarian king now asked tribute, to haue some colour for the inuasion thereof: which dreadfull enemie was not farre off from it, but still howered euen ouer it: as well witnessed VLACHIA and TRANSILVANIA, two of the greatest and richest provinces of the Hungarian kingdome; which had not the valour of Huniades, the fortune of the commonweale, and about all, the mercie of God, deliuered out of the hands of this filthie nation, the state of HUNGARIE had now ben viterly forlorne. The euents of war (he said) were diuers, fortune vncertaine, and that God would not euery day bee tempted. Wherefore with many teares abundantly running down his aged face, he besought king Vladislav & the rest, not to let slip this faire occasion, neither by cowardise or negligence to break off the course of their good fortune and victorie: but to make choice rather to become reuengers of other mens harmes than of their own, and to satisfie the good opinion the world had conceiued of them. He was (as he said) a sufficient example to all men. Besides that he offered a great sum of mony himselfe towards the defraying of the charges of the war, assuring the also of great supplies both of men & mony from diuers other

Chri.

Christian princes. Which opinion of the Legat & Despots, being generally liked & approued, a decree was made by the whole court of parliament there assembled, That the king should himselfe in person with all speed possible entertain that honorable war. So that though it were now vpon the approach of winter, yet were men taken vp in euerie place, and embassadours sent vnto the Emperour, and the other neighbour princes, to pray of them aid against the common enemie. Who for the most part excused themselves by their owne particuler affaires, but sent no aid at all. Neuerthelesse many deuout Christians both out of FRANCE and GERMANY, for the zeale they bare vnto Christ and the Christian religion, forsaking wife and children, and whatsoeuer they had else, came and worthily serued vpon their owne charge. The Spring being come, and supplications made in all places for the prosperous successe of that religious warre, king Vladislav the first of May set forward from BUDA, where passing the riuer DANUBIUS and marching faire and softly, and coming to the riuer TRIBISVS, hee therestaied three daies for the comming of his armie. Departing thence, and marching on alongst the side of DANUBIUS, vntill he came within the sight of BVLGARIA, hee there at a place called COBIS, oueragainst SYNDEROVIA, passed ouer DANUBIUS with his armie, which was now growne verie great: and so marched directly to SOPHIA situate about fixe daies march from DANUBIUS, in the frontiers of BVLGARIA, so called of a most sumptuous and magnificent temple there built by Iustinian the great emperour. Which citie being then old and ruinous, and but badly fortified, was easily taken; and afterward for that it was not well to be holden, was by the kings commandement burnt, as were all the other countrey townes and villages thereabouts; to the terror of the rest. Marching thence hee came vnto the riuer MORAVA and there encamped: where the plaine countrey easily riseth and falleth in manner of the sea when it is mooued with a little wind. Here fixe hundred light horsemen, being sent ouer the riuer, not so much to seeke after preie, as to view the countrey which way the armie might most safely and easily passe, hapned vpon the Turks scouts, of whom they tooke foure: and vnderstanding by them, that two thousand of the Turks were comming at hand, knowing themselves to weake to encounter them, they retired backe againe with all speed they could vnto the riuer: where many of them, for feare, leapt headlong from the high and broken banks, and so perished in the deepe; the rest terrified with the misfortune of their fellows, stood still doubtfully expecting what should become of themselves. Beyond the riuer was another hill, vpon the top whereof the king with a great number of horsemen were hunting: whom the Turks a far off discrying, and doubting to fall into some ambush, of purpose laid for them betwixt them and the riuer, without coming on further, retired. Which they that before fearefully staied on the farre side of the riuer perceiuing, and now encouraged by the comming of the king downe to the riuer, followed a while after, so to increase their feares and so hauing well feared one another, retired on both sides worse affraid than hurt. The next daie the king passed ouer the riuer, sending out his scouts to see if all were cleare before him: by whom he was aduertised that the Turks were at hand, hauing placed certaine ambushes fast by, expecting but a fit time to set vpon him. Wherevpon entring into counsaile with his best and most expert captaines, what were best to be done; it was resolued vpon, that Huniades the next night with ten thousand choice horsemen, should vpon the suddaine set vpon the enemie, then fearing nothing lesse. Who conducted by the espials, was in the first watch of the night brought verie neere vnto them. The moone by chance as fauoring his great attempt, did then shine out, so that he might well discern how the enemie lay encamped; and which way for to charge them to his most aduantage; which was by the same way they were most like to flye, if they should be put to the worst: vnto which place he led his men, and there with a most hideous outcrie, entred the campe, as then for the most part buried in sleepe and securitie: when as the Turkes awaked with the suddaine noise as it were out of a dead sleepe, and dismayed with the horrour of the crie, began to betake them some to their weapons, some to their heeles. Of whom such as fled, lighting vpon the enemies troupes standing in their way, ran as fast backe againe: the other scarce yet well awake, and ouercome with feare, and now scarcely themselves, had much adoe to make themselves readie to fight. Huniades in the meane time riding vp and downe amongst his men, cheered them vp, still crying out and calling vpon them, courageously to assaile their sleepe-naked and fearefull enemies, and not to let slip so faire an occasion and so notable a victorie now alreadie in their hands. At the first encounter the Turks rather made a stirre than fought; but after that they heard that Huniades was there, as men dismayed with his name, they turned their

Sophia taken.

Huniades with ten thousand horsemen assailed the Turkes by night.

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backs and fled, finding which way soeuer they tooke, their fellowes halfe dead or wounded: such a confusion was raised amongst them, with the greatnesse of the sudden feare, that thrusting together, with an inconsiderate desire of flight, they trod one another vnder foot, and thrust themselves vpon one anothers weapons: the greatest part of them driuen headlong into the thickets, and other straits, and not able in time to get out thence, were there by the victorious enimie fiercely pursuing of them, slaine. All that night the fearefull Turkes were with great slaughter held in chace: but as soone as it was day, the rest that remained of them ran also the same fortune with their fellowes. A farre greater slaughter was there made, than a man would thinke that so few men could haue made, when as but with ten thousand horse, thirtie thousand Turkes were in one night slaine, and foure thousand taken, with a number of their ensignes. Of *Huniades* his men were not many lost, for the greatnesse of the slaughter, most report not aboue fise hundred: a few of them found any enimie to resist them. There was taken all the spoile of a most rich campe, the enimie hauing caried with them nothing out of it. *Huniades* hauing in so short time gained so notable a victorie, and enriched his armie, returned to the king in great triumph: neither was that day more joyfull vnto these victorious souldiors, than vnto the rest of the armie, who most joyfully expected their returne. The king and the Despot, hearing of the approach of *Huniades* from the slaughter of the Turkes, with the great applause and joyfull acclamation of the other legions went to meet him three miles: and at such time as at their first meeting *Huniades* was about to haue lighted to haue done him honour, he would in no case suffer him so to doe, but taking him by the right hand, joyed with him for the victorie, thanking God in the hearing of the whole armie, that hee of his mercie had giuen him such a capitaine, as without enuie in all mens judgements was worthe to rule the Romane empire. In briebe, he shewed how much his country, his kingdome, yea the Christian commonweale was bound and indebted vnto him, gave him his due praises, exhorting all others to imitate his glorie: the like honour did also all the rest of the nobilitie vnto him. As for the common souldiors, they could not be satisfied with beholding of him, but embracing one another, as if they would haue died one in anothers armes, welcomed their victorious friends. So with joy joyning their forces together, and sending the rich spoile of the enimie, with the prisoners chained together in long rancks, before them; the king and *Huniades*, in great triumph returned into the campe, where they caused generall prayers with thanksgiuing vnto almightie God, for so great a victorie, to bee made thoughour the armie.

The Legat *Julian*, generall of the voluntarie Christians, which for deuotion serued of their owne charge, after so great a victorie most earnestly perswaded the king and the rest of the great commaunders of the armie to prosecute their good fortune, and in God his so great fauor not to loiter, but daily to march forward, and to take in the rest of *BVLGARIA*. Now had *Huniades* by his espials learned, that from *SOPHIA* it was but three dayes journey to *PHILIPPOPOLIS*, a great citie of *THRACIA*; and the like distance from thence to *HADRIANOPLE*, the cheefe seat of the Turkish tyrant; and as much more to *CONSTANTINOPLE*. The onely difficultie was, how to passe the great and rough mountaine *HEMVS*, which running a maruellous way in length, euen vnto the Euxine sea, and mating almost the skie, deuidenth the countries of *BVLGARIA* and *SERBIA*, from *MACEDONIA* and *THRACE*: and for the great height and roughnesse thereof, was not to be passed out but in two places; the one made by the great emperor *Traian* and the Romanes, where as yet is to be seene a mightie strong gate built of great square stone, whereby the passage that way was opened or shut at the pleasure of them that had the keeping thereof: the other neere vnto a little riuer, which the Bulgarians now call *SALTIZA*. By either of these waies if he should find them open, *Huniades*, vnto whom the king had committed both the leading and the conduct of the armie, purposed to enter. Wherefore marching forward, they tooke all such townes of *BVLGARIA* as stood in their way; some by force, some by composition: when as was no small helpe, the conformitie of the Christian religion, the horrible crueltie of the Turkes, and great affinitie of language, the most effectuell meanes to win the loue of strangers: For the Polonians and the Bulgarians, both descended of the Sclauonians, and vsing the same language, the Polonian horsemen came to no towne, but it presently yielded. But being come vnto the mountaine *HEMVS*, to haue entered into *THRACIA*, the Winter weather being now very cold, they learned by their espials, that the aforesaid passages were both fast shut vp with great stones, timber, and such other like matter, so strongly, as that they were very hardly

The meeting of
Vladislaus and
Huniades after
the victorie.

to be forced. Wherefore *Huniades* leauing the straighter way made by the hand of man (which beside the former fortification at the great gate, the Turkes had in many places, with abundance of water poured downe the steepe hill in the night, and hard frozen with the coldnesse of the weather, made so slipperie, as that it was not possible either for man or beast there to stand, or to get vp that way) vpon Christmas euen came to the other, by which the riuer *Saltiza* runneth, the which he found likewise shut. Here they met with many inconueniences: first, the difficultie of the passage, which old *Amurath* had nor without great reason shut vp, and there placed strong garisons, so at ease and without danger of battaile (so often by his Bassaes vnfortunatly proued) to defend his kingdome in *MACEDONIA* and *THRACIA* from the inuasion of the Hungarians, whom now of all nations he most dreaded. Beside that, in the armie was such want of all things, as that the souldiors were ready to forsake their ensignes, and to rise vp in a generall mutinie: for the country neere vnto the mountaine *HEMVS*, rising high with broken rocks and inaccessible places, was altogether barren, and victuals failing in the campe; they were glad to liue with a little wheat and flesh boiled together, and that so sparingly, as that the souldiors began now generally to grow weake and faint. Besides that, the Winter was exceeding cold; and the frost so great, that many times they could not goe out of their tents to seeke for forage or water. So that the armie enforced with hunger and cold, and the difficultie of the passage, began to retire; & had now vndoubtedly bene dissolved, had it not been for the often and earnest persuasions of *Huniades*: for he daily told them, that the greatest difficulties were already past, that that which remained, was with their wonted valour and courage to be endured, whereunto nothing was high or difficult: that they should forthwith come into the borders of *THRACIA*, where they should find plentie of all things: that they were now come so farre, that if they would go backe againe, they should in those wast countries, through which they were to passe, find greater difficulties and dangers than in going forward: that these straights once opened, remained no more trauell, but cheerefully to fall to the spoile of a most rich and pleasant country. They were not (as he said) to stay in the midst of their fortunes, for that it was not alwaies permanent: and for that the contempt of God his fauours, caused them to be oftentimes taken from vs: all that was yet done (hee said) was nothing, if they proceeded not farther: for that whatsoever they had already woon, was easily by the enimie to be recovered; except that those which yet remained (for that most part of them, as he said, were slaine with their houses burnt ouer their heads) were driuen out of *THRACIA* and *MACEDONIA*, and so quite out of *EUROPE*. So whilst the souldiors heard *Huniades* speake, euery man was well encouraged: but when they remembered the miseries wherewith they were enuironed, they cursed all the rash attempts of ambitious princes. In the meane time newes was brought by the scouts, that the Turkes were coming after them: but then began they to reioice, as deeming it much more honor, manfully to die in battell, than to stauie with hunger and cold. Against these Turkes was *Huniades* sent, with certain troupes of horsemen: who encountering with them, easily enforced them with losse to retire. Eight times he encountered them (as the souldiors there present reported) and as often put them to flight. In retiring backe from the impregnable mountaine, the king with the greatest part of the armie went before; after whom followed *Huniades* & the Despot, a good daies march: when the Turkes that kept the passage vpon the mountain, vnderstanding of their return, followed them downe the hill, in good hope to be of them well reuenged, before they should get out of *BVLGARIA*. *Carambey* the Bassa of *ROMANIA*, and brother to *Caly-Bassu* (a man of all others in greatest fauor with *Amurath*, and his brother in law, as hauing married his sister) was generall of this armie, and by him appointed for the keeping of these straits; with expresse charge, vpon no occasion whatsoever, although it made shew of neuer so assured a victorie, to fight with the enimie: for he thought it victorie ynough, without any losse to haue kept his enemies out of *THRACIA*. Whiche the old kings commaund, *Carambey* for all that neglected, in good hope by a notable victory easily to answer the contempt of that he was commanded. The Christian armie descending downe the broken mountains was come to a great mountaine, which the Bulgarians call *CYNOBIZA*, and part of the mountaine *HEMVS*: at whose heeles followed *Carambey*, with his Turkes, still houerling ouer their heads, to take them at some aduantage: whom the Christians beholding, could not by their capitaines be staied, but that they would many times by companies flie forth vpon them, and desperatly fight with them in places of great disaduantage, saying, That they had rather die in fight like men, than to stauie with hunger and cold. Here *Carambey*, being himselfe a man of great courage,

The Hungarians
inforced with the
difficultie of the
passage of the
mountaine
HEMVS, retire.

and desirous of honour, and by the rashnesse of his enemies allured to fight; and withall, beside the advantage of the ground, perceiuing himselfe to exceed his enemies both in strength and number of men, could not be staied but would needs giue battaile, with such a desire, as if he had been already assured of the victorie. *Huniades* and the Despot had before perceiued, that the Turkes, prouoked with the brauing of their men, would assuredly fall vpon them, and were therefore much troubled with the absence of the king, who (as is before said) was gone a dayes march before they saw they could neither shun battaile, neither if they could haue so done, would their desperat souldiours be staied, for the desire they had to fight. Yet seeing *Carambey* comming down vpon them, they put themselves (though vnwillingly) in best order they could to receiue him, perswading their souldiours not rashly in furie to run vpon their enemies, as desperat men prodigally of their liues, but to keepe their ranks, and orderly to fight, and so like valiant men to carie away the victorie, or to leaue vnto their enemies a bloodie remembrance thereof. Now had *Carambey* sent his horsemen downe the hill, and the battaile was begun, where both the armies met together with great furie, and a cruell fight was made both at the foot of the hill and amongst the hills and vallies also: in which hard encounter many were slaine, as well on the one side as the other. The Polonian men at armes (whom the king but a little before had left with *Huniades* against all euents) with the Hungarian light horsemen (of whom the Despot had the leading) fought so that day, as if they had fought for nothing more but how honourably to die. And the Turkes for a space stood hard to it, so that many were there slaine: yet at length finding themselves hardly laied to, as by desperat men, resolu'd to sell their liues deere, they began to faim and to giue ground: when as *Carambey* comming in behind them with new supplies, rated the cowardly, stay'd them that were flying, and sometime with rough speeches, sometime with faire persuation, encouraged the wauering, and restored the battaile, before almost quite lost. Neither did *Huniades* and the Despot lesse bestirre them, but as soone as they perceiued the enemy a little to faint, by and by cried out Victorie; with cherefull speech encouraging their men, still calling vpon them, To keepe their ranks strong, and to vrge their present good fortune, assuring themselves, that they fought against those infidels, vnder the fauour and protection of the Almighty. And forthwith sent certaine companies of footmen, who climbing vp the hill, amongst the bushes with their halfe pikes and bore-speares paunched the Turkes horses as they passed by them. These loose companies did the Turkes horsemen much harme, and here began their battaile to decline; they which were comming downe, for feare of the danger reirring backe againe vnto them that were left aboue, for the keeping of the straits. And the border sort of them, which were come downe into the valleyes, compassed about with the men at armes, hardly recouered the rising of the hill. *Carambey* in the meane while crying out behind them, one while called backe them that fled, another while releued them that fainted, and to the vttermost of his power restoring the battaile, performed all the parts both of a valiant souldiour and worthie capitaine, courageously fighting himselfe in the thickest of his enemies, and by his owne valour staied for a time the lost battaile. At length performing his last endeavour, deceived by the snow, he fell into a bogge, where sticking fast with his horse, and not able to helpe himselfe, hee was taken prisoner by a common souldiour. The rest that escaped out of this bloodie battaile, retired themselves vnto them that were left aboue vpon the mountaine for the defence of the passage. After whom the Christians followed, through the vntract and rough places, untill that hindered of their farther pursuit by the approach of the night, and the abruptnesse of the way, they were glad to found a retreat, and so retired vnto the campe. Many other great men were taken beside *Carambey*, but many more slaine in the battaile, and most of all in the flight; few escaped, but such as fled backe againe vp into the mountaines. In the retreat *Huniades* seeing so gallant a man as was *Carambey* (though to him altogether vnknowne) vnworthily bound, and led prisoner by a common souldiour, asked the souldiour, if he would sell his prisoner: who said, he would; and asked for him ten duckats (a poore price for so great a man) vnto whom *Huniades* commaunded to be giuen foure hundred, and so sent him to his tent, comforting of him vp with cherefull words, and willing that he should be well vsed. The Despot the same night comming to *Huniades* his tent, to conferre with him about the remainder of the war, and seeing so braue a man standing among the rest by the fire side, began to talke with him in the Turkish language, whereof hee had some knowledge, by reason of the neerenesse of the nation, and such matters as he had sometimes to do with them; and hauing some gesse by his talke what

A great battell
betweene Huniades
& the Bassa
Carambey.

The Turkes overthrowne,
and Carambey taken
prisoner.

he was, and pittying his estate, asked *Huniades*, how he would ransom him: who said, that hee cost him foure hundred duckats, but that he valued him at fortie thousand, which the Despot offered to pay him. Thus by the strange change of fortune was *Carambey*, of late so great a commander, and so neere alied vnto the great Turke, valued and prized twice in one day, by his enemies, as a mirrour of the vncertaintie of worldly blisse and felicitie. The Polonians report somewhat otherwise of this battaile, as that *Vladislaus* should himselfe therein be present, and the chiefe that therein commaunded: howbeit the Hungarian writers, whose credit herein we follow, report it as before, not to haue bene fought vnder the good fortune of the king then absent, but vnder the leading of *Huniades* and the Despot.

Out of this battaile (or as some others report, a little before out of the battaile of *MORAVA*) fled the great capitaine *George Castriot*, otherwise of the Turkes called *Scanderbeg*, now seeking to deliuer both himselfe, and his native cuntry of *EPIRUS* out of the thraldome of the Turkes, as presently after he did: whose vnwonted flight, not a little terrified the rest of the Turkes armie, and much furthered the Christians victorie, whose proceedings he alwaies secretly fauored: hauing (as it was thought) secret intelligence with the great capitaine *Huniades*, who not without instructions from him (as some say) gaue that great ouerthrow vnto the Turkes at *MORAVA*. But of him and his worthie acts done for the deliuerance and defence of his cuntry, more shall be said hereafter.

Shortly after this great ouerthrow and discomfiture of the Turkes, the two great captaines *Huniades*, and the Despot, together with the king, consulted for the remoouing of the Turkes garisons left aboue for the keeping of the stait passages of the mountaine, and the prosecution of the war. Which *Vladislaus* (considering the difficultie of the matter, and his souldiours necessities) thought it not good further to prosecute, but forthwith to returne. But *Huniades* and the Despot, the one thirsting after honour, and the other in no lesse hope, by the good successe of this war, to recouer again his lost kingdome, sayd, That the Turkes were in any case to be remooued, the passage opened, and the sparks that yet remained, for feare of raising a greater fire, extinguished: opposing against the difficultie by the king alleged, the inuincible courage of his souldiours, whereunto they said nothing was impossible or difficult. Vnto which opinion the king also (least he should seeme to distrust the valour of his captaines or souldiours) easily yelcled, and so commaunded on God his name to set forward. The first that mounted the hill was the king his battaile, which by the roughnesse and abruptnesse of the mountaine hindered, oftentimes staied. But *Huniades* still caried with an earnest desire to prosecute the victorie, and leauing nothing vnattempted, in searching about found a crooked turning way, whereby he with his men more easily and readily got vp to the top of the mountaine euen with their enemies, vnderfired or molested, by reason of the broken couert of the place: from whence they were in good hope easily to haue come vnto their enemies. But being come vp to the place they desired, they found such a deepe and wide gaping of the rocke, betwixt them and the enemy, as was neither to bee passed, or filled vp: yet being come verie neere, they attempted by crosbow shot, and great stones cast out offlings, and other such engines to haue remooued the Turkes from their places: who were therewith and with their vnexpected approach, at the first so greatly both annoyed and discomfited, that they were almost at the point to haue forsaken the passage, had not *Alis Beg* (but the night before chosen for their Generall in stead of *Carambey*) encouraged them and taught them, how by throwding themselves vnder the broken rocks, and parapets with tumultarie labour cast vp, to saue themselves from the shot of their enemies. In the meane time also, *Huniades* by another more high and steepe way, whereby the enemy was also to be approached, had sent vp other companies of souldiours: who fighting at too much disadvantage, were by the Turkes easily rejected. So at length seeing the vain attempt giuen by himselfe vpon the top of the hill: and the desperate danger of the other in climbing the inaccessible mountaine, where one might keepe downe an hundred, despairing to inforce the enemy, hee by the kings commaund, caused a retreat to bee sounded, and so againe retired downe the mountaine, to the great reioycing of the Turkes. The next daie the winter cold raging, and wants in the armie still more and more increasing, the king with the rest of the great commanders entred into consultation for the halting of their returne out of that rough and barren cuntry, into places of greater plentie, before the armie were brought to any greater extremitie. Wherevnto *Huniades* (giuing place vnto necessity, which alwaies suffereth not to bee regarded that is seemely) now easily yelcled: onely the

Scanderbeg rescued
himselfe from the
Turkes.

Vladislaus set
kech in value it
ouen the passing
of the mountaine
Huniades.

Despot spake against it, blaming them, that hauing taken the Generall, and put their enemies to flight, and victorie now as it were in their hands, they would not prosecute the small remainder of the warre, but cowardly turne their backs vnto their vanquished enemies: promising that he himselfe would find money enough for the prouiding of all things needfull for the releefe of the armie. So said the Popes Legat also. But forasmuch as the wants in the armie were great, and the souldiours presently pinched with hunger and cold, they could with no hope of any profit, were it neuer so great, be persuaded to staie; openly crying out, that it was not their captains and lieutenants, which wanted nothing, but them the poore souldiours that starued for hunger: as for the Despot, that he in hope of recouering of his kingdome, perswaded things impossible, and no way to be performed, neither to be any thing moued with the death of their men or cattell. Need (they said) could not be vanquished: but that when Winter was past, they would willingly returne againe vnto the sacred warre: In the meane time Winter raging, and hunger commanding, let vs giue ouer (said they) and depart into more fruitfull places, there to refresh our bodies, spent with labour, cold, and hunger. For which reasons, the king sending before his baggage, retired againe by the same way he came. Which the Turkes from aboue beholding, and strengthened with new supplies, followed after them, as after men that had fled: oftentimes assailing them in the rereward, and setting vpon them sometimes on the one side, sometimes on the other, with often skirmishes both did and receiued much harme. Whose manner of fight was, to retire when they were themselves charged, and presently by great troupes to charge againe their enemies, their backs once turned to them; and so troubled the armie, that it was constrained oftentimes to stay; besides that, loaded with the rich spoile of the enemy, and much baggage, it could not of itselfe make any great hast. Now was it by the way come into a great thicke wood, full of deepe boggs and water-courses, hard to be passed through: where the rest of the armie going before, in the rereward, at the entrance of the wood, were left certaine strong companies of men at armes, as a wall against the pursuing enemies; whom the Turkes with their readie light horsemen fiercely charged: where betwixt them, in the wood, was fought a great fight, and a great tumult raised: vnto the noise whereof, they which marched before hastily returning, in skirmishing, many of them fell into those deepe boggs and queachie places, out of which they could hardly rid themselves againe. Besides that, there were many crooked and troublesome turnings and windings, with suddaine descents, so steepe, as that in going downe the same, their horses came tumbling heeles ouer head, and there lay ouerthrowne, together with their riders: in such sort, as that to auoid these difficulties, they were oftentimes enforced to fight on foot. In which troublesome skirmish, about fourescore of the men at armes were lost; but of the Turkes, beside them which were slaine, were taken an hundred and seuentie, all whom *Huniades* caused to be presently slain. In this wood the Christians were more troubled with the difficulties of the place, than the enemies assaults. Wherefore wants daily more and more encreasing in the armie, which by reason of the multitude of their carriages, abundance of their baggage, and often assaults of the Turkes, was able to make no way: the king for feare his armie should in so long & slow a march through those troublesome and barren countries, be consumed with hunger and other wants, caused all the carriages and baggage to be brought into the midst of the armie, and of it, all such things as serued rather for burthen than vse, to be there burnt: and the armes as well of such souldiours as he had lost, as of the enemy, to be buried in the ground, and all the weake beasts that serued for burthen, to be killed. So the armie well discharged of such vnprofitable burthens, marched much more speedily, neither was so much subject vnto the assaults of the Turkes, as before. And so at length by long iournies, *Vladislaus* with his armie arrived at *Belgrade*, where hee was of his subjects honourably receiued. And hauing there staied certaine daies, and well refreshed his armie, departing thence, and passing the riuer *Sauus*, came to the royall citie of *Buda*: where he was of all his subjects joyfully receiued also. The Legat and *Huniades* going on his right hand, and the Despot on the left: after whome followed other colonels, captaines, and lieutenants, with their companies; who at the first meeting with the citizens, more than a mile out of the citie, in token of their mutuall joy, gaue together such joyfull acclamations and outcries, as that the heauens seemed to resound, and the earth to shake with the noise thereof. Before the king, at his coming vnto the citie, went a long companie of the notable Turkes captiues; and next before him, *Carambey*, bound in chaines, vpon whom all mens eyes were fixed. With them were also carried the enemies ensignes, and such spoyle as had bene found

The Hungarians
much troubled in
passing a thicke
wood.

Vladislaus hono-
rably receiued at
Buda.

Behind

Behind the king came *Huniades* in a triumphant robe, in the midst betwixt the Legate on the right hand, and the Despot on the left, as he that next vnto the king had best deserved the honor of the triumph. Next vnto them followed the deuout Christians, that for the zeale of religion had most honourably of their owne charges voluntarie serued in those wars: and on both sides of them the ciuile magistrates and best of the citizens: behind them came the rest of the legions, and about them both vpon the right hand and the left, the promiscuous common people, doubling and redoubling the praises of the king, and *Huniades*. Before all these went the prelates and priests in solemne procession, singing hymnes and psalmes of thanksgiving vnto almightie God: *Vladislaus* coming vnto the gate of the citie, acknowledging God to haue bene the author of so great a victorie, alighting from his horse, on foot went first vnto the Cathedrall church of our ladie; and there giuing most hartie thanks vnto almightie God, hanged vp the enemies ensignes, and part of the spoile, in perpetuall remembrance of so notable a victorie: which hee afterward caused to bee most liuely depicted in a faire table of most curious worke, and there in the same church to bee hanged vp: as were also the armes of all the noble Christians that serued in that most famous expedition, which there long time after remained: Which solemnities ended, he went to his palace in the castle, and there hauing giuen vnto euery man, but especially vnto *Huniades*, his due commendation, gaue them leaue to depart. Thus the Hungarians, with whom also the Polonians in most part agree, report of this notable expedition of their king *Vladislaus*: howbeit the Turkes (notable dissemblers of their own losses) confessing the great ouerthrow, call the Bassa so ouerthrowne not by the name of *Carambey*, but of *Cassanes*; and the noble prisoner that was taken, by the name of *Mechmet Beg*, Sanzacke of *ANCIARA* *Amurath* his son in law, and brother to *Cali-Bassa* *Amurath* his great counsellour, of some called *Carambey* after the name of his father.

Out of this late slaughter of the Turkes, wherein *Carambey* was taken, escaped that valiant prince and famous warrior *George Castriot* (of the Turkes called *Scanderbeg*) as is before declared: whose noble mind had long time desired to breake out of the golden fetters of the Turkish thraldome, and to be reuenged of the intollerable injuries by *Amurath* done to his countrey, his parents, his brethren, and himselfe. Although hee had alwaies most warily dissembled the same, for feare of the old tirant: being oftentimes solicited and animated therevnto by secret letters and messengers from his friends in *EPirus*, knowing right well that the least ouerture thereof, had been vnto him present death. But finding no fit meanes for the accomplishing thereof, wisely dissembled the same, with all the shewes of loue and loyaltie vnto *Amurath* that might be: vntill that now in this great ouerthrow of the Turkes armie, vnder the leading of *Carambey*, and in so great a confusion, he tooke occasion to put in practise what he had long before in his deepe conceit plotted, for the deliuerie both of himselfe and his countrey from the Turkish bondage and slauierie. At which time *Scanderbeg* (for so from henceforth we will call him) hauing a little before imparted the matter vnto some of his trustie friends and countrey men, no lesse desirous of libertie than himselfe, but especially vnto his nephew *Amesa*, the sonne of his brother *Reposius*, a young man of great courage (in that great confusion of the Turkish armie, when euery man was glad to shift for himselfe) had euer in his flight a vigilant eie vpon the Bassaes principall secretarie: whom accompanied with a few Turkes, he with his nephew *Amesa*, and other of his faithfull friends closely followed, as he fled from the slaughter: but when he had got the secretarie with his few followers in place most conuenient for his purpose, he set vpon the Turkes and slew them euery one: and carying the secretarie away with him fast bound, when hee had brought him whether he thought good, with great threats compelled him (soe against his will) to write counterfait letters, as from the Bassa his maister, vnto the gouernour of *CROIA*, commanding him in *Amuraths* name, Forthwith to deliuer vnto *Scanderbeg*, the new chose Gouernour, the charge of the citie with the garrison there: cunningly enterlacing many other things in the same letters, whereby the matter might seeme more probable. Which letters so extorted, he presently slew the Secretary, & as many more of the Turkes as came in his way, of purpose that his doings might be the longer kept from knowledg of *Amurath*; who not hearing what was become of him, might reasonably conjecture that he was slaine by the Hungarians amongst the rest of the Turkes.

Whilest the same of this great ouerthrow is going to *HADRIANOPLE*, and there filleth the Turkes court with sorrow and heauinesse, in the meane time *Scanderbeg* hauing with him three thousand Epirot souldiours which followed him out of the battaile, as men desirous rather

Scanderbeg wisely
dissembled, but
desire for the de-
liuerie of him-
selfe and his
countrey.

to fight for the libertie of themselves and of their country, than in the quarrell of the Turke, was with incredible celeritie come into the vpper country of DIBRA, in the borders of EPIRVS, about seauenty miles from CROIA: into which country he was most joyfully receiued, where he staid but one daie, and chose a few of those three hundred which he brought with him, to wait vpon him when he went to CROIA, as if they had been his domesticall seruants: the rest, with other three hundred lustie souldiours, which were then come vnto him out of DIBRA, he appointed to be led by secret by-waies through the woods and mountaines by perfect guides, vntill they came so nigh CROIA as was possible for them to come, vnperceiued; and there to stay, vntill he might find oportunitie to conuaine them into the citie to oppresse the Turkish garrison. So hee with a small companie of his followers, as if they had been his priuat retinew, tooke the way towards CROIA. But when he began to draw neere to the citie, he sent *Amesa* before with two seruitors attending vpon him, as if he had been his Secretarie, to certifie the Gouvernour of the cheefe citie of EPIRVS, the night following found by this policie got the government of the cheefe citie of EPIRVS, who were by this time come according as he had before appointed: most part of them hee placed in most convenient places of the citie, and for the speedie suppression of the Turkish garrison, hee with the rest first set vpon the Turkes which kept the watch vpon the wall, and slue them; and afterwards breaking into their priuate houses, slew many of them in their beds: the Christian citizens also taking vp armes at the same time, helped to increase the slaughter of the Turkes, so that in the space of a few houres, there was none of the Turkish garrison left aliue, except some few which were content to forsake their Mahometan superstition, and to become Christians. Many of the Turkes might haue saued their liues, and would not, choosing rather to die, and (as it is reported) also to kill themselves, than to forsake their damnable superstition: so small is the regard of life vnto resolute mindes, in what quarrell soeuer.

The citie of CROIA being thus happily by *Scanderbeg* recovered, wherein appeared both the greatest difficultie, and hope of his good or bad successe in so great an attempt; he presently sent *Amesa* backe again into DIBRA, and other speedie messengers likewise into all the parts of EPIRVS, to disperse the newes, and to stirre vp the people to take vp armes for the recouerie of their lost libertie: but flying Fame, the speedie post, had preuented the messengers by him sent, and alreadie filled euerie corner of EPIRVS with report of *Scanderbeg* his comming, and of all that was done at CROIA. And the oppressed Epirots which had long wished to see that happy daie, were now vp in armes in euerie place, wanting nothing but leaders; whose comming, although they greatly desired, yet they stayed not therevpon, but running together by heapes (as the manner of the common people is in all great tumults) they set vpon the Turkes garrisons, which lay abroad in the country; and slew most part of them, whereby it came to passe, that no Turke could stirre in the country, but that he was snatched vp and slaine, so that in few daies there was not a Turke to be found in EPIRVS, but such as lay in garrisons in strong townes. In this sort of the people, the Gouvernour of CROIA, with all his retinue, was by the country people by the way as he went set vpon and slaine, and all his goods taken as a prey.

When *Scanderbeg* had thus recovered CROIA, and secured the country, yet to remove the garrisons which *Amurath* had put in euerie strong citie, was thought to be a matter of great importance, and more difficultie. For which purpose he commaunded those whom he had appointed for capitaines, speedily to repaire vnto CROIA with all the power they could make: At which time also, diuers noble men his nigh kinsmen, returned vnto him with their followers: so that within a few daies, he had together at CROIA twelue thousand souldiours well appointed. With this armie he marched from CROIA to PETRELLA, a strong citie 25 miles distant from CROIA, and encamped before it. This citie is strongly situate vpon the top of a steep

Scanderbeg commeth with his army to Petrella.

mountaine, as all the rest of the cities of EPIRVS be, and was by the Turkes well furnished with men, munition, and others things needfull: yet *Scanderbeg* was in good hope, that the Turkish garrison there, terrified with the fortune of the garrison of CROIA, and the slaughter of the Turkes in the country round about, would be glad to hearken vnto reasonable conditions. Which to make proofe of, as soone as he was encamped, he sent one of those souldiours which had followed him out of HUNGARIE (a faithfull and wise fellow) vnto PETRELLA, to offer vnto the souldiours, That if they would yeeld vp the citie, it should be at their choice, either to continue in seruice with *Scanderbeg*, with whom they should find most bountifull entertainment; or else to depart in safetie with bagge and baggage at their pleasure, with an honourable reward to be diuided amongst them. The subtile messenger comming thither, and framing his tale according to the present occasion, and necessitie of the time; first declared vnto them, how that *Amurath* of late vanquished by the Hungarians in a great battaile, and looking euerie day to be set vpon by diuers other Christian princes, was so busied that he had no leasure to looke into EPIRVS, or to send them any releefe: after that, he in the name of *Scanderbeg*, offered them the conditions before rehearsed, setting the same forth with many great words; willing them oftentimes by the way to consider the dreadfull miserie that but the other day befell to the garrison at CROIA, and other their fellowes abroad in the country, whose dead bodies as then lay in euerie corner of EPIRVS for a prey to the hungrie dogs and greedie wolues: which thing was easily beleueed of them of the garrison, for that diuers of the Turkes lately fled out of the country into the citie, had themselves seene the same to be true. The Gouvernour hauing a little considered of the matter, was content to giue vp the citie, vpon condition that he with the souldiours might in safetie depart with such things as they had: not couenanting vpon any further reward, because it should not be said that he had sold the citie. Which when *Scanderbeg* had faithfully promised to performe, the Turkish Gouvernour comming forth with all his garrison, yeelded vp the citie: and *Scanderbeg* mindfull of his promise, gaue vnto them both meat and money, and sent them with a sufficient conuoy of horsemen in safetie out of EPIRVS.

Petrella yeelded vnto Scanderbeg.

When *Scanderbeg* had thus gained PETRELLA, he placed therein a convenient garrison, and set all things in order as he thought good: but suffered none to enter into the citie, more than the appointed garrison, although it was then verie cold and frostie weather. This done, he presently raised his campe, and following his good fortune, marched towards PETRA-ALBA in such hast, as if the citie had been running away from him; well knowing, that though Time be euere more precious, yet neuer more than in martiall affaires, wherein the least moment is often times of such power as to effect or frustrate mens greatest designs. PETRA-ALBA is a citie in the country of ÆMATHIA distant from PETRELLA thirtie miles, strongly scituate vpon the top of a mountain, neere vnto the riuer ÆMATHVS. *Scanderbeg* had scarcely well encamped himselfe before this citie, but that the Gouvernour thereof, terrified with the fortune of CROIA, and PETRELLA, offered to deliuer vp the citie, vpon the same conditions that were graunted at PETRELLA: which being agreed vpon, the citie was forthwith deliuered, and the conditions by *Scanderbeg* faithfully performed.

Petra-Alba yeelded.

PETRA-ALBA being thus taken, & all things set in order, *Scanderbeg* caried with the course of his victorie, without delay came to STELLUSA, which is also a strong citie of ÆMATHIA, fiftie miles distant from CROIA, pleasantly (as it were of purpose) built vpon the top of an high hill, standing in the midst of a pleasant and fruitful vallie, with great plaines round about it. There *Scanderbeg* encamped a little before the going downe of the sunne, and rested that night. In the morning he sent a messenger to the citie, with like conditions as were accepted at PETRELLA and PETRA-ALBA: which most part of the garrison souldiours of the Turkes would gladly haue accepted, but that *Desdrot* the Gouvernour of the citie, with some few others, earnestly withstood the rest; wherevpon a great contention arose amongst the garrison souldiours. But the greater part desirous to yeeld vp the citie, when they could by no means persuaade the Gouvernour and those few which tooke his part, to yeeld to their desires: they violently set vpon him, and deliuered him with the rest to *Scanderbeg*, fast bound, and so yeelded vp the citie. For which fact, fearing to returne to *Amurath*, some of them remained with *Scanderbeg*, and afterwards became Christians: the rest were either honestly prouided for, or else well rewarded and suffered to depart whether they would. All the other weaker places of EPIRVS wherein any of the Turkish garrisons lay, hearing that the strongest cities were alreadie deliuered vnto *Scanderbeg*, in short

Stellusa yeelded by the garrison.

time

time yeelded themselves vpon like conditions: onely **S F E T I G R A D E** (otherwise called the holy citie) remained in the possession of the Turks: which citie is placed in the vpper country of **D E P I R V S**, in the frontiers of **E P I R V S**, vpon the top of an high & steep hill, as if it were an Eagles nest. Vnto this citie came **Scanderbeg** with all his armie: and hauing placed his tents, hee began first to assay if he could gaine it by composition, as he had done the rest: and the rather to moue them by the examples of others, he caused his embassadours to declare vnto them all that had happened at **C R O I A**, **P E T R E L I A**, **P E T R A A L E A**, and **S T E L L V S A**; especially how he had vied the garrison of **S T E L L V S A** which yeelded vnto him, with all bountie and courtesie; and how that on the contrarie part he had the gouernour in bands with all his wilfull partakers, whom they should presently see executed before their faces, if they forthwith deliuered not the citie. This message troubled the minds of all the garrison, but especially of the gouernour, seeing before his eyes in the wofull example of another man, what might by and by happen vnto himselfe. Wherefore fearing to deliuer his owne opinion and to giue answer vnto the embassadour, for offending the inconstant multitude and vnkowne minds of the people, he first entertained the embassadours honourably, and afterwards turning himselfe vnto the citizens and souldiours, said vnto them: *Worthie men and most faithfull souldiours, what is your pleasure, or what shall we answer to these enemies demands?* Then one of the souldiours that stood by (a rough bold spirited fellow) vniuersally for his owne part to giue vp the citie, and deeming the gouernour to be of the same mind, in that he had tearmed them worthie and faithfull, and **Scanderbeg** by the name of an enemy, drawing out his sword, and with his right hand shaking it on high, answered:

A notable speech of a common souldier to the rest of his fellows for the holding out of the citie against Scanderbeg.

*Most valiant Gouernour, this same and the like, shall make answer for vs. Nothing was to lesse purpose, than with premeditated words to seeke to terrifie valiant minds, first with the diuers fortune of **C R O I A**, and then of **S T E L L V S A**; for as the faces and countenances of men are diuers, so also are their minds and dispositions. Euery man wisely directeth his owne actions, according to his owne proper humour, and by the same plaies the foole or bedlam. We prescribe no laws to them of **P E T R E L I A**, nor to them of **S T E L L V S A**, neither let them prescribe any vnto vs. Let neuer so base examples of cowardly slaues euer enter into the thoughts of courageous men: braue minds disdain to imitate other men in their honest actions, much lesse in their cowardise. And why? for euery man lieth after his owne fashion. Wherefore let **Scanderbeg** proceed, let him kill the gouernour of **S T E L L V S A** before our faces, let him sacrifice our fellow souldiours, doe you therefore thinke that we shall die in their bodies? Shall our liuing spirits be there extinguished? Shall our blood there be spilt? But o happie bodies, o ghosts of me euer to be reuerenced, which in worthie defence of your libertie and faith haue indifferently contemned gold, siluer, death and torture, and what soeuer els miserable worldlings hold deere and dismall! Wherefore carrie thou backe againe vnto thy master this answer from a common souldier, if he seeke to impose these conditions vpon vs let him once more haue that arme of his, which men of courage feare not so much as he thinketh. He may peradventure inforce vs to these conditions of his, if God forsake vs: but assuredly, persuade vs vnto them, shall be neuer. And yet for all that, your master **Scanderbeg** is not the man we haue long since heard him reported to be, of an honourable mind, easie to forgine, and such a one as will indifferently iudge betwixt the enemy and himselfe: for why then doth he hold in bonds the gouernour of **S T E L L V S A**, for that he freely, iustly, and honorably stood in defence of his king, his faith, and libertie? Why doth he threaten him with death, where as he hath not deserved the same, although he hath resolutely offered himselfe thereunto, for defence of his libertie?*

All they which were present, listened with great attention to the souldiours speech, neither was he interrupted by any, vntill he had said what he would. The souldiours thronging about him, and beating their swords & targets together, withall gaue a great shout, in token that they all approved his speech for answer. So the gouernour, encouraged with the cheerfulness of his souldiours, returned the embassadour without other answer than that of the common souldiours, and presently appointed euery man to his charge, and with great carefulnesse ordred all things for the better defence of the citie. But when **Scanderbeg** had heard the answer that was sent him from the citie, deliuered by the mouth of a common souldier, he smiled thereat & said: *He is undoubtedly a valiant souldier: if his death be answerable to his speeches: but if my force faile me not, I will also make him happy amongst the happy ghosts of the **S T E L L V S A**: and by & by commanded the gouernour of **S T E L L V S A**, with the other captiues to be brought before him, & there caused some of the which were content voluntarily to*

Scanderbeg his short answer to the souldiours speech.

forake their Mahometane superstition, to be presently baptized, to the great griefe of the other Turks. **Desdrot** the Gouernour, with the rest, to the terrout of the defendants, were in their fight put to death: whereupon the garrison souldiours with great indignation gaue a great shout from the wall, and bitterly rayled vpon the Christians.

Scanderbeg considering the strength of the citie, with the time of the yeare, vniuersally for souldiours to keepe the field, for **W**inter was now growne on; left **Moses Golemus**, a most valiant capitaine, with a garrison of three thousand souldiours, to keepe in the Turkes garrison at **S F E T I G R A D E**, and to defend the borders of **E P I R V S**, vntill he might at more conuenient time himselfe returne againe to the siege: and so with the rest of his armie repaired to **C R O I A**, when hee had in the space of little more than one moneth, to his immortall praise, recovered his kingdome, and driuen the Turks out of euery corner of **E P I R V S**, excepting onely **S F E T I G R A D E**: which citie also not long after was by composition deliuered vnto him. During all this time, from his first comming into **E P I R V S**, he neuer slept about two houres in a night, but with restlesse labour prosecuted his affaires. He euer fought against the Turkes with his arme bare, and that with such fiercenesse, that the blood did oftentimes burst out of his lips. It is written, that he with his owne hand slew three thousand Turkes in the time of his warres against them. But of his great and worthie victories obtained against the two mightie Turkish kings, **Amurath**, and **Mahomet** his sonne, more shall be said hereafter in due time and place.

After that **Scanderbeg** had thus by great force and pollicie wrung his inheritance out of **Amuraths** hands, and secured the Turks out of euery corner of **E P I R V S**; he proceeded further, and ouertan part of **M A C E D O N I A**, making sundrie incursions into the heart of that country, being then in the Turks possession, whereby he so enriched his souldiours, that they desired of him no better pay. Which was so vsuall a thing with this restlesse prince, as that it began to grow into a prouerbe in most princes courts, That the spoile of **Amurath** his dominions, was **Scanderbegs** reuenues. Complaint hercof came daily to **Amuraths** court, which the craftie aged fire (being then troubled with the Hungarian warres) seemed at the first to make no great account of, but as of that hee could easily and at his pleasure remedie; although hee was therewith inwardly grieved at the heart. But when the certaine report of one mischeefe as it were in the necke of another, continually founded in his eares, and that he saw no end to be expected of these miseries; he sent **Alis Bassa**, one of his greatest men of warre, with an armie of fortie thousand select souldiours, at once to subdue the country of **E P I R V S**, and to bring it againe vnder his obedience. The setting forth of this great armie, vnder the conduct of so famous a captain, replenished the minds of the Turks with such an assured hope of victorie, that a man would haue thought **Scanderbeg** had been already taken, and now brought to execution: yea the common souldiours before their setting forth, were oftentimes at vaine contention for the diuision of the spoile they were neuer like to haue: So readie are men to promise wonders to themselves, whilest they conserue but with their owne desires. And on the other side, Fame, the forerunner of great attempts, had filled all the small country of **E P I R V S**, with great terrout and feare of **Alis Bassas** comming. The countrey men with their families fled into the strong citties, and the citizens within their wals fell to fortifying the same, and kept continuall watch and ward, as if the enemy had then lien euen fast by them: the aged men and women commended themselves and all theirs first vnto God by prayers, and then to the courage of the lustie souldiours with teares, as in case of extreame perill and danger. Onely **Scanderbeg** was nothing moued either with the terrible report of the Bassas comming, or the vaine feare of his subiects; but alwayes kept the same cheerefullnesse both of countenance and speech, as he was wont, being well acquainted with the tumult of the Turkish wars, and hauing (as was supposed) certaine intelligence before from his secret friends in the Turkes court, of all **Amuraths** designs. So that hauing set all things in order for the safetie of his countrey, he began to leuie an armie at **C R O I A**: at which time most part of his subiects of **E P I R V S**, which were able to beare armes, repaired vnto him: the confederate Christian princes also, his neighbours, and for most part his kinsmen, sent vnto him great supplies: beside other deuout and warlike minded Christians, which voluntarily resorted vnto him from farre, in great numbers. Out of which multitude of people he chose only eight thousand horsemen and seuen thousand foot, when as he might haue raised a far greater armie: and placing some few in garrisons in the frontier cities where he thought most conuenient, all the rest he sent home againe to their dwellings. At which his confidence, his friends, yea and his enemies, also much marvelled, that when hee might

Desdrot gouernour of Stellusa executed.

Macedonia spoiled by Scanderbeg.

Alis Bassa with an armie of forty thousand sent against Scanderbeg.

might haue had so many, he would take the field with so few. With which small armie of fiftene thousand, he marched from CROIA, fourescore miles to DYERA: where hearing by his espials, of the approach of his enemies, after he had with cheerefull speech encouraged his souldiers, he encamped with his armie in the lower countrey of DYERA, neere vnto a wood side, right in the way where the Bassa must needs passe. In which wood, he placed *Gnez Musachee* and *Amesa* in ambush with three thousand men: commanding them to stand close, vntill they saw he had thoroughly joynd battaile with the Bassa, and then with all their force to breake forth vpon his reterward. The Bassa marching forward, came and encamped neere vnto *Scanderbeg*: a litle before the going downe of the Sunne, and there rested that night, making great shew of mirth and joy, with great fires in euerie corner of the campe, as the Turkish manner of encamping is. VVheras in *Scanderbegs* campe, all things were silent, and no shew of any fire at all: for so *Scanderbeg* had commanded: which made the Turkes the more carelesse, deeming thereby the Christians as good as already discouraged. The next morning *Scanderbeg* ranged his armie in order of battaile, placing *Tanussius* in the left wing, with fiftene hundredth horsemen, and as many foot; and *Moses* in the right with like number: and leading the maine battell himselfe. The reterward was committed to *Vranacotes*, a man renowned in those daies, both for his grauitie in counsell, and for his valour in armes, fit to command or be commanded; but afterwards, amongst the most famous, for the worthie defending of CROIA against *Amurath*, being then there himselfe in person. *Alis Bassa* contemning the small number of *Scanderbegs* armie, seeing nothing therein to be feared more than the good order thereof, gaue the first charge with a small troupe of horsemen: who at the first encounter retired, as if they had fled, of purpose that the Christian hastily pursuing their vntimely hope, might disorder their battaile, and so giue occasion to their owne ouerthrow. But by the commaundement of *Scanderbeg* (who easily perceiued the Bassas meaning) their dangerous forwardnesse was warily waied, and all with safetie kept in good order. So both armies comming on, the wings beganne the battaile a fresh, and *Scanderbeg* with great courage bringing on his maine battell in the face of the Bassa, valiantly charged him. But by that time that the battailes were thoroughly joynd, *Musachee* and *Amesa* suddenly issued out of the wood, and fiercely set vpon the reterward of the Turkes armie, where they made great slaughter, and forced many of the Turkes for feare to flie. Thus was the Bassas great armie driuen to fight both before and behind, being hardly beset and laied vnto with a small number. The Bassa had placed his best souldiours neere vnto himselfe in the maine battaile, as his most assured strength and last refuge: these valiant men stood fast, and renewed the battaile, before almost lost. And here *Scanderbegs* fortune was euen at a stand: vntill that the well aduised and valiant capitaine *Vranacotes* hauing receiued the wearied souldiours into the reterward, and setting all things there in safetie, accompanied with certaine troupes of fresh souldiours which he brought out of the reterward, brake through the Bassas armie with such slaughter of the Turkes, that hee made way for *Scanderbeg* and all the rest of his armie. The Turkes discomfited with the inuincible courage of these old souldiours, and the slaughter of their fellows, which lay by heapes wallowing in their owne blood, betooke themselves to flight; whom the Christians fiercely pursued; and slew of them two and twentie thousand: at which time were also two thousand others taken prisoners, with foure and twentie of the Turkes ensignes: whereas of the Christians were slaine not past a hundredth and twentie. The enemies tents with all their carriages, were at the same time taken also. After this great victorie, when *Scanderbeg* had made all his feauen thousand footmen, horsemen, by giuing vnto them the hofes of the slaine Turkes, he brake into the enemies countrey; and entered farre into MACEDONIA, where he filled the desires of his souldiours with the wealth and spoile thereof, sparing nothing that fire and sword could deuoure: and so with victorie returned to CROIA, where he was of his subjects joyfully receiued. *Alis Bassa* with the remainder of his discomfited armie, returned to HADRIANOPLE, and there by *Amurath* was hardly charged of cowardice, and want of discretion, for that he had lost so puissant an armie to so weake an enemy. VVherof when he had cleared himselfe by the modest rehearsal of his former victories, and the testimony of all the other capitaines present with him in that battaile, he was pardoned, and so againe receiued into fauour, and that great ouerthrow imputed to the chance of warre.

Amurath hauing recieued two so great ouerthrowes, first from *Huniades* and the Hungarians, and now from *Scanderbeg*; and seeing himselfe elsewhere beset with so many mischances, that he could not tell which way to turne himselfe; tormented with dispaire, and desire of re-

The battell betwixt *Alis Bassa* and *Scanderbeg*.

A great slaughter of the Turkes.

Amurath in dispaire.

venge, whereof hee saw small possibilitie, fell into such a melancholic passion, that ouercome with the darke conceits thereof, he was about to haue become the bloodie executioner of himselfe, had not *Cali Bassa* by his graue aduice comforted vp his dying spirits: by whose persuation, contrarie to his haughtie nature, he yeilded by his embassadors sent for the same purpose, to desire peace of *Vladislaus* king of HUNGARIA, vntill the exiled Despot of SERBIA (his father in law, then present with the king) as a meane therein. VVho at the first gaue small credite vnto the embassadors, or vnto such things as they told him, vntill that at length better persuaded of the true meaning of the Turke, he so wrought the matter both with the king and the rest of the nobilitie, and especially with *Huniades*, that there was an honourable peace concluded. The captiuities wherof were, first, That *Amurath* withdrawing all his forces and garrisons, should deately depart out of SERBIA, and restore the same vnto the possession of *George* the Despot; the right lord and owner thereof deliuering also freely vnto him his two sonnes, *Stephen* and *George*; who bereft of their sight, he had long time kept in straight prison: Also, that from thenceforth he should make no claime vnto the kingdome of MOLDAVIA, nor to that part of BULGARIA which he had in the last wars lost. And finally, that he should not inuade or molest the Hungarians, or any part of their kingdome, during the whole time of that peace: and to pay 40000 ducats for the ranfome of *Carambey*. Vnto which hard conditions, when the Turkish tyrant full fore against his will had condiscended, a peace for ten yeares was forthwith on both parts concluded; and the same by solemne oath confirmed: king *Vladislaus* taking his oath vpon the holy Euangelists, and *Amurath* (by his embassadors) vpon their Turkish Alcoran. This was the most honorable peace that euerr Christian prince had before that time made with any of the Turkish kings, and most profitable also, had it been with like sinceritie kept, as it was with solemnitie confirmed.

Amurath with this peace deliuered of his greatest feare, conuerted all his forces against the CARAMANIAN king, in reuenge of the injuries by him done, whilst he was occupied in the Hungarian warres. This king of CARAMANIA knowing himselfe vnable to withstand so great an enemy, durst neither meet him in the field, nor trust himselfe to the strength of any of his cities or strong castles, but fled into the mountains, there fortifying himselfe more surely than in any other his strong holds. *Amurath* entering into CARAMANIA, made great spoile in the countrey as he went, and tooke great booties. At last comming to ICONTIVM, he laid hard siege to the same. The poor king seeing his kingdome spoiled, and his cheefe citie in danger to be lost, sent embassadors, and with them his wife also, which was *Amuraths* sister, to intreat for peace; offering to pay vnto him yearly the double tribute which hee before paid, and for the performance thereof to giue his sonne in hostage. Vpon which conditions *Amurath* graunted him peace, and so returned. In this warre, *Aladin*, *Amuraths* eldest sonne, died, to the great griefe of his aged father, being slaine with a fall from his horse, as he was hawking.

Old *Amurath* thoroughly wearied with continuall warres, and other troubles incident vnto restless roomes, resolved now to retire himselfe to a more priuat and quiet kind of life: and therefore sent for his sonne *Mahomet*, being then but fiftene yeares old, to whom hee voluntarily resigned his kingdome, appointing *Caly Bassa* his tutor, with one *Chosroe*, a learned doctor of their lawe to be his trustie counsellors and cheefe directors. And so taking with him *Hamze-Beg*, one of his noblemen in whom he tooke greatest pleasure, departed to MANGRESTA, and there as a man wearie of the world, gaue himselfe to a solitarie and monasticall kind of life, in the company of certaine religious Turkish monks, as they accounted of them.

Many great kings and princes, as well Mahometanes as Christians, glad before of the Hungarian victorie, were now no lesse forrie to heare of the late concluded peace betwixt king *Vladislaus* and the old Sultan *Amurath*: as being of opinion, That the prosecution of that warre so happily begun, would haue bene the vtter ruine and destruction of the Turkish kingdome. VVherfore they sought by all possible meanes to induce the young king *Vladislaus* to breake the league he had so lately and so solemne made with the Turke: especially *John Paleologus* the emperour of CONSTANTINOPE, did by letters importune the king to remember the consideration he had made with the other Christian princes, for the maintenance of the wars against the common enemy of Christianitie: which princes were now prest and readie (as he said) to assist him with their promised aid: adding moreouer, That whereas *Amurath* had diuerse times sought to joyne with him in amitie and friendship, hee had vtterly rejected that offer of peace, preferring the vniuersall profit (like to ensue to all Christendome by that religious warre) before his owne proper securitie and profit, being for his part in readinesse to joyne his forces with

Amurath, by the persuasion of *Cali Bassa* seeks for peace of king *Vladislaus*.

The capitulations of the ten yeares peace concluded betwixt *Vladislaus* and *Amurath*.

Amurath inuades Caramania.

with the kings, if he would presently enter into armies: which he could neuer doe in better time than now, whilest *Amurath*, terrified with his late overthrow, and still beset with doubtfull war, had drawne his greatest forces out of *EVROPE* into *ASIA*, in such disorderd haile, as that should seeme he rather fled for feare of his enemies in *EVROPE*, than marched to encounter his enemies in *ASIA*, and now being wearie of all, had betaken himselfe vnto a priuat kind of life. To conclude, he requested the king not to leaue him and the other Christian princes offsmall power, as a prey vnto the Turke, who would assuredly with all hostilitie intrude them; so soone as he thought himselfe safe from the danger of the Hungarians. At the same time also, and vpon the departure of the Turkes embassadours, for the performance of such things as they had promised, letters came from *Francis* the Cardinall of *FLORENCE*, Generall of the Christian fleet, declaring how that *Amurath* hauing left almost none in *EVROPE*, was with all the power he could make, gone ouer into *ASIA* against the Caramanian king, leauing a most faire occasion for the Christians easly to recouer whatsoever they had before lost in *EVROPE*: and that there was in good time come with his fleet vnto the straits of *HELLSPONTVS*, according vnto promise, and there lay readie to embarre the Turkes passage backe againe out of *ASIA*. Both these letters being read in the Counsell, so much moued the king, with all the rest of the nobilitie of *HUNGARIE* there present, as that they were neuer more forrie or ashamed for any thing they had done in their liues, than for the league so lately with *Amurath* concluded: for why, they saw that all the plot they had laied, for their immortall glorie, was now by this lastie peace that they had made with the Turke, without the good liking or knowledge of their confederats, brought to nought; and that they had thereby most shamefully decieued the generall expectation that the Christian commonweale had conceiued of them; and that they, of long time called the protectors of the Christian faith, the defendours of true religion, the reuengers of Christ his name, and deliuerers of the faithfull nations; should now be accounted the breakers of the Christian league, men forgetfull of their confederation both with the Latines and the Greeks, contempters of immortallitie, and louers of their owne profit onely. In this doubtfullnesse of minds whilst they stood yet thus waiting, *Julian* the Cardinall and Legat, alwaies an enemy vnto the peace, and by reason of his place a man in greatest authoritie next vnto the king, tooke occasion to diluade the same as followeth.

The cunning speech wherewith *Julian* the Cardinall perswaded the King to break the league he had before made with *Amurath*.

If any of you right worthie (said hee) shall happily marnell, that I should speake of breaking the league, and violating our faith, let him first vnderstand, That I at this present am to perswade you to nothing els, but the faithfull obseruing both of the one and the other: led with like repentance with you, repentance I say, and not sorrow, when as I, as from a watch-tower foreseeing all these things which were decreed against my will, to sort also contrarie to your expectation, am now for the dutie of my religion, and the zeale vnto the Christian religion, enforced with you to doubt: and so much the rather, for that at this present the question is of the losse and hazard of all our honours and credit in common: which except we by common consent, and wonted valour, endeavour to amend; o how much it is to be feared, lest for shame neither may you goe out of *HUNGARIE*, or I returne to *ROME*, where all things are with most deepe judgement censured. Consider I pray you into what miseries this lastie resolution hath cast vs. We haue entred into league with the Turke, an insidell, to violate our faith with the Christians, and to breake the holy league before made with the great bishop, and the other Christian princes our confederats. And that for what, for what profit I say? Forsooth, that so we might againe recouer *SERVIA*, long before destroyed. Verily a small and wofull profit which may againe in short time be cut off, andprineth vs of others farre greater, and of much longer continuance. For what can bee more fond or inconsiderat, than in our consultations to haue regard to our priuat profit only, and not the publicke, without respect of religion, honestie, or conscience? It is not demanded of you at this present (right honorable) what you owe vnto the periured Turke: but you are by me *Julian*, the great bishop, and the confederat Christian princes Legat, and Agent, before the tribunall seat of your owne consciences, accused of breach of faith, breach of league, and breach of promise; and thereof euen by your owne judgement, rather than by the judgement of God, or other man, I will condemne you. Answer me you noble worthies: After you had happily six moneths made warres against the Turke in *BVLGARIA* and the borders of *THRACIA*, and after that, triumphantly returning into *HUNGARIE*, received you not honourable embassages from almost all *ITALIE*, and from the great emperour, with common reioycing for your so glorious a victorie, and exhortations to continue

the war? We received them. Did not you in my presence, and I the author thereof, willingly make a most holy league with the Italians and Greeks, That the one should with their aid and power meet you out of *THRACIA*; and the other with a great fleet should come into the *HELLSPONTVS*? We made it. If you made it, why breaking this, made you another with the Turke? or by what right can you keep the same, being made? Wherefore, if the last year you made a league with the great Bishop (God his vicar here on earth) if you be men, if you be in your wits, if you be Christians, this second league is to be broken, least you should violate the first, and that a most Christian league: which except you doe, I feare least that as *Iudas* betraied Christ, so you may seeme to betraie his vicar; or that God, whom hether to you haue alwaies found present, propitious, and fauourable, you shall hereafter find him angry, and an enemy to your proceedings. And now I pray you tell me, what will you answer vnto the Constantinopolitan emperour: who according to your appointment, hath now with the first taken the field, and in so great an oportunitie expecteth but your comming? what will you answer the great Bishop? what the Venetians and Genowais, who haue their great fleet readie as was appointed? what the Burgundians, who for their zeale vnto the Christian faith & religion haue long since passed the Ocean, and so by many dangers of the sea now fote in the *HELLSPONT*? Deuise (I praie you) if you can, some excuse and colour, that we may not seeme altogether vnlike our selues: if out of your hidden skill you can coine any thing, shew it. You promised with the first of the Spring, that you would be in the field: and now your souldior, both the Spring and Summer, play, so great and so whollome occasion passing away, through your wofull slouth and negligence. O the great blindnesse of mens minds! O grosse cowardise! O detestable league, made to the destruction of the common weale! Some man happily will blame mee, and aske, why I suffered it with the rest? I was present I confesse: but as much as in mee was, I intreated it might not be. I disliked it: and as many of you here present can testifie, I utterly condemned it. I was overcome by the wisdom and authoritie of *Humiades*, and the compassion of the Despot, lest vnhappy man, he should by my intercession seeme longer to want his kingdom and children: and least any man should call me a contemner or impugner of your good, I full of sorrow, and unwillingly, gaue way; not ignorant the health of the Christian common weale to be therein weakened; the hope of your immortall glorie extinguished, and vs all (by your leaue may I say it): accounted breakers both of diuine and humane leagues, forsworne men, and traitors vnto all good Christians. Wherefore except before the report of our perfidioussnesse be further bruted, we deliuer our selues from this infamie, nothing can be greater or more miserable than our shame or villanie: if we will so doe, we may not so easly, as iustly and religiously do it. Hauing made restitution againe of *SERVIA* and the captiues, what remaineth els for you to do noble worthies, but to repaire your arme, to prepare what so is needfull for war, & to keep your first league with the Christian princes? and so say, That king *Madillaus*, after his league made with the Greeke and Latin princes, could not without the consent of those his confederats and allies, vnder whose good fortune that common war was undertaken, conclude any thing, especially with the enemies of the Christian religion? And that therefore, if any thing were agreed vpon betwixt him and the Turke, it was frustrate, & the first league to be stood vpon. Who is so partiall an esteemer of mens actions, that would not easly iudge, That in case Faith were giuen to both, it were rather to be kept with a Christian, than with a Turke, with a beleeuier than with an insidell? Against a perfidious enemy it is lawfull (as they say) for a man to vse all cunning, force, and deceit, deluding craft with craft, and fraud with fraud. By craft the Turke first passed ouer into *EVROPE*, by little and little he crept into that kingdom, he neuer kept faith with any, he grew to this height rather by cunning than by strength: and are you become so blind, as to thinke it better to keepe your promise with the Turke, deuoid of all faith and humanitie, rather than with the faithfull Christians, and especially the most holy Bishop? All great things are done by deuice and policie: the Romanes our ancestors uprightly and religiously alwaies kept their leagues with their confederats, but deluded the deceiverfull with their cunning. Caesar was of opinion, That for soveraigntie the law was sometimes to be broken. And Philip the father and master of him that conquered *ASIA*, oftentimes used cunning and deceit for the desire of rule: yet were not these men called traitors. It is sometime lawfull for the commonweale sake, neither to stand to our leagues, neither to keepe our faith with them that be themselves faithlesse. Lawfull it is to breake unlawfull oaths, and especially such as are thought to be against right, reason, and equitie. Was it lawfull for *Diomedes*, rowing for to sacrifice vnto the gods whomsoever he first met at his returne into his country, to kill his sonne by that his vow and oath? Verely it was a great impietie. Wherefore a iust and lawfull oath is in the judgement of all men to be religiously kept, but such an oath as tendeth not onely vnto priuat but publicke destruction, that ought to be vaine and frustrate. Wherefore before our faithlesse dealing be farther

Amurath sixt king of the Turks.

ther spread abroad, I beseech you worthie men, and thee especially most glorious king, not in any point to violate your faith for the good of the Christian commonweale giuen vnto the most holy father and the other Christian princes. The league you haue made with the Greekes and the Latines faithfully and religiously keepe; the expedition by common consent taken in hand by the example of your confederates, prosecute; the foundation of immortall glorie by you laid; build vpon. Deliuer the Christian provinces oppressed with the Turkish seruitude, satisfie the hope conceiued of you, and deceiue not the expectation the world hath now conceiued of you, than which nothing can be more dishonourable: make no confidence of the league you haue made with the Infidell, but thinke it a great impietie and wickednesse to violate the holy league made with the great bishop, and the other Christian princes: thinking, that if you should doe otherwise, God (which he of his mercie forbid) would become of that your falsified faith, most seuerie and sharpe reuenger: and that you can do nothing more acceptable vnto our Saniour Christ, or more glorious to your selues, than to deliuer the oppressed Christian countries from the cruell slauiery and bondage of the Turke. Suffer not this so fit an occasion to slip away, than which a fitter can neuer be giuen. EVROPE is vnfurnished of the Turks, busied in the Caramanian war; their returne is enbarred by the Christians fleet, now in the sea of HELLESPOINTVS; you need but to goe see, and it were to take a view of THE ACIA, MACEDONIA, GRECIA, and EPIRVS, there is no enemy there left to oppose himselfe against you. Wherefore for God his cause, I request you aboue all things to continue the Christian league, and with your happie and victorious forces, to march forward into MACEDONIA and THRACIA, as is before by you with the other Christian princes your confederates, agreed.

Italian the Cardinal abfolueth king Vladislaus and the rest from their oath before giuen to Amurath.

In conclusion, hauing much spoken of the authoritie and power of the great bishop, he in his name disanulled the league whatsoever, by the king made with the Turke; and absolved him, with the rest whom it might concerne, from the oath they had giuen, and the promises they had made. Which so well contented both the king and the rest, that there was now no more question of the oath, or of the lawfulnessse of the warre, but a decree made for the continuation of the league with the other Christian princes their confederates (and for the prosecution of the warres against the Turks) as was with them before agreed: whom they could now say, they were not to forsake, and to leaue them as a prey vnto the Turke their greedie enemy; now for nothing more in danger, than for that, at their request they had taken vp armes in their quarrell. Vnto which vnfurnat decree, both the Despot and Huniades, the cheefe authors of the late peace betwixt the king and Amurath, easily consented: the Despot, induced with the great hope he had conceiued of the good successe of the war; and Huniades, with the desire of the kingdom of BULGARIE promised vnto him by Vladislaus, and by faire charter also (as some said) assured vnto him.

Of this the kings resolution for the breach of the peace with the Turke, notice was with all speed giuen vnto the Constantinopolitane emperor, and Francis the Florentine Cardinall, then lying with a fleet of seuentie gallies at the straits of HELLESPOINTVS; for feare least they hearing of the former concluded peace, should alter also or els quite desist from their former purposes. In the meane time whilest these things were yet in plotting, the Turke ignorant hereof, according to his promise had withdrawne all his garnisons out of SERBIA, and other places before agreed vpon in the late concluded peace, restoring the same vnto the Despot, and others the full owners, although it was not done at the very prefixed day, at which it should haue been done. In which time also he let at libertie great numbers of captiues, & amongst the rest, the two blind sonnes of the prince of SERBIA; faithfully performing whatsoever he had before vpon his religion promised in the league with the Christians before concluded, so desirous hee was of peace with the Hungarians. Howbeit, Vladislaus by the counsell of Huniades, detained to his owne use certaine of the strong holds in SERBIA: for which cause, George the Despot euer afterwards bore a secret grudge against Huniades.

Now as king Vladislaus (hauing by the persuation of Italian the Cardinall, renounced the league betwixt him and Amurath) was preparing his forces, the same of the Epirot prince Scanderbeg was also (by the recouerie of his fathers kingdom of EPIRVS, out of the Turkes hands, and by the late ouerthrow of Alis Bassa) growne great, euerie man speaking of him honour and praise. Wherewith Vladislaus moued, and reasonably perswaded what a furtherance it would be vnto his haughtie designs (aiming at no lesse than the viter ouerthrow of the Turkes kingdom in EVROPE) if he might vnto his owne great preparations ioine also the strength of that so for-

Amurath sixt king of the Turks.

fortunate a prince, by the consent of his nobilitie, with all speed dispatched away his embassadours with letters vnto him, certifying him of his honorable purpose, for the rooting out of the Turks, and in that common cause praying his aid against such a dangerous and dreadfull enemy: the purport whereof here followeth.

Vladislaus king of Hungarie and Polonia, vnto the noble Scanderbeg, priince of EPIRVS, greeting.

It may be that some good hap hath deferred this our late congratulation vntill this present, to the intent we might at this time together with you reioyce in the double successe of your prosperitie: first, for the happie recouerie of your estate; and then, for that the same hath by your wisdom and valour bene of late so notably defended. Wherefore in this we reioyce, not onely in your behalfe, but in the behalfe of all good Christians, that it hath pleased God of his goodnesse, by your valour to haue giuen so great an encrease and comfort vnto the Christian commonweale: for as much as amongst other our great euils, the losse of the Albanian people hath not bene to be accounted the least; at such time as Iohn Castriot, a worthie prince, your father, oppressed by Amurath and by the vngratefull destinies taken out of this world, had neither the meanes to leaue vnto you his kingdom and scepter (as vnto his sonne, then living in his enemies power) either was able yet otherwise to prouide for his affaires. And would to God this your father, most happie in such a soone, might haue till now lived: whose felicitie had in that surmounted all others, if he might but haue serued you before his death. For as you seeme vnto me aboue all other princes in the world (without offence bee it said) most accomplished with all the good graces and perfections both of bodie and mind, so are you endowed also with a certaine diuine and wonderfull fortune: vnder the good conduct whereof, not onely the whole kingdom of EPIRVS may thinke it selfe in securitie; but all the rest of the other nations also, lately by the detestable fraud and violence of the Othoman kings dismembred from the realme of MACEDON, may also recouer the former beantie of their antient lawes and liberties. For (to say nothing of those things which euen from your childhood hauing continually made you enuied, haue heretofore purchased vnto you an immortall fame and glorie euen amongst the Barbarians themselves) what can be more glorious than this victorie, which (as wee haue heard and beleeue) you to your singular admiration, haue obtained by the ouerthrow and viter discomfiture of Alis Bassa, with his so great and mightie apower? But now O Scanderbeg (God so appointing it, who in his deepe and secret wisdom hath reserved you vnto these so dangerous times, for the publicke good and comfort of the Christian commonweale) there offers it selfe vnto you an object of farre greater glory, with a most faire and fit occasion for you to reuenge your selfe of all the wrongs and injuries both new and old, by Amurath the Turkish Sultan done, not in priuate to the person of your selfe onely, but vnto the whole state and kingdom of EPIRVS also; and not the domesticall and ciuile miseries of your owne country onely, but the publicke calamities also, and those opprobrious disgraces done against the Christian faith and religion in generall, now oppressed (I will not say extinguished) and that is, if you with your victorious forces will succour vs in this extremitie of our affaires, not yet altogether desperate: Hereunto doe all the princes of HUNGARIE and POLONIA, and all other men of courage inuite you, Italian the Cardinall of S. Angell entreatheth you, with all those deuout and courageous Christians, which long since here with vs, and readie in armes, wish for nothing more than the presence of your victorious ensignes. Which so faire an occasion (by God himselfe now offered) if you refuse not, will in all mens iudgement bee a sure meane to vanquish and ouerthrow our common enemy the Turke, and to drive him quite out of EVROPE, wrongfully by him of so long time possessed. I neede not therefore (as I suppose) to vse any kind of persuation vnto you in this cause and quarrell, the defence whereof doth purchase vnto vs health, light, and libertie: but being neglected, I feare and abhorre to forbode what may ensue thereof. Wee Christians haue bene too too slacke and backward in helping one another: the same hath now well nere consumed vs all, whilest no man thought it would haue come nere himselfe. What doe we see of the Greeke empire? what of the Bulgarians, and Seruians? yea mine owne losses and manifold calamities, already, and yet also to bee endured, who is able to recount? The braue and most valiant princes, the surest bulwarks and defences of the kingdom of HUNGARIE, from time to time lost; and the puissant armies with one and the same fatal chaunce of warre consumed and brought to nothing, who is able to reckon up? Inasmuch that there is no house, wife, or mayne, in all HUNGARIE, which is not in some mea-

The letters of king Vladislaus to Scanderbeg.

measure partaker of this heavinesse. All this doe the Christian princes heare of, and yet the miserable estate and condition of their allies can nothing moove any one of them: but suffer vs thus as a sacrifice for the rest, to be on all parts exposed to the rage and furie of the common and mercilesseemie. Onely Eugenius the most holy bishop of ROME, and Philip duke of BURGUNDIE, have not refused to beare a part of the burthen of this our afflicted fortune: The one hath sent hither his Legat Julian the Cardinall, with notable and puissant succours; and the other with his fleet at sea, and comm as farre as HELLESPOINTVS, so much as in him lieth doth notably hinder the Turkes passage into EVROPE. And one other hope there is not now farre from vs, and that is, your helpe, whereof we are so desirous: which we require of you, mooved therunto, partly by your valour so well knowne, and partly in regard of the imminent perill and common danger of vs all. And albeit we are not ignorant, how euill you may be at leisure to take such an expedition in hand, for the late troubled estate of your affairs, and your new recovered kingdome, as yet scarcely well established: yet notwithstanding, let it not withhold you or keepe you backe; assuring you, that as this expedition cannot be put vnto you most honourable, euen so this your present desert shall not be bestowed vpon vngratefull or thanklesse men: but that which you shall now first begin and undertake for our preservation & dignitie, we will from henceforth and ever continue for your glorie and for the increase of your greatnesse. Fare you well from our regall citie of BUDA, the fourth of Iuly 1444.

Of this the kings motion, Scanderbeg liking well, and thinking it farre better now in so fit a time, with his owne forces joined vnto the Hungarians his friends, throughly to busie Amurath, than in short time after, himselfe alone to sustaine his whole power: by the generall consent of the Albanian princes his confederats and allies, yeelded vnto his request in liberall termes promising him by his letters, in good time to be present with him with thirtie thousand good souldiers. The copie of which letters I thought it not amisse here to set downe also.

Scanderbeg prince of the Epirots, vnto Vladislaus king of
HUNGARIE and POLONIA, greeting.

Scanderbeg his
answer by let-
ters vnto king
Vladislaus.

Your letters most inuincible king, I haue with like joy and contentment receiued: which I in the generall assembly of my chiefetaines hauing caused publicly to be read, there was not any one of them which was not of opinion, but that so iust an occasion of war by you offered, was forthwith to be joyfully on our behalfe also embraced. And so euery man doth both publicly and priuately affirme, That nothing could haue happened vnto them more acceptable from God, than that they might by some notable service testifie their gratefull minds, and bind vnto them so excellent a prince: as also to giue so fit succours vnto the Christian commonweale. In which forwardnesse of my people, I my selfe tooke great contentment and pleasure, both in regard of your selfe, and in the behalfe of the publicke and common cause: seeing my men of warre, and all other my subjects, of what state or degree soeuer (without any perswasion vsed on my part) to be so cheerefully and courageously minded in defence of the faith, and of the Christian religion; and so well affectioned towards your most royall maiestie. And to say the truth, who is he (if he be not hatefull vnto God and man) albeit there were no question of religion, or of the common danger, that would refuse so iust and lawfull a warre? for such a king, as vnto whom alone we may and ought to attribute, That we Christians doe not onely raigne, but euen line, breath, and enjoy the libertie of our speech. Who would not willingly take up arms, and adventure himselfe into most manifest and certaine danger for the people of HUNGARIE; by whom in all ages the Christian commonweale hath with their so many trauels and so much of their blood, bene so mightily supported and defended? who euen from the very cradle haue bene continuall enemies vnto our enemies, and haue as it were euen vowed themselves for the honour of the Christian religion and name. Would God (most mightie and redoubted Vladislaus) it had bene in my power to haue brought vnto you such forces to this honourable warre, as were answerable vnto my courage and desire: then happily EVROPE should not longer lie in this ignominious estate, oppressed by Amurath; neither should the fields of VARNIA or BASILIA so often smoke with the blood of the Hungarians, nor euery corner of MACEDONIA with the blood of the Epirots: both nations being as it were become the expiatorie sacrifices of others sinnes and offences, we all now by turnes perish, whilest euery man thinketh himselfe borne but for himselfe alone. But why do I vnto my selfe poure forth these vaine complaints. Truly, it neither repenteth me of my forces, neither as I suppose (if it shall please God, that our forces may once meet and

joyne together in so happie a warre) shall the Christian commonweale haue any cause to sorrow or be agreed with the issue and event of our fortune. For vnto those fiftie thousand good souldiers which lately discosted Alis Bassa on the borders of MACEDONIA, my purpose is to ioinc as many more vnto them: with all which strength as soone as conveniently I may, I will begin to set forward, ready to follow your ensignes to all euents whatsoeuer. And so fare you well, from CROIA the third of August 1444.

These letters being dispatched away vnto the king, Scanderbeg forthwith began to leaue his forces. And first of all he caused with new supplies to be made strong, all those companies where-with he had ouerthrowne Alis Bassa; not suffering any one of them to absent himselfe from this expedition. Vnto whom being in number fifteen thousand, all men of approued valour, hee joyned other fifteen thousand more, no lesse valiant than they: such a power as hee neuer either before or after raised for the recouerie, or defence of his kingdome. And so furnished with all things necessarie for so honourable a war, cheerefully set forward, accompanied with the vowes and hope of all his most faithfull and louing subjects. But being come to the borders of SERVIA, he found the strait and difficult passages of that rough countrey shut vp by George the Despot, (lord thereof, a man adorned with all the graces of nature, but otherwise a verie wicked damned Atheist, and a Christian but in name only) who but lately before, restored vnto his kingdome by the helpe of king Vladislaus, hauing changed his mind, did now mightily cleaue vnto the Turke his sonne in law (by whom he had before been himselfe exiled) and in fauour of his quarell, and despite of the Hungarians, but especially of Huniades, had stopped vp the waies and passages whereby Scanderbeg was with his armie to passe: who by his embassadour sent of purpose vnto the Despot, complained to him of that wrong, putting him in mind of the perjurious dealing of Amurath with him, notwithstanding he had married his daughter; and of the great pleasures the Hungarians had done him; of both which he had good prooffe: requesting him if it were but in regard of the common cause of Christianitie to giue vnto him (as vnto his friend by whom hee was neuer in any thing wronged) passage; and not to staine himselfe with the perpetuall note of infamie. That he being a Christian prince, and of late so mightily oppressed by the Turke, should now to the great hinderence of the Christian common weale take part with him, against his friends and deliuerers. But what availeth praier or requests, bee they neuer so reasonable, with a man set downe to mischief? Scanderbeg out of hope by any other meanes to open his way, but by plaine force, resolved so to doe: although it much grieved him to spend those forces vpon a Christian prince, which he had prepared against the capitall enemy both of himselfe and all good Christians, old Amurath the Turkish Sultan.

But whilest he thus discontented, spendeth his time with his armie vpon the borders of SERVIA, beset with many difficulties: Vladislaus prickt forward by the continuall solicitation of Julian the Cardinall, or else drawne on by his owne ineuitable destinie, hauing assembled a great armie of valiant and couragious souldiers out of HUNGARIE and POLONIA (yet in number farre inferior to that he had the yeare before, for that most of the voluntarie souldiers were returned home) set forward from SEGEDINVM, and in the beginning of Nouember (a time vnto fit for wars) passed ouer DANUBIVS, and entring into BVLGARIA came to NICOPOLIS, the Metropolitall citie of that kingdome (but then in possession of the Turks): where he burnt the suburbs thereof, and in that fruitfull countrey therabouts refreshed his people three or foure daies, where he also mustred his armie and tooke a view thereof: at what time Dracula Vauod of VALACHIA, a man of great experience in martiall affaires, being then present, and considering the small number of the kings armie, began to persuaade him to retire, saying, Hee had sufficiently learned by his owne harmes, to deeme a right of the power of the Turkish Sultan; who (as hee said) was wont many times to carie more men with him into the fields in his disport of hauking and hunting, than was there in the kings campe: wherefore he should doe well, not to expose those his small forces vnto so manifest perill, in such vnseasonable time of the yeare, but to referre them vnto a more fit opportunitie, when hee might with greater power encounter his puissant enemy. This his counsaile most men of greatest experience, and not caried away with other priuat respects, thought wholesome: but the Cardinall, authour of this fatall warre, extolling with great words the last yeares victorie obtained against the Turke, with glorious promises of great aid, as well by sea from the Pope, and the Venetians, as by land from the emperour of CONSTANTINOPLE and other Christian princes; augmenting also the great troubles in A-

King Vladislaus
set forth forward
against the
Turke.

ASTA, and promising an easie and happie successe vnto these wars in EVROPE; persuaded the king that *Dacula* his speech proceeded either of ignorance, vpon a superficiall judgement which he made of the kings power there present, without regard of further strength from his friends: or else of the priuat respect of his owne securitie, in regard of a commodious league made a litle before betwixt him and the Turke. So that the poore prince seeing his counsell mightily impugned by the Cardinall, and not so well taken, as it was meant by him; stood in doubt whether to leaue him to his owne fortune, and himselfe to his quiet peace, or casting off the Turkish league, to joyne with the king in this chance of warre: but at length resolved as a martiall minded man, preferring the vncertaine glorie of the field before his owne assured rest, said vnto the king:

Seeing that either your princely fortune, which hath euer hether to fauoured your high attempts; or else the hope of friends helpe, which I pray God faile you not at your need; or the secret disengagement of your destinie, vnable to be auoided, doth draw your maiestie into a different opinion from me: that your resolution which I cannot by reasonable perswasion alter, I will as the suddennesse of time, and my small abilitie will permit, most gladly further.

*Dacula aideth
Vladislaus with
his arme and
4000 horse.*

And therewith presented vnto the king, his sonne, with foure thousand horsemen well appointed, to serue him in these wars; wishing vnto him such good successe as he himselfe desired. Afterward when he was about to take his leaue of the king, he preferred vnto him two lustie young men, perfect guides for that countrey, with two horses of incredible swiftnesse, and with teares standing in his eies said vnto him:

*This last farewell
vnto the king.*

Take this small gift in good part, as a poore refuge to flie vnto, if your fortune happe to faile you, which I tremble to thinke vpon: I pray God they be giuen in vaine and so they shall if my prayers may preuaile. Yet if necessitie shall inforce you to vse them, you shall find them seruicable as your need.

And so taking his last farewell of the king, returned into VALACHIA. *Vladislaus* marching on from NICOPOLIS toward THRACIA, tooke many townes and forts by the way, which the Turks for feare yekled vnto him: at last he came to SVMIVM and PEZECHIVM, where the Turkish garrisons trusting as much to the strength of the places, as to their owne valour, stood vpon their guard: but the king laid siege to both the said places, and tooke them by assault; where he put to sword fise thousand of the Turks.

The Turks Bassas terrified with these vnexpected troubles, aduertised *Amurath* thereof, requesting him to leaue his obscure life, and to leaue the greatest power he could in ASTA, for the defence of the Turkish kingdome in EVROPE, which otherwise was in short time like to be lost: blaming also his discretion, for committing the gouernment of so great a kingdome, to so young a prince as was *Mahomet* his sonne, vnto whom many of the great captaines did halfe scorne to yeeld their due obedience. *Amurath* herewith awaked, as it had been out of a dead sleepe, left his cloister, and with great speed gathered a strong armie in ASTA, & came to the straits of HILBONTVS; where he found the passage stopped by the Venetian and Popes gallies, and was therefore at his wits end. But marching along the sea side vnto the straits of BOSPHORVS, he there found means to conuay ouer his whole armie: vsing therein (as some write) the helpe of the Genoway marchant ships, paying vnto the Genowayes for the passage of euery Turke a duckat, which amounted to the summe of 100 thousand duckets: or as some others affirm, corrupting with great bribes them that were left for the defence of this passage. And being now got ouer, joynted his Asian armie with such other forces as his Bassas had in readinesse in EVROPE: and so marching on seuen daies, encamped within four miles of VARNA, a citie pleasantly standing vpon the Euxine sea side in BVLGARIA, where the Christian armie lay: for *Vladislaus* hearing of *Amurath* his comming with so great an armie, had retired thither, hauing but a litle before taken the same citie of VARNA from the Turks, with CALACRIUM, GALATA, MACROPOLIS, and others vpon the sea coast.

Vpon the first report that *Amurath* was with such a mightie armie come ouer the strait of BOSPHORVS, *Vladislaus* who before was in good hope that he could not possibly haue found any passage, entred into counsaile with the commaunders of his armie, what course was now best to take: where many which before had been most forward in that action (presuming that *Amurath* could by no means haue transported his armie) were now so discouraged with the fame of his comming, that they aduised the king in time to retire home, and not to oppose so small an armie against such a world of people as was reported to follow the Turke. But other captaines

of greater courage, and especially *Huniades*, said, It was not for the kings honour, first to inuade his enemies dominions, and presently to turne his backe vpon the first report of their comming; wishing him rather to remember the good fortune of his former wars, and that he was to fight against the same enemies whom he had victoriously ouerthrowne the yeare before: as for the multitude of his enemies, he had learned by experience (as he sayd) not to bee moued therewith, for that it was the manner of the Turkish kings, more to terrifie their enemies with the shew of a huge armie, than with the valour of their souldiours, which were nothing to bee accounted of, but as effeminate, in comparison of the Hungarians. Whereupon the king resolved to trie the fortune of the field.

Vladislaus vnderstanding by his espials, that *Amurath* the night before encamped within foure miles, was now putting his armie in order of battell; committed the ordering of all his forces vnto the valiant captain *Huniades*: who with great care and industrie disposed the same, guarding the one side of the battaile with a fenne or marsh, and the other side with cariages, and the rearward of his armie with a steepe hill. Therein politiquely providing, that the Christian armie, being farre lesse than the Turks in number, could not bee compassed about with the multitude of their enemies, neither any way charged but afront. The Turks armie approaching, began to skirmish with the Christians, which manner of fight was long time with great courage maintained, and that with diuers fortune, sometime one partie preuailling, and sometime the other; but with such slaughter on both sides, that the ground was couered and stained with the dead bodies and blood of the slaine. At length the battaile beeing more closely joynd, the victorie began to incline to the Christians, for *Huniades* had most valiantly with his Transiluanian and Valachian horsemen, put to flight both the wings of the Turkish armie, and made great slaughter wherefoeuer he came. Insomuch, that *Amurath* dismayed with the flight of his souldiours, was about to haue fled himselfe out of the maine battaile, had hee not been staied by a common souldiour, who laying hands vpon the reins of his bridle staied him by force, and sharply reprooued him of cowardise. The captaines, and prelates about the king (whom it had better seemed to haue been at deuout prayers in their oratories, than in armes at that bloodie battaile) encouraged by the prospect of successe of *Huniades*, and desirous to be partakers of that victorie, foolishly left their safe stations, where they were appointed by him to stand fast, and disorderedly pursued the chase, leauing that side of the battell where they stood, open vnto the Turks: But they were not gone farre, before they were hardly encountred by a great part of the Turks armie, for such purpose placed in a vally fast by. In which fight *Lesco* one of the most valiant captains of the Hungarians was slaine; and the Bishop of VRADIVM a better church man than souldiour; and the first man that disordered the battaile, seeking to saue himselfe by flight through the fenne, was there filthily strangled in the deepe mud, after he had with his horse therein struggled a great while. The Bishop of AGRA, a man of greatest authoritie with the king, was at the same time also lost, with many other church men more. The Cardinall, with some other of the expert captaines retiring toward their former standings, were hardly assailed by the Turks, who by the comming in of the king and *Huniades*, were with great slaughter forced to retire, and euen ready to flie. *Amurath* seeing the great slaughter of his men, and all brought into extreame danger, beholding the picture of the Crucifix in the displayed ensignes of the voluntarie Christians, pluckt the writing out of his bosome, wherein the late league was comprised, and holding it vpin his hand with his eies cast vp to heaven, said:

Behold thou crucified Christ, this is the league thy Christians in thy name made with mee: which they haue without cause violated. Now if thou bee a God, as they say thou art; and as we dreamt, reuenge the wrong now done vnto thy name, and mee, and shew thy power vpon thy perjurious people: who in their deeds denie thee their God.

Amurath prayeth vnto Christ.

The king with *Huniades* furiously pursued the chased Turks, with bloodie execution in a great space: when as the king in his heart hardly persuaded by *Huniades* to returne againe vnto his campe, at his comming thither found the Cardinall *Julian*, with *Franke*, one of his chiefe captaines, and others, ouercharged with the Turkes, which had againe made head against that part of the Christian armie: and there yet fought couragiously, by reason of their multitude, being also backt by the Ianizaries, which all this while had stood fast with their old king; as his last and most assured refuge, but were now come in. There began a most cruell and fierce fight: in the successe whereof, the Turks well saw the whole estate of their kingdome in EVROPE to consist,

A cruell fight.

many

many were there slaine on both sides: the Turks feeling their losse lesse than indeed it was, by reason of their multitude; and the Christians, by reason of their courage. A great while the victorie stood doubtfull, insomuch, that at length the Turks began to shrinke backe, in that part of the battaile where the king and *Huniades* fought. But in the left side, they prevailed so vpon the Christians, that they were euen readie to haue fled. Which when *Huniades* (hauing a vigilant eie vnto euerie part of the armie) perceiued, hee with speed made thether, and there againe with his presence restored the battaile almost before lost. Which done, hee returned againe towards the king, who in the mean time had most valiantly repulsed a great number of the Turks, and was now come vnto the *Ianizaries*, *Amurath* his last hope. There was to be scene a thousand manners of death, whilst both the armies fought more like wild beasts in their rage and furie, than warie and politique souldiours. In this confused medly, the yong king *Vladislaus* with greater courage than care of himselfe, brake into the battaile of the *Ianizaries*: at which time, *Amurath* himselfe was by a valiant Frenchman a knight of the Roads, first wounded with a pike, and after assailed with his sword, and had there ended his daies, but that hee was speedily rescued by his guard, by whom this worthie knight after great prooffe of his valour was there slaine in the midst of his enemies. *Vladislaus* being got in also amongst them, valiantly performed all the partes of a worthie souldiour, vntill such time as his horse being slaine vnder him, hee was forthwith oppressed by the multitude of his enemies and slaine: his head being strucke off by *Ferizes*, one of the old *Ianizaries*, was by him presented vnto *Amurath*; who commaunded it presently to be put vpon the point of a lance, and proclamation to be made, that it was the head of the Christian king: which was afterwards so caried through the principall cities of *MACEDONIA*, and *GRECE*, as a trophy of the Turks victorie. *Huniades* after hee had in vaine giuen diuers braue attempts, to haue rescued the kings bodie, retired with a few *Valachian* horsemen, and seeing no hope of better hap (for all the Christians being discouraged with the death of the king, had now taken themselves to flight) gaue place to necessitie and reseruing himselfe to his future fortune, fled ouer the mountaines into the thicke woods, from whence with much difficultie he got ouer *DANUBIUS* into *VALACHIA*, and was there (as some write) by *Dracula* prince of that countrey taken prisoner: In reuenge whereof, after hee was enlarged by the Hungarians, hee so aided *Danus* against *Dracula*, that in fine, *Dracula* and his sonne were both slaine, and *Danus* placed in his roome. *Iulian* the Cardinall flying out of the battaile, was found by that worthie man *Gregorie Sansse*, lying in the desert forrest by the way, side mortally wounded, and halfe stripped: by whom hee was in few wordes sharply reprooued, as the wicked authour of that perfidious warre: and there leit giuing vp the ghost. Many of the Christians which fled out of that battell fell into the enemies hands, and so were slaine: but greater was the number of them, which were drowned in the fennes, or that by hunger and cold perished in the woods, or else after long and miserable trauaile, finding no passage ouer *DANUBIUS* fell at length into the Turkish slaueerie. This great and mortall battaile as it was with diuers fortune fought, so was also the present report thereof most vncertaine: for the Turks that were at the first put to flight, reported in the townes thereby as they fled, that the battell was lost: and they which had all the daie endured the fight, not altogether assured of the victorie, and not knowing whether the Hungarians had retired themselves, whilst they suspected some deceit in the kinges campe, by reason of the great silence therein, staid two daies before they durst aduenture to take the spoile thereof. The number of them that were slaine in this battaile, as well on the one side as the other, was great; as the mounts, and little hils, raised of the bones and bodies of them that were there buried; doe yet at this daie declare. Howbeit the certaine number was not knowne, some reporting more, some fewer. Yet in this most agree, that of the Christian armie being not great, scarce the third part escaped: and that the Turks bought this victorie, with a farre greater losse, although it was of them lesse felt, by reason of their multitude, made lesse by that slaughter; as they that report least thereof affirme, by thirtie thousand. Which may well seeme rather to be so, for that *Amurath* after this victorie, neither farther prosecuted the same, nor shewed any tokens of joy at all, but became verie melancholie and sad, and being of them about him, demanded why after so great a victorie, he was no merrier: answered, That he wished not at so great a price, to gain many such victories. Yet in memorie thereof hee erected a great pillar, in the same place where the king was slaine, with an inscription of all that was then done: which as they say is yet there to be scene at this day. This bloodie battaile, was fought neere vnto *VARNA* (in ancient time called *DIO-*

Amurath in
danger.

King *Vladislaus*
slaine.

Huniades flyeth.

NISIOPOLIS (a place fatal vnto many great warriors, and therefore of them euen yet abhorred) the tenth day of Nouember, in the yeare of our Lord Christ 1444.

Some maliciously impute the losse of the battaile of *VARNA*, and the death of the king, to *Huniades*, who (as they said) fled out of this battaile with ten thousand horsemen: but this report agreeth not with the noble disposition of that courageous and valiant capitaine, but seemeth rather to haue been deuised, to excuse the foule dealing of the cleargie: who as most histories beare witnesse, were the cheefe authors both of the warre, and of the lamentable calamitie ensuing thereof.

From the battaile of *VARNA* *Amurath* returned to *HADRIANOPLE*, hauing lost the greatest part of his best souldiours, and there with great solemnitie buried the bodie of *Caraxia*, vice-roy of *EVROPE*, slaine in that battaile: and then calling together all his nobilitie, againe resigned vp his kingdome vnto his sonne *Mahomet*, retiring himselfe vnto *MAGNÉSIA*, where he liued a solitarie and priuat life, hauing before vowed so to do, in the great feare he was in, in the late battaile against *Vladislaus*: but after hee had a short time performed these his vowes in that obscure and melancholie life, he wearie thereof, as some suppose, as not a little reuiued with the late victorie, or els solicited by *Caly Bassa* and other great counsellours, returned againe to *HADRIANOPLE*, resuming vnto himselfe the gouernment of the kingdome, to the great discontentment of his ambitious sonne *Mahomet*.

Scanderbeg yet sticking in the borders of *SERVIA*, and hearing what had happened vnto King *Vladislaus* with the Hungarians, was therewith exceedingly grieved: and hauing now lost the hope whereupon he had vnderaken that so great an expedition, resolved to returne home againe into *EPÍRVS*. Neuerthelesse, to be in some part reuenged of the wicked Despot, he with his armie forcibly brake into his country, and there did exceeding great harme. In his returning homewards, great numbers of Hungarians and Polonians, lately escaped from the slaughter at *VARNA*, repaired vnto him, whom he (according to the extremitie of their fortune) courteously received: and furnishing them with such things as they wanted, provided them shipping to *RAGVSA*, from whence they might in safetie returne into their owne countries. Thus by the disloyaltie and trecherie of the faithlesse Despot of *SERVIA*, was *Scanderbeg* stayed from being present at the bloodie battaile of *VARNA*, to the vnspeakable losse of the Christian commonweale: for it could not be, but that so many thousands of most resolute and expert souldiours, vnder the leading of so worthie a cheefetaine, must needs haue done much for the gaining of the victorie. And what more glorious sight could a man haue wished for, than to haue scene so puissant an armie in the field against the sworn enemy of Christendome, directed by two such valiant and renowned cheefetaines, as neuer either before or since their time was scene the like in one battell against the enemies of Christ and the Christian religion? They were both men of inuincible courage, of exceeding strength, and agilite of bodie, wise, prudent, and subtile; both of long time exercised in the Turkes warres, the greatest terrour of that nation, and most worthie champions of the Christian religion, being therein both very zealous. Of the two, *Huniades* was at that time accounted the better commander, and the more polliticke, as a man of greater experience in martiall affaires, by reason of his greater yeares: which was well counteruailed by *Scanderbeg* his perpetual good fortune, still as it were attending vpon him, & by his experience afterwards gotten, as in the course of his historie well appeareth.

Amurath aduertised of these proceedings of *Scanderbeg*, as also of the great harmes by him done in *MACEDONIA*, and that the frontiers of his dominions bordering vpon *EPÍRVS*, were by his furie vterly waisted and spoiled, and his people there for most part slaine, and that the rest had for feare forsaken their dwellings and left the countrey desolate and vnepeopled; was therewith exceedingly moued. Yet for so much as he still stood in dread of the Hungarians, and was now himselfe clogged with yeares, and therefore more desirous of rest; considering also the young yeares of his eldest sonne *Mahomet*, as yet vnfit for the gouernment of so great and troublesome a kingdome, with the perpetuall good fortune of *Scanderbeg*, and mallice of *Huniades*: he thought it not best to conuert all his forces vpon him, but to proue if he could cunningly draw him into some dishonourable peace for a time, that so he might afterwards at leisure bee the better reuenged of him. For which cause he writ vnto him letters, mixt with grievous threats and some fained courtesies, as followeth:

Amurath

Amurath to
perform his vow
resigneth his
kingdome to his
sonne *Mahomet*;
which he in short
time after rageth
again vpon him

The compassed
betwixt *Huniades*
and *Scanderbeg*.

Amurath Ottoman, king of the Turkes, and emperour of the East, to the most ingratefull Scanderbeg, witheth neither health nor welfare.

The fullen and craftie letters of Amurath to Scanderbeg.

I neuer wanted honourable preferments to bestow upon thee all the while thou diddest live in my court, of all others most unkind Scanderbeg; but now I want words wherewith to speake unto thee, thou hast so highly offended my mind, and touched mine honour, that I know not in discretion what words to use unto thee, but of late one of my domestical servants. For neither will hard speech multiply the naturall fierceness of thy proud disposition, neither art thou worthie of better, which hast farre exceeded all hostilitie. And because thou wouldest omit no occasion to prouoke me, hast of late proceeded to that point of follie, that thou hast had thine owne affaires, and the welfare of thine owne subjects, in small regard, by confederating thy selfe in armes with the Hungarians, against me. It greenth mee to rehearse other thy unkindnesse, and as it were to touch those sores, if my mind would euer suffer me to forget the same, or that thy so manifold & horrible treasons, and strange examples of a most unthankfull mind, were to be couered with silence. Yet I thought good to aduertise thee (although perhaps too late) least that thy wastaid heat doe vntimely ouerthrow thee, with thy unluckie kingdom: and then thou wouldest make humble confession of thy long transgression, when thou hast lost thy selfe, and left no hope of refuge in thy desperat estate. We haue hitherto sufficiently suffered thy manifold iniuries: thou hast sufficiently prouoked the maiestie of the Othoman empire, with wrong and contumelious despitte, and I with patience haue borne all these thy contempts. Thinkest thou that my armie by thee betrayed unto the Hungarians, shall be vreuenged? Thinkest thou that so many cities and townes in EPIRVS, by thee rent from the bodie of my empire, with my garrisons there slaine, shall be forgotten? Or thinkest thou with thy late committed outrages to escape my reuenging hands? Remember the destruction of mine armie vnder Alis Bassa; the wasting and burning of my dominions; and lately the Hungarian warres, by thee so far as in thee was countenanced, with the territories of George, the Despot of SERBIA, my father in law, by thee spoiled. At length amend thou gracelesse man, and expect not farther, whether my indignation will breake out. Let not these trifling allurements of thy good fortune, so puffed up thy foolish desires, and sharpen thy conceits: that thy miserable fortune afterwards may moue euen thy greatest enemy, or my selfe, to compassion. I would thou shouldst at length remember my courtesies (if any sparke of humanity remaine in thy sauage nature) and make me not longer forie, that I haue so euill bestowed the same. And although it is not the part of an honourable mind, to rehearse those things which we haue in bountie bestowed upon any man: yet is it the token of a most unthankfull nature, so easily to forget all kindnesse past, as to need to be put in remembrance thereof. Wherefore Scanderbeg, I cannot but bewaile thy hap, and lament thine estate: For, to let passe the health of thy soule (which thou a very reprobate, esteamest as nothing) not to speake of the lawes of Mahomet, by thee despised, and the holy prophet by thee contemned, for the zeale thou hast vnto the Christian superstition: what hast thou (which now holdest thy poore and base kingdom in such price) euer wanted in my hands of all those things which most delight the desires of men? Diddest thou euer want armour, horses, a great traine of followers and servants, money, or other superfluities, the allurements of all age? Or diddest thou want matter to exercise thy valour, for encrease of thine honour? Wast thou euer denied preferments, dignities, and honours of all sorts fit for thine age, both at home and abroad? Was any man in my court decreed unto me, than thy selfe? What growing wit, not of strangers onely, but of them that were nearest unto my selfe, was better welcome unto me than thine? With what carefull instruction did I cause thee to be brought up? When thou wast deliuered unto me almost a child, I daily cherished and increased thy hoped towardnesse, with learning and nurture: I haue at all times honoured thee with rich rewards, magnificall praises, and honours of the field (which of all worldly things is most glorious) so that in all feats of armes no souldier was to me better knowne, or captaine of me more honoured. For all these great benefits, Scanderbeg, thou now shewest thy selfe such an one, that I may be thought not to haue brought up such a man as I hoped for, but a very serpent in mine owne bosome. But the loue of thy country did moue thee: which if thou hadst asked of me, would I haue denied thee the same unto thee? Which (if thou dost well remember) I so oftentimes voluntarily profered unto thee? But thou haddest rather to gaine the same by treacherie, than to receiue it at my hands of courtesie. So shone be it therefore on God his name, and that with my very good will. And verely, according to my accustomed clemencie towards all them whom I haue once well knowne, and become familiarly acquainted with,

with, I now pardon thee all thou hast offended me; not for any thy present deserts, which are none, but because in this publique enmitie, it pleaseth mee to remember my former kindnesse in priuat towards thee, and thy faithfulness sometimes in my affaires; especially for that the time was much longer wherein thou seruedst me, than the time wherein thou hast offended me. CROIA and thy fathers kingdom (although thou hast gained the same by foule treacherie) I giue unto thee, upon condition thou willingly restore unto me the other townes of EPIRVS, which by no right belong unto thee, but are mine by law of armes, by my selfe honourably wonne. Whatsoeuer thou hast taken from my father in law, the prince of SERBIA, thou shalt forthwith restore, and make him an honourable recompence for the other harmes thou hast done unto him; and for euer hereafter, thou shalt as well forbear to offer violence to any our friends, as to aid any our enemies. So shalt thou for euer avoid the displeasure of the Turks, and stand in my good grace and fauour, as thou hast done before: except thou haddest rather (being taught by thine owne harmes) then in vaine crie for mercie, when thy furious outrage shall haue me in person, an implacable reuenger. Thou knowest thy forces, thou knowest the strength of mine armie; thou hast before thine eyes the fresh example of the Hungarian fortune, so that thou needest no further admonitions. Yet I would thou shouldst write at large what thou intendest to do. Thou maiest also conferre with Ayradin our seruant, our trustie and faithfull messenger, of whom thou shalt vnderstand more than are in these letters comprised. Farewell if thou be wise. From HADRIANOPLE.

To these letters Scanderbeg gaue small credit, and lesse to the messenger, but least of all to the old Fox himselfe, whom he well knew to haue written nothing simply of good meaning, but onely to gaine a cessation from warres, vntill he might at better leasure set vpon him with all his forces: wherefore calling Ayradin the messenger vnto him, whom he rather held for a craftie spie, than an honourable ambassador, after hee had many times both publickly and priuately discoursed with him, so farre forth as was possible to sound the depth of his comming, and had also further entertained him with all honourable courtesies; hee shewed him all his campe, with the strength thereof, which hee did, because he would not haue the craftie messenger to thinke, that he was any thing afraid of his maiesties greatnesse. And at last greatly complaining of Amurath his cruell and perfidious dealing against his father, his brethren, and himselfe, he sent him away with such answer in writing as followeth.

The souldiour of Christ Iesu, George Castriot surnamed Scanderbeg, prince of EPIRVS, to Amurath Ottoman king of the Turkes sendeth greeting.

Thou hast in times past (as thou writest) exceeded mee in many kinds of courtesies, and at this present I will exceed thee in modest and temperat speech: For I thinke there is no greater token of a base mind, than to be able to forbear to giue railing and opprobrious words, euen unto our most mortal enemies. Wherefore we haue with patience received and scene, both thy letters and messenger: and to confesse a truth, they haue ministered vnto me greater occasion of smile, than choller: whilest at the first thou shamest not to accuse me of much ingratitude, & treason: and presently following a milder passion, seemest carefull of my soules health, being ignorant of thine own miserable estate, as a studious defender of a most damnable error. And at last, keeping neither law of armes, nor orderly course answering to our affaires, dost most insolently and vnauidedly, as a valiant conqueror to his vanquished enemy, propound many conditions of peace, of such qualitie and condition, that mine cares come to be the same. Truly Amurath, although thy immoderat railing might moue a man of greatest patience to intemperat speech: yet I impute the same partly to thy great age, and partly to the forwardnesse of thy nature; and the rest, to thy conceined griefe, which I know thou canst hardly moderat: and the more, for that I haue not set downe my selfe to contend with thee in foule and vnseemly languages, but with armes and the just furie of warre. Yet I pray thee, wherfore dost thou so exclaime vpon me before God and man: as though thou hadst first suffered wrong and iniurie from me, and that thou hadst not in truth first don the same. Dost thou call my necessary departing, a perfidious treacherie? My native country by my policie and valour recovered, dost thou object to me as a villanie? Object the same still and spare not; charge mee with such crimes for euer, I care not. The long catalogue of thy kindnesse towards me, which thou reheardest, I could willingly remember, if it drew not with it the woofull remembrance

The resolute answer of Scanderbeg to Amurath his letters.

Amurath sixt king of the Turks.

of my greater miseries. in which if they were to be compared together, the greatnesse of thy good desert would be overwhelmed with the multitude of thy greater tyrannies; which I had rather thou shouldst count with thy selfe, than blush whilest I repeat them. Every man that knoweth them, may meruell how I had power to endure them, or that thou wast not wearie at last of thy crueltie and secret hatred. Thou tookest away my fathers kingdome by force; thou diddest murder my brethren; and my selfe thou diddest most wickedly vow to death, when I little feared any such crueltie. And doth it now seeme strange to thee, o Amurath, that an invincible mind, desirous of libertie, should seeke to break out of the bonds of so great slavery? How long at length diddest thou thinke I would endure thy proud and insolent bondage? which for all that I many yeares endured, and refused not thy commaund. I exposed my selfe to publicke and priuat dangers, both voluntarily and by thy assignement: speeches were given out daily by thy selfe, and the admonition of my friends concerning thy deepe trecherie, was rise in mine eares: yet for all that, of long time I simply beleueed both thy words and deeds to haue bene deuoid of all fraud, untill thy cankered mallice began too too apparently to shew it selfe, then began I also to glose with thee, wholly metamorphosed into thine owne conceits, untill I found occasion to recover my libertie. Wherefore there is no cause thou shouldst now greene, if thou be well beaten with thine own rod. But these are but trifles, Amurath, in comparison of those things which I haue laied up in hope and resolution of mind. Therefore hereafter surcease thine angrie threats, and tell not vs of the Hungarian fortune. Every man hath his owne resolution, and euery man a particular gouernour of his actions: and so will we with patience endure such fortune as it shall please God to appoint vs. In the meane time, for direction of our affaires, we will not request counsell of our enemies, nor peace of thee, but victory by the helpe of God. Farewell from our campe.

When Amurath had read these letters, and further conferred with Arradin, hee was filled with wrath and indignation, wondering at the great resolution of so small a prince, presently casting in his mind (as was thought) the difficultie of that warre. Yet because he would giue no token of feare, oftentimes stroking his white beard, as his manner was when he was thoroughly angrie, with a dissembled cheerefulnesse of countenance said:

Thou desirest (wicked man) thou desirest the title of some honourable death: we will giue it thee (beleue vs) we will giue it thee. Wee our selues will bee present at the buriall of our foster child, and in person (though vnbidden) honour the funerall pompe of the great king of Epirvs; that thou shalt neuer complaine among the damned ghosts, that thou diddest die a base or obscure kind of death.

And for because at that time, by reason of many great occurrents, hee could not conuert his whole power into Epirvs, he sent Ferises, one of his best captaines, with nine thousand choice horsemen, to keepe Scanderbeg in doing, and to spoile his countrey so much as he could. Which was with such speed done, that it was thought Ferises would haue bene in the heart of Epirvs, before Scanderbeg could haue had knowledge of his coming. But for all his hast, he could not so preuent the flying fame, but that Scanderbeg hearing thereof, and hauing his men alwayes in readinesse, placed fiftene hundred good footmen in ambush vpon the rough mountaines, leading into the valley of MORA, whereby the Turks must needs passe into Epirvs; placing also two thousand horsemen, as he thought most fit & conuenient for his purpose. Ferises descending from the high mountaines full of woods and bushes, by the broken and stonie waies leading into the valley, was in that troublesome and intricate passage fiercely set vpon by Scanderbegs readie footmen, suddainely arising out of ambush, where the Turks hauing no vie of their horses, but rather by them encombered, were slaine as Deere enclosed in a toyle. In this conflict seven hundred and sixtie Turks were taken prisoners, and a greater number slaine, and Ferises himselfe, with the rest, enforced to flie, crying still out as hee fled, *Better some saved, than all lost*. Scanderbeg hauing thus ouerthrowne Ferises, pursued him into MACEDONIA, and with the spoile there taken, rewarded his souldiours, as he had also many times before done.

Amurath greued with the ouerthrow of Ferises, presently sent Mustapha a politicke and hardie captaine, with a new supplie of six thousand souldiours to take the charge from Ferises: commaunding him in no case, nor vpon any occasion, to enter farre into Epirvs: but onely to burne and spoile the frontiers thereof, saying, That he would account it for good seruice, if he might but vnderstand, that the trees and fruits of that countrey, had felt the force of his anger.

Mustapha

Amurath sixt king of the Turks.

Mustapha hauing receiued his charge, when he began to draw neere the borders of Epirvs, continually sent out scouts before his armie; to see if the passages were cleere, and so warily entered the vallie of MORA, a while Ferises not long before was ouerthrowne. In this fruitfull vallie, being the frontiers of Scanderbegs dominion, Mustapha entrenched his armie; vpon the rising of a hill, and placed espials vpon the tops of the high mountaines round about, by them to discover the coming of the enemy, and to haue notice thereof by signes into the campe: then reseruing foure thousand horsemen with himselfe, to keepe his campe, hee sent forth the rest of his armie, about nine thousand horsemen, to forrage and spoile the countrey (giuing charge before, that euery man vpon paine of death should presently retire to the campe, vpon signe giuen from thence, as to a place of safetie and refuge. The Turkish armie ranging, ouer that rich and pleasant vallie, burnt the villages, cut downe trees, spoiled the whiteyards, and made hauocke of all things that fire and sword could destroy, in that point executing Amuraths commaund to the full. At length Scanderbeg drawing neere to this vallie, with foure thousand horsemen and a thousand foot, was aduertised of all the enemies doings, by an Epirote souldiour, who greecuously wounded had hardly escaped from the Turks: of him he vnderstood, what number of Turkes were burning and destroying the countrey; of the campe also kept by Mustapha, and how espials were placed vpon the mountaines. Scanderbeg hauing well considered Mustaphas warlike proceedings, and seeing no pollicie to bee vsed against so carefull an enemy, resolved to vanquish him by plaine force, by assaulding him suddainely in his trenches, before his dispersed souldiours could repaire to the campe: and hauing to this purpose, with effectfull persuasions encouraged the minds of his valiant souldiours, readie of themselves to follow him through all dangers; while he had set all things in order for assaulding the enemies campe, speedily entered the vallie, and was presently discovered by the enemies espials, from the tops of the high hills, and a signe giuen to the campe, from whence also the appointed signe was giuen for the dispersed souldiours to retire: but most of them being straid from the campe, and busied in taking the spoile of the country, heard not or saw not the sign giuen: Those which were within the hearing thereof retired to the campe, and at their heeles followed Scanderbegs souldiours, terrifying them with calling vpon the name of Scanderbeg. Many of the Turks were by the Christians slaine in the entrance of the campe, with their booties in their hands, and presently the Turks trenches were now by Scanderbegs souldiours courageously assaulted, and the Turks beaten from the top of them. They hauing wonne the trenches, prevailed still vpon the Turks, filling all their camp with feare and slaughter. There was no vie of shot in that medlie, by reason of the straightnesse of the place, for they were now come to pell mell. Mustapha seeing his souldiours put to the worst, and that the campe was not long to be defended, tooke horse and fled by the port which was furthest from the enemy. The rest of the souldiours fled also, making such poore shift for themselves as they could. In this battaile 5000 Turkes were slaine, and but 300 taken; for the Christians enraged with the spoile of the country, reuenged themselves with the slaughter of the Turks. Scanderbeg lost in this conflict but 20 horsemen, and 50 footmen. The rest of the Turkes armie dispersed in the countrey, heauing the tumult in the campe, misdoubting the fortune of their fellowes, fled also: yet many of them were in that fight pursued and slaine.

After this ouerthrow, Mustapha returning to Amurath, the better to excuse the misfortune of himselfe, and the other captaines before sent, greatly commended the invincible courage of Scanderbeg, and his wonderfull skill in feats of armes; persuading Amurath either to send a greater power against him, or else none at all, saying, That to send such small armies, was but to minister matter to the increase of his glorie, and the infamie of the Turks; and to vse pollicie against him the master of pollicie, was but meere follie. It greued Amurath to heare the praises of his enemy, although hee knew the same to be true, by the continuall fortune he had alwaies against his great captaines, Alis-bassa, Ferises, and Mustapha: wherefore he determined for a time not to prouoke him further, but to suffer him to liue in peace: yet commaunded Mustapha to renew his armie for defence of the borders of his kingdome towards Epirvs, against the inuasion of Scanderbeg; but straightly commaunding him in no case to inuade any part of Epirvs, neither vpon any occasion offered, or conceiued hope of victorie, to ioine battaile with Scanderbeg, for feare of such euill successe as before.

At this time also the Grecians of PELOPONESVS now called MORIA, hauing before fortified the strait of CORINTH from sea to sea, with a perpetuall wall, which they called HEXA-

D d ij

MYLVN

Amurath, in person at the buriall of our foster child, and in person (though vnbidden) honour the funerall pompe of the great king of Epirvs; that thou shalt neuer complaine among the damned ghosts, that thou diddest die a base or obscure kind of death.

Scanderbeg his valiant resolution for the assisting of Mustapha in his campe

Amurath sixt king of the Turks.

MYLVN, and deep trenches about six miles in length, had also built five strong castles in the same wall, of purpose to take away all passage by land into that rich country; and began now not only to denie the yearly tribute they were wont to pay vnto the Turkish king, but also to invade such princes of ACHAEA their neighbours, as were content to remaine still the Turks tributaries; amongst whom *Nereus* prince of ATHENS, and *Turan* Gouvernour of THESSALIA, for *Amurath*, ceased not by continuall complaints to incense him against them of PELOPONNESVS. Who hauing his armie in readinesse, although it was now winter, and he himselfe verie aged, set forward from HADRIANOPLE, and marching through THESSALIA, came into ACHAEA, where most of the Grecians were before fled for feare into PELOPONNESVS. So passing on with his armie, he came to the strait commonly called ISTHVS, where the famous cite of CORINTH sometime stood; and there encamped his armie neere vnto the strong wall, and castles, lately before built, hoping that the Grecians of PELOPONNESVS, terrified with the multitude of his armie, would without resistance submit themselves: but when he perceived them to stand vpon their guard, and to trust to their strength, he laid battie to the wall four daies, and hauing made it faultable, brake through the same with his armie. The Grecians hauing lost the wall (their cheefe strength) fled, some to one strong hold, and some to another, as their fortune led them; the Turks at their pleasure spoiling and destroying that rich & pleasant country, sometime the nurse of worthie wies, and famous captaines: where they found wonderfull riches, and tooke prisoners without number; insomuch that they were sold among the Turks at most vile price. There *Amurath* for his pleasure, cruelly sacrificed six hundred Christian captiues, to the hellish ghost of his dead father *Mahomet*: & afterwards imposing a yearly tribute vpon the Peloponnesians, and others Grecian princes now yeelding againe vnto him, as an induction to their further slauey vnder the Turkish rirannie, he returned, taking in his way the two famous cities of PATRAS and SYCONE. Thus the rich country of PELOPONNESVS, and all the rest of GRECIA, sometime fountaine of all learning and ciuilitie, became tributarie to the barbarous and cruell Turkes, in the yeare of our Lord 1445.

Peloponnesus made tributarie vnto the Turke.

1446
Batatz borne.

Old *Amurath* now clogged with yeares, and wearied with long wars, was content to take his rest at HADRIANOPLE: during which time, *Batatz* the sonne of *Mahomet* was borne in the yeare 1446, who afterwards of long time with great glorie gouerned the Turkish empire at CONSTANTINOPLE, as in his place shall appeare.

The Hungarians after the calamitie of VARNA, wherein they had together with *Ladislaus* their king, lost most part of their nobilitie also; in a generall assembly of their states, made choice of *Ladislaus*, the posthumous sonne of *Albertus* (and then in keeping of *Fredericke* the emperor) for their king. But for as much as he being then but a child of five yeares old, and chosen king, more for the remembrance of the emperor *Sigismund* his grandfather, and *Albertus* his father, and for the good hope conceiued of him, than for any other thing presently to bee expected from him; it was thought more than necessarie, to make choice of some notable and worthy man, vnto whom they might (during the time of the kings minoritie) commit the gouernment and protection of that so great and turbulent a kingdome. Many there were in that honorable assemblie well thought of, both of themselves and others: but such was the glorie and valour of *Huniades*, and so great the remembrance of his worthie deserts both of the kingdome of HUNGARIE, and of the Christian commonweale in generall, as without his seeking, procured vnto him the generall fauour and suffrages of all; yea so farre, that euen they which most enuid at his honour, as ouershadowing their own, were glad to hold their peace, for that without him it was commonly thought the state of that shaken kingdome could not long stand: So by the generall consent of all the states there assembled, hee was with the great applause of the people chosen and proclaimed gouernour, as of all others most fit for so great and heauie a charge: wherein he quietly spent some few yeares in deciding of ciuile controuersies, in composing the quarrels of the nobilitie; not forgetting in the mean time the indifferent administration of iustice to all men, ending many controuersies farre from the place of judgement, and that without all suspension of corruption, vsing therein such expedition and neuer-wearied patience, in hearing euery mans cause, that sitting, going, standing, riding, hee dispatched many great and weightie matters: alwayes shewing himselfe affable and courteous, as well vnto them of the poorer sort, as others of greater calling, that had any suites vnto him. So that it was of him truly said, That no man was than he vnto his friends more friendly, or vnto his enemies more crosse and contrarie.

Huniades in the minoritie of the king, chosen Gouernour of all the kingdome of Hungarie.

Amurath sixt king of the Turks.

In time of peace he was alwayes prouiding for warre, heaping vp great treasure; and such other things, as without which, the warres could not be maintained. But about all things, he was careful of the good agreement of the nobilitie, taking great paines in reconciling their displeasures conceiued one against another, and that with such dexteritie, as that he was both of them and others generally both beloued and feared.

In the meane time, whilst he was thus busied in disposing of the ciuile affaires of the commonweale and the administration of iustice, hee was aduertised by his espials, how that the old Sultan *Amurath* was raising great forces both in ASIA and EVROPE, and that as the common fame went, for the inuasion of HUNGARIE. For the withstanding whereof, *Huniades* not vnprovided, as neuer vnmindfull of so dangerous an enemy, or of any thing more desirous, than in some sort to be reuenged of the great losse receiued at VARNA, in the fourth yeare of his gouernment and in the yeare of our Lord 1448 accompanied with most part of the nobilitie of HUNGARIE, and the Vauod of VALACHIA his friend and confederate, set forward against the Turke, with an armie of two and twentie thousand choise souldiours. So hauing passed the riuer TIBISCVS, or TIBISE, and traauailing through VALACHIA, a little beneath where the riuer MORAVA running through SERBIA, falleth into DANYBVS, he with most part of his armie passed that great riuer; the rest in the meane time taking passage ouer at a towne called SERBIN. *Huniades* with his armie being thus got ouer into SERBIA, by his embassadours requested the Despot, as he had oftentimes before, to put himselfe into that most Christian warre; and remembering the great benefits he had receiued from the Hungarians, not to shew himselfe therfore vngratefull; than which, nothing could be more dishonourable: and to encourage him the more, certified him both of his owne strength, and of the aid brought vnto him by the Vauod; and that for the good successe of the warre, there wanted nothing but his presence and direction, with such troupes of light horsemen as he knew he had euer in a readinesse. VVhere-with he requested him with all speed to follow him. But he being a man of no religion, and better affected vnto the Turke than to *Huniades*, the more cleanly to withdraw himselfe from this warre, pretended many excuses: first, the league he had with *Amurath* his sonne in lawe, which he said he might not breake, for feare that if things chanced not well, he might so fall againe headlong into his old miserie; then, the vnseasonableness of the time, Autumne being now past, which difficulties in those cold countries they had to their cost too much felt in the late warre. These with many other such like he alledged, in excuse that he came not: but the truth was, the malice of the man, grieved to see *Huniades* preferred before him in the gouernment of the kingdome, and disclaining to serue vnder his ensignes, being himselfe Despot, and king of SERBIA, descended of the royall race, the cause of his backwardnesse: so that blinded with enuie, he could not there rightly iudge of himselfe, or what was fit for him in this case to haue done. But *Huniades* angrie with his vnkind answere, threatned him with his owne hands to be reuenged vpon him, and to giue away his kingdome to one more worthy thereof than he, if he should with victorie returne. So passing through SERBIA, as through the enemies countrey, he came into BVLGARIA. After whose departure, the false Despot by speedy messengers aduertised *Amurath* both of the coming of the Hungarians, and of their strength; yea he certified him of euerie daies, march, and how that *Huniades* was but with a small companie of his owne, and some weakie supplies of the Vauods come ouer DANYBVS: whom if he should not presently meet, but suffer him to come on further, and so with his armie to get betwixt him and home, hee might so shut him in, as that he should hardly be able to scape his hands. All which he did, partly for enuie, partly to gratifie the Turke, and the better to keepe friendship with him. So *Amurath* not contemning the Despots counsell, suffered *Huniades* without resistance to enter a great way into his countrey, and comming two or three daies march behind him, so stopped the passage as that he could not possibly retire, but that he must needs fight. And now they were both come vnto a great plaine in BVLGARIA, which the Hungarians call RIGOMBZV, and the Rascians the plaine of COSSOVA, through the middelt whereof the riuer SCHICHNIZA rising out of the mountaines of ILLIRIA running, at length falleth into MORAVA, and so into DANYBVS: this plaine is about 20 miles in length, and in bredth five, enuironed on each side with pleasant mountaines, in manner of a theatre, the riuer and low vallies at the foot of the mountaines being garnished with many countrey villages and townes. Into this fatall plaine when as the Hungarians first, and after them the Turks, were as into a place of combat descended;

1448
Huniades goeth against the Turke.

The false Despot giueth Amurath knowledge both of Huniades his coming, and of his strength.

them, omitting nothing that was of a good Generall or worthie souldiour to be done. The valiant he commended, the coward he reprooued, and as a carefull Generall, was himselfe in euery place present. Wherby the battaile became so fierce and terrible, that in euery place a man might haue seen all fowly foiled with blood, and the quarry of the dead. *Amurath* in like manner still sent in new supplies, nothing discouraged with the great losse of his men, presuming vpon his multitude, as fully resolu'd orderly to fight, and to make vse of all his forces; in hope at length by continuall sending in of fresh supplies, to wearie his enemies, whom he saw hee could not by force ouercome. Wherin he was not deceiued, for one battallion of the Hungarians was often times enforced to wearie foure or fise of the Turks before they could be releued, they came on so fast. That day they dined and supped in the battaile, refreshing themselves with such short rest as they could eat standing, going, or riding. The Turkes armie was that day in euery place put to the worst, & often times with great slaughter enforced by the Hungarians to retire almost vnto their trenches: yet was the battaile still againe renewed, and so fought on both sides, as well appeared they were resolu'd either to ouercome, or there to die. This cruell fight maintained all the day, was by the comming on of the night ended, both the armies retiring into their owne trenches: but with purpose the next daie to renew the battaile, and not to giue ouer or turnd their backs, vntill the victorie were by dint of sword determined. So with little rest, was that night spent, both armies keeping most diligent watch, all carefully expecting the next day, as by battell therein to trie whether they should liue or die. It was yet scarce faire daie, when both the armies in good order readie ranged began againe the battaile: which at the first, was not by the Hungarians fought with such force and courage as before, for there was none of them which had not the day before spent their whole strength; whereas there was yet almost fortie thousand of the Turks, which either had not fought at all, or but lightly skirmished. Yet *Huniades* exhorted his souldiours, not by faint harted cowardise to breake off the course of the victorie by them this daie before so well begun, but couragiously to prosecute the same; beseeching them not to be now wanting vnto themselves and their country, but to remember how well they had fought the day before, how many thousands of their enemies they had slaine, and not now at last to giue ouer, and so shamefully to frustrate all the paines and dangers by them before endured: for that they (as he said) were to be thought worthie of honour, not which began, but which well ended honourable actions. He wished them to set before their eyes the calamities like to ensue, if they should as cowards be ouercome: first, the diuers kinds of death and torture; then, the slaughter of their wiues and children; the rauishment of their virgins and matrons; and last of all, the vtter destruction of their kingdom, with the horrible confusion of all things, as well facted as prophane: all which were by that one daies labour (as he said) to be auoided. And therefore he besought them for the loue both of God and man, with their wonted valour, that day to set at libertie for euer, themselves, their country, their wiues and children, and what soeuer else they held deere. In like manner also did *Amurath* encourage his souldiours, with great promises, and threats, perswading them rather to endure any thing, than by that daies ouerthrow to bee driuen out of *Europe*. He carefully viewed his armie, ordered his battailes, and with many graue reasons perswaded them to play the men. But after that some light skirmishes being past, both the armies were fully joynd, the battell was fought with no lesse force and furie than the day before. Of the Christians many then wounded, came now again into the battaile, there either by speedy death or speedie victorie to cure their wounds before receiued; and there did right good seruice. Great was the slaughter in euery place, neither could the force of the Hungarians be withstood, whose furious impression, whē the Turks could not by plain force endure, they began with their fresh horsemen, cunningly to delude their desperat fiercenesse: at such time as the Hungarians began most hardly to charge them, they by & by turned their backs, suffering them a while to follow after the, far scattered & dispersed: who allured as it were with the hope of a present victory, eagerly pursued them, & in the pursuit slew diuers of them. And they again vpon a signall giue, closing together, & turning back vpon the disperced troupes, well reuenged the death of their fellows: & with their often charges, & retreats, wonderfully wearied the Hungarians; notably deluding their furious attempts with that vncertain kind of fight, all the day long. Many of the Hungarians were there slaine, and the Turks had that day the better, and so both armies being wearied, night and wearines ended the fight: both retiring into their trenches, there keeping most carefull watch. The next morning by the dawning of the day, the battaile was again begun. *Huniades* his bro-

The battaile begun againe the second day.

Huniades encouraged his souldiours.

brother, Generall of the Valachians, with his light horsemen setting first forward, after whom in seemly order followed the rest of the nobilitie, with their companics. Where for certaine howers, the battaile was hardly fought with like hope on both sides, and a great slaughter made, but especially of the Hungarians; who wearied with the long fight, & most part of them wounded, were now all to endure this third daies labour. *Zechel* (*Huniades* his sisters sonne) valiantly fighting in the front of the battaile, was the first of the leaders there slaine in the thickest of the Turks. *Emericus Marzalus* and *Stephen Bamss*, both great commaunders, enclosed by the Turks, there died also. *Amurath* seeing the formost ensignes of the Christians which stood in *Zechel* his regiment, taken, and his souldiours (discomfited with the death of their colonell) turning their backs, presently commaunded all the companics, which were manie (yet left in the trenches, for fresh supplies) to issue forth; and at once to ouerwhelme the Christians, being (as hee said) but few and ouerwreied with three daies continuall fight. Vpon which the kings commaund, they fiercely breaking out, presently ouerthrew both the wings of the Christians, before wauering; and in a great battaile (wherein most of the chiefe commaunders were slaine, and their ensignes taken) discomfited the rest, and with a great slaughter put them to flight. *Huniades* seeing his brother now slaine, the ensignes taken, and the battaile quite lost; betooke himselfe to flight also, leauing behind him his tents and baggage, all which shortly after became a prey vnto the Turks; who from noone vntill night furiously followed the chase, with most cruell execution; but at length staid by the comming on of the darkenesse, they returned againe vnto their trenches. The rest of the Turkes armie that followed not the chase, compassing in the Hungarian campe, were there by the wounded souldiours, the wagoners, and other drudges of the armie, kept out so long as they had any shot left; but yet were in the end euery mothers sonne slaine, though not altogether vreuenged, two or three of the Turkes in many places lying dead by the bodie of one Hungarian. *Amurath* to cōquer the greatnesse of the losse he there receiued, commanded the bodies of his captaines there slaine, to be forthwith buried; and the bodies of his common souldiours, to be for the most part cast into the riuer *SCHITNIZA*. For which cause the inhabitants of the country there by, of long time after abstained from eating of any fish taken in that riuer. The plaine by this great battaile made once againe famous, lay neuertheless many yeares alter couered with dead mens bones, as if it had been with stones: neither could be ploughed by the country people, but that long time after armour and weapons were there still in many places turned vp and found. Thus albeit that this bloody victorie fell vnto the Turkes, yet was their losse farre greater than the Hungarians; hauing lost (as was reported by them that say least) foure and thirtie thousand of themselves, for eight thousand of their enemies. Howbeit they themselves report the losse to haue bene on both sides far greater; as that of the Christians were slaine seuentene thousand, and of themselves fortie thousand: which in so long and mortall a fight, is not vnlike to haue been true. In this vnfortunate battaile fell most part of the Hungarian nobilitie: all men worthy eternall fame and memorie, whose names we for breuitie wil passe ouer. Many in the chase taken, and the next day brought to *Amurath*, were by the commandement of the angrie tyrant slaine. Such as escaped out of the slaughter by the way of *ILLYRIA*, returned in safetie: but such as sought to saue themselves by returning back againe through *SERVIA* the Despots country, found the same so troublesome as that few of them escaped, but that they were by the way either slaine, or quite stripped of all they had.

Neither was the fortune of the noble *Huniades* much better than the fortune of the rest, who hauing on horsebacke all alone by vncouth and vntact waies, trauiiled three daies without meat or drinke, and the fourth day tired his horse and cast him off; being on foot and disarmed, fell into the hands of two notable theues, who in dispoiling him of his apparell, finding a faire crucifix of gold about his necke, fell at strife betwixt themselves for the same: whereby he tooke occasion to lay hand vpon one of their swords, and with the same presently thrust him through; and then suddenly assailing the other, put him to flight also. So deliuered of this danger, trauiailing on, and almost spent with thirst and hunger, the next day he light vpon a sheepridge, a sturdie rough knaue, who hearing of the ouerthrow of the Hungarians, was (in hope of prey) roaming abroad in that desolat country: Who at their first meeting, stricken with the maiestie of the man, stood at gaze vpon him; as did also *Huniades*, fearing in his so great weakness to haue to doe with him. Thus a while hauing the one well regarded the other, they began to enter talke, the sheeheard bluntly asking him of his fortune; and he for Gods sake cra-

The battaile againe begun the third day.

Huniades fleeth.

The number of the Turkes and Christians slaine in the battaile of *Cossona*.

Amurath sixt king of the Turkes.

Huniades taken
prisoner by the
Despot.

uing of him some thing to eat. When as the shepheard hearing of his hard happe, moued with his estate, and hope of promised reward, brought him vnto a poore cottage not farre off, causing to be set before him bread and water, with a few oynions. Who in the pleasant remembrance of that passed miserie, would oftentimes after in his greatest banquetes say, That he never in his life fared better, or more daintily, than when he supped with this shepheard. So well in hunger season homely cates. Thus refreshed, he was by the shepheard conducted to SYNDEROVIA: whereof the Despot hauing intelligence (whose countrey was all layd for the staying of him) caused him by the captaine of the castle to be apprehended, and imprisoned. But after certaine daies spent in talke about his deliuerance, it was at length agreed, that all such strong townes in RASCIA and SERBIA, as had by the Hungarians been detained from the Despot, at such time as his kingdome was by king Vladislaus restored vnto him, should now be againe to him deliuered; and that Matthias, Huniades his youngest sonne, should for the confirmation of farther friendship, marrie the Despots daughter: with some other such conditions as it pleased the yngratefull prince for his owne behoofe to set downe. For performance whereof, he requiured to haue Ladislaus, Huniades his eldest son, in hostage. All which Huniades was glad forthwith to yeeld vnto, for feare the false Despot should haue deliuered him into the hands of Amurath, his mortall enemy. So the hostage being giuen, Huniades was againe set at libertie. Who vpon Christmas day comming to SEGEDINVM, was there by all the nobilitie of HUNGARIE, and great concourse of the people, honorably receiued. This ingratitude of the Despot no lesse greued this worthie man, than the dishonour receiued from the Turke. Wherefore vpon the suddaine raising a great armie, he inuaded the territorie, long before giuen to the Despot by the emperor Sigismund in HUNGARIE, in exchange of the strong town of BELGRADE, destroying the countrey before him, and burning the villages, neuer resting, vntill he had got into his power whatsoeuer the Despot had in HUNGARIE: & yet not so contented, presently entred into RASCIA, where the Despots embassadois met him, bringing with them Ladislaus the hostage, honorably rewarded, & humbly crauing peace at his hands: which he at the request of the nobilitie, easily granted, with forgiveness of all former wrongs or iniuries. And so hauing with him concluded a peace, returned backe againe into HUNGARIE. But Fortune neuer suffereth long the valiant man to rest, but still keepeth him busied, least he should at too much ease attaine vnto honours glorie.

14.49

The Despot in-
uaded by Amu-
rath, & much aid
of Huniades.

The yeare following, Amurath certainly enformed, That George the Despot hauing of late Huniades in his power, had againe set him at libertie: was therewith exceeding wroth, blaming him of great ingratitude, That for a kingdome which he had at his hands receiued, he had not deliuered vnto him his enemy, in full recompence thereof: whom of all others he most feared, & therefore likewise wished to haue had him petish. In reuenge of which iniurie (as he tooke it) the melancholic tyrant, sent Fritze-beg and Iose-beg, two of his most expert captaines, with a strong power to inuade RASCIA, the Despots countrey: who accordingly entring thereinto, strongly fortified CHRYSONICVM, a towne before ruined, vpon the side of the riuer MORAVA, and from thence with fire and sword destroyed the countrey both farre and neere. The Despot dismayed with this suddaine and vnexpected inuasion, wist not well which way to turne himselfe: the angrie Turke, he well knew, was not to bee appeased without yeelding vnto some great inconuenience; and to pray aid of Huniades, without which he was not able to withstand the Turkes; hee thought but vaine, for the wrong he had before done him. So that what to do he he wist not: yet had he rather to endure any thing, than againe to suffer the heauie bondage of the Turke. In this extremitie he thought best to make prooffe of Huniades, of whom hee humbly and not without great shame craued aid. Which the courteous gouernour, according to his honourable nature, forgetting all former iniuries, easily granted: and the rather, for that hee desired nothing more, than to be of the Turkes in some part reuenged of the ouerthrow from them of late receiued in the plaines of COSSOVA: as also for that he wisely foresaw, That the Despots countrey being lost, hee should haue the Turkes still brauing him euen as it were in the gates of HUNGARIE. Wherefore hauing with great speed raised a conuenient power, he forthwith in person himselfe set forward, and at SYNDEROVIA passing ouer the riuer DANEBVS into RASCIA, there joyned his power with the Despots, which hee found there readie. And so marching forward with such expedition, that hee preuented the fame of his comming; and the weather also at the same time as it were fauouring his purpose, and couering the countrey with a thicke mist, hee was the fourth day vpon the Turkes before they were aware of him. Who wonderfully dismayed with

Amurath sixt king of the Turkes.

the suddaine comming of the Christians, and vpon the breaking vp of the mist, discouering also Huniades his ensignes (alwaies vnto them dreadfull) thought now no more of resistance, or of the ordering of their battaile, but as men discouraged, betooke themselves to speedie flight. After whom followed the Hungarian and Seruian light horsemen, with most bloodie execution hauing them in chace all that day; Huniades with his men at armes following still after in good order, for feare the Turkes should againe make head vpon the light horsemen that had them in chace. And had not the comming on of the night ended the slaughter, few of the Turkes had there escaped: but by the approach thereof many of them got into the woods, and so saued themselves. Fritze-beg the Generall, with most part of the Turkes best commanders, were in that flight taken. Huniades after this victorie entering into BVLGARIA, came to BVDINA, the metropolitall cite of that countrey, which (as the cause oftentimes of great wars) he burnt downe to the ground. And so hauing well reuenged himselfe, and cleared the countrey of the Turkes, he returned backe againe into SERBIA, and there gaue vnto the Despot for a present all the prisoners he had taken: and contenting himselfe with the honour of the victorie, returned with triumph to BUDA, there to find no lesse trouble with the Bohemians, and some of the discontented nobilitie of HUNGARIE, than hee had with the Turkes, to the great hurt of the Christian commonweale.

All this while that Amurath was thus troubled with Huniades and the Hungarians, Mustapha lying still vpon the borders of MACEDONIA, as Amurath had commaunded; it chanced that a great quarrell grew betwixt the Venetians and Scanderbeg, about the inheritance of Lech Zacharie (a noble man of EPIRVS) then shamefully murdered by his vnaturall kinsman Lech Duchague, part of whose inheritance lying in the frontiers of EPIRVS, the Venetians claimed, as belonging to their seignorie: and hauing got possession of the cite of DARYNA, part thereof, by force held the same against Scanderbeg: vpon which quarrell great warres arose betwixt the Venetians and him, who had before beene very great friends: inso much, that in the end they joined in battaile at the riuer of DRINE, where the Venetians were by him in a great battaile ouerthrowne. Of which troubles Mustapha daily vnderstood, and how that Scanderbeg so busied, had left but a small garrison vpon the borders of EPIRVS. Wherefore being desirous to redeeme his former disgrace with some better hap; hee would faine haue taken the oportunitie now presented, but that his great masters command lay so heauie vpon him, as that he durst not without his leaue attempt the same; knowing that the danger of his euill fortune, if it should so fall out, would farre exceed the vncertaine glorie of his better successe. Yet ceased hee not from time to time to giue Amurath intelligence of these troubles and warres in EPIRVS, earnestly requesting him not to let slip so faire an oportunitie, but to giue him leaue to enter into the countrey: in manner, assuring him beforehand of the victorie. yet the suspicious old king was long in resolving what to doe, still fearing the fortune of his enemy. At length discharged of the feare of the Hungarians, and commending Mustapha his forwardnesse, hee sent vnto him a messenger with letters of this purport, answerable to his desire.

The warres thou so greatly desirest, behold Mustapha we graunt vnto thee: the glorie thereof (if those things be true which we heare of the Venetian war) thine owne valour, and worthie right hand shall giue thee: yet thou must warily deale with that enemy, and not rashly take up armes, which thou maiest be enforced shamefully to cast away, when thou thinkest least. Peraduenture the counterfeite shew of warre, and faigned falling out among the Christians, do too much allure thee for the common saying is, There is no quarrell sooner ended, than betwixt the father and the sonne: wee in person absent, can neither aduise thee as present, nor commend a foolish forwardnesse in armes. Thou must before thou put on armes, dispose of all things, and consider of euery particular, which is to be put in execution when thou art in the field: Thou hast a great armie of fresh and lustre souldiers, thine enemies are with continuall warres wearied and spent: in that remaineth, doe as thou thinkest good, for I forbid thee the doing of nothing, which thou thinkest may be for the aduancement of our honour.

Mustapha hauing thus obtained leaue, and well appointed, with all his forces entered into EPIRVS, hoping in one battaile to end that warre: which he (presuming vpon the strength of his armie) many times offered in the plaine field. Newes hereof was brought to Scanderbeg (then lying at the siege of DARYNA against the Venetians) from his garrisons lying vpon the frontiers

of EPIRVS, to whom he addressed a speedie messenger: commanding them in no wise to encounter with the enemy, but to keepe themselves within the sauegard of their strong holds, and to protraet the time vntill his coming. Afterwards selecting out of his armie fiftie hundreth horsemen, & fiftie hundreth chosen footmen, all old beaten soldiours, he with that small number marched to the place where he knew lay his garrisons intrenched, in the vpper countrey of DIBRA: leauing *Ameſa* his nephew at the siege of *DAYNA*. *Mustapha* hauing many times in vaine sought to draw the garrison souldiours out of their trenches by offering them many faire oportunities of aduantage, and now out of hope that way to circumuent them, began to spoile and burne the countrey round about. But when he vnderstood by his scouts of *Scanderbeg* his comming, hee speedily called together his armie, and encamped within two miles of *Scanderbegs* campe, at a place called *ORONOCHE*, in the vpper countrey of *DIBRA*. *Scanderbeg* had there in his campe of his garrison souldiours and those he brought with him, foure thousand horsemen, and two thousand foot, all old expert souldiours: where, after he had made his trenches strong, hee left therein three hundreth of them, and brought the rest into the field in order of battaile. *Mustapha* on the other side likewise brought on in good order his armie also. But whilst both armies thus stood ranged one within the view of the other, expecting nothing but the signall of battaile, suddenly a man at armes, in gallant and rich furniture, issued out of the Turks armie into the midst of the plaine betwixt both armies, and from thence with a loud voice challenged to fight hand to hand with any one of the Christian armie. This Turke was called *Caragusa*. At the first *Scanderbegs* soldiours vpon this challenge stood stil, one looking vpon another: for as they were all ashamed to refuse so braue an offer, so the danger so suddainly offered, staied euery mans forwardnesse for a while: Vntill that one *Paul Maneſi*, accounted the best man at armes in *Scanderbegs* armie (vpon whom euery mans eie was now cast, as if he had been the man by name called out by the proud challenger) not able longer to endure the Turkes pride, with great courage and cheerefull countenance came to *Scanderbeg*, requesting him that he might be the man to accept that challenge. Who greatly commended him, and willed him on God his name to set forward, first to win honour to himselfe, and then to giue example of his valour for all the rest of the armie to follow. *Paul* staying a while, vntill he had for that purpose most brauely armed himselfe, mounted presently to horse, and riding forth into the plaine, called aloud vnto the Turk, that he should make himselfe readie to fight. Whom *Caragusa* required to stay a while that he might speake vnto him a few words, indifferently concerning them both.

The victorie (said he) our force and fortune shall determine: but the conditions of the victorie, we are now to appoint our selues. If the Destinies haue assigned vnto thee the honour of this daie, I refuse not, but that thou maieſt by law of armes, when I am ouercome, carry away with thee my rich spoiles, and at thy pleasure dispose of my dead bodie. But if thou shalt fall vnder my hand, I require that I may haue the same right, and power ouer thy captiue bodie: and that the Generals will graunt that no man shall moue out of either armie, to better the fortune of either of vs in the time of the combat, or after.

When *Caragusa* answered, *That hee agreed to those conditions of the combat, which hee vpon a needlesse feare had so required to be kept: saying, That where the fierce soule had yeilded, there of good right all the rest ought to be the conquerours; and that therefore he should fight without feare of any more enemies than himselfe: whom so soone as he had deſtroyed of life, he should haue free power to doe with his dead bodie what he would. Which if thou wouldſt giue (said he) vnto the teares of my fellow souldiours, yet would not worthe Scanderbeg suffer the carkeſſe of a vanquiſhed coward to be brought backe againe into his campe.*

Caragusa maruailed to heare his so braue a resolution, and as it was thought, repented him of his challenge. But after that both the Generals had vpon their honours confirmed the lawes of the combat before rehearsed, both the Champions were left alone in the midst of the plaine betwixt both armies, with all mens eyes fixed vpon them. Now both the armies betwixt feare and hope, stood in great expectation of the cūent of the combat, preſaging their own fortunes in the fortune of their Champions. In which time they both hauing withdrawn themselves one from the other a conuenient distance, for the making of their course, and after with great violence running together: *Caragusa* was by *Maneſi*, at the first encounter stroke through the head and flame. *Maneſi* alighting, diſarmed the dead bodie, and stroke off his head: and so loaded with the armour and head of the proud challenger, returned with victorie to the armie, where he was joyfully

The speech of
Caragusa the
Turke to Ma-
neſi.

Maneſi his
flour and were to
Caragusa.

joyfully receiued and brought to *Scanderbeg*, of whom he was there presently honourably both commended and rewarded. *Scanderbeg* seeing his men by this good fortune of *Maneſi* greatly encouraged, and the Turkes as men diſmaied with the death of their Champion hanging their heads, like an inuincible captaine himselfe set first forward toward the enemy, as it were in contempt of their multitude: and had charged them as they stood, before they had set one foot forward, had not *Mustapha* to encourage his souldiours, with certaine diſordered troups opposed himselfe against him, which the whole armie seeing, faintly followed: but as they set forward with small courage, so were they at the first encounter easily driuen to retire. Which when *Mustapha* saw, he called earnestly vpon them to follow him, and the more to encourage them by his owne example, put spurres to his horse, and fiercely charged the front of *Scanderbegs* armie, as one resolved either to gaine the victorie, or there to die: after whom followed most of the principall captains of his armie, which would not for shame forsake their generall: thus by his valour the battaile was for a while renewed. But *Moses* preuailing with great slaughter, in one part of the armie, the Turkes began to flie: in which flight *Mustapha* the Generall, with twelue others of the cheefe men in that armie, were taken prisoners, but of the common souldiours few were saved. There was slaine of the Turkes armie ten thousand, and fifteen ensignes taken, whereas of the Christians were lost but three hundreth. The Turkes tents and campe, with all the wealth thereof, became a prey to *Scanderbegs* souldiours. Wherewith although he had satisfied the desires of them all, yet to keepe his old custome, he entred into the confines of *MACEDONIA*, and there burnt and spoiled all that hee could. And afterwards leauing a garrison of two thousand horsemen, and a thousand foot, for defence of his frontiers, returned againe with the rest of his armie to the siege of *DAYNA*.

Not long after, the Venetians made peace with *Scanderbeg*: and *Amurath* desirous to redeeme his captaines, about the same time sent great presents vnto *Scanderbeg*: with fiftie and twentie thousand duckats, for the ranſome of *Mustapha*, & the other chieftaines: whom *Scanderbeg* so honourably vsed, as if there had neuer been any hostilitie betwixt him and them: and so with a safe conuoy, sent them out of his countrey. The ranſome of *Mustapha* and the other Turkes he deuided amongst his souldiours. When *Scanderbeg* had thus made peace with the Venetians, hee forthwith led his armie againe into *MACEDONIA*, with the spoile of that countrey to make his souldiours better pay, as his vsuall manner was. And to doe the greater harme, he diuided his armie into three parts, wherewith he ouerrunning the countrey, wasted and destroyed all before him, putting to the sword all the Turkes that came in his waie. As for the Christians that there liued amongst them, he spared, but left them nothing more than their liues: the buildings of the countrey he vtterly consumed with fire, so that in all that part of *MACEDONIA* which bordereth vpon *EPIRVS*, nothing was to beſeen more than the bare ground, and the shoues of the spoile by him there made. Which vnnuerſfull hauocke of all things he made, to the end that the Turkes should find no reliefe in those quarters, whenſoeuer they should come either to lie in garrison in that countrey, or to inuade *EPIRVS*. The spoile hee made was so great, that it was thought hee left not in all that countrey, so much as might relieue the Turkes againe for one daie.

Of all these great harmes by *Scanderbeg* done in *MACEDONIA*, *Amurath* was with all speed aduertised, and therewith exceedingly vexed: howbeit he resolved with his great counsellors, no more to send any of his Bassaes or captaines, but to goe himselfe in person, with such a royall armie, as should be sufficient not to conquer *EPIRVS*, but if need were, to fill euery corner thereof. Wherfore hee commaunded commissions to bee speedily directed into all parts of his kingdomes and provinces, for the leuying of a great armie for *HADRIANOPLE*: yet whether he intended to imploy the same, was not knowne to any in the Turkes court, more than to the Bassaes of the countie. Which caused all the bordering Christian princes to make the best preparation they could for their owne assurance, euery one fearing least that growing tempest should breake out against himselfe. But *Scanderbeg* of long acquainted with the Turkish policie, easily perceiued all that great preparation to be made against him: which he was the rather induced to thinke, by reason of the vnaccustomed quietnesse of *Amurath*, who all that while had neither sent any armie to reuenge the ouerthrow of *Mustapha*, nor so much as a garrison for defence of the borders of his kingdom, but had let all things negligently passe, as if he had beene in a dead sleepe. Besides that, it was also thought, that he had secret intelligence from some of his old friends and acquaint-

The battaile be-
twixt Scander-
beg and Mustapha.

Mustapha rani-
somed.

Amurath sixt king of the Turks.

acquaintance in *Amurath* his court, who probably suspected the matter. Wherefore *Scanderbeg* setting all other things apart, gaue himselfe wholly to the preparing of things necessarie for the defence of his small kingdome against so mightie an enemy. First hee by letters and messengers aduertised all the Christian princes his neighbours and friends, of the greatnesse of the danger of that warre; wherein *Amurath* (as he said) sought not onely his destruction, but the utter ruin of them all: exhorting them therefore to consider, how farre the danger of so great an armie might extend, and therefore to stand fast vpon their guard. Then hee sent *Moses* and other his experienced captaines into all parts of *Epirvs*, to take vp souldiours, and all the prouision of corne and victuals that was possible to be had. Wherein he himselfe also busily trauielled day and night, notwithstanding vntill he had left nothing in the country whereupon the enemy might shew his crueltie. Most part of the common people with their substance, were receiued into the strong citties, the rest tooke the refuge of the Venetian and other Christian princes townes and countries farther off, vntill this furie was ouerpast: all such as were able to beare armes, were commaunded to repair to *Croia*; where when they were all assembled, there were ynow to haue made a right puissant armie. But out of all this multitude *Scanderbeg* made choice onely of ten thousand old expert souldiours, whom he purposed to lead himselfe to encounter with the Turkes great armie, as he should see occasion: and placed a thousand three hundred in garrison in *Croia*. The citizens also themselves were thoroughly furnished with all manner of weapons and other prouision meet for the defence of their citie. Then proclamation was made, That all the aged men unfit for warres, with the women and children, should depart the citie; and none to bee therein left but the garrison souldiours, and such citizens as were willing to tarry, and able to beare arms. This citie of *Croia* was the cheefe citie of *Epirvs*, and of the fortune thereof seemed to depend the state of all the other strong townes and citties, and so consequently of the whole kingdome: for which cause, *Scanderbeg* had the greater care for the defence thereof. It was a miserable sight to see the lamentable departure of this weake companie out of *Croia*: all was full of weeping and wailing; no house, no street, no part of the citie was without mourning: but especially in the churches was to be seene the very face of common sorrow and heauinesse; where all sorts of people in great numbers flocking together, poured forth their deuout prayers, with fountaines of teares, wringing their hands; yea, and some in the impatience of their griefe forgetting themselves, seemed to expostulate their griefe with God. But when their sorrow was with teares assuaged, and their hearts somewhat eased, the aged mothers kissing their sonnes, gaue them many a fearefull commandement: sometime referring how louingly and tenderly they had brought them vp, and other some times shewing vnto them their feeble limmes and hoary haire, willing them to bee mindfull of them: The wiues presented their children vnto their husbands, bewailing to leaue them as childlesse widowers, and their houses desolat: The old men mure with sorrow, & carefull of their children, durst neither encourage them, for feare of making them too forward; neither dissuade them from aduenturing themselves, least they should seeme to loue them more than their native countrie. In the midst of these passions commandement came from *Scanderbeg*, that they must now depart, that the souldiours might take their places & charge. Then began their sorrowes afresh, with pittious screeching & teares. A man would haue thought the citie had euen then been presently taken by the Turkes. They could hardly be drawne from the embracing of their friends, all now desiring to remaine still with them in the citie, partakers of their common dangers. But when they saw the officers begin to be earnest vpon them, and to hasten their departure, then with heauie hearts they tooke as it were their last farewell, and departed out of the citie, setting their feet many times they wist not where, for desire they had to looke backe againe vpon the citie. This great multitude was conueyed also into the Venetian cities, and other places free from danger: whither all the country people, which were not before receiued into the strong cities, resorted also, with all their substance and cattell; leauing nothing in all the country of *Epirvs*, but the bare ground for the Turkes to prey vpon. After this multitude was departed, and all well quieted, and none left in the citie but men fit for seruice, *Scanderbeg* thoroughly stored it with all things needfull for the defence thereof, and for the enduring of a long siege: besides that, he gaue to euery souldiour conuenient armour, with some small reward. Then he placed *Tranacoates* (a valiant and famous captaine, honourably descended) gouernour of the citie. And so hauing set all things in order for the safeguard thereof, after hee had in few words exhorted them courageously to endure the siege, and not to listen to *Amurath* his flatter-

The lamentable departing of the citizens out of Croia.

Amurath sixt king of the Turks.

ring and deceitfull charmes, he departed out of the citie vnto his armie, then lying within view, and began presently to march towards *Dybra*. But he was not farre gone, before he met with *Moses* with a gallant troupe of horsemen comming from *Sfetigrade*, a strong citie of *Dybra*, situate in the confines of *Epirvs*, bordering vpon *Macedonia*: which citie was *Scanderbeg* his second care, for that it was like to be the first that should endure the angry tyrants furie, standing first in his way, as it were the forresse of that country. *Moses* had there set all things in like order, as had *Scanderbeg* in *Croia*; and had there placed one *Peter Perlat* (a graue and politticke man) Gouernour, with a strong garrison of souldiours chosen out of all the country of *Dybra*, which were alwaies accounted the best men of warre in all *Epirvs*, and was for so doing greatly commended of *Scanderbeg*. VVho deliuering vnto him all the forces hee had prepared for the defence of the other castles and citties of *Epirvs*, sent him with diuers other of his nobilitie and captaines, to take order for the safetie of those places, appointing vnto euery man his charge. As for himselfe, he with a small troupe of horsemen went to *Sfetigrade*, carefull of that citie aboue measure, as it were before deuining the ensuing danger. Being come thither, and all the souldiours assembled by his commaundement into the market place, hee there in open audience spake vnto them as followeth:

Scanderbeg commeth to Sfetigrade.

Almightie God could not this day offer vnto you (worthie souldiours of *Sfetigrade*) better matter: neither could a fairer occasion be presented vnto braue minds and souldiours desirous of honor, than that which now hath caused you to take up most just armes. wherein you may for euer by worthie example make knowne your constant faith and worthie valour, both towards me in priuat, and the people of *Epirvs* in generall. Hitherto we haue borne armes for the honour of our kingdome, but now we must fight for our liues, our libertie, and the wals of our country. You must now force your selues, that you doe not by reproch and cowardise staine the worthie praises you haue already deserved, by the great victories by you obtained vnder my conduct. The greatest part of the fortune of this war dependeth vpon you: For the first passage of *Amurath* into *Epirvs* (that I my selfe may be vnto you the first messenger of that danger) will be this way: the first furie of the Turkes will assaile you, that hauing hitherto as it were broken downe the strongest forresse of *Epirvs*, hee may afterwards breake through the country, more subject to danger. The first fruits of this war is yours, you (if you beare the hearts of courageous men, mindfull of your libertie) may beat downe the proud strength of the haughty enemy, and discourage his high conceits. The Othoman king shall haue the beginning both of his hope and feare, of you: if he shall find you so minded, as I now see you gallantly moued, and with joy beare your violent indignation; he will in euery place feare a great force of danger, and thereby learne to abtaine from the other cities of *Epirvs*: neither will he lie here long at a vaine siege, except the warward old man, will foolishly hereupon gage all his forces: for such is the situation and strength of this citie, that it may easily set at nought an angry enemy. Wherefore resolute with your selues worthie souldiours and citizens, only by constancie and faithfulnessse, without bloodshed, to gain vnto your selues an honourable victorie. Of your valour (which I willingly speake of) dependeth for the most part the faithfulnessse of all the rest: they will looke vpon you whom they may praise or accuse, and whose example they may follow in the fortune of these warres. But to what purpose should men of worth in their actions pretend the necessitie of faith, or chance of fortune? whereas, by reason things are both best begun and accomplished. It seldome chaunceth, that fortune faileth the sound aduice, or is not obedient vnto vertue: and you haue all things which most politticke care could provide for your safetie. You want not armour, you want not plentifull prouision of victuals, you want not valiant men: the superfluous multitude of vnecessary people, the pittifull lamentation of women, and troublesome crying of children shall not withdraw you from your publike charge, from your seruice and defence of your country. I haue left you alone to your selues, for defence of your citie, your religion, and dwellings, that you might be encouraged onely with the pronocations of honour and libertie, with the emulation of aduerture and danger, and the very sight one of another, and I my selfe will not be far off with my courageous souldiours, a silent beholder and encourager of your vertue: where although I may not auert from you all the force of the cruell enemy by rash aduerture, nor trie the whole fortune of this war in plaine field, yet will I turne a great part of your dangers vpon my selfe, and trouble the enemies desires, with many a hot skirmish. For as much as there is no better manner of fight, nor safer kind of warre, for us amongst such a multitude of men, and so many thousands of souldiours, than neuer to offer battaile vnto the enemy in plaine field, neither to aduerture all vpon the fortune of one conflict, although a man did

The effectfull speech of Scanderbeg vnto the souldiours and citizens of Sfetigrade, to encourage the against the coming of Amurath.

see apparent signes of victorie. He will of purpose at the first giue vs the oportunitie of good hap: hee will feed our hardinesse with the blood of his base souldiors, the easlier to intrap and oppresse our rashnesse, allured with the sweet bait of good fortune: but the craftie denises of the Othoman king, are by great policie and consideration to be frustrated. This mightie enemy is by little and little to bee cut off, as time and place shall giue occasion. For truly that victorie should bee vnto me lamentable, which I should buy with the blood of my souldiors: and beleene me, it would be vnto me a more sorrowfull than pleasant sight, to see eight or ten thousand of my enemies slaine, with the losse of a few of you. I will praise and honour my subiects of EPIRVS for valiant conquerours, if they shall not suffer themselves to be conquered of the Turkish king. The rest I had rather you courageous souldiors of DIBRA should consider with your selues, than that I should seeme to distrust of your assured faith, by giuing you a carefull and tedious admonition.

When Scanderbeg had with cheerefull persuation thus encouraged the minds of them of S FETIGRADE, he departed thence, and visited diuers other cities of EPIRVS, where finding all things politickely ordered by Moses and the other captaines, whom he had put in trust, he returned to his armie, then lying neere vnto CROIA.

Whilest Scanderbeg was with great carefullnesse yet thus providing for the safegard of his kingdome, in the meane time Amurath his armie was assembled at HADRIANOPE, to the number of a hundred and fiftie thousand men, whereof many were pioners, and men appointed for other base seruices necessarie at the siege of townes. Of this great armie Amurath sent fortie thousand light horsemen before him to S FETIGRADE, who according to his commaund came and encamped before the citie: the newes of their comming, with a great deale more than truth, was forthwith brought to Scanderbeg, then lying with his small armie neere CROIA: whereupon he with foure thousand horsemen, and a thousand foot, took the way toward S FETIGRADE, and strongly encamped his armie within seuen miles of the citie. Where hauing set all things in good order, he accompanied with Moses and Tanusius, went by certaine blind waies through the mountaines and woods, vntill he came so neere vnto the citie, that from the place where he stood, vpon the top of a hill, he might easily discouer in what sort the enemy lay encamped: and so returning backe againe to his campe, rise with his armie in the night following, and drawing as neere vnto the Turks armie as he could, vndiscovered, placed all his armie in the covert of the woods and secret valleyes, vnperceiued of his enemies. After that hee sent forth Moses and Musachi his nephew, with thirtie of his best horsemen, apparelled as if they had been but common souldiors, but passing well mounted, driuing before them certaine horses laden with come, by a by-way, as if they had purposed to haue secretly got into the citie. The day then breaking, they were discovered by the Turks scouts, and set vpon: where at the first Moses and the rest began of purpose to flie, but when he saw that they were pursued but with like number to themselves, hee returned backe vpon the Turks, and slew foue of them, and chased the rest vnto the campe. The Generall seeing what had happened, sent forth foure thousand horsemen to pursue these supposed victualers: whom they quickly recouered the sight of, for that Moses of purpose had made small hast to flie: but when the Turks began to draw nigh, Moses left the horses laden with come, and fled; yet so that he still drew on the Turks with hope to ouertake him, vntill he had brought them where Scanderbeg with his armie lay in wait: by whom they were suddainly assailed on euerie side, and with great slaughter put to flight. In this conflict, two thousand of the Turks were slaine, and a thousand of their horses taken: of the Christians were lost but two and twentie. This was the first welcome of the Turks armie to S FETIGRADE.

About eight daies after came Amurath with all his armie, in the beginning of May in the yeare of our lord 1449, and hauing made the greatest shew he could with his huge armie to terrifie the defendants: he encamped the baser sort of his footmen at the foot of the hill, whereon the citie stood, and lay himselfe with his Ianizaries, and other his most valiant souldiors, about three quarters of a mile further off: where after he had line still one daie, & well considered the strength of the place, towards euening he sent a messenger to the citie, who requested to speake with the Gouvernour Perlat. Whereof hee hearing, came to the wall: of whom the messenger requested, That he would commaund the souldiors standing by, to goe further off, for as much as he had some thing in secret to say vnto him from his master. Vnto whom Perlat merrily answered: It is like indeed to bee some great secret, that you would haue kept not onely from the hearing

A notable stratagem of Scanderbeg for the intrapping of his enemies.

1449

Amurath commeth to Sfetigrade with his armie.

ring of my souldiors, but from the verie light of the daie, and therefore haue chosen the night: but I haue not learned of mine elders, to heare any message from mine enemy by night, neither at any time else out of the hearing of the garrison, to whom Scanderbeg hath committed the defence of this citie, and I the sauegard of my person: you must therefore at this time pardon me, and to morrow if your maister so please, I will heare you at large. And therewith commanded him to depart from the walls. So he returned for that time without audience as he came. It grieved Amurath not a little to see his messenger so lightly regarded: yet forasmuch as hee had more hope to gain the citie by large offers, or some reasonable composition, than by all his great force, he dissembled his wrath: and the next daie sent the same messenger again, with one of his Bassaes, a graue and well spoken man, himselfe borne in EPIRVS. This Bassa with three souldiors, and two seruitours, was by the gouernours commaundement by one of the ports receiued, into the citie, and brought into S. Maries church. Where after he had with great eloquence sought, to insinuate himselfe into the minds of the Gouvernour, and the hearers, and afterwards augmented the terrour of Amuraths power beyond all measure, laying before them the great victories by him obtained against the Hungarians, and the other Christian princes: in fine he exhorted them to yeild the citie vnto him, in whose name he promised first that the citizens should in all respects vnder his gouernement liue as they had before done vnder Scanderbegs; then, that the Gouvernour should receiue at Amurath his hands most honourable preferments, with many rich and princely gifts; and that it should be lawfull for the garrison souldiors to depart in safetie whether they would, and to haue three hundred thousand Aspers diuided amongst them in reward. But when the Bassa had ended his speech, the Gouvernour in this sort replied:

If you had not deliuered this speech vnto resolute men, deuoted vnto the defence of their libertie, it might perhaps haue wrought some effect: and we (said he) might peraduenture listen vnto your offers, if we were either afraid of the Othoman king, and the vaine threats of our enemies; or else were wearie of the gouernement of the noble Scanderbeg. But forasmuch as no euill desert of his, nor good desert of your masters, hath yet passed, for which we should preferre a stranger before our naturall soveraigne, an enemy before a friend, a Turke before a Christian; let your maister proceed first in his action begun, let him proue his fortune, let him by force terrifie vs, beat downe our walls, make ha- uocke of our men, and by strong hand drine vs to humble our selues at his feet, and to sue for peace: But it were a great dishonour, yea a thing almost to be laughed at, if we should cowardly accept of these conditions by him offered, before any assault giuen, before one drop of blond spilt, before any souldior did so much as once grone for any wound receiued, before one stone were shaken in the wall, or any small breach made. But your maister shall doe better to raise his siege, and get him backe againe to HADRIANOPE, there to spend the small remainder of his old yeares in quiet, and not to prouoke vs his fatall enemies, whose courage in defence of our liberties, and fidelitie towards our prince, hee hath so often times proued to his great dishonour, and losse of his armies. The faith I haue once giuen to my Soueraigne, for the defence of this citie, I will neuer forget, vntill the effusion of the last drop of my blond. It shall be vnto me reward and honour enough, if I either liuing defend this citie, or with losse of my life shall leaue my guiltlesse soule at libertie, and my carcase amongst the dead bodies of worthie souldiors, when I shall find a way into a farre better place.

The resolute answer of Perlat the Gouvernour, vnto the Bassa.

The Generall hauing giuen this resolute answer vnto the Bassa, bountifullly feasted him that day at dinner, and afterwards led him through the middest of the citie: where he saw great store of victuals, by the Gouvernour commaunded of purpose to be set in shew, to put Amurath out of hope of winning the citie by long siege. And so sent the Bassa out by the same port whereby he came in, much discontented with the answer he was to returne to his maister.

When Amurath vnderstood by the Bassa, of the Gouvernours resolution, he was therewith exceeding wroth, and thereupon with his great ordinance battered the citie three dayes without intermission. And hauing by the furie of his artillerie made a small breach, he forthwith gaue thereunto a most terrible assault, labouring first to win the same by the force and multitude of his common souldiors, which the Turks call Afapi, whom hee forced by great numbers to that seruice. Of these souldiors, the Turke in his warres maketh no great reckoning, but to blunt the swords of his enemies, or to abate their first furie, thereby to giue the easier victorie to his Ianizaries and other his better souldiors: which the Othoman kings hold for good policie. Whilest

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these

Sfetigrade of faulced.

these forlorne souldiors, without respect of danger pressing forward, are slaine by heapes at the breach, the Ianizaries at the same time in another place attempted to haue scaled the wals of the citie: but whilst they with much labour and difficultie first crawl vpon the steepe rocke whereon the citie was built, and afterward desperately mount vp their scaling ladders, they were by the defendants with huge stones and weightie peeces of timber cast vpon them, beaten down, whereof some were driuen headlong to the bottome of the rocke, and so miserably slaine. Many of them together with their skaling ladders, were by the Christians thrust from the wall; and tumbling downe the rocke, violently carried with them others, comming vp behind them. Some few got to the top of the ladders, and taking hold of the battlements of the wals, lost some their fingers, some their hands, but most their liues, being beaten downe as the other were. Many of them which stood farther off, were then wounded also, and with shot from the wals slaine. With this miserable slaughter, and no hope to preuaile, the Turks discouraged, began to withdraw themselves from the assault: but the Bassas and capitaines standing behind them, forced them againe forward, exhorting some, threatening others, and beating the rest forward with their truncheons. By which means the assault was againe renewed, but not with such courage as before, though with no lesse slaughter: which the defendants seeing, gaue from the wals great tokens of joy and triumph. *Amurath* perceiuing his discouraged souldiors readie of themselves to forsake the assault, presently sent *Feri-Bassa* (one of his most valiant capitaines) with a new supplie of three thousand chosen souldiors to renew the fight. The Christians well aware of their comming, ceased not with continuall shot to beat them from the wals: but such was the forwardnesse of that fierce capitaine, that without regard of danger he brought his men to the wals, where the defendants from above ouerwhelmed them with stones, timber, wild fire, and such other things as are vsually prepared for the defence of townes besieged. For all that, *Feri-Bassa* gaue so great an assault, that he slew diuers of the defendants vpon the wals, and had there forcibly entered, had not the Gouverneur perceiuing the danger, with a companie of fresh souldiors come with speed to the defence of that place, whereby the enemy was presently repulsed, and driuen againe from the wals. *Amurath* seeing the great slaughter of his men, and no hope of successe, caused a retreat to be founded, and so leauing the assault, retired againe into his campe. The great losse and dishonour at this assault receiued, much troubled his wayward mind: who for all that yet ceased not to giue the like vaine attempts. At length the capitaine of the Ianizaries perceiuing that part of the citie which was farthest from the campe, to be commonly but slenderly manned, by reason that it seemed a place impregnable, both for the height and steepenesse of the rocke; told *Amurath*, that he would assaile (if it so pleased him) secretly in the night to attempt by that place to enter the citie: where as they thought nothing was more to be feared, than the height thereof, which they supported with the wings of desire, doubted not to mount vnto. This his deuise exceedingly pleased the king, and was the next night with great silence put in execution. But such was the carefullnesse of the Gouverneur ouer euery part of his charge, that nothing could be done against the same, but that it was by him forthwith discouered. The Gouverneur aduertised by the watch, of the Turks attempt, with great silence presently repaired to the place with a great companie of the garrison souldiors, and standing close, from the top of the wall beheld the Turks, as it had bene a swarme of Emmets climbing vp the high rockes, and one helping vp another by such desperate way, as was in reason to haue been thought no man would haue attempted. But when they were come to the top of the rocke, & now euen readie to enter, they were from above suddenly ouerwhelmed, as it had been with a shower of shot, and so violently forced downe that high rocke, that most part of them which had got vp to any height, were miserably crushed to death either with the weight of themselves, or of others falling vpon them, and many of the rest slaine with shot from the top of the rocke: whereof *Amurath* presently vnderstanding, was therewith exceedingly greeued.

During the time of this siege, *Scanderbeg* neuer lay long still in one place, but remooued continually from place to place, as best serued his purpose, breaking sometimes into one quarter of the Turks campe, and sometime into another, and straightway so suddenly gone againe and as it were vanished out of sight, that *Amurath* many times wondered what was become of him. At this time, being the latter end of Iune, he was come with his armie within eight miles of *Amuraths* campe: and from thence sent *Moses* his greatest capitaine, in the attire of a common souldior, with two other, to take view how the enemy lay encamped. By which trustie espials he was

enformed, That the Turkes lay in great securitie, as men without feare, keeping but negligent watch. Of which oportunitie, *Scanderbeg* rejoycing, the night following suddenly assaulted one quarter of the Turks campe. Whose comming, although it was a little before by the Turkes scouts discouered; yet his furious assault was so suddaine and so forceable, that he slew two thousand of the Turks, and filled euery corner of that great campe with feate and tumult, before they could well arme themselves or make resistance. After which slaughter he safely retired, carrying away with him two hundred and thirtie horse, with seuen of the Turkes ensignes; hauing in this skirmish lost of his men but two and fortie: whose dead bodies the Turkes the next morning in reuenge of their slaine friends hewed into small peeces.

Vpon these great disgraces one following in the necke of another, *Amurath* hauing no other object but the citie to shew his furie vpon, gaue three fierce assaults vnto the same, one after another, and was alwaies with losse both of his men and honour repulsed. But the more he lost, the more he burnt with desire of reuenge, perswading his souldiors, That as the strongest cities and fortresses were built by mens hands, so were they to bee ouerthrowne and laied euen with the ground by resolute and valiant men: encouraging them to a fresh assault, with greater promises of reward than euer hee had done before in all his warres, from the first beginning of his raigne. And because he would with more safetie giue this his last and greatest assault, he appointed *Feri-Bassa*, with twelue thousand horsemen and six thousand foot to attend vpon *Scanderbeg*, if hee should hap to come (as he thought he would) to trouble the assault, by assailing of his camp. *Feri-Bassa* glad of this charge, well hoping now to redeeme his former ouerthrow with some great victorie, and leading forth his armie a little from the campe, as he was commaunded, so lay; wishing for nothing more than the comming of *Scanderbeg*, vainly boasting, That he would seeke him in the field, and there trie his force and fortune with him hand to hand: which he did shortly after to his cost. When *Amurath* had thus set in order all things requisit, as well for the siege, as for the safegard of his campe: the next morning he compassed the citie round about with his armie, and couered the ground with his men of war, purposing at that time to gage his whole forces vpon the taking thereof. The wals he had before in some places battered, so much as was possible; and yet but so, as that they were not without skaling ladders to be assaulted: partly for the naturall strength of the place, and partly for that the defendants had with great diligence continually repaired and filled vp with earth what the furie of the cannon had throwne downe. This assault *Amurath* began first with his archers and small shot, which deliuered their arrowes and bullets vpon the top of the wall, and into the citie, as if it had bene a shower of haile, thereby to trouble the stationarie souldiors. In this heat, ladders were clapped to the wals in euery place where any could be possibly reared, and the Turkes began desperately to skale the wals: but the Christians nothing dismayed thereat, with great courage resisted them, and with shot from their safe standings wounded and slew many of them: yet others still pressed vp in the places of them that were slaine, so that the assault became most terrible in many places at once, but especially neere vnto the great gate of the citie; where the Turkes had vpon the suddaine with ladders, timber, and planks clapped together, raised close vnto that tower, as it had bene a wooden tower, equall in height to the wall; from whence the Turkes greatly distressed the Christians in that place, fighting with them as if it had been vpon euen ground, still sending vp fresh souldiors in stead of them that were slaine: and thereby preuailed so far, that they had set vp certaine of *Amurath* his ensignes vpon the wall, to the great comfort of the Turkes, and astonishment of the besieged Christians. The Gouverneur seeing the imminent danger, hastened to the place with a companie of fresh and valiant souldiors, by whose force the Turkes were quickly repulsed from the wall, their ensignes taken and sent into the market place: the tower of wood with many ladders and much timber by the Turkes brought to that place, was quickly consumed with wild fire cast vpon the same from the wals. *Perlat* hauing deliuered the citie of this feare, presently placed fresh souldiors in stead of them which were slaine or hurt, and so worthely defended the citie.

Whilst *Amurath* was giuing this great assault to *Sfetigrad*, *Scanderbeg* to withdraw him from the same, came with nine thousand souldiors to assaile the Turkes campe, as *Amurath* had before suspected, and was now come verie neere the same. *Feri-Bassa* glad of his comming, opposed his armie against him: which *Scanderbeg* seeing, retired a little, of purpose to draw the Bassa farther from the campe, and then forthwith began to joyne battaile with him. The Bassa considering the small number of his enemies, and his own greater power, withdrew foure thousand

Scanderbeg continued to trouble the assault, and was met with by *Feri-Bassa*.

The Turkes repulsed.

The Ianizaries desperately attempt to surprise the citie.

The Ianizaries repulsed.

land horsemen out of his armie to fetch a compass about, and to set vpon the rearward of *Scanderbegs* armie: hoping so to inclose him, that he should neuer escape thence, but there either to be slaine or taken aliue, and his armie vtterly defeated. But the expert capitaine perceiuing his purpose, to meet therewith, left *Moses* to lead the maine battaile; and he himselfe with two thousand horsemen, so valiantly charged those foure thousand of his enemies before they were well departed from the rest of the Bassas armie, that they had now more cause to looke to their own safetie, than how to circumuent others. In this conflict *Feri-Bassa* hand to hand, as he had of late, was in fight with *Scanderbeg*, was by him there slaine. All this while that *Scanderbeg* was in fight with *Feri-Bassa* in the right wing of the armie, and *Musachie* in the left, *Moses* stood fast, receiuing the assault of the enemy without mouing anie thing forward; expecting the successe of the wings. But *Scanderbeg* hauing discomfited the right wing, and slaine the Generall, comming now in, he set forward with such force and courage, that the Turkes not able longer to abide his force, turned their backs and fled: of whom manie were slaine in this chase, though *Scanderbeg* doubting the great power of his enemy so nigh at hand, durst not follow them far; but sounding a retreat, put his armie againe in good order, for feare of some souldaine attempt from the campe, and after appointed some of the meanest of his souldiours to take the spoile of the slaine Turkes. When *Amurath* had vnderstood what had happened to *Feri-Bassa*, he was so overcome with anger and melancholy, that for a while he could not speake one word: but after the heat was a little past, he commaunded certaine small peeces of ordinance, which he had before vsed against the citie, to be remoued into the campe, and there placed vpon that side which was most in danger to the enemy. He also presently sent thither foure thousand souldiours to ioyne with the remainder of *Feri-Bassas* armie, for defence of the campe, with straight charge that they should not issue out of the trenches. Neuerthelesse he himselfe continued the assault of the citie all that day: but when night drew on, and no hope appeared for him to preuaile, he caused a retreat to be sounded, and leauing the assault, he returned againe into his campe. At this assault *Amurath* lost seuen thousand men, beside manie that died afterwards of their wounds; but of the garrison souldiours were slaine but few, and nintie more hurt.

The terror of the turkish armie, began now to grow into contempt throughout *Epirus*; and *Scanderbeg* was in good hope, that *Amurath* after so manie ouerthrowes and shamefull repulses, would at length raise his siege and be gone: yet he sent spies continually to discover what was done in the Turkes campe, and he himselfe with two thousand souldiours would oftentimes shew himselfe vpon the sides of the mountaines neere vnto *Amurath* his campe, of purpose to draw the Turkes out, that hee might take them at some aduantage. But the old king had giuen commandement vpon paine of death, that no man should go out of the trenches without leave, or once to speake of giuing battaile or assault: so that hee lay certaine daies in his campe, not like a king besieging a citie, but more like a man besieged himselfe: the which his still lying, *Scanderbeg* had the more in distrust, fearing greatly that he was hatching some mischiefe, which so soone as it was ripe would violently breake out.

Amurath considering with what euill successe he had manie times assaulted the citie, and holding it for a great dishonour to raise his siege and depart, hauing done nothing worth the remembrance; thought good once againe to prooue, if it were possible to overcome the minds of the garrison souldiours with gifts, whom he was not able to subdue by force. For which purpose he sent an embassadour vnto the citie, offering vnto the besieged and garrison souldiours ealie conditions of peace, with such large gifts and rewards as had not been heard offered to any garrison in former time. All which his magnificall promises were lightly rejected by the common consent of all the whole garrison, preferring their faithfull loyaltie before all his golden mountaines. For all that, *Amurath* was in good hope, that amongst so manie, some would be found into whose minds his large offers might make some impression: wherein he was not deceived. For one base minded fellow amongst the rest, corrupted with the Turkes great promises, preferring his owne priuat wealth, before the welfare of his country, waiting his time, had secret conference with the Turkes espials, and promised vpon assurance of such reward as was before by *Amurath* proffered, to find means that in few daies the citie should be yeelded into his power. This corrupted traitour, had laid many mischieuous plots for the effecting of this horrible treason: but the first device he put in practise, which of all others a man would haue thought to haue been of least moment, serued his wicked purpose in stead of all the rest. All the garrison souldiours

souldiours of *SFETIGRADE* were of the vpper countrey of *DIBRA*, put into that citie, by *Moses*, for their approoued valour about all the other souldiours of *Epirus*. But as they were men of great courage, so were they exceeding superstitious both in their religion and manner of liuing, putting nice difference betwixt one kind of lawfull meat and other: accounting some cleane, some vnclane; abhorring from that, which they fondly deemed vnclane, with more than a Iewish superstition, chusing rather to die than to eat or drinke thereof: such is the strong delusion of blind error, where it hath thoroughly possessed the minds of men. The citie of *SFETIGRADE* (as is aforesaid) is situat vpon the top of a great high rocke, as most of the cities of *Epirus* now be, and was then watered but with one great well in the midst of the citie, which sunke deepe into the rocke, plentifully serued both the publicke and priuat vse of the inhabitants.

Into this common well the malicious traitour in the night time cast the foule stinking carion carcas of a dead dog, knowing, that the conceited garrison souldiours of *DIBRA* would rather endure the paines of death, and starue, or els yeeld vpon any condition, than to drinke of that polluted water. In the morning when the stinking carion was espied, and drawne out of the well, the report thereof was quickly bruted in euery corner of the citie, and that the well was poysoned: so that all the people were in manner in an vptore about the finding out of the traitor. The citizens were exceeding forrie for that had happened, but the garrison souldiours detested that loathsome and vnclane water (as they accounted it) more than the Turkish seruitude, protesting, that they would rather perish with thirst, than drinke thereof. Whereupon some of them desired to set fire vpon the citie, and whilst they had yet strength, to breake through the enemies campe or there manfully to die. And they which thought best of the matter, requested, That the citie might be yeelded vp: for now, they discouraged with a superstitious vanitie, could be content to hearken to the former conditions of peace, yea they were readie ynough of themselves to sue vnto *Amurath* for peace, though it had bene vpon harder termes. The Gouvernour troubled with that had happened, and astonied to see so great an alteration in the minds of his souldiours vpon so small occasion, could not tell whether hee might thinke it to proceed of a superstitious conceit, or of some secret compact made with *Amurath*. But the better to pacifie the matter, hee came into the market place, and there in the hearing of all the garrison, with many effectuall reasons, exhorted them to continue faithfull vnto their prince and country in that honourable seruice; and in a matter of so great consequence to make small reckoning to vse that water, which would easily in short time be brought againe to the wonted puritie and cleaneesse: And to persuade them the rather, he went presently to the well himselfe, and in the sight of them all dranke a greater draught of the water, whose example the citizens following, dranke likewise. But when it was offered to the capitaines and souldiours of the garrison, they all refused to tast thereof, as if it had been a most loathsome thing, or rather some deadly poyson, and with great instance cried vnto the Gouvernour, to giue vp the citie: for which cause many thought they were corrupted by *Amurath* his great promises. Howbeit none of that garrison (except that one traitour) did euer afterwards reuolt vnto the Turkish king, or yet appeared any thing the richer for any gift receiued, whereby such suspicion might be confirmed. When the Gouvernour saw that the obstinate minds of the garrison were not to be moued with any persuasion or reward (whereof hee spared not to make large promise) nor by any other means which he could deuise: hee called vnto him his cheefe capitaines, with the best sort of the citizens, &c. resolved with them full sore against his will, to yeeld vp the citie to *Amurath*, vpon such conditions as they themselves there agreed vpon: which were, That it should be lawfull for all the capitaines and souldiours to depart in safetie with their armour and all other things; and that so many of the citizens as would stay, might there still dwell in the citie, in such sort, as they had done before, vnder the government of *Scanderbeg*: the rest that listed not to remaine there still, might at their pleasure with bag and baggage depart whether they would. Glad was *Amurath* when this offer was made vnto him, and gaunted them all that was desired, sauing that hee would not consent that the citizens should continue in the citie, yet was he content that they should liue vnder him as they had before done, quietly enjoying all their possessions, but to build their houses without the wals of the citie: which condition some accepted, and some forfaking all, went to *Scanderbeg*. When all was thoroughly agreed vpon, the keys of the gates were deliuered to *Amurath*, and the Gouvernour with the capitaines and all the garrison souldiours suffered quietly to passe through the Turkish campe, as the king had promised. Howbeit, *Mahomet* the sonne of *Amurath*, a prince of a cruell disposition,

The carcas of a dead dog cast by the traitor into the common well that serued the citie.

The Gouvernour himselfe seeks to persuade the garrison souldiours to drinke of the water of the wells.

Amurath by great promises seeks to corrupt the garrison of *Sfetigrade*.

A traitor, corrupted with *Amurath* his large promises, conspires to betray the citie.

Amurath sixt king of the Turks.

*A traitor wor-
shely rewarded
according to his
treason.*

earnestly perswaded his father, to haue broken his faith, and to haue put them all to the sword: saying, it was one of their prophet *Mahomets* cheefe commaundements, to vse all crueltie for the destruction of the Christians. But the old king would not therein hearken vnto his sonne, saying, That he which was desirous to be great amongst men, must either be indeed faithfull of his word and promise, or at leastwise seeme so to be, thereby to gaine the minds of the people, who naturally abhorre the gouernment of a faithlesse and cruell prince. The traitor which corrupted the water, remained still in the citie, and was by *Amurath* rewarded with three rich suites of apparell, and fiftie thousand Aspers, and had giuen vnto him besides a yearely pension of two thousand duckats. But short was the joy the traitour had of this euill gotten goods: for after he had a few daies vainely triumphed in the midst of *Amurath* his fauours, he was suddenly gone, and neuer afterwards scene or heard tell of: being secretly made away (as was supposed) by the commandement of *Amurath*: whose noble heart could not but detest the traitour, although the treason serued well his purpose. *Amurath* entring into *SFETIGRADE*, caused the wals to be forthwith repaired, and placed one thousand two hundred Ianizaries in garrison there. And raising his campe the first of September, departed out of *EPHRS*, hauing lost thirtie thousand of his Turks at the siege of *SFETIGRADE*; much grieved in mind for all that, that hee could not vanquish the enemy, whom he came of purpose to subdue. In his returne, the viceroy of *ASIA* marched before him with the Asian souldiours; in the rereward followed the viceroy of *EVROPE* with his European souldiours; in the midst was *Amurath* himselfe, compassed about with his Ianizaries and other souldiours of the court. *Scanderbeg* vnderstanding of *Amurath* his departure, followed speedily with eight thousand horsemen, and three thousand foot, and taking the aduantage of the thicke woods and mountaine straits (to him well knowne) whereby that great armie was to passe, oftentimes skirmished with the Turks, charging the sometime in the vaward, & sometime in the rereward, sometime on the one side, and sometime on the other, and slew many of them: whereby he so troubled *Amurath* his passage, that he was glad to leaue the viceroy of *ROMANIA*, with 30000 to attend vpon *Scanderbeg*, that he himselfe might in the meane time with more safetie march away with the rest of his armie. *Scanderbeg* perceiuing the stay of the viceroy, ceased to follow *Amurath* further, fearing to bee enclosed betwene those two great armies. The viceroy seeing that *Scanderbeg* was retired, after he had staid a few daies, followed his master to *HADRIANOPLE*, and so *Scanderbeg* returned to *CROIA*.

Shortly after the departure of *Amurath* out of *EPHRS*, *Scanderbeg* left two thousand souldiours vpon the borders for defence of the country against the Turks. These soldiours so straightly kept in the Ianizaries left in garrison at *SFETIGRADE*, that they could not looke out of the citie, but they were intercepted and slaine. And within a few daies after came himselfe with an armie of eightene thousand, and laied siege to *SFETIGRADE* the space of a moneth, which was from the middle of September vntill the middle of October. In which time he gaue two great assaults to haue recovered the citie, but was both times repulsed, with the losse of fife hundred men. *Amurath* vnderstanding that *Scanderbeg* lay at the siege of *SFETIGRADE*, sent with all speed to recall his armie, but lately before dispersed. Whereof *Scanderbeg* hauing intelligence, considering also the difficultie of the enterprise, with the approach of Winter, raised his siege, and returned to *CROIA*: where he set all things in the same order he had done before the coming of *Amurath* to the siege of *SFETIGRADE*, and put two thousand of his best souldiours there in garrison, vnder the charge of the famous capitaine *Vrancontes*, and stored the citie with sufficient victuall for a yeares siege, wherein he had great helpe from the Venetians and other Christian princes, for that there was then great scarcitie of all things in *EPHRS*, by reason of the late warres. The like care he had also of all the rest of his cities, being continually aduertised from his seeret friends in the Turks court of the great preparation intended against him by the Turkish king, against the beginning of the next Spring.

1450

*Amurath af-
fembled againe
his army at Ha-
drianople.*

Amurath vnderstanding that *Scanderbeg* was departed from *SFETIGRADE*, changed his former determination for the calling backe againe of his armie, & appointed it to meet againe at *HADRIANOPLE*, in the beginning of March following: whether the Bassaes, and other great commaunders, at the time appointed assembled with their companies, according as *Amurath* had before commaunded. So that by the latter end of march, hee had there in readinesse an armie of an hundred and threecore thousand men strong. Of which great multitude, he after the manner of the Turkish warres, sent fortie thousand horsemen, vnder the leading of *Sebalyas* a pollicke

Amurath sixt king of the Turks.

captaine, as his vauntcourriers into *EPHRS*, in the beginning of April, in the yeare 1450. The valiant capitaine with great speed and no resistance entred into *EPHRS*, as was giuen him in charge, and without let came to *CROIA*: where, after he had aduisedly considered of the situation thereof, and of the places thereabouts, he strongly encamped himselfe neere thereunto in the pleasant plaine called *TYRANNA*: and there within his trenches kept his souldiours close, attending nothing more, but that no new supplie of men, munition, or victuals, should be conuaid into the citie, more than was therein before his comming. For he was not able with his horsemen to doe any thing against the citie: and *Scanderbeg* had left nothing abroad in the country subject to his furie. Besides that, he was expressely by *Amurath* forbidden, to attempt any thing against *Scanderbeg* himselfe.

After *Sebalyas* had twentie daies thus line encamped before *CROIA*, neither doing nor taking harme, *Amurath* by reason of his great age, hauing marched oftentimes but fife miles a day, came thether also with his whole armie, wherewith hee filled all the country round about: the very sight whereof, had been enough to haue discouraged the small garrison in *CROIA*, had they not been men both of great experience and resolution. Where after he had spent foure daies in settling of his campe, he sent two messengers to the Gouverneur (as the manner of the Turkes is) offering him if he would yeeld vp the citie, that it should be lawfull for him with all his souldiours in safetie with bagge and baggage to depart; and the Gouverneur himselfe to receiue in reward two hundred thousand aspers, with an honorable place amongst the great Bassaes of his court, if it would please him to accept thereof: and further, that the citizens should enjoy all their ancient liberties as in former time, without any alteration; with promise also of greater. These messengers comming to the gates of the citie, could not bee suffered to enter, but standing without, were commaunded there to deliuer their message. Which when the Gouverneur had heard, hee scornefully rejected their offers, and returned the messengers shamefully derided by the souldiours which stood vpon the wall. *Amurath* more offended with this contempt, than the refusall of his offers; and seeing no other meanes to gaine the citie, conuerted all his deuises vnto the siege thereof. Wherefore he first commaunded ten great peeces of artillerie to be forthwith cast, for he had brought none with him readie made, because of the difficult passage ouer the high mountaines into *EPHRS*; whereby it seemed to bee a matter of infinite trouble to haue brought his great ordinance: and therefore caried with him great store of metall in masse, whereof at his pleasure to make his great artillerie as he saw cause. In fifteen daies this worke was brought to perfection, and ten peeces of huge greatnesse were readie mounted vpon carriages. Six of them he placed against the East side of the citie, towards the plain of *TYRANNA*, and the other foure against the gate: in which two places onely, *CROIA* was subject to batterie, being on all other parts naturally defended with impregnable rocks, vpon the tops whereof were built faire battlements more for beautie than needfull defence. These two places *Amurath* battred foure daies continually, and with the furie of his artillerie had in both places beaten downe halfe the wall, and sore shaken the rest. Wherewith the Turks were exceedingly encouraged, and with great cheerefulness made all things readie to assault those breaches, whensoever *Amurath* should commaund, striving among themselves who should shew himselfe most forward in that dangerous enterprise. And *Mahomet* the young prince, the more to encourage the souldiours, besides the great rewards by his father proposed, promised of himselfe to giue an hundred thousand aspers to him that should first set vp an ensigne vpon the wals of the citie. The garrison souldiours on the other side, considering that the whole state and welfare of *EPHRS* was reposed in their valour; and that the eies of most part of Christendome were as it were fixed vpon them, were nothing dismayed with the breaches made, but manfully comforted and encouraged one another to endure all manner of perill and danger that might possibly chance: but especially the worthy Gouverneur *Vrancontes*, who going through the midst of his souldiours, and shaking some of them by the hands, withall said:

These, these are the fortresses of our citie; these are the innincible bulwarks, these are the irremovable stones and surest sement. What honour? what praise? what triumph should we hope for? if these walls standing whole and strong, we should lie shrouded under the defence of them; and not they defend us? So can cowardly defend cities, and sheepe feare not the wolues rage, when they are safely shut up within the wals of their sheepcoats: But that is the praise of the wals, and not of the men.

Worthie

Amurath sixt king of the Turks.

Worthie Calitriot our prince hath commended this his citie to bee defended by vs, and not vs by it: Honour is attended vpon with danger, and sofred up amongst perils: euerie base mariner may be a master in faire weather: and firme things stand of themselves and need not our upholding. Wherefore, men of worth shun such things, which being kept or lost, yeild like praise. Things readie to fall need shoaring, and thether hasteth honour, and there (worthie souldiours) appeareth courage and valour. Wherefore let our valiant right hands defend these broken breaches, and in stead of these dead wals, courageously oppose our lustie and lincly armed bodies against the force of our enemies. If these wals stood still firme, and unbattered, you should then fight from the top of them like women; but now that they are something shaken, you shall as men stand vpon somewhat more even ground, and encounter your enemies hand to hand, the better to satisfie your furious desire. Where I also in the thickest, shall easily view and judge of euerie mans priuat courage, in peticular, and of all your valour in common. And yet if we well consider of the matter, the place it self doth yet notably make for vs; and our former good hopes are little or nothing by these small breaches diminished: For this rising of the hill (not possibly be taken from vs) although it be not so high as it is in other places, yet doth it not serue vs sufficiently at great aduantage to charge our enemies, and hinder their assault: the steepenesse whereof, as it will be troublesome vnto them, so will it keepe vs most fresh in strength: and make our shot more forcible. Wherefore this had been a thing of vs to haue been wished for, if we desire the slaughter of our enemies at this siege; or if wee wish for perpetuall honour and glorie by this warre. For this breach of the wals wil encourage these barbarians, & allure their armed men to clime vp in greater multitude than if the wals were whole; whereof so many shall on euerie side bee easily slaine, as wee shall but cyme at: except you had rather sit still, holding your hands together in your bosomes as cowards: Their dead bodies shall fill up the breaches againe, if you be men mindfull of your libertie. What is there (worthy captaines and souldiours) that letteth our victorie? or memorable slaughter of our enemies? by whom onely these two places of the citie can bee assaulted: all the rest is out of danger, and feares no enemies force. Here onely is the paines to be taken, this onely is left for you to defend, and here shall you all be: the courage, force, and strength of you all shall in this place appeare. How will you so many worthie captaines, and valiant souldiours, in so little roome bestow your selues? we are too many defendants for so small breaches. Yet let vs play the men, and doe our endeavour: let vs in one conflict weaken the tyrants strength, and burst his proud heart: he will forsake this citie, and raise his siege vnfurnately begun, so soone as he shall see his first assault to cost him the liues of so many thousands of his men.

Cecilia assaulted.

When Vranacontes had with this comfortable speech thus encouraged his souldiours, against the assault which he expected the next day; and had with great care and diligence set all things in order for the same, and repaired the breaches as well as was possible in that case: hee gaue them leaue for that night to take their rest. In the morning Amurath commaunded the assault to bee giuen to both the breaches, which was forthwith by the Turkes cheerefully begun, and euerie man busie to performe the seruice hee was appointed vnto. But by that time that the assault was well begun, a suddaine allarm was raised throughout all the Turkes campe: for Scanderbeg with fife thousand valiant souldiours, had suddainly broken in vpon one side of the Turkes great campe, and at the first encounter had slaine six hundreth of the Turkes, and was now spoiling their tents. The rumour whereof, troubled the whole campe, and made the Turkes with lesse courage to assault the breaches, for feare of the danger behind them. Amurath although hee had great confidence in them whom he had before left for the sauegard of his tents, yet for more surety sent Scremet one of his greatest captaines, with foure thousand souldiours backe into the campe, for more surety: saying, That nothing could be too sure, against that wild beast: meaning the force of Scanderbeg. Mahomet also the yong prince, halted thether in great choler with his guard, much against his fathers will. But Moses, Scanderbeg his lieutenant, knowing himselfe too weak to withstand the multitude that was swarming thether (contenting himselfe with that which was already done) had before Mahomet his coming, speedily retired with all his armie into the sauegard of the mountaines, from whence he came: hauing done great harme in the Turkes campe, with the losse but of ten men. Scanderbeg in the heat of this skirmish, forgetting himselfe, had so farre engaged himselfe among the Turkes, that hee was by them on euerie side enclosed, and in great danger to haue been slaine or taken: yet valiantly breaking through them, hee escaped the danger and recovered the mountaines, and with much adoe came at length to his campe, to the great joy and comfort of them all, being before in great feare hee had been lost. This was accounted

Scanderbeg in danger.

Amurath sixt king of the Turks.

the greatest oversight of Scanderbeg in all his warres, for so much as the office of a good Generall consisteth not in aduenturing of his person to manifest danger, but in the politike gouernment of his charge. During the time that Scanderbeg thus assailed the Turkes campe, Amurath but faintly assaulted the breaches, expecting the successe in the campe: but when he ynderstood that Scanderbeg was retired and all quieted, he brought all his forces to the wals, and siet with the multitude of his archers and small shot, laboured to driue the defendants from the wals, ouerwhelming them with arrowes falling as thicke as haile. And likewise at the same time other common souldiours of baser account, brought scaling ladders and other things needfull for the scaling of the wals. After whom also followed the Janizaries and other chosen souldiours, readie to mount the ladders as soone as they should be set to the wals. But whilst they clime vp the high hills in this order, the garrison souldiours made such slaughter of them with shot from the wals and out of the citie, that they would haue presently retired, had they not been forced forward by their captaines, who spared neither stripes nor wounds when words would not serue. By this tyrannicall meanes, the scaling ladders were with great slaughter of the common souldiours set vp against the wals, and the Turkes climbing vp, came to handle blows with the defendants at the breaches: nothing was to be heard, but the crying of people, the clattering of armor, and the instruments of warre, which was terribly redoubled with the echoes from the mountaines round about. The Turkes doing what they might to winne the breaches, were by the Christians worthily repulsed, & with their ladders tumbled headlong downe the mountaine, with such horrible slaughter and discomfiture, especially of the common souldiours, that none of them would set one foot forward againe towards the wals, although they had small hope to saue themselves by retiring backe: for the fierce yong prince Mahomet, euen then making shew of his cruell disposition, caused them that returned, to be slaine, by the terror thereof to driue others forward. These common souldiours whom the Turkes make small reckoning of, are for most part miserable Christians, which liue in such countries as had sometimes receiued the faith of Christ, but are now vnder the Turkish slaueerie; of which sort of wretched people, the Turkish tyrants draw with them great multitudes in their warres, most commonly vnarmed, because they dare not well trust them in warres against the Christians: these carrie all the baggage of the campe, these serue to fetch wood and water for other souldiours of better account, these serue in stead of pioneers to cast trenches and raise bulwarks: and when battaile is to be giuen, if it be in plaine field, these haue then weapons put into their hands, and thrust into the forefront of the battaile to blunt the enemies swords: but if a citie be to be besieged, these serue as fit matter to fill the ditches with their dead bodies, or to make bridges for other souldiours to passe ouer vpon: and if they shrink to attempt any thing they are commanded, then are they more cruelly vsed by their commanders than by their enemies. When Amurath saw his souldiours so discouraged, he stood in doubt whether it were better for that time to found a retreat, or to send a new supply: but being intraged with the losse of his men, and desirous to be in some part reuenged, he sent diuers companies of his better souldiours for the incouragement of them which were before discouraged, and so gaue a fresh assault. But with as euill, or worse successe than before: for Vranacontes had withdrawne from the breaches all those souldiours which had indured the former assault, and placed other fresh and lustie men in their stead; who incouraged with the former victorie, and loth to be accounted inferior to their fellows, repulsed the Turkes with double slaughter: vntill that the aged king, not able longer to behold the endlesse losse of his men, caused a retreat to be sounded; which all his souldiours were glad to heare, and so returned into his campe, hauing lost in those two assaults eight thousand men, without any notable harme done vnto the defendants worth the remembrance.

This shamefull repulse much grieved all the captaines and commaunders of Amuraths army, but especially Mahomet the yong prince, whose violent nature vnaquainted with mishap burnt impatiently with reuenge. Wherefore vnderstanding that Scanderbeg lay intrenched vpon the mountaine of T V M E N I S not farre from his fathers army, he drew most of the best and readiest souldiours of all the whole campe, into that quarter which was nearest vnto Scanderbeg: of purpose that if he should againe assaile the campe in that place (as it was most like he would) he should be encountered with so many braue and valiant men there in readinesse, as that it should be hard for him either to doe any great harme, or for himselfe to escape. Of all which, Scanderbeg by certaine fugitiues had intelligence, as also in what order the campe lay: Whereupon he

Ff

left

Mahomet thinking to deceive Scanderbeg, is himselfe by him deceiued.

left *Moses* with five hundred souldiours in the place where he lay, taking order with him before his departure, that he at a certaine appointed houre in the night following, should assaile the Turkes campe in the quarter next vnto him where *Mahomet* lay; and hauing there raised some tumult, speedily to retire againe to his assured strength in the mountaine. *Scanderbeg* himselfe with the whole strength of his army, in number about eight thousand, in the meane time took a compasse about, and by certaine secret by-waies through the woods and mountaines, came vnto the farther side of the Turkes army, to a place called *MOVNT CLE*. The night following, *Moses* at the appointed houre with his five hundred souldiours assailed that part of the Turkes campe next vnto him, with such noise & tumult, as if it had been some great army. By occasion whereof, all the Turkes campe was in alarme, and drew in haste to that place where they heard that great tumult, as was before by *Mahomet* commanded. When at the same instant, *Scanderbeg* with all his army brake into the other side of the Turkes campe, where he was least feared or looked for, and from whence the best souldiours were before drawne by *Mahomet*: and there made such slaughter and hauocke of the rest, not knowing which way to turne themselves, that the losse a little before receiued vnder the wals of *CROIA* was now forgot, as a small thing in comparison of this. *Moses* hauing raised a great feare, and done little harme, retired in safetie to his well known strength: and *Scanderbeg* hauing made great spoile in the campe, fearing to be oppressed with the multitude of his enemies if he should there longer stay, returned in good time, hauing scarce lost one man.

Amurath after this great losse and trouble of his campe, withdrew most of his small ordinance which he had before bent against the citie, into his trenches, placing it as commodiously as he might for the defence thereof against the suddaine attempts of *Scanderbeg*. Yet for as much as he could not in that hoat season of the yeare so closely encampe his great army, but that some part thereof would still be in like danger as before; he therefore appointed *Sebalias* with sixteen thousand souldiours to attend vpon *Scanderbeg*, that he should no more trouble the whole campe. After which order taken, he battered the walles of *CROIA* afresh, and with his great ordinance overthrew whatsoeuer the citizens had repaired, making the breaches greater and more faultable than before, intending once againe by a new assault to proue his fortune, and the force of his souldiours: which he appointed to be the next day. But when he perceived no signe of courage or good hope in the heauie countenances of them discouraged, and that they yeelded to him their consents, rather for feare and shame, than for hope of victorie; he called them cowards discouraged with the least frowne of fortune, and said:

*Every weeke castle is able to hold out one assault: but if you will draw these wilde beasts out of their dens, you must arme your selues like resolute men of inuincible courage, to indure what thing soeuer shall happen. Great captaines with their puissant armies haue growne old vnder the wals of their enemies, vpon light and small displeasures: and will you hauing receiued so many disgraces of these perjured Epirots, leaue them all vnrueged? What great victorie was euer yet by any man gained without bloodshed? Remember the most glorious victorie of *VARN*. It is hard without bloudie hands to put the yoke vpon the fierce enemies necke. All honourable things are brought to passe with aduerture and labour: and the end of this warre dependeth of the taking of *CROIA*. If it were once won, all this warre were at an end: which if *Scanderbeg* lose (being the strength of his kingdome) he will not tarry one day longer in *EPiRVS*. Wherefore be of good cheere, and courageously set vpon it: there is not more vncertaintie in any thing, than in matters of warre. Fortune is to be proued, and oftentimes provoked of him that will wed her. And yet I will not denie, but that we must go more warily to worke against this enemy, and hazard our selues with better aduisement, and not without reason like wilde beasts to runne headlong vpon our owne death. At length we shall weare them out, if we kill but ten of them at an assault: yet are they daily to be assailed, that they may haue no leasure to refresh themselves, or to make up their breaches. And peradventure if force may not preuaile, fortune may find some mean that we looke not for, as it fell out at the siege of *SPEITIGRAD*, beyond all your expectation. Treason is ingenious, and mens desires great, where great rewards are propounded.*

With these and like speeches old *Amurath* encouraged his captaines and souldiours, and the next day early in the morning began the assault, which the Turkes valiantly attempted: and without regard of danger came to the gates of the citie, assaying, but with vaine and desperate labour,

bout to haue broken them open. In this assault wild fire, was cast into many places of the citie, and the great artillerie oftentimes discharged into the breaches: whereby many of the Turkes themselves were slaine with their owne great shot, together with the Christians: for *Amurath* desperately set, was content to buy the life of one Christian with the losse of twentie of his Turkes. But the Christians still valiantly repulst their enemies; so that of them that came to the gates, none escaped aliue; and of them that assaulted the greater breach, they which were most forward, were first slaine, and they which stood farther off, were sore wounded with shot. Yet for all that, *Amurath* still maintained the assault, by sending in of new supplies, delighting to see them goe forward, but grieved at the heart to see them so slaine: vntill at last, wearie with beholding the slaughter of his men, he caused a retreat to be sounded, and so ended the assault, persuaded by his Basses, not wilfully to cast away his valiant souldiours where there was no hope to preuaile, but to reserve them for his better seruice.

Amurath now out of hope to win the citie by assault, thought good to proue what might be done by vndermining of the same: during which worke, he caused small alarmes daily to be given vnto the citie, to the intent that the defendants busied therewith, should not perceiue the secret worke of the mine. About which time his prouision of corne began to faile in his campe, for which cause hee sent his purueyors for corne to *LISA*, a citie of the Venetians, with whom he was at that time in league; and bought of them great store of corne. But as his officers were conueying it to his campe, *Scanderbeg* hauing intelligence thereof, slew the conuoy, and carried away with him all that prouision, deuiding it amongst his owne souldiours. Howbeit, not long after *Amurath* receiued great abundance of corne and other prouision out of *MACEDONIA*, beside that; the Venetian marchants afterward furnished him with plentie of corne, oyle, honey, and other necessaries; which *Scanderbeg* might well haue hindered, but that he would not in so doing offend the Venetians, which were also his secret friends, considering that *Amurath* might haue had all the same prouision out of the further part of *MACEDONIA*, *THRACIA*, *MYSSIA*, and such other places, if he had not otherwise had it from the Venetians.

Whilest *Amurath* thus lay expecting the successe of his mine, foure hundred of the garrison souldiours of *CROIA* fallying out of the citie, chased diuers of the Turkes that were come forth backe againe vnto the campe: whereof *Amurath* was glad, hoping, that they encouraged with that good hap, would to their further losse giue the like attempt afterwards. But the staied direction of the Gouernour deceived that his expectation: who considering the danger, would not suffer his souldiours any more to fallie out of the citie. *Scanderbeg* also at this time hauing increased his armie with a new supplie of two thousand souldiours, deuided the same into three parts, deliuering one part to *Moses*, another to *Tanuse*, and reseruing the third to himselfe. With this armie of nine thousand thus deuided, he determined by night at one instant to assaile the Turkes great campe in three diuers places: appointing in which quarter euery one should charge. But as *Scanderbeg* in the night appointed, was comming towards the Turkes campe, hee was discovered by their scouts: whereupon a suddaine alarme was raised in the campe, and all mens minds turned that way, and souldiours appointed with all diligence to guard that side of the campe. But whilest the Turkes were all at gaze this way for feare of *Scanderbeg*, *Moses* and *Tanuse*, in the dead of the night, at one time assailed the Turkes campe in two diuers quarters, as they were appointed, where they slew a number of the Turkes, and made great spoile. At which time *Scanderbeg* did also what he might: but by reason he was before discouered, did not much harme. Vpon the approach of the day *Scanderbeg* retired againe to the hills, and by that time it was faire daylight, laye downe vpon the side of a great mountain, about twentie furlongs off, in the open sight of all the Turkes campe: which he did of purpose, that *Moses* and *Tanuse*, which were by night retired into the mountains, might see which way to hold, to meet with him again. But the Turkes thinking that hee stood there to braue their whole campe, and as it were to deface them, to the great encouragement of the defendants: diuers of them earnestly craued leaue of *Amurath*, that they might goe vp to him, and at leastwise beat him out of sight: which hee granting, twelue thousand of his best souldiours, whereof seven thousand were horsemen, and the rest foot, presently set forward to encounter him. *Scanderbeg* seeing them all the way they came, vpon their approach softly retired a little farther vp into the mountaines, still expecting the comming of *Moses* and *Tanuse*. The Turkes vnacquainted with such difficult waies, marched vp the steepe hills after *Scanderbeg* with much labour and paine, well wearied of themselves: but when they were come

a great way into the mountaines, they perceived by the rising of the dust, that some greater force was comming croſſe those mountaines: and not long after they might plainly see the foremost of their enemies. Wherefore fearing to be enclosed, they began to retire, in which retreat Scanderbeg hardly pursued them, and having the advantage of the ground, slew many of them, but especially with his archers. Moses also comming in affresh on another side, caused them to slide downe the hill amaine, and beside the slaughter that he made, took diuers prisoners. After which victorie, by Scanderbeg obtained in the sight of Amurath and his whole armie, he retired againe into the mountaines.

The late spoile of the Turks campe, with this ouerthrow of the soldiors but now sent against Scanderbeg, much greened the old tyrant: but the worke of the mine, wherein he had of long laid vp his greatest hope, forcing now to no good purpose, being deemed as well an endlesse peece of worke for the naturall hardnesse of the rocke, as also of small importance, for that it was by the defendants discouraged, draue him to his wits end. His forces hee had to his great losse sufficiently proued, and still found them too weake: and policie preuailed not. Nothing now remained, but to prouoke, if by great gifts and glorious promises hee could first corrupt the faith of the Gouvernour, and afterwards the garrison: wherein he determined to spare no cost. Vpon which resolution, he sent one of his Bassas (a man of great authoritie and dexteritie of wit) vnto Vranacotes, with such rich gifts and presents as might haue moued a right constant mind: commanding the Bassa (if it were possible) first to fasten the same vpon the Gouvernour, as presents sent from Amurath of meeke bountie, in the honour of his valiant mind; and afterwards to deliuer his message, not sparing to promise any thing for the giuing vp of the citie, yea more than should be desired. The Bassa attended on but with two seruants, came with this rich present neere to the gates of the citie, and there staid, vntill the Gouvernours pleasure were knowne: by whose commaund he was receiued into the citie, and brought to his presence. Then the Bassa with much reuerence and many magnificall words presented vnto Vranacotes the rich gifts sent from Amurath, and would forthwith haue deliuered them vnto him, as the rewards of his valour. But Vranacotes willed him first to declare his message from Amurath; vpon the hearing whereof, he would (as he said) as hee saw cause, either receiue or refuse them: before which time hee would not be beholden to his enemy, by receiuing from him the least courtesie. With which answer the subtil Bassa nothing dismayed, with great constancie thus began to deliuer his message.

The craftie speech of the Bassa sent from Amurath to corrupt the Gouvernour, and to perswade the citie, to yield up the citie.

Howsoeuer we agree (said he) vpon other matters we come for, we brought not these gifts of purpose to deceiue any: for so men vse to deale with their children and seruants, and not with men of courage and valour. And albeit that enemies gifts are euer to be suspected (as you haue right wisely said, and we our selues well know) yet wee durst not for shame come vnto so wortheie a Gouvernour (as the common saying is) empty handed: neither ought you, if you be the man you seeme to be, and whom men report you are, to refuse our courtesie. Take these presents in good part, which shall no way enforce or hinder you to determine or dispose of your affaires otherwise than shall seeme vnto you good: neither shall we once object vnto you these gifts, which wee so franke and freely offer in the great Sultans name, whether you reject or admit our demaunds and message; wherein there is (perhaps) no less regard had of your good, than of ours. For there is no greater token of a base mind, than to giue, in hope to receiue againe. We come vnto you franclly (wortheie Gouvernour) I speake it from my heart: we get not about with fild speech and rich rewards to circumuent thee, whose inuincible mind wee haue so often in vaine proued with our forces and power. That is it for which Amurath loueth thee. He doth wonderfully admire the vertues of his enemies, and if it were possible, desireth to haue them with himselfe. There verily with so mightie a monarch might thy inuincible mind and pregnant wit find a better way vnto the highest type of fortunes blisse. Not that I condemne Scanderbeg, whom we his enemies doe highly commend, for his countrie so well recovered, and so oftentimes worthely defended, yet chiefly by your helpe: but you are wortheie another manner of Soueraigne, and of another manner of calling, and not to spend all the daies of your life and such heroricall vertues in obscuritie and (without offence be it said) in contemptible basenesse. Besides that, Scanderbeg his estate is but momentarie: the destinies haue assigned vnto him too too mightie an enemy; his destruction may well be deferred, but not by any means auoided. Amurath hath conceived against him an implacable displeasure, and prepared his forces accordingly: hee hath sworn to spare no cost, no labour, no danger: and that hee

will neuer whilest he liueth depart out of Epirus, before he haue imposed a deadly yoke vpon his necke. And behold, the first of this miserie beginneth at this citie, and vpon your selues. We daily heare his promises sound with these and such like speeches. That hee will neuer depart out of this place before hee haue taken this citie and satisfied his angrie mind with the torture of your bodies, no; not if he should therefore lose HADRIANOPLE, yea, and that more is his whole kingdom. And verily he will doe it, which I feare to deuine or thinke vpon. For although I wish others beare against you the mind of an enemy, yet am I a man, and moued with humane compassion: beleene me (ye men of CROIA) beleene me, my eyes would scarcely endure to behold the horrible spectacle of your miserable fortune. I tell you againe he will doe it, except you change your purpose, and now receiue health, life, libertie, and peace, whilest it is so freely offered. For albeit, that this notable strong place, these impregnable walls, and especially your owne valour, doe yet defend you: how long will it hold out? Verely, no longer than you haue victuall, no longer than you haue meat to sustaine your bodies. Do you thinke that Amurath will raise his siege in the middle of the heat of this war, and be gon? No, no, if force may not preuaile, if all his attempts faile, yet shall you see and feele these enemies continually to your hurt: you shall alwaies haue these tents in your eyes and at your gates, vntill long famine, which mastereth all things, take your courage also. I pray you, what hope haue you left? from whence ariseth in your resolute minds such desperate contempt of danger? Can Scanderbeg victuall you, being so straightly besieged? which bideth himselfe (poore man) in the woods all day, and sleeth over the tops of the mountaines, laden with traile and care, scarce able to releene his owne miserie. Or will the Venetians releene you? which daily bring vnto us and store vs with too too great plentie of all things necessarie for this war against you. Wherefore repent your too much hardnesse, and gather your wits together. Behold I your enemy aduise you. You haue long ynough continued in your obstinacie. Your countrie and libertie is not so far to be defended, as that you should therefore fight against God. But wherefore doe I call this libertie? You must giue place vnto your fortune, and learne to obey them that be too strong for you. You shall find assured libertie, rich rewards, perpetuall rest, with Amurath. Provide for your selues, if you be wise, whilest all things are yet whole for you to determine of; whilest we your enemies exhort and request you, and had rather haue you our voluntarie companions and friends, than our enforced seruants and slaues.

This the Bassa spake with great grauitie and no lesse vehemencie, expecting some great motions to haue risen in the minds of the soldiors. But when he perceived that his speech had rather filled them with indignation, than with feare: and that it was but a vaine thing to goe about to terrifie them with words, whom all the power of Amurath could not make afraid with weapons, he requested to talke alone with the Gouvernour in secret: which was also granted. For all men had no lesse good opinion of the wortheie Gouvernours fidelitie, than of his great wisdom and valour. The craftie Bassa hauing him by himselfe, began with great cunning to deliuer his meeke secret message: when Vranacotes perceiving by a little what the whole tale meant, interrupted him in the middle of his speech, and without more adoe commaunded him to depart: straightly charging him, That neither hee nor any other should after that time presume to come from his master to the citie to speake with him about any such dishonourable matter; for if hee did, he would in detestation thereof cause their hands, their noses, and their eares to be cut off, and so returne them dismembered in stead of answer. And so the Bassa was with his presents againe turned out of the citie, and no man suffered to receiue any thing of him in reward, although the soldiors could haue bene well content to haue eased him and his seruants of that carriage, if the Gouvernour would but haue winked thereat.

Great was the expectation in the Turks campe, of the Bassas returne: but when they saw the presents were not receiued, they easily guessed that all went not as they wished. But when Amurath himselfe vnderstood the Gouvernours resolute answer, he in great rage commanded all things to be made ready for a fresh assault: which he did rather to satisfie his anger, than vpon any hope he had to preuaile therein. The next day, he caused a furious assault to be giuen to the citie, but with greater losse to himselfe than before; the Christians still valiantly defending the citie against the Turkish furie. In this assault many of the Turks were slaine at the breach, with their owne great thor: for whilest Amurath sought therewith to driue the Christians from the defence of the breach, he slew a great number more of the forwardest of his owne men than he did of the defendants. But wearied at length to behold the endlesse slaughter of his men, he gaue ouer the assault,

Croia against the vaine assault.

Amurath sixt king of the Turks.

fault, and returned into his campe, as if he had been a man halfe franticke or distract of his wits; and there sat downe in his tent, all that day full of melancholic passions, sometimes violently pulling his hoarie beard and white locks, complaining of his hard and disaster fortune; that he had liued so long to see those daies of disgrace, wherein all his former glorie and triumphant victories were obscured, by one base towne of EPIRVS. His Bassaes and graue counsellours labouring in the meane time with long discourses to comfort him vp: sometimes recounting vnto him his many and glorious victories; and other whiles producing antient examples of like event. But darke and heauie conceits, had so ouerwhelmed the melancholy old tirant, that nothing could content his waiward mind, or reuiue his dying spirits: so that the little remainder of naturall heat which was left in his aged bodie, now oppressed and almost extinguished with melancholic conceits, and his aged bodie dried vp with sorrow, hee became sicke for griefe. Where vpon by the counsaile of some of his Bassaes, he sent an embassadour to Scanderbeg, offering him peace, if he would yeild to pay vnto him a yearely tribute of ten thousand duckats: thinking by that meanes his honour to be well saued, if before his departure out of EPIRVS, hee could but make Scanderbeg his tributarie. This embassadour was by Scanderbeg honourably entertained in his campe, but the offered peace at the same time viterly refused. The embassadour returning to Amurath, declared vnto him the euill successe of his embassage, which greatly encreased his melancholic sicknesse. And Scanderbeg to greue him the more, vnderstanding that he was dangerously sicke, and that the great Bassaes were more carefull of the kings health than of the successe of the warres; diuers times assailed the Turks campe. Which thing though the Bassaes kept from his knowledge with all carefulnesse: yet he often times suspected the matter, by the often allarums and tumults in the campe, and with the greefe thereof languished. So feeling his sicknesse daily to increase, and that he could not longer liue, lying vpon a pallier in his pauiilion, greuously complained to his Bassaes, That the destinies had so blemished all the former course of his life, with such an obscure death, that hee which had so often repressed the furie of the Hungarians, and almost brought to naught the pride of the Grecians, together with their name, should now be enforced to giue vp the ghost, vnder the wals of an obscure castle (as hee termed it) and that in the sight of his contemptible enemy. After that, turning himselfe to his son Mahomet, he earnestly commended him to the faithfulness of his Bassaes, and gaue him many graue aduertisements, sometimes in secret betwixt themselves, and sometimes in the hearing of others: want of strength, & abundance of teares running down his aged face (vpon the sight of his son) often times interrupting his speech. Yet sick vnto death as he was, and drawing fast vnto his end, he forced himselfe, to warne his sonne of such things as now at his death greued him most.

Amurath sixt king of the Turks.

Hungarians with other the Christian princes, rose up in armes against vs: at which time we fought not with them for soueraigntie, but for the whole state of our kingdomes, as the bloudie battailes of VARN A and COSSOVA still witnesse vnto the world. So whilest I had neither lesiure nor sufficient power to take order for all my important affaires at once; in the meane time this enemy grew as you see. But how, or in what order you are hereafter to wage warre against him, you may not looke for any direction from me, which haue in all these matters so euill directed my selfe: Fortune neuer deceived my endeuours more, than in this. But happily thou Mahomet my sonne, maiest prooue a more fortunat warrior against him: and for so many honors already giuen vnto me, the destinies haue reserved the triumph of EPIRVS for thee. Wherefore my sonne, thou shalt receiue from me this scepter, and these roial ensignes: but about all things, I leaue vnto thee this enemy; charging thee not to leaue my death unreuenged. It is all I charge thee with, for so great and stately a patrimonie as thou art to receiue from me: it is the only sacrifice that my old departing ghost desireth of thee.

Shortly after he became speechlesse, and struiuing with the pangs of death halfe a day, he then breathed out his gaspily ghost, to the great joy and contentment of the poore oppressed Christians. He died about the middle of Autumne, in the yeare of our Lord 1450, when he had liued 85 yeares, as most write: and thereof reigned 28 (or as some others report 30;) about fife months after the siege laid before CROIA.

Thus lieth great Amurath, erst not inferiour vnto the greatest monarchs of that age, dead almost in despaire: a worthy mirror of honours frailtie; yeelding vnto the worldly man in the end, neither comfort nor reliefe. Who had fought greater battails? who had gained greater victories, or obtained more glorious triumphs than had Amurath? Who by the spoils of so many mightie kings and princes, and by the conquest of so many prowde and warlike nations, againe restored and established the Turkes kingdom, before by Tamerlan and the Tartars in a manner cleane defaced. He it was that burst the hart of the prowde Grecians, establishing his empire at HADRIANOPLE, euen in the center of their bowels: from whence haue proceeded so many miseries and calamities into the greatest part of Christendome, as no tongue is able to expresse. He it was that first brake downe the Hexamile or wal of separation on the strait of CORINTH, & conquered the greatest part of PELOPONNESVS. He it was that subdued vnto the Turks so many great countries and provinces in ASIA; that in plaine field and set battaile ouerthrew many puissant kings and princes, and brought them vnder his subiection: who hauing slaine Vladislaus the king of POLONIA and HUNGARIE, and more than once chased out of the field Huniades that famous & redoubted warrior; had in his prowde and ambitious heart, promised vnto himselfe the conquest of a great part of Christendome. But O how farre was he now changed from the man he then was! how farre did these his last speeches differ from the course of his forepassed life! full of such base passionat complaints and lamentations, as becomed not a man of his place and spirit; but some vile wretch ouertaken with dispaire, and yet afraid to die. Where were now those haughtie thoughts, those lustie looks, those thundring and commaunding speeches; whereat so many great commanders, so many troupes and legions, so many thousands of armed fouldiours were wont to tremble and quake? Where is that victorious hand that swaied so many scepters? where is the maiestie of his power and strength, that commanded ouer so many nations and kingdomes? O how is the case now altered! he lieth now dead, a gaspily filthy stinking carcas; a clod of clay viregarded, his hands closed, his eyes shut, and his feet stretched out, which erst proudly traced the countries by him subdued and conquered. And now of such infinit riches, such vnmeasurable wealth, such hugie treasures, such stately honors and vainglorious praises as he in his life time enjoyed; his frail bodie enjoyeth nothing, but left all behind it. O the blind and peruerse thoughts of mans nature! O the vaine glorie of mortall creatures! O the blind and peruerse thoughts of foolish men! Why do we so magnifie our selues? why are we so puffed vp with pride? why do we so much set our minds vpon riches, authoritie, and other vanities of this life? whereof neuer man had yet one daies assurance, and at our most need and when we least thinke, quite forsake vs; leauing euen them that most fought after them, and most abounded in them, throwded oft times in the sheet of dishonor and shame.

That his death is otherwise by some reported, I am not ignorant: the Turkes saying, that he died miraculously forewarned of his death at HADRIANOPLE: and some others, that he died

The last speech
and admission
of Amurath vnto
his sonne Ma-
homet vpon his
death bed.

Let mine example (quoth he) be a warning vnto thee my sonne, neuer to contemne thine enemy, be he neuer so weake: of which one thing about all others, I haue repented my selfe of long, and shall doe after my death, if any feeling of humane things remaine in the dead. And that I was so foolish, and inconsiderat as to foster vp as it were in my bosome this my domesticall and neglected enemy: whereby I haue purchased vnto my selfe this calamitie, and for euer blemished the honor of the Ottoman kings: whilest I so basely ending my daies vnder the wals of CROIA, shall become a by-word vnto the world, and all posteritie for euer. This traitour should euen then haue been oppressed, when he by great treacherie, first recovered his wicked kingdom: in that newnesse of his estate, and before the minds of the people were assured vnto him, then it had been an easie matter, without bloodshed to haue viterly extinguished the wretch, together with his name. Ali Bassa whose euill fortune was the first beginning of his good: nor the other Generals, who by him slaine or taken prisoners, increased his strength and credit with his subjects, should not haue been sent against him: a thing which I haue oftentimes thought vpon, but could scarce haue beleueed, that euer I should haue thereby receiued such disgrace, together with the ignominious renting of my kingdom: if I had not been taught the same by mine owne experience, to my great losse and hearts greefe. We entred into EPIRVS, and here encamped an hundred and threescore thousand men strong: now if leasure serue you, take view of them, examine the matter, you shall find a great want of that number. The fields could not contain our regiment, and the multitude of our men: but now, how many tents stand empty? how many horses want riders? You shall go to HADRIANOPLE with our forces much impaired. As for me, the destinies haue vowed my spirit to this country of EPIRVS, as vnto me fatal. But wherefore do I impute vnto my selfe these impediments and chances of Fortune? for then first began this seed of mischief in EPIRVS, when the

Amurath's
death.

Amurath an
example of the
vanitie of world-
ly honors.

Amurath sixt king of the Turks.

in Asia, stricken with an Apoplexie proceeding of a surfer taken of the immoderat drinking of wine. But *Marinus Barlesius*, who liued in his time in *Scodra* fast by *Epirus*, whose authoritie, in report of the warres betwixt him and *Scanderbeg* we follow, setteth it downe in such manner as is aforesaid.

Amurath buried at Prusa.

Presently after his death, *Mahomet* his sonne, for feare of some innouation to be made at home, raised the siege, and returned to *HADRIANOPLE*: and afterward with great solemnitie buried his dead bodie at the West side of *Prusa*, in the suburbs of the citie, where he now lieth in a chappell without any rooffe, his graue nothing differing from the manner of the common Turks: which (they say) he so commaunded to be done in his last will; that the mercie and blessing of God (as he termed it) might come vnto him by the shining of the Sunne and Moone, and falling of the raine and dew of heauen vpon his graue.

He whilest he liued mightily enlarged the Turkish kingdome, and with greater wisdom and policie than his predecessours, established the same: insonmuch that some attribute vnto him the first institution of the *Ianizaries*, and other souldiours of the court (the greatest strength of the Turkish empire) before indeed begun in the time of *Amurath* the first, his great grandfather, (as is before declared); but by him greatly augmented, and the policie of that state, whereby it hath euer since in his posteritie flourished, euen by himselfe plotted. For the better establishing whereof in his owne house, and to cut off all occasions of feare; as also to leaue all such as might haue the heart to arise against him, all naked and bare of forces to resist; but especially the other ancient and noble families of the Turks, still secretly repining at the great honour of the *Othoman* kings: he as a man of great wisdom and judgement, to keepe them vnder, in the beginning of his raigie, by manifold fauours began to bind vnto himselfe men of strange and forraigne countreys, his seruants; and by ordering of his most waightie affaires by their authoritie, so by little and little to cast off the seruice of his naturall Turks: they in the meane time little or nothing at all looking into this his practise. And whereas the *Othoman* kings his predecessours had for the most part, or rather all together raised their *Ianizaries* and other souldiours of the court, of such children of the Christians as were taken in the warres; he, seeing by experience how seruicable those new kind of souldiours were, began forthwith to plot in his head, how to make himselfe an armie all together of such able persons, his owne creatures, and so to bring in a new kind of warfare, wholly depending of himselfe. And to that end, by his officers appointed for that purpose, tooke from the Christians throughout his dominions, euerie fift child: the fairest and aptest of whom, he placed in his owne Seraglio at *HADRIANOPLE*, and the rest in other like places by him built for such purpose: where they were by sufficient teachers, first instructed in the principles of the Mahometan religion, and then in all manner of actiuitie and feats of armes. Of these, when they were grown to mans state, he made horsemen, gaue them great pensions, and sorting them into diuers orders appointed them also to guard his person; honouring the better sort of them with the name of *Spahi-Oglani*, that is to say, His sonnes the knights. And of these he began to make his *Baslaes*, his Generals of his armies, and the *Gouernours* of his prouinces and cities, with all the great offices of the state. The rest and farre the greatest part of these tribute children taken from their Christian parents, and not brought vp in these Seraglioes, hee caused to be dispersed into euerie citie and countrey of his dominion in Asia, there for certaine yeares to be brought vp in all hardnesse and painfull labour, neuer tasting of ease or pleasure: out of which hard brood so enured to paines, he made choise of so many of the most lustie and able bodies fittest for seruice, as he thought good; who kept in continuall exercise, and by skillfull men taught to handle all maner of weapons, but especially the bow, the peece, and the Scimitar, were by him as occasion serued added to the other *Ianizaries*, and appointed for the guarding of his person: calling them commonly by the names of his sonnes. The remainder of these tribute children, as vsit for the warres, hee put vnto other base occupations and ministeries. But vnto those martiall men of all sorts so by him ordained, hee appointed a continuall pay, according to their degrees and places: and by great benefits and liberties bestowed vpon them, bound them so fast vnto him, as that he might now account himselfe to haue of them so many sonnes, as hee had souldiours: For they together with the Christian religion, hauing forgot their parents and countrey, and knowing no other lord and master but him, and acknowledging all that they had to come and proceed of his free grace onely, remained euer bound and faithfull vnto him; and to keepe others also, as well the naturall Turks themselves, as the other oppressed Christians with-

Amurath sixt king of the Turks.

A great policie.

in the bounds of obedience and loyaltie. A great policie proceeding from a deepe judgement, first to weaken the Christians by taking from them their best children, and of greatest hope; and then by them depending wholly of himselfe, to keepe in awe and dutifull obedience his naturall subjects also: hauing them alwaies as a scourge readie to chastise the rebellious or disloyall. Now the other *Othoman* kings and emperours, the successors of *Amurath*, keeping this custome, and also increasing it one after another, haue thereby not onely kept the empire still in their house and familie, where it was first gotten: but also so maintained the maiestie of their state, as that they are of their subjects feared, obeyed, and honoured, not as kings, but as gods. For the naturall Turks their subjects loosing courage continually, and daily growing more base and dastardly, by reason they are not suffered to practise the knowledge of armes; and the souldiours in whose power all things are, knowing nothing of their owne, but holding and acknowledging all that they haue to come of their lord, account them as kings and lords of all: ruling much after the manner of the *Pharaohs* the ancient kings of *Egypt*; who were absolute lords and masters, both of the publick and priuat wealth of their subjects, whom they kept vnder as slaues and villaines. And hereof cometh it to passe, that the better part of them, whom we call Turks (but are indeed the children of Christians, and seduced by their false instructors) desire to be called Muslims (that is to say, right beleeuers) hold it a reproachfull and dishonourable thing to be called Turks, as it were peculiarly and aboue other people: For that they knowing right well, that there is not one naturall Turke among all those that beare authoritie and rule, and are had in greater honour and reputation than the rest (such as are the men of warre and courtiers) but he is borne a Christian either of father, or at the least of his grandfather; auaunch those onely to be Turks which liue in *NATOLIA*, all of them either marchants, or of base and mechanicall crafts, or poore labourers with the spade and pickaxe, and such like people vsit for the warres; the rest (as I say) holding it for a title of honour to be descended of Christian parents. Yea the Grand Signior himselfe, although by the fathers side he bee come of progenitors such as were naturall Turks borne, yet many of them had Christian mothers, which they accounted in the greatest part of their nobilitie and honour. Thus by the wisdom of *Amurath* was the order of the *Ianizaries*, and other souldiours of the court greatly aduanced, though not by him begun, and the politicke state of the Turkish kingdome (to say the truth) quite altered; the naturall Turks (more than the Sultan himselfe) now bearing therein no sway: but onely these new souldiours, all of them descended from Christian parents, and by adoption as it were become the sonnes of the Turkish Sultans, and vnder them commanding all: by whom they haue euer since managed their estate, &c. by their good seruice wonderfully, euen to the astonishment of the world, encreased and extended their empire. But of them more shall be said hereafter.

This great king was whilest hee liued, of his subjects woonderfully beloued, and no lesse of them after his death lamented. He was more faithfull of his word than any of the Turkish kings either before or after him: by nature melancholie and sad, and accounted rather politicke than valiant, yet was indeed both: a great dissembler and painefull in trauaile, but wayward and testie aboue measure, which many imputed vnto his great age. He had issue sixe sonnes, *Achmetes*, *Aladin*, *Mahomet*, *Hasan* (otherwise called *Chasani*) *Vrehan*, and *Achmetes* the younger, of some called *Calepinus*: three of whom died before him; but the two youngest were

Amurath his disposition.

The sonnes of Amurath.

by their vnnatural brother *Mahomet*, who succeeded him in the Turkish kingdome, euen in their infancie, in the beginning of his raigie most cruelly murthered.

F I N I S.

Emperors	Of the East	John Paleologus.	1448. 24.
		Constantinus Paleologus.	1444. 8.
	Of the West	Sigmund king of Hungarie.	1411. 18.
		Albert the second king of Hungarie and Bohemia.	1438. 1.
		Frederick the third, Archduke of Austria.	1440. 34.
	Of England	Henry the first.	1413. 9.
		Henry the sixth.	1422. 39.
	Of France	Charles the sixth.	1381. 42.
		Charles the seventh.	1423. 38.
	Of Scotland	James the first.	1424. 13.
		James the second.	1436. 29.
	Bishops of Rome	Martin the V.	1417. 13.
Eugenius the IIII.		1431. 16.	
Nicholas the V.		1447. 8.	



Paulus Iouius Illust. vi-
rorum, Eleg.
lib. 3.

Qui vici innumeros populos, tot regna, tot urbes:
Solut & immensi qui timor orbis evant:
Me rapuit quæ cunque rapit mors improba, sed sum
Virtute excelsa, ductus ad astra tamen
Maior Alexander non me fuit, Anniball & non,
Fuderit Ausonios tot licet ille duces:
Vici victores Danados, domumque feroces
Caonia populos, Sauromata, quæ vinctes:
Pannonius sensit, quantum surgebat in armis
Vis mea: quæ latio cognita nuper erat.
Arsacide sensere manus has, sensit Arabs quæ:
Et mea sunt Persæ cognita tela duci.
Mens fuerat, bellare Rhodum, superare superbam
Italiam, sed non fata dedere modum.
Hei mihi, nam rapuit mors aspera, quæ quæ sub alto
Pectore condideram, vertit & hora brevis.
Sic hominum fastus pereunt, sic stemata, sic quæ
Imperium, atque aurum, quicquid & orbis habet.

In English thus.

I that so many nations, townes,
and kingdomes, haue brought low;
And haue alone dismaied the world,
and filld the earth with woe:
Am now by death (which all deuoures)
brought downe from his degree,
Yet doth the glorie of my name,
surmount the starrie skie.
The great king *Alexanders* fame,
the world no better filld:
Nor worthy *Hannibal*, whose force
so many Romans kild.
I vanquishd the victorious Greeks,
and tam'd with mightie hand,
The warlike people of *EPHRS*,
and fierce *TARTARIA* land.
My force in field *HUNGARIA* felt,
my greatnesse is there knowne:
Which of late time through *ITALY*,
to their great ruth is blowne.
Th' *Assyrians* felt my heauie hand,
so did th' *Arabians* wild:
The Persian king with all his force,
I driue out of the field.
I purposed to win the *RHODES*,
and *ITALY* vndoc:
If that the fatall destinies,
had granted leaue thereto.
But wo is me, for grisly death
hath brought all this to nought:
And in the twinckling of an eye,
is perisht all I thought.
So perissheth the pride of man,
his honour, wealth, and power,
His golde, and whatsoeuer else,
it fadeth as a flower.



THE LIFE OF MAHOMET, SE-
COND OF THAT NAME, SEVENTH KING
AND FIRST EMPEROVR OF THE TURKS,
FOR HIS MANY VICTORIES SVRNA-
MED THE GREAT.



He report of the death of old *Amurath* the late king, was in short time blowne through most part of Christendome, to the great joy of many: but especially of the Greekes, and other poore Christians which bordered vpon the tyrants kingdome; who were now in hope, together with the change of the Turkish king, to make exchange also of their bad estate and fortune: and the rather, for that it was thought, that his eldest sonne *Mahomet*, after the death of his father, would haue embraced the Christian religion, being in his childhood instructed therein (as was supposed) by his mother, the daughter of the prince of *SERVIA*, a Christian. But vaine was this hope, and the joy thereof but short, as afterward by prooffe appeared. For *Mahomet* being about the age of one and twentie yeares, succeeding his father in the kingdome in the yeare of our Lord 1450, embraced in shew the Mahometane religion, abhorring the Christian, but indeed making no great reckoning either of the one or of the other; but as a mere Atheist, deuoid of all religion, and worshipping no other god but good fortune, derided the simplicitie of all such as thought that God had any care or regard of worldly men, or of their actions: which gracelesse resolution so wrought in him, that he thought all things lawfull that agreed with his lust, and making conscience of nothing, kept no league, promise, or oath, longer than stood with his profit or pleasure.

Now in the Court men stood diuersly affected towards the present state: the mightie Bassaes and others of great authoritie, vnto whom the old kings government was neuer greuous, inwardly lamented his death; doubting least the fierce nature of the yong king should turne to the hurt of some of them in particular, and the shortening of their authoritie in generall, as indeed it shortly after fell out. But the lustie gallants of the Court wearie of the old king, who in hope of preferment had long wished for the gouernment of the yong prince, were glad to see him set vpon his fathers seat. And the vulgar people (neuer constant but in vconstancie, and alwaies fawning vpon the present) exceedingly rejoyced in their yong king. The Ianizaries also at the same time (according to their accustomed manner) tooke the spoile of the Christians and Iewes that dwelt amongst them, and easily obtained pardon for the same: whereupon he was by the same Ianizaries and the other souldiours of the Court with great triumph saluted king. Which approbation of these men of warre, is vnto the Turkish kings a greater assurance for the possession of their kingdome, than to be borne the eldest sonne of the king, as in the processe of this Historie shall appeare: so great is the power of these masterfull slaues, in promoting to the kingdome which soeuer of the kings sonnes they most fauour, without much regard whether he be the eldest or not.

This yong tyrant was no sooner possessed of his fathers kingdome, but that hee forgetting the lawes of nature, was presently in person himselfe about to haue murdered with his owne hands, thren,

hands his youngest brother, then but eigheteen moneths old, begotten on the daughter of *Sponderbeius*. Which vnaturall part, *Moses* one of his Bassaes, and a man greatly in his fauour, perceiving, requested him not to imbrue his owne hands in the blood of his brother, but rather to commit the execution thereof to some other: which thing *Mahomet* commaunded him the author of that counsell forthwith to doe. So *Moses* taking the child from the nurse, strangled it, with pouring water downe the throat thereof. The young ladie vnderstanding of the death of her child (as a woman whom furie had made past feare) came, and in her rage reuiled the tyrane to his face, shamefully vpbraiding him for his inhumane crueltie. When *Mahomet* to appease her furie, requested her to be content, for that it stood with the policie of his state: and willed her for her better contentment, to aske whatsoever she pleased, and she should forthwith haue it. But she desiring nothing more than in some sort to be reuenged, desired to haue *Moses* (the executioner of her sonne) deliuered vnto her, bound: which when she had obtained, she presently strucke him into the breast with a knife (crying in vaine vpon his vnthankfull master for helpe) and proceeding in her cruell execution, cut an hole in his right side, and by peece-meale cut out his liver, and cast it to the dogs to eat. At the same time also he caused another of his brethren, committed by his father to the keeping of *Cilly Bassa*, and now by him betrayed into his hands, to be likewise murdered.

A cruell reuenge
of an angrie wo-
man.

Mahomet reformeth the Tur-
kish commonweale.

Thus beginning his tyrannous raigne with the bloodie execution of them that were in blood nearest vnto him, and whom of all others he ought to haue defended, he presently after began to frame a new forme of a commonweale, by abrogating and altering the old lawes and customes, and publishing of new, better fitting his owne humour, and more commodious for himselfe: imposing also new taxes and subsidies vpon his subjects, neuer before heard of; thereby to increase his treasures, and satisfie his auaritious desire: which amongst many other his vices so much rained in him, as that he was thought ouersparing vnto himselfe, as well in his apparrell as in his diet. And proceeding farther, hee called vnto straight account all the great officers of his kingdom: of whom some he put to death, and confiscated their goods; others he put to great fines, or quite remooued them from their offices. In like manner hee dealt also with his great Bassaes, admitting many false and surmised accusations against them: whereby to bring them within his danger, where little mercie was to be looked for. By which meanes hee became no lesse terrible vnto his subjects, than he was afterward vnto his enemies; and so was of them exceedingly feared, but more hated. Amongst other things, hee much misliked in his court the excessive number of faulconers and huntmen; which was growne so great by the immoderat delight which his predecessors tooke in the pleasures of the field, that there were continually maintained of the kings charge, seuen thousand faulconers, and not many fewer huntmen, saying, That he would not be so much a foole, as to maintaine such a multitude of men to attend vpon so meere a vanitie. And therefore tooke order, that from thenceforth there should bee allowance made for five hundred faulconers onely, and one hundred huntmen: the rest he appointed to serue as souldiours in his warres. At the same time also he entered into league with *Constantinus Paleologus*, the emperour of *CONSTANTINOPLE*, and the other princes of *GRECIA*: as also with the Despot of *SERVIA*, his grandfather by the mothers side, as some will haue it; howbeit, some others write, that the Despot his daughter, *Amurath* his wife, was but his mother in law, whom hee vnder the colour of friendship sent backe againe vnto her father after the death of *Amurath*, still allowing her a princely dowrie. But if shee were not his mother (as like ynough it is that shee was not) much more happie was she, that the neuer groned for so gracelesse a sonne.

1451

Mahomet goes
against the king
of Caramania.

Whilest *Mahomet* was thus occupied about his ciuile affaires, *Ibrahim* king of *CARAMANIA*, who long before had married *Amurath* his sister, and yet for all that, had (as his ancestors had before him) alwaies eniued the prosperous successe of the *Othoman* kings, tooke occasion in the first yeare of *Mahomet* his raigne, with fire and sword to invade his dominions in *ASIA*. Which thing when *Mahomet* vnderstood, he displaced *Isa* his lieutenant in *ASIA*, as a man not sufficient to manage so great warres, and appointed *Isack Bassa* in his roome, a most valiant man of warre, vpon whom not long before he had vpon speciall fauour bestowed in marriage the faire daughter of *Sponderbeius*, one of his fathers wiues, of whom we haue before spoken. This great Bassa passing ouer into *ASIA*, raised a great armie. After whom followed *Mahomet* in person himselfe with a greater, out of *EVROPE*: and hauing all his forces together, entered with great hostilitie into *CARAMANIA*. But the *Caramanian* king perceiving himselfe vnable to withstand

so puissant an enemy, fled into the strength of the great mountaines, and by his embassadours offered vnto *Mahomet* such reasonable conditions of peace, as that hee was content to accept thereof. Which after they had by solemne oath on both parts confirmed, *Mahomet* returned with his armie to *PRUSA*: but when hee was come thither, the *Janizaries* presuming that they might be bold with the young king: putting themselves in order of battaille, came, & with great insolencie demanded of him a donatiue or largitious, as a reward of their good seruice done. With which so great presumption, *Mahomet* was inwardly chafed: but for so much as they were his best souldiours, and alreadie in armes, he wisely dissembled his anger for the present, hauing a little before had warning thereof by *Abedin Bassa*, and *Turechah-beg*, two of his great captaines, who had got some suspicion of the matter: wherefore to content them, hee caused tenne great bags of aspers to bee scattered amongst them, and so pacified the matter. But within few daies after, he caused *Doganes* (the Aga or cheefe captaine of the *Janizaries*) to be brought before him, and to be shamefully whipt: and so presently discharging him of his office, placed one *Mustapha* in the same. The like seueritie he vsed against the rest of the vndercaptaines, causing them to be cruelly scourged and beaten like slaues: which in that tyrannicall government is an vsuall punishment, vpon the least displeasure of the king to be inflicted vpon any man, without respect of degree or calling, if he be not a naturall Turke borne. Presently after he sent *Isack* his lieutenant against *Elias* prince of *MENTESIA* or *CARIA*, by whom the poore prince was driuen out of his countrey: euer since which time it hath remained in subjection to the Turkish kings, as part of their kingdom and empire.

When *Mahomet* had thus ended the *Caramanian* war, and was determined with his armie to returne to *HADRIANOPE*, he was aduertised, That the straits of *HELLESPONTVS* were so strongly possessed by the Christian fleet, that he could not possibly there passe ouer but with most manifest danger: wherefore hee tooke his way through that part of *BYTHINIA* which lieth about *CONSTANTINOPLE*, and came to the castle which the Turks call *Acce-Chisar*, and the Grecians *Acronaspor*, or White castle, standing vpon the narrow strait of *BOSPHORVS* on *ASIA* side, and there passed ouer into *EVROPE* at the same place where his father *Amurath* had not many yeares before in like maner found passage. Where when he was safely got ouer with his armie, he by the aduise of his Bassaes encamped fast by the sea side, and there presently began to build a great strong castle close vnto the straits of *BOSPHORVS*, nere vnto *PROBONTIS* on *EVROPE* side, directly oueragainst the other castle in *ASIA*. For the speedie accomplishment of which worke, he assembled thither all the workemen he could possibly get out of *EVROPE* and *ASIA*; apportioning vnto his captaines and souldiours of his armie part of the worke also: by whose industrie and labour, that great building was in shorter time brought to perfection, than was by any man at the first expected. This castle which for the greatnesse thereof is of most writers reputed for a citie, was by the Turks named *Genichisar*, & of the Grecians *Neocastron*, or New castle, and also *Lamocastron*, or castle vpon the straits: and was there by the Turks built, as well for the safetie of their owne passage too and fro, as for to hinder the passage of the Christians through those narrow straits, they now possessing the strong forts on both sides: and thereby also to distresse the citie of *CONSTANTINOPLE*, from whence this castle was not above five miles distant. When *Mahomet* in the second yeare of his raign had finished this great castle, with some other small forts about the same, and also repaired the other castle in *ASIA* oueragainst it, hee placed therein strong garrisons, and furnished the same with attillerie; in such sort, that no ship could passe through the strait of *BOSPHORVS* into the great *Euxine* or blacke sea, but she was in danger to be sunke: whereby the rich trade which the merchants of *VENICE*, *GENVA*, and *CONSTANTINOPLE*, had to *CAFFA*, and other places lying vpon the *Euxine*, were almost quite cut off, to the great hinderance of those estates. Now *Mahomet* by nature ambitious, and withall desirous to doe some such thing as the glorie whereof might farre passe the fame of his predecessors, thought nothing more answerable vnto his high conceits, than to attempt the winning of *CONSTANTINOPLE*, and the vtter subuersion of the Greeke empire: whereupon his father *Amurath*, and his great grandfather *Baidar*, had before in vaine spent their forces. Besides that, it greeued him to see that goodly citie, the ancient seat of the Christian empire, to be so commodiously situated, as it were in the midst of his kingdom, and not to be at his commaund. Hereunto the small power of the Greeke emperor himselfe, and the other Christian princes at the same time at mortall discord amongst themselves, ministred vnto his greedie

Mentessia subdued
by the Turks.

1452

Mahomet maketh
preparation
for the besieging
of Constantinople.

Constantinus the
emperor in vaine
craveth aid of
the Christian
princes.

desire no small hope of successe, and serued as spurs to pricke him forward vnto so great an enterprise. Wherefore all the Winter he caused great preparation to be made of shipping and warlike prouision both for sea and land: and gaue out commissions for the leuying of a mightie armie, to be in readinesse against the next Spring. But whither hee would employ the same, no man could certainly tell: some gesing one thing, and some another, as the manner of men is, when such extraordinarie preparation is at hand. *Constantinus* the eight of that name, then emperor of *CONSTANTINOPLE*, a prince of a mild and soft spirit, fitter for the church than for the field, hearing of the great preparation made by the Turkish king: and fearing least that tempest then growing, should vpon the suddaine breake forth vpon himselfe, first made such preparation, as his owne small abilitie would extend vnto: and then sent his embassadours vnto other Christian princes, earnestly craveng their aid and assistance in that his dangerous estate. But that labour was lost, and all his sute vaine: for they being at variance one with another, and hauing more care of priuat reuenge than how to repulse the common enimie of Christianity, could not or would not afford him any helpe at all. *Nicholas* the fift of that name, then bishop of *ROME*, with *Alphonfus* king of *NAPLES*, and the state of *VENICE*, promised to haue sent him thirtie gallies, but none for all that came.

There was by chauce at *CONSTANTINOPLE* certaine ships and gallies of *VENICE*, *GENOVA*, *CRETE*, and *CHIOS*, of whom the emperor made stay: at which time also it chanced, that *Ioannes Iustinianus*, an aduenturer of *GENOVA*, who had bene scouring those seas, came to *CONSTANTINOPLE* with two tall ships, and foure hundred souldjors: where he was entertained by the emperor. And for as much as he was a man honourably defended, and supposed to be both of great courage and direction, was by the emperor appointed Generall of all his forces next vnto himselfe. He also entertained six thousand Greekes: which, with three thousand Venetians, Genowaies, and others, whom he had made stay of, joined vnto the citizens, was all the weake strength he had to relye vpon, for the defence of his state and empire.

1453

Vide I conardi
Chrenis Ar-
chiepiscopi
Myslen hist-
de capitulate
Constantino-
politana.

Against the beginning of the Spring, the Turkish king had in readinesse a great and puissant armie of three hundred thousand men, of whom, the greatest part were taken out of *BYLGARIA*, *SERVIA*, *RASCIA*, *THESSALIA*, *MACEDONIA*, and *GRECIA*, which as yet were called the Christian countries, and were themselves either indeed Christians, or els such renegates as had not long before forsaken the Christian faith: vnto these also were joynd diuers other Christians which came out of *GERMANIE*, *BOHEMIA*, and *HUNGARIE*, to serue the Turke in his warres. This hath beene none of the least meanes, whereby the Turkish kings haue growne so great, and their kingdome so mightily enlarged, by enforcing and alluring Christians to fight against Christians, to the vtter confusion of themselves. Amongst the great multitude of the European Christians, were mingled his effeminate souldjors of *ASIA*, and his naturall Turks and *Ianizaries*, which were in number fewest, and yet commaunded all the rest.

Mahomet en-
campeth before
Constantinople.

With this great armie, well appointed with all warlike prouision, came *Mahomet* the Turkish king from *HADRIANOPLE*: and the ninth day of Aprill, in the yeare 1453, encamped before *CONSTANTINOPLE*, and with the multitude of his armie filled all the maine land before the citie, from the sea side of *BOSPHORVS*, vnto the place where the same sea compasseth in the citie on two parts, and running farre into the land betwixt *CONSTANTINOPLE* and *PERRA*, maketh there a goodly haven betwixt them.

The situation of
Constantinople.

This citie of *CONSTANTINOPLE* (called in ancient time *BIZANTIUM*) is in forme of a Triangle, situated in *EVROPE* in the pleasant countrey of *THRACIA*, vpon a point of the maine land shooting out towards *ASIA*, called of *Plinie* & *Solinus*, The promontorie *CHRYSOCEBRAS*; where the sea of *PROBONTIS* joyneth vnto that strait of sea which diuideth *ASIA* from *EVROPE*, called in ancient time *BOSPHORVS THRACIVS*; sometime the strait of *PROBONTIS*; and the mouth of *PONTVS*; and of the moderne writers, the strait of *CONSTANTINOPLE*; and about 200 yeares past, or more, *S. George* his aume. This point of the maine, whereon the citie standeth, lyeth about two Italian miles more Northward than doth the ancient citie of *CALCEDON*, on the other side of the strait in *ASIA*: more than thirtie miles distant from the *Euxine* or blacke sea, lying from it Northward; and two hundred miles from the strait of *HELLESPONTVS* or *CALCIPOLIS*, from thence South. Which noble citie (of all others most fitly seated for the empire of the world, and with great majesticke overlooking both *EVROPE* and *ASIA*) is by the Cosmographers accounted to stand in the height of 43 degrees, vpon seven little hills of

no great and easie ascent: and was there first built by *Pausanias* the Lacedemonian king, and called *BIZANTIUM*, and so many yeares flourished as a populous and rich citie, vntill the ciuile warres betwixt *Seuerus* the emperor, and *Niger*: what time it endured the siege of the Romanes vnder *Seuerus*, three yeares, with such obstinacie, that it yielded not vntill it was brought to such extremitie that the citizens did eat one another; and then yielding, had the wals ouerthrowne by *Seuerus*, and the citie it selfe destroyed, and brought to the low estate of a poore countrey village, and so by him giuen to the *Perinthians*. In which base estate it continued vntill the time of *Constantine* the Great, the sonne of *Helena* (whom some will needs haue to haue beene an English woman) by whom it was new built, and beautified with buildings so stately and sumptuous, that vnto the strange beholders it seemed a dwelling place for heavenly wights rather than for earthly men. And to grace it the more, translated his imperiall seat thither, and called it *NOVA ROMA*, or new *ROME*; and all that pleasant part of *THRACIA* alongst the sea coast of *HELLESPONTVS*, *PROBONTIS*, and *BOSPHORVS*, by the name of *ROMANIA*, of the faire Romane colonies there by him planted, which name it at this day retaineth, and is of the Turks called *ROMILIA* and *ROMELI* (that is to say) the Romane countrey. But as for the citie it selfe, the glorious name of the founder so preuailed, that the citie was and yet is of him called *CONSTANTINOPLE*, or *Constantine* his citie: and now of the barbarous Turkes commonly, but corruptly, *STAMBOLLI*. It is (as we said) built in the forme of a Triangle, whereof the longest side which runneth from Northeast to Southwest, is on the South side washed with the *PROBONTIS*; and towards the ending of the point which is about the seauen towers, is somewhat indented; being commonly reputed to be eight miles long. The other side lyeth East and West fise miles in length, being washed with the haven, which is somewhat more than eight miles long before it meet with the fresh water, and about a quarter of a mile broad: on the farther side whereof standeth the citie of *PERRA*, commonly called *GALATA*, sometimes a colonie of the Genowaies. This haven is very deepe, and by that reason as commodious as deepe, bearing ships full fraught close to the shoare, so that they may discharge their burthens with the least trouble that may be, and is of *Strabo* called *CORNU BIZANTI*, or the horne of *Bizantium*. The third side of this citie towards the Continent, lyeth almost North and South fise miles also in length: those two sides that lie vpon the sea, and the haven, are enuironed and girt in with a single wall, built after the antique maner, with many high towers, which strongly defend & flanke the same. Without which wals (especially towards the haven) there lyeth a street between them and the shore. But the other side which is the third, and regardeth the main land (beside the ditch, which is also fenced) is defended with three wals: the first wall standing vpon the ditch being but low; and the second not farre distant from the first, raised somewhat higher; but the third ouerlooketh and commaundeth both the other; from whence as from an high fortresse both the other wals and all the ditch without may easily be defended. But the two vtter wals, with the whole space betwixt them, are now by the Turks but slenderly maintained, lying full of earth and other rubbish, euen as they were in the time of the Grecians: some cause why they with lesse heart and courage defended the same against their barbarous enemies. In the East part of the citie, on that point which in the raighe of the Grecians was called the cape of *S. Demetrio*, distant from *ASIA* not much more than halfe a mile, standeth the Seraglio or pallace of the great Turke, containing in it selfe a great part of an hill, enclosed round with a wall, as if it were it selfe a citie, in circuit more than two miles: wherein amongst other stately buildings, neere vnto the sea standeth a verie faire and sumptuous gallerie, built for pleasure, with a priuie gate well fortified and planted with great ordinance, and other munition, whereby the great Turke at certaine times passeth, when he is disposed in his gallie to take his pleasure vpon the sea, or to passe over the strait vnto his houses or gardens of delight, on the other side in *ASIA*. In this great citie are also many other most stately and sumptuous buildings, as well of late erected by the Turkish Sultans, since they became lords thereof, as before by the Greeke emperours: amongst all which, the Temple of *S. Sophia* standing in the East side of the citie, not farre from the Seraglio (now reduced vnto the forme of a Mahometan Moschie, and whether the great Turke goeth often times to heare seruice, being indeed but the Sanctuarie or chauncell onely of the great, stately, and wonderfull church built by *Iustinian* the emperor) is most beautifull and admirable. That which standeth of it now, is both round & verie high, built after the fashion of the Pantheon in *ROME*, but much greater, fairer, and not open in the top as is that: the wals thereof being of the finest

Constantinople
built by Pausa-
nias, destroyed by
Seuerus, redif-
ed by Constant-
ine the Great,
and now taken
by Mahomet the
Turke.

The magnificent
temple of S. So-
phia.

G g iij

marble,

marble, and the floare all paved with faire marble also. In the middest there is a verie great and large circle, compassed in with high and huge pillars of most excellent marble of diuers sorts; and these support a mightie vault that beareth vp as many moe pillars aboue, standing after the verie same order; and in a downe right line, almost of the like greatnesse and goodnesse of the marble with the other below: vpon which, aboue the second vault, in manner of a loofe, resteth the great round rooffe which couereth all that space of the church which is compassed with the aforefaid pillars: being all enameled and fillited, with the pictures of Saints, after the ancient manner of some great churches in Christendome: but that the Turks, who like not to haue any pictures in their churches, haue put out their eyes onely, as loath to spoile such a rare peece of worke, and utterly to deface it. In like manner the wals of the vpper vault are wrought, painted, or portraied after the same order, though in some part decayed, by reason of their long continuance and standing. About this church are eighteen or twentie dores of brasse, right faire and costly, well declaring the magnificence and greatnesse thereof in more ancient times: when as it had (as is reported) more than two hundred dores of like making and greatnesse; and beside the hugeness of the frame and building it selfe, had also diuers faire monasteries and houses of religion joynd vnto it: whereunto belonged six thousand priests, whose houses and lodgings extended almost all ouer the place where now the Turke his pallace standeth, and the other places adjoyning to this great church, which is now their cheefe Moschie, and called by them by the proper name of *S. Sophia*, because they hold euen as we do, the wisdom of God to be incomprehensible and infinit. The next in magnificence vnto this is the Moschie of *Solyman*, wherein he lyeth buried, with his welbeloued wife the faire *Roxelana*: a worke well becoming the majestie of so mightie a monarch. There are beside these also many other faire Moschies, Seraglios for the Turke his wyues and concubines, Bezestanes or Buttes for marchants, Obeliskes, Batches, and other publicke edifices and buildings of great majestic and state, all well worth the beholding: wherein consisteth all the beautie of this so auncient and renowned a citie; faire vnlike to that it was in the time of the first Greeke emperours, and before it was spoiled by the Latines. For the Turkes priuate houses in this so great and imperiall a citie, so much renowned through the world, are for the most part low and base, after the Turkish fashion, built some of wood, some of stone, and some of vnburnt bricke, layd with clay and dyrt, which quickly decayeth againe: they after their homely manner (by long custome receiued) neuer building any thing sumptuously for their owne priuate vse, but contenting themselves with their simple cottages, how meane soeuer, commonly saying them to be good enough for the short time of their pilgrimage; and yet not sparing for any cost vpon the publicke buildings and ornaments of the commonwealth, which they build with great majestic and pompe; but especially their Moschies, wherein they excell. Neuertheless there yet are in *CONSTANTINOPLE* some other houses also built high and comely inough; but these bee few, and verie old, all inhabited by the Christians and Iewes, and not by the Turks. But of this inough, and so againe to our purpose.

The Souldiers of the Turkes in their priuate houses.

The Turke's fleet.

Mahomet with his puissant armie thus encamped before the citie, placing his Asian souldiers on the right hand, toward the *Bosphorus*; his European souldiers on the left hand, toward the haue; lay himselfe with 15000 Ianizaries and other souldiers of the court, in the middle betwixt both, against the heart of the citie. On the farther side of the haue also by *Pera*, hee placed *Zoganus*, one of his cheefe counsellors, with another part of his armie. At which time also *Pantolages* his Admirall came to the siege, with a fleet of thirtie gallies, and 200 other small ships, and a number of other lesser vessels, which were rowed with three, or fve oares a peece, full of Turkish archers, fitter for shew than seruice. But for defence of the haue, and so of the citie on that side, the emperour had caused the haue to bee strongly chained ouerthwart from the citie to *Pera*: and within the chaine had orderly placed his small fleet, the greatest strength whereof was seauen great ships of *Genoa*, with three gallies, and two galliots of *Venice*, three of *Creta*, and a few others of the Island of *Chios*; all which were there, rather by chance vpon marchants affaires, than that they were provided for any such seruice: yet by this means the Turke's fleet was shut out of the haue, and so the citie put in good safetie on that side.

When *Mahomet* had thus conveniently encamped his armie, and surrounded the citie both by sea and land: he first cast vp great trenches as neere as hee possibly could vnto the wals of the citie, and raised mounts in diuers places as high as the wals themselves, from whence the Turks with their shot greatly annoied the defendants. After that, hee placed his batterie against one of

the gates of the citie called *CALEGARIA*, and terribly battered the same, especially with one peece of ordinance of a wonderfull greatnesse, which with much difficultie was brought from *HADRIANOPLE* with an hundred & fiftie yoke of oxen, & caried a buller of an hundred pound waight, made (as his other shot was) of a kind of hard blacke stone brought from the Euxine sea. For as yet (as it seemeth) so soone after the inuention of that fatall engine, the vse of bullets of metall was vnknowne. There with continuall batterie, he terribly shooke the wals, which although they were verie strong, yet were they not able to withstand the furie of so great a batterie. The Christians also out of the citie discharged their great artilerie vpon the Turkes; but so sparingly, as if they had bene afraid to shake their owne wals; or loath for good husbandrie, to spend shot & powder, which was vnto the canoniers verie sparingly allowed: yet that which was spent, was so well bestowed, that the Turkes were therewith greuously annoyed. The breach also which they had made at the aforefaid gate, was by the defendants with great and dangerous labour againe repaired with faggots and earth; and such like matter best seruing for that purpose, and so made stronger than before. In which most dangerous work, they were altogether directed and greatly encouraged by *Iustinianus* the Geniway, the emperours lieutenant general for defence of the citie.

Yet for all this diligence of the Christians, *Mahomet* continued his batterie with no lesse furie than before: but reposing greater hope to find a way into the citie, by the spade and mattocke, than by batterie; hee employed his pyoners, whereof hee had great store, to digge a mine: Being altogether directed by Christians skilfull in that kind of worke, whom hee had for that purpose entertained. By whose cunning direction, with the industrious labour of the poore pyoners, the mine was brought to such perfection, that part of the wall, with one of the strong towers in the same, was quite vndermined, and stood supported, but with such vnstable staies as the pyoners had left for the bearing vp thereof vntill such time as it should by the tirants appointment be blown vp. This dangerous worke was neither perceiued, neither yet feared by the *Constantinopolitans*, as a thing not possible to haue bene done: forasmuch as *Baiuzet* and *Amirath* had both with great labour before in vaine attempted the same, at such time as they hardly besieged the citie. But that which those great kings had with much vaine labour by vnskillfull men made prooue of, *Mahomet* had now by men of greater deuise, brought to passe; although itooke not such effect as he wished: for one *Ia. Grandis*, a Germane captain, and a man of great experience, suspecting the matter, had caused a countermine to be made, whereby the labour of the Turkes was in good time discovered; and they with fire and sword driuen out of the mine, and the same strongly filled vp againe, and so the citie for that time deliuered of a great feare and danger. *Mahomet* perceiuing that it auailed him not to continue his batterie against that place which was againe so strongly repaired, remooued the same, and planted it against a tower called *BACTATINA*, neere vnto the gate called *PORTA ROMANA*, or Roman gate. Which tower shaken with continuall batterie, at length fell downe, and filled the ditch before the vter wall, euen with the ground. But this breach was also speedily and with great courage made vp againe by the defendants, although the Turkes did what they could, with continuall shot, to haue driuen them from the same. At which time they also erected certain high towers of timber, couered with raw hides to defend the same from fire, out of which they with their shot slew many of the Christians vpon the wals, and in making good the aforefaid breach: but *Mahomet* seeing this valiantnesse of the defendants, openly said, That it was neither the Grecians skill, nor courage, but the Frenchmen that defended the citie: For the Turkes commonly call all the Christians of the West by the name of Frankes or Frenchmen.

The cheerefulnesse and industrie of the Christians in defending and repairing the aforefaid breach, was so great, that the Turkish king began almost to dispaire of winning the citie; which hee could no way assault but on one side. When as a wicked Christian in his campe, put him againe in good hope, by shewing vnto him a deuise how to bring a great part of his fleet ouer land into the haue, and thereby to assault that part of the citie by water, which the citizens least feared: by which ingenious deuise, and by the great strength of men; *Zoganus Bassa* (to whom that charge was committed) brought seuentie of the lesser ships and galliots, with all their sailes abroad (to the great admiration of all that saw them) vp a great hill, and so by drie land, out of the *Bosphorus* behind *Pera*, the space of eight miles, into the haue of *CONSTANTINOPLE*, which running in betweene the citie and *Pera*, runneth into the maine land (as we sayd) about eight

Constantinople undermined by the Turkes.

Seuentie of the Turke galliots brought eight miles ouerland (by the deuise of a Christian) into the haue of Constantinople.

eight miles. The Christian that discovered this device vnto the king, is supposed to haue learned it of the Venetians, who not long before had done the like at the lake of BENNA CVS. Glad was Mahomet to see so many of his ships and gallies in the haven, and the Christians with the sight thereof no lesse discouraged. Neuerthelesse, they attempted to haue burnt those vessels as they were in launching, but the Turkes had so commodiously placed certaine peeces of great Ordinance for their defence, that the foremost of the gallies of the Christians, approaching the Turke fleet, was presently funke; wherewith the rest dismayed, returned backe from whence they came. Certaine of the Christians of the lost gallie, whom the Turkes tooke vp swimming in the haven, were the next day cruelly slaine in the sight of the Christians: in reuenge whereof, certain Turkes before taken prisoners into CONSTANTINOPLE, were forthwith brought to the top of the wals, and there in the sight of the campe with like crueltie put to death.

Mahomet thus possessed of the haven, shortly after caused a wonderfull bridge to be made quite ouer the haven, from Zoganus his campe which lay by P E R A, vnto the wals of CONSTANTINOPLE: which bridge was built with timber and planks, borne vp with small boats & empty caske, after a most strange manner, and was in length more than halfe a mile: by which bridge his armie came ouer the haven, to assault the citie on that side also.

In the meane time, three tall Genoway ships laded with corne from SICILIA, came with a faire wind of CHIO, with one of the emperours laded with corne from SICILIA, came with a faire wind for CONSTANTINOPLE. The Turkes great fleet then lying not farre off within the sight of the campe set vpon them, and after a great fight, wherein an exceeding number of the Turkes were slaine with shot, the gallies boorded the ships: but being much lower, were so far from doing any good, as that the Turkes could not well looke out, but they were from aboue slaine or wounded. Mahomet from the shore beholding the vnequall fight, and slaughter of his men, cried out aloud, sweareing and blaspheming God, and in great rage rid into the sea as farre as he durst; and coming backe againe, rent his clothes, faring with himselfe like a mad man. The whole armie of the Turkes beholding the same fight at sea, was filled with like indignation also, but could nothing remedie the matter. The great fleet ashamed in the sight of their king to bee overcome of so few ships, did what they might desperately to enter: but all in vaine, being continually overwhelmed with shot and stones from aboue, and valiantly beaten downe by the Christian souldiours. At length wearie of their losse, they were glad with dishonour to fall off againe, and to get them farther off. The report of the losse the Turkes sustained in this fight, is almost incredible: some of the Turkes fugitiues reported, almost ten thousand Turkes to haue there perished: but certain it is, that such was the losse, as filled the whole armie with indignation & sorrow, many hauing there lost their kinsmen or friends. Three of these ships that had made this fight, arrived in safetie at CONSTANTINOPLE, the other was lost. Mahomet vpon this overthrow conceived such displeasure against Pantogles his admirall, who in that fight had lost one of his eyes, that hee neuerthelesse thrust him out of his office, confiscated his goods, and was hardly by the great Basses entreated to spare his life.

Whilest Mahomet thus lay at the siege of CONSTANTINOPLE, and had thereunto given many great attempts, with more losse vnto himselfe than to the defendants, a rumour was raised in his campe, of great aid that was coming out of Italic by sea, and out of HUNGARIE by land, for the releefe of the besieged. This report (although indeed it was not true) with the due consideration of the danger of the siege, filled the Turkes campe with feare: so that the souldiours commonly murmured amongst themselves, saying, That to satisfie the ambitious humour of their young king, they were led to fight against impregnable wals and fortresses, yea against the barres of nature it selfe, without all reason. Whereupon Mahomet entered into consultation with the three great Basses his counsellors, Whether it were best for him to continue the siege, or not. When Caly Bassa, sometime his tutor, a man of greatest authoritie amongst the Turkes, both for his long experience and high place, and withall secretly favouring the distressed emperour, after hee had with long and graue discourse declared the difficultie or rather impossibilitie of the wished successe in the present warre; and confirmed the same, by producing the examples of Balier his great grandfather, and of Amurath his father, who had both in vaine made prooue of their strength against that citie: at length concluded, that in his opinion it were best for him to raise his siege, and to depart before he had sustained any further losse or disgrace. But Zoganus the second Bassa, in great fauour also with Mahomet, and secretly enuying the greatnesse of Caly Bassa, persuaded

suaded the king to proceed in his honourable enterprife: assuring him of the good successe thereof, and with all the reasons he could deuise, impugned that which Caly Bassa had said: And of the same opinion with Zoganus was also the third Bassa, rather of purpose to crosse Caly Bassa, and withall to fit the kings humour, than for any great hope he had in the good successe of that hee so much desired. Howbeit the speech he and Zoganus deliuered, so well agreed with the kings affection, that he resolved to continue the siege: and therevpon gaue full authoritie to Zoganus to appoint a day for a great and generall assault to be giuen: resolving at once to gage all his forces vpon the winning of the citie. Which charge Zoganus gladly took vpon him, & with his good liking appointed the 29 day of May for that generall assault, being then the Tuesday next following. In the meane time he sent one Ismael, the sonne of Alexander prince of SINOPE, embassadour vnto the emperour, to offer him peace: but vpon such hard conditions, as were no lesse to be refused than death it selfe. Which thing he did, partly to satisfie the mindes of his Turkes (who are for most part of opinion, that God will not prosper them in their assaults except they first make vnto their enemies some offer of peace, how vnreasonable soeuer it forceth not) and partly to make prooue what confidence the enemy yet had in himselfe, for the holding out of the siege. But that dishonourable peace so offered, together with the intollerable conditions, was by the emperour honourably refused: who no lesse feared the Turkes faith (if he should haue accepted thereof) than he did the hardnesse of the conditions. Three daies before this fatal assault was to be giuen, the Turkes (according to their manner) kept their solemne fast, eating nothing all the day vntill night; and then making the greatest cheare and joy they could deuise, and in the winding vp of the fame, tooke their leaue one of another, with such kissing and embracing, as if they should neuer haue met againe. At the same time Mahomet to encourage his souldiours, caused proclamation to be made through his campe; That he would freely giue all the spoile of the citie for three daies vnto his souldiours if they could win it: and for confirmation thereof, solemly swore the Turkes great oath, By the immortall God; and by the foure hundred prophets, by Mahomet, by his fathers soule, by his owne childten, and by the sword wherewith hee was girt, faithfully to performe whatsoever he had to them in his proclamation promised.

Whilest these things were in doing, Caly Bassa disdaining that his counsaile was rejected, and the opinion of his aduersaries followed: by secret letters aduertised the emperour of the day appointed for the generall assault, together with all the preparation made against him: persuading him not to be afraid of them, who were themselves no lesse afraid of him; but carefully to provide to haue all things in readinesse for the defence of his citie, and valiantly to withstand the rash and last attempt of his enemies.

This wofull emperour had already done what he could to the utmost of his power for defence of the citie, all the time of the siege: but such was the disloyaltie of the citizens, his subjects, that many times they could hardly be drawne from their priuat trades and occupations vnto the wals to withstand the enemy, foolishly affirming, That it was to no purpose for them to fight against the Turkes at the breaches, and to starue for food at home in their houses: For which cause, the emperour commaunded a view to bee taken of all the corne in the citie (which then began to grow verie scarce) but vpon diligent search made, such store was found in many houses, hands, (which was by them either altogether kept in, or sold afterwards at vnreasonable prices; or else so sparingly vntered, as if they had none to spare) as that it appeared, the dearth and scarcitie which then beganne to increase, to proceed rather of the couetousnesse of men, than of any true want of graine: this store the emperour caused to bee proportionably diuided vnto euerie familie at reasonable prices, according to their spending; and for eased the great murmuring and grudging of the common people for bread. The Grecian mercinarie souldiours also, regarding more their owne priuate profit, than the publique seruice, refused any longer to goe to the wals than they were sure of their daily pay: which the poore emperour otherwise vnable to giue them, was glad to conuert the church plate and Jewels into money, to content them. For he had many times before with teares, in vaine, requested to haue borrowed monie of his couetous subjects, to haue been employed in the defence of the citie; but they would still sweare, that they had it not, as men growne poore for want of trade: which in few daies after, their enemies found in such abundance, that they wondered at their wealth, and derided their folly. That possessing so much, they would bestow so little, in defence of themselves and their country: But this had been their usual manner of dealing with their emptiours, in that declining state of the empire:

A wonderfull bridge made by the Turkes ouer the haven of Constantinople.

A notable fight betwene four of the Christians ships, and the Turke fleet.

The citizens of Constantinople cause murmure against the emperour.

A bare shift for money.

pire: as well appeared in the time of the emperor *Baldwin*, who for lacke of monie was glad first to sell away many of the goodly ornaments of the citie, and afterwards to pawne his own house vnto the Venetian marchants, for monie to maintaine his state, as is in the former part of this Historie declared.

But to returne againe to the course of our Historie. The emperor certainly aduertised of the enemies purpose, for the generall assault shortly to be giuen, first commended the defence of himselfe and the citie vnto the protection of the almighty, by generall fasting and prayer: and afterwards appointed euerie capitaine and commaunder, to some certaine place of the wall for defence thereof: which was done by the direction of *So. Iustinianus* his Generall, in whose valor the Constantinopolitans had reposed their greatest hope.

But the citie being on euerie side now beset with the Turkes great armie, and the defendants in number but few, for so great a citie, (in compasse eight miles) the wals could not but slenderly in many places be manned, and especially on both sides toward the sea, where indeed least danger was. The greatest strength and best souldiours, were placed for defence of the viter wall, where the breach was, and the assault expected by land. *Iustinianus* the Generall himselfe, with three hundred Genowayes well armed, and certaine chosen Greekes, vnderooke the defence of that part of the battered wall, neere vnto the Romane gate, where the fall of the tower *BACRINA* had filled the ditch, as is aforesaid: against which place *Mahomet* himselfe lay encamped, with his Ianizaries and best men of warre. Neere vnto *Iustinianus* lay the emperor himselfe, for defence of another part of the wall: and so other capitaines orderly with their companies, all alongst the viter wall. And because the defendants should haue no hope to saue their liues, more than their owne valour, the emperor caused all the gates of the inner wall to be fast shut vp. And in this sort they lay all the night, expecting continually when the assault should bee giuen: all which time they might heare great hurly burly and noise in the Turkes campe, as they were putting things in readinesse for the assault.

Constantinople
assaulted by the
Turkes.

A little before day, the Turkes approached the walles, and begun the assault, where shot and stones were deliuered vpon them from the wals as thicke as haile; whereof little fell in vaine, by reason of the multitude of the Turkes, who pressing fast vnto the wals, could not see in the darke how to defend themselves, but were without number wounded or slaine: but these were of the common and worst souldiours, of whom the Turkish king made no more reckoning than to abate the first force of the defendants. Vpon the first appearance of the day, *Mahomet* gaue the signe appointed for the generall assault, wherupon the citie was in a moment and at one instant on euerie side most furiously assaulted by the Turkes: for *Mahomet*, the more to distresse the defendants, and the better to see the forwardnesse of the souldiours, had before appointed which part of the citie euerie colonell with his regiment should assaile. Which they valiantly performed, deliuering their arrowes and shot vpon the defendants, so thicke, that the light of the day was therewith darkened: others in the mean time courageously mounting the scaling ladders, and comming euen to handie stroakes with the defendants vpon the wall; where the foremost were for most part violently borne forward by them which followed after. On the other side, the Christians with no lesse courage withstood the Turkish furie, beating them downe againe with great stones and waightie peeces of timber, and so ouerwhelmed them with shot, darts, and arrowes, and other hurtfull and deadly deuises from aboue; that the Turkes dismayed with the terror thereof, were readie to retire.

Mahomet returneth
into the assault.

Mahomet seeing the great slaughter and discomfiture of his men, sent in fresh supplies of his Ianizaries and best men of warre, whom hee had for that purpose reserved as his last hope and refuge: by whose comming on, his fainting souldiours were againe encouraged, and the terrible assault begun afresh. At which time, the barbarous king ceased not to vse all possible means to maintain the assault: by name calling vpon this and that captain, promising vnto some whom he saw forward, golden mountaines; and vnto others in whom he saw any signe of cowardise, threatening most terrible death: by which meanes the assault became most dreadfull, death there raging in the midst of many thousands. And albeit that the Turkes lay dead by heapes vpon the ground, yet other fresh men pressed on still in their places, ouer their dead bodies, and with diuers euent either slew, or were slaine by their enemies.

In this so terrible a conflict, it chanced *Iustinianus* the Generall to bee wounded in the arme: who losing much blood, cowardly withdrew himselfe from the place of his charge, not leaving

any to supplie his roome, and so got into the citie by the gate called *ROMANA*: which hee had caused to be opened in the inner wall: pretending the cause of his departure to be for the biiding vp of his wound, but being indeed a man now altogether discouraged.

The souldiours there present, dismayed with the departure of their Generall, and forecharged by the Ianizaries, forsooke their stations; and in hast fled to the same gate whereby *Iustinianus* was entered: with the sight whereof, the other souldiours dismayed, ran thither by heapes also. But whilst they violently strue, all together to get in at once, they so wedged one another in the entrance of the gate, that few of so great a multitude, got in: in which so great a presse and confusion of minds, eight hundred persons were there by them that followed, troden vnder foot or thrust to death. The emperor himselfe, for safegard of his life flying with the rest, in that presse as a man not regarded, miserably ended his dayes, together with the Greeke empire. His dead bodie was shortly after found by the Turkes amongst the slaine, and knowne by his rich apparell; whose head being cut off, was forthwith presented to the Turkish tyrant: by whose commaundement it was afterward thrust vpon the point of a lance, and in great derision caried about as a trophiee of his victorie, first in the campe, and afterwards vp and downe the citie.

Constantinople
won by the
Turkes.

The Turkes encouraged with the flight of the Christians, presently advanced their ensignes vpon the top of the vttermoost wall, crying victorie; and by the breach entred as if it had been a great flood, which hauing once found a breach in the banke, ouerfloweth, and beareth downe all before it: so the Turkes when they had woon the viter wall, entred the citie by the same gate that was opened for *Iustinianus*, &c by a breach which they had before made with their great artillerie; and without mercie cutting in pieces all that came in their way, without further resistance became lords of that most famous and imperiall citie. Some few there were of the Christians, who preferring death before the Turkish slauerie, with their swords in their hands, sold their liues deere vnto their enemies: amongst whom, the two brethren *Paulus* and *Troilus Bochiardi* Italians, with *Theophilus Paleologus* a Greeke, and *Ioannus Stianus* a Dalmatian, for their great valour and courage, deserue to be had in eternall remembrance: Who after they had like lions, made slaughter of their enemies, died in the midst of them, embred with their blood, rather oppressed by multitude than by true valour overcome. In this furie of the Barbarians, perished many thousands of men, women, and children, without respect of age, sex, or condition. Many for safegard of their liues, fled into the Temple of *SOPHIA*; where they were all without pittie slaine, except some few referred by the barbarous victors, to purposes more grieuous than death it selfe. The rich and beautifull ornaments and jewels of that most sumptuous and magnificent Church (the stately building of *Iustinianus* the emperor) were in the turning of a hand, pluckt downe and carried away by the Turkes: and the Church it selfe built for God to be honored in, for the present conuerted into a stable for their horses, or a place for the execution of their abominable and vnpeakable filthinesse: the Image of the crucifix was also by them taken downe, and a Turke cap put vpon the head thereof, and so set vp and shot at with their arrowes; and afterwards in great derision caried about in their campe, as it had been in procession, with drums playing before it, railing, and spitting at it, and calling it the god of the Christians. Which I note not so much done in contempt of the image, as in the despite of Christ and the Christian religion.

But whilst some were thus spoyling of the churches, others were as busie in ransacking of priuat houses, where the miserable Christians were enforced to endure in their persons whatsoever pleased the insolent victors: vnto whom all things were now lawfull that stood with their lust, at euerie common souldiour hauing power of life and death, at his pleasure to spare or spill. At which time riches were no better than pouertie; and beautie worse than deformitie. What tongue were able to expresse the miserie of that time? or the proud insolencie of those barbarous conquerors? whereof so many thousands, euerie man with greedinesse fitted his owne vnreasonable desire: all which the poore Christians were enforced to endure. But to speake of the hidden treasure, money, plate, jewels, and other riches there found, passeth credit: the Turkes themselves wondred thereat, and were therewith so enriched, that it is a proverbe amongst them at this day, if any of them grow suddenly rich, to say, *He hath been at the sacking of CONSTANTINOPLE*: whereof if some reasonable part had in time been bestowed vpon defence of the citie, the Turkish king had not so easily taken both it and the citie. But euerie man was carefull how to encrease his owne priuat wealth, few or none regarding the publike state: vntill in fine, euerie

euerie man with his priuat abundance was wrapped vp together with his needie neighbour in the selfesame common miserie. Yea the securitie of the Constantinopolitans was such, that being alwaies enuironed with their mortall enemies, yet had they no care of fortifying of so much as the inner wall of the citie (which for beautie and strength was comparable with the wals of any citie in the world, if it had been kept well repaired) but suffered the officers which had the charge to see to the fortifying of the citie, to conuert the greatest part of the money into their own purses: as appeared by *Mannuel Giagerus*, a little before a verie poore man; and likewise by *Nephtus*, who then hauing that office to see vnto the fortification of the citie, had in short time gathered together seuentie thousand florens, which became all a worthy prey vnto the greeke Turkes.

After that the barbarous common souldiour had thus by the space of three daies without controlment taken his pleasure in the citie (as *Mahomet* had before promised) and throughly ranfact euerie corner thereof: they then returned into the campe, with their rich spoils, druing the poore Christian captiues before them as if they had ben droues of cattell, or flocks of sheepe: a spectacle no lesse lamentable, than was the sacking of the citie. It would haue grieved any humane heart to haue seene the noble gentewomen and great ladies, with their beautifull children, and many other faire personages, who lately flowed in all worldly wealth and pleasure, to be now become the poore and miserable bondslaves of most base and contemptible rascals; who were so farre from shewing them any pittie, as that they delighted in nothing more than to heape more and more miserie vpon them, making no more reckoning of them than of dogs. There might the parents see the wofull miserie of their beloued children, and the children of the parents, the husband might see the shamefull abuse of his wife, and the wife of her husband, and generally one friend of another: and yet not able to mourne together (the least part of heauie comfort) being in the thraldome of diuers cruell masters, by whom they were kept in sunder, like in few daies to be dispersed into diuers farre countries, without hope that they should euer find releafe, or one see another againe.

The souldiours being all retired into the campe, *Mahomet* as a proud conquerour, with great triumph entered into the citie of *CONSTANTINOPLE*, then desolate and void of all Christian inhabitants; and there after the manner of the Turkish kings, made a sumptuous and royall feast vnto his Bassaes and other great captaines: where after he had furcharged himselfe with excesse of meat and drinke, he caused diuers of the cheefe Christian captiues, both men and women (of whom many were of the late emperours line and race) to be in his presence put to death, as hee with his Turkes sat banquetting: deeming his feast much more stately by such effusion of Christian blood. Which manner of exceeding crueltie he daily vsed, vntill such time as he had destroyed all the Grecian nobilitie that was in his power, with the cheefe of the late Constantinopolitan citizens. At which time also diuers of the Venetian Senatours, with *Baiulus* their Gouvernor, and many rich marchants of *GENVA* and other places of *ITALIE* were in like manner murdered: so that of seuen and fortie Senatours of *VENICE* which were there taken (whereof most part came thither by chauce, bound for other places, but there vnluckily shut vp) some few found the fauour, with exceeding great ransomes to redeeme themselves.

Amongst these noblemen thus lamentably executed, was one *Lucas Leontares*, or *Noiras*, commonly called *Kyr-Lucas*, or lord *Lucas*, but of late great chancellor of *CONSTANTINOPLE*, a man of greatest account next vnto the emperour himselfe: whom the Turkish tyrant seemed greatly to blame, that hee being a man in so great credit with the late emperour, perswaded him not in time to haue sought for peace vpon any condition, or els to haue yeelded vp the citie, rather than to haue run that extreame course of wilfull miserie. Hee to excuse the matter, said, That the late emperour his master was encouraged to hold out the siege, by the Venetians and citizens of *PERRA*, from whom he receiued secret aid: as also by some of the greatest men about his own person: for prooffe whereof, hee drew out of his bosome the letters which *Caly-Bassa* had to that purpose written vnto the emperour, and deliuered them to *Mahomet*, hoping thereby to haue found some fauour. But when he had said what he could, the eldest of his sonnes then liuing (for he had lost two elder in the time of the siege) was cruelly executed before his face, and the youngest reserved for the tyrants lust: and after all this miserie had his owne head stricke off with the rest appointed for that daies sacrifice. Out of this generall calamitie escaped *Io. Insulinus* the Generall, who with all speed fled at first to *PERRA*, and from thence to *CHIOS*, where in few daies

after he died, of greefe of mind (as was thought) rather than of his wound, being happie if he had honourably before ended his dayes vpon the wals of *CONSTANTINOPLE*. *Isodorus* also the Cardinall and Legate from the Pope, disguised in simple apparrell, and being of the Turkes vnkowne, redeemed himselfe for a small ranfome, as if he had been a man of no account, and so escaped: whom if *Mahomet* had knowne, he had vndoubtedly bene made shorter by the head.

The glorie of this famous citie of *CONSTANTINOPLE* continued many hundred yeares, commanding a great part of the world, vntill that by ciuile discord and priuat gaine, it was by little and little so weakened, that the emperours of later times, for the maintenance of their estate, were glad to relie sometime vpon one, and sometime vpon another, yet still holding the title and state of an empire, by the space of 1121 yeares, when as (God his judgement set apart; wonderfull and shamefull it is to consider, how) it was by this Turkish king *Mahomet* so quickly taken, and the Christian empire of the East there vtterly ouerthrowne: which happened in the nine and twentieth day of May, in the yeare of our Lord 1453. *Constantinus Paleologus*, the sonne of *Helen*, and last Christian emperour, being then slaine, when he had reigned about eight yeares. Since which time it hath continued the imperiall seat of the Turkish emperours, and so remaineth at this day.

The potestats and citizens of *PERRA*, otherwise called *GALATA*, a citie standing opposit against *CONSTANTINOPLE*, on the other side of the hauen, and then vnder the gouernment of the Genowayes, doubting to run the same course of miserie with their neighbors, sent their Orators vnto *Mahomet* (the same day that *CONSTANTINOPLE* was taken) offering to him the keyes of their gates, and so to become his subjects. Of which their offer *Mahomet* accepted, and sent *Zoganus* with his regiment to take possession of the citie. Who comming thither, according to *Mahomet* his commandement, there established the Turkish gouernment, confiscated the goods of all such as were fled, and vsed the rest of the citizens which stayed, with such insolencie and oppression, as that their miserie was not much lesse than theirs of *CONSTANTINOPLE*. And because it was doubted, that the Genowayes might by sea giue aid vnto the citizens, if they should at any time seeke to reuolt, he caused all the wals and fortresses of the citie which were toward the land, to be cast downe and laied euen with the ground. Thus is the fatall period of the Greeke empire run, and *Mahomet* in one day become lord of the two famous cities of *CONSTANTINOPLE* and *PERRA*: the one taken by force, the other by composition. At which time the miserie of *PERRA* was great, but that of *CONSTANTINOPLE* justly to be accounted amongst the greatest calamities that euer happened to any Christian citie in the world.

Mahomet had of long time borne a secret grudge against *Caly-Bassa*, sometime his tutor, for that by his means *Amurath* his father, in the dangerous time of the Hungarian warres, had againe resumed vnto himselfe the gouernment of the Turkish kingdome, which hee had before resigned vnto him, then but young. But for as much as hee was the cheefe Bassa, and had for many yeares ruled all things at his pleasure, to the generall good liking of the people, during the raigne of old *Amurath*, and was thereby growne to be of such wealth, credit, and authoritie, as no man had at any time obtained greater vnder any of the *Othoman* kings: *Mahomet* in the beginning of his raigne, before hee was well established in his kingdome, durst not to take reuenge of that iniurie (as hee deemed it) but yet still kept it in remembrance, warily dissembling his deepe conceiued hatred, as if he had quite forgot it. Neuerthelesse sometime (for all his wauiness) words fell from him, whereby the warie courtiers (which as curiously weigh their princes words, as the cunning goldsmith dooth his finest gold) easily perceiued the secret grudge that stucke in his stomacke against the Bassa: and thereby deigned his fall to be at hand. So it happened one day that as *Mahomet* was walking in the court, he saw a fox of the Bassaes tied in a chaine, which after hee had a while earnestly looked vpon, hee suddainly brake into this speech: *Alas poore beast, hast thou no money to giue thy master to set thee at libertie?* Out of which words, curious heads gathered much matter concerning the kings disposition towards the Bassa. This ominous surmising of the courtiers (which oftentimes proueth too true) was not vnkowne vnto the Bassa himselfe, but troubled him much: wherefore to get himselfe out of the way for a season, more than for any deuotion, he tooke vpon him to goe in pilgrimage to visite the temple of the great prophet (as they tearme him) at *MACHA*, which amongst the Turkes is holden for a right religious and meritorious worke: hoping, that the young kings displeasure might in time be mitigated, and his mallice assuaged. But *Mahomet* perceiuing the distrust of the Bassa, and

H h

whereof

Mahomet solemnly
in *Constantinople*
with the blood
of the Grecian
nobilitie.

Perra yeelded
to the Turke.

Mahomet not
only dissembling
his hatred
against *Caly-Bassa*.

whereof it proceeded, seemed to take knowledge thereof, and with good words comforted him vp, willing him to be of good cheere, and not to misdoubt any thing; neither to regard the vaine speech of foolish people, assuring him of his vndoubted fauour: and the more to put him out of all suspicion, continually sent him rich gifts, and heaped vpon him new honors, as if of all others he had esteemed him most. Vntill that now at the taking of CONSTANTINOPLE, it was discovered by *Lucas Leontares*, that he had intelligence with the late emperor of CONSTANTINOPLE, and his letters produced. For which cause, or as the common report went, for the old grudge that the tyrant bare against him, as also for his great wealth, he was by *Mahomet's* commandement apprehended and carried in bonds to HADRIANOPLE: where after he had with exquisite torments been enforced to confesse where all his treasures lay, he was most cruelly in his extreame old age executed. After whose death, his friends and seruants (which were many, for he was a man greatly beloved in court) in token of their griefe put on mourning apparell: so that in the court appeared a great shew of common sorrow; wherewith *Mahomet* being offended, caused proclamation to be made, That all such as did weare such mourning apparell, should the next day appeare before him: at which time there was not one to be seene about the court in that heauie attire, for feare of the tyrants displeasure.

Mahomet placeth his imperiall seat at Constantinople, and is worthily accounted first Emperour of the Turks.

After that *Mahomet* was thus become lord of the imperiall citie of CONSTANTINOPLE, as is aforesaid; and had fully resolved there to place his imperiall seat: he first repaired the wals and other buildings spoiled in the late siege, and by proclamations sent forth into all parts of his dominions, gaue great priuiledges and immunities to all such as should come to dwell at CONSTANTINOPLE, with free libertie to exercise what religion or trade they pleased. Wherby in short time that great and desolat citie was againe well peopled, with such as out of diuers countries resorted thither: but especially with the Iewish nation, which driuen out of other places, came thither in great numbers, and were of the Turks gladly received. So when he had there established all things according to his hearts desire, he tooke vpon him the name and title of an Emperour: and is from that time not vnworthely reputed for the first emperor of the Turks.

Now amongst many fair virgins taken prisoners by the Turks at the winning of CONSTANTINOPLE, was one *Irene* a Greek borne, of such incomparable beautie and rare perfection, both of body & mind, as if nature had in her to the admiration of the world, laboured to haue shewed her greatest skill; so prodigally she had bestowed vpon her, all the graces that might beautifie or commend that hir so curious a worke. This paragon was by him that by chance had taken her, presented vnto the great Sultan *Mahomet* himselfe, as a jewell so fit for no mans wearing as his owne: by the beautie and secret vertues whereof, he found himselfe euen vpon the first view not a little moued. Neuerthelesse, hauing as then his head full of troubles, and about all things carefull for the assuring of the imperiall citie of CONSTANTINOPLE, by him but euen then woones he for the present committed her to the charge of his Eunuch, and sent her away, so to be in libertie kept vntill his better leisure. But those his troubles ouerblowne, and his new conquests well assured, he then began forthwith to thinke of the faire *Irene*: and for his pleasure sending for her, tooke in her perfections such delight and contentment, as that in short time he had changed state with her, she being become the mistresse and commander of him so great a conqueror; and he in nothing more delighted, than in doing her the greatest honour and seruice he could. All the day he spent with her in discourse, and the night in dalliance: all time spent in her companie, seemed vnto him short; and without her nothing pleased: his fierce nature was now by her well tamed, and his wonted care of armes quite neglected: *Mars* slept in *Venus* lap, and now the soldiers might go play. Yea the verie government of his estate and empire seemed to be of him, in comparison of her, little or not at all regarded; the care thereof being by him carelesly committed to others, that so he might himselfe wholly attend vpon her, in whom more than in himselfe, the people said he delighted. Such is the power of disordered affections, where reason ruleth not the reine. But whilest he thus forgetfull of himselfe, spendeth in pleasure not some few daies or moneths, but euen a whole yeare or two, to the lightning of his credit, and the great discontentment of his subjects in generall: the Ianizaries and other fouldiors of the court (men desirous of imploiment, and grieued to see him so giuen ouer vnto his affections, & to make no end thereof) began at first in secret to murmur thereat, and to speake hardly of him; and at length (after their insolent manner) spared not openly to say, That it were well done to deprime him of his government and state, as vnworthy thereof, and to set vp one of his sonnes in his stead. Which speeches

speeches were now growne so rife, and the discontentment of the men of warre so great, that it was not without cause by some of the great Bassaes feared, wherunto this their so great insolencie would grow. But who should tell the tyrant thereof; whose frowne was in it selfe death: or who durst take in hand to cure that his sicke mind: which distraught with the sweet, but poysoned potions of loue, was not like to listen to any good counsell, were it neuer so wisely giuen: but as a man metamorphosed, to turne his furie vpon him which should presume so wholefomely (but contrarie to his good liking) to aduise him. Vnhappie man, whose great estate and fierce nature was not without danger to be medled or tempered with, no, not by them who of all others ought in so great a perill to haue bene thereof most carefull; but were now for feare all become silent and dumbe. Now amongst other great men in the Court, was one *Mustapha Bassa*, a man for his good seruice (for that he was of a child brought vp with him) of *Mahomet* greatly fauoured, and by him also highly promoted; and he againe by him as his Soueraigne no lesse honored than feared: who no lesse than the rest, grieued to see so great a change in the great Sultan, of whom they had conceiued no small hope of greater matters than were by him as yet performed; and moued also with the danger threatened vnto him by the discontented Ianizaries and men of warre: espying him at conuenient leisure to be spoken vnto, and presuming of the former credit he had with him, aduentured thus to breake with him, and to giue him warning thereof.

How dangerous a thing it is for a subject or vassale, without leaue, presumptuously to enter into the secrets of his dread Lord and Soueraigne, the wofull examples of others (most mightie Mahomet) haue so sufficiently warned me, as that were it not for the dutifull loyaltye I owe vnto your greatnesse, far dearer vnto me than mine owne life, I would not at this time aduenture my selfe vnto the hazard of your doubtfull acceptance of my faithfull speech and meaning; but with others keepe silence, and in secret mourne together with my heauie thoughts: which if I should in so great a danger both of your life and empire now doe, without warning you thereof, I were not to be accounted unworthie onely those your great fauours and honours, most bountifull vnto me bestowed; but as a most vile traitor both vnto your state and person, to be of all men detested and abhorred. The life you haue of late led, euer since the taking of CONSTANTINOPLE, as a man carelesse of his state, and wholly wedded vnto his owne pleasure, hath giuen occasion not vnto the vulgar people onely (alwayes readie to say the worst) and soldiers of the Court, the guarders of your person, but euen vnto the greatest commanders of your armies and empire, to murmure and grudge, I dare not say, to conspire against you. Yet pardon me dread Soueraigne, if I should so say, for that there is no man which with great discontentment maruellet not much to see so great an alteration in your heroicall disposition and nature: whereby you are become far unlike that noble Mahomet, which hauing ouerthrowne the Greeke empire, and taken the great citie of CONSTANTINOPLE, promised both vnto himselfe and others, the conquest of ITALIE, and the sacking of ROME, the stately seat of the antient Roman conquerours. You haue giuen your selfe ouer (as they say) for a spoile and prey vnto a poore simple woman, your slauie and vassale, who with her beautie and allurements hath so bewitched your vnderstanding and reason, as that you can attend nothing but her seruice, and the satisfying of your most passionate and inordinate desires; which how much the more you cherish them, so much the more they torment and vex you. Enter but a little into your selfe (I pray you) and compare the life you now lead with the like time heretofore by you spent in treading honors steps, and you shall find a notable difference betwixt the one and the other. Had the noble Othoman, the first raiser of your house and familie, so giuen himselfe ouer vnto pleasure, you had not now inherited the countries of BITHYNIA and GALATIA, with others moe alongt the Euxine, by him conquered. Neither had his sonne Orchanes (the lively image of his father, and follower of his vertues) by leading this kind of life, triumphed ouer LICAONIA, PHRYGIA, and CARIA, or extended the bounds of his empire so farre as vnto the straits of HELLES PONTVS. What should I speake of Amurath his sonne and successor in the empire, who in person himselfe, first of the Othoman kings, passed ouer into EVROPE, placed his imperiall seat at HADRIANOPLE, conquered THRACIA, BULGARIA, and RASCIA. Yea Baiazet your great grandfather is in his misfortune to bee more than you commended, as vanquished in field by the mightie Tamerlane with foure hundred thousand horsemen and six hundred thousand foot, and not by a filie woman: comforting his mishap with the honour and greatnesse of him by whom he was so overcome. Neither may I with silence passe ouer your woorthie grandfather the noble Mahomet, who not contented to haue restored the shaken empire, conquered also a great part of MACEDONIA, euen to the Ionian sea, and carying the terror of his armes ouer into

Hh ij

ASIA

the Albanians rise in armes against the said two princes their souverains: and vnder the leading of their rebellious captaine *Emanuel Catecuzenus*, grievously troubled both the poore princes. These Albanians were a rough and hardie kind of people, which living after the manner of the rude Scythian herdsmen, by feeding of cattell, had of long time planted themselves in *PELOPONESVS*; differing from the naturall Greekes, both in the manner of their living and language: which diuersitie was no small cause that they oftentimes spurned, as now, against the government of the Gracian princes. In this extremitie, the two distressed princes (not well knowing which way to turne themselves) sought for peace at *Mahomet's* hands, offering to become his tributaries. Of which their offer he willingly accepted, as an induction to the full conquest of that country; and sent *Turashan* gouernour of *THESSALIA*, one of his greatest men of warre, with an army into *PELOPONESVS*, to aid those princes against the Albanians: by whose industrie the masterfull rebels were in short time discomfited, and the counrey of *PELOPONESVS* quieted; yet so, that it was now become tributarie to the Turkish king.

Thomas and Demetrius rebell against Mahomet, and are by him spoiled of part of their dominion.

These two princes *Demetrius* and *Thomas*, the last of all the Christian princes that reigned in *PELOPONESVS*, hauing thus lost their libertie, liued for a few yeares as the Turkes vassales; paying such yearly tribute as they had before promised. During which time, many displeasures arose betwixt the two brothers; being both jealous of their estate; and desirous by all possible meanes to win the hearts of their subjects one from another: whereby it came so to passe, that whiles they both desired to become popular, they weakened their owne credit; and had not their subjects at such commaund as best stood with the safetie of their estate. Neuerthelesse as soon as they vnderstood that the Christian princes of the West were making great preparation against the Turke; and that *Calixtus* the third of that name (then the bishop of *ROME*) had already put a fleet of gallies to sea, which did great spoile vpon the borders of the Turkes dominions; they vainly perswading themselves that the Turkes would in short time be againe driuen out of *GRECIA*, refused to pay any more tribute vnto the Turkish king, or to keepe league any longer with him. Vpon which occasion, *Mahomet* with a puissant army came downe and first besieged *CORINTH*, and afterwards entering into *PELOPONESVS* tooke diuers strong townes, and destroyed the counrey before him: and forced the two princes for safeguard of their liues to flee, the one to *MANTINIA*, and the other into the strong citie of *EPIDAVRVS*, now called *RAVSIVM*. The poore princes destitute of such aid as they expected, and altogether vnable to withstand the power of the mightie tyrant, began againe to sue for peace: which he, hauing now spoiled their counrey, granted vpon condition, That all such places as he had already taken, should be still his owne; and also that the citie of *PATRAS* with the counrey adioyning, should be deliuered vnto him; and that for the rest, the said princes should pay vnto him a yearly tribute: which hard conditions the poore princes, now in danger to loose all, were glad to accept of: whereupon a peace was for that time againe concluded.

In his returne he tooke the citie of *ATHENS* in his way, which he not long before had taken from *Francus Acciauoli* by composition (by meanes of *Omars* the sonne of *Turechan*, one of his great captains) promising to giue him the counrey of *BOTIA* with the citie of *THEBES* in lieu thereof. This *Francus* was nephew to *Nerius*, sometime prince of *ATHENS*, and had of long time been brought vp in the Turkes court, as one of *Mahomet's* minions; and was of him (as was supposed) entirely beloued. But when he had receiued the dukedome of *THEBES* in exchange for his princely state of *ATHENS*, he was shortly after, as if it had been in great friendship sent by *Mahomet* to *Zoganus*, his lieutenant in *PELOPONESVS*: by whom he was at first counteously entertained, but afterwards being about to depart, he was (according as *Mahomet* had before commanded) suddenly staied; and when he least feared, cruelly murdered.

Mahomet cometh againe into Peloponessus.

About three yeares after the peace before concluded betwixt *Mahomet* and the two brethren, *Mahomet* vnderstanding that the Christian kings and princes had combined themselves against him, with a purpose to drue him againe out of *GRECIA*: thought it now high time, and much for the assurance of his estate, to roote vp the small reliques of the Grecian empire, which yet remained in *PELOPONESVS* in the two princes of the imperial bloud; *Thomas* and *Demetrius*: whereunto he saw a faire occasion presented. Forasmuch as those two brethren were at that time at great variance betwixt themselves, neither paid him such tribute as they had before promised: hereupon he with a great and strong army came to *CORINTH*, where *Asanes* a noble man of great authoritie and power in that counrey, whose sister *Demetrius* had married, came vnto him from

from the prince his brother in law, attended vpon with many gallant gentlemen, his followers, of purpose to aid him against the other prince *Thomas*, nothing fearing any harme to haue been by the Turke intended against himselfe or his brother in law *Demetrius*, whom they both reckoned of as of a friend. But when *Mahomet* was entered into *PELOPONESVS*, and came to *THESSALIA*, he caused the same *Asanes*, with all his cheefe followers, to be laied hold vpon, and cast into bonds: knowing (as it should seeme) no man for friend, which might any way hinder his ambitious designs.

Demetrius submiseth himselfe to Mahomet.

Demetrius hearing what was happened vnto *Asanes*, fled to *SPARTA*, now called *MIZITHRA*: whether *Mahomet* in few dayes after came and laied siege to the citie. But the poore prince considering that he must needs at length fall into his hands, went out of the citie, and humbly submitted himselfe with all that he had into his power. Which so well pleased the Turkish tyrant, that hee counteously receiued him, comforted him, and promised him in stead of *SPARTA* to giue him other lands and possessions of like value elsewhere: Neuerthelesse, hee committed him to safe custodie, and carried him about with him as his prisoner, vntill hee had finished those warres. After he had taken *SPARTA*, he besieged *CASTRIA*, where he lost diuers of his Iauizaries: for which cause, when he had taken the citie, he put all the souldiours therein to the sword; and cut the captaines ouerthwart in two peeces. From thence he marched to *LEONTARIUM*, called in antient time *MEGALOPOLIS*, which he tooke; with another citie called *CARDICEA*, whither they of *LEONTARIUM* had before conueyed their wiues and children, as to a place of more safetie. There he cruelly put to death all the inhabitants of those cities, men, women, and children, in number about six thousand, of whom he left not one aliue: and yet not so satisfied, commaunded the very beasts and cattell of those places to be killed. Many cities of *PELOPONESVS* terified with the dreadfull example of their neighbours, forthwith yielded themselves: and amongst others *SALVARTIVM*, a great and strong citie of *ARCHADIA*; where hee caused all the inhabitants, men, women, and children, to the number of ten thousand, to be cast into bonds; looking for nothing but present death: all which he commaunded afterwards to be sent captiues to *CONSTANTINOPLE*, and with them peopled the suburbs of that citie. After that, he by the counsell of *Demetrius*, sent one of his captains called *Iosua*, with certaine companies of Greeke souldiours, vnto the strong citie of *EPIDAVRVS*, to commaund them in the name of the prince; to deliuer vnto him the citie, with the prince his wife and daughter, which lay there. But the Gouernour trusting vnto the strength of the citie, refused to deliuer the same: yet suffred the prince's wife with her daughter to depart out of the citie, being willing to goe to her husband; whom the captaine hauing receiued, returned, and presented them to *Mahomet*. By whose commaundement they were presently sent into *BOTIA*, there to attend his returne towards *CONSTANTINOPLE*, and an Eunuch appointed to take charge of the young ladie, who had so warmed *Mahomet's* affection, that he tooke her afterwards to his wife. At the same time hee also subdued the most part of *ACHATA* and *ELIS*, by *Zoganus Bassa* his lieutenant: whether hee came not long after himselfe, and laied siege to the citie of *SALMENICA*, which for lacke of water was at length yeelded vnto him: but the castle was by the space of a whole yeare after valiantly defended against the Turkes left to besiege it, by *Thomas* the prince: of whom *Mahomet* afterwards gaue this commendation, That in the great counrey of *PELOPONESVS* hee had found many slaues, but neuer a man but him. This valiant prince seeing the miserable ruine of his counrey, and the state thereof utterly forlorne, after he had most nobly endured a yeaeres siege in the castle of *SALMENICA*, got to sea, and so arriued in *ITALIE*: where traouling to *ROME*, hee was honourably receiued by *Pius Secundus*, then bishop there: who during his life, allowed him a large pension for the maintenance of his state. Thus *Mahomet* hauing thrust both the Grecian princes out of their dominions, and subdued all *PELOPONESVS* (excepting such strong towines and castles, as bordering vpon the sea coast were yet holden by the Venetians) left *Zoganus Bassa* his lieutenant to gouerne that new conquered prouince, and with great triumph returned himselfe towards *CONSTANTINOPLE*, carrying away with him *Demetrius* the prince, with his wife and daughter; and many other noble prisoners. But after he was come to *HADRIANOPE*, and placed in his royall seat, he remooued the Eunuch from the faire young ladie, and tooke charge of her himselfe. As for *Demetrius* her father, hee gaue to him the citie *AEVUM*, with the custome arising of the salt there made, as a pension for him to liue vpon. Thus this most famous and populous counrey of *PELOPONESVS* fell into the Turkish thraldome, about the yeare of our Lord 1460, seuen yeares after

Peloponessus submiseth himselfe to the Turke.

after the taking of CONSTANTINOPLE. Which I haue here together set downe, as it is reported by them who liued in that time, and in the same countries: omitting of purpose other great occurrents of the same time (which shall also in conuenient place be hereafter declared) to the intent that the fall of that great Empire, with the common miserie of the delicate Gracians, might appeare vnder one view; which otherwise being deliuered by peecemeale, as it did concur with other great accidents according to the course of time, would but breed confusion, and require the Readers greater attention.

The Christian princes, especially such as bordered vpon the dominions of the Turkish tyrant, were no lesse terrified than troubled with the subuersion of the Constantinopolitane empire: for they saw by the continuall preparation of the Turk, that his ambitious desires were rather increased, than in any part satisfied with his so great and late victories. Wherefore they with all carefulness fortified their frontier towns, and provided all things necessarie for defence of themselves, and for the repulsing of so mightie an enemy. Amongst the rest, *George* the old Despot, or prince of *SERVIA* (whose dominions of all others lay most in danger of that tempest) speedily mustred his men of warre, fortified his strong cities, placed his garrisons, and left nothing undone, that he thought needfull for the defence of his country: for he had many times before to his great losse, endured the furie of the Turkish kings, although he were joynd vnto them in the bonds of nearest alliance. And hauing thus politickly set all things in order at home, in person himselfe took his journey into *HUNGARIE*, from thence to procure aid against such time as he should haue need. But the Hungarians, and especially *Huniades* (who at that time bare greatest sway in that kingdome) hauing before had sufficient triall of the vncertainty and light faith of that aged prince, who had so often fashioned himselfe according to the occurrents of the time, that he was accounted neither right Turke, nor good Christian; refused to promise him any aid, but left him to his owne fortunes: wherewith he returned discontented, and full of indignation. But shortly after he was come home, he died of an hurt receiued in a skirmish with *Michael Ziluge*, gouernor of *BELGRADE*: whose brother *Ladislaus* he had but a little before treacherously murdered, as he was traauiling by wagon to *BELGRADE* with his said brother *Michael*, who at the same time hardly escaped. This was the end of *George* Despot of *SERVIA*, when he had liued nintie yeares: in which time of his long life, he had plentifully tasted of both fortunes. A man assuredly of great courage, but of a maruellous vnquiet nature: by profession a Christian, yet a great friend vnto the Turkes, whom he many times stood in great need: a deepe dissembler, and double in all his dealings; whereby he purchased vnto himselfe that credit, that he was not of any his neighbour princes whilst he liued, either beloued or trusted: and after his death, of his subjects so detested, that the people of that country euen at this day in their country songs, still teareme him, *The faithlesse and gracelesse Despot. Lazarus* his youngest son, after his death succeeded in his place; hauing deprived both his elder brethren (*Stephen* and *George*) of the gouernment: for *Amurath* the Turkish king had long time before put out their eyes, of purpose to make them vnfit for the gouernment of so great a country: yet these blind princes found meanes to flee away from him to *Mahomet*, carrying with them a great masse of money; and so incited him against *Lazarus* their younger brother, that to keepe friendship with the tyrant, he was glad to promise vnto him a great yearely tribute, and so to become his tributarie. But within few moneths after, *Lazarus* died; the last Christian prince that reigned in *SERVIA*: after whose death, great troubles arose in *SERVIA* for the fourtaignie: The blind brethren still crauing aid of *Mahomet*, with whom they then liued; and the desolate widow of *Lazarus*, putting her selfe with her three sons, *Iohn*, *Peter*, and *Martin*, into the protection of the Hungarians: by which means she with much trouble held her state for a season. Vntill such time as that the Seruians, seeing small assurance in that manner of gouernment, and wearie of the harmes they daily receiued of the Turkes yielded themselves with their country, vnto the obedience of the Turkish emperor. *Mahomet*, who for euer vnted the same vnto his empire as a prouince thereof, and so it remaineth at this day.

Now was *Mahomet* by the continuall course of his victories, growne to that height of mind, that he thought no prince able to abide his forces; neither any enterprize so great, which he was not of power to bring to passe: wherfore he ceased not on euerie side continually to vex and trouble the princes, whose countries bordered vpon his. But about others, his heart was greatly set against the Hungarians: for that by them the Turkish kings his ancestors, had been more troubled, and their state more endangered, than by any or all other the Christian princes. Wherefore

The death of
George, Despot
of Servia.

Servia yielded to
the Turke.

fore he resolved now to take them in hand; which thing he had from the beginning of his reign greatly desired. And because the citie of *BELGRADE* standing vpon the great riuer of *Danubius*, was accounted the key of that country, he determined there to begin his warres, and by taking thereof to make an entrance into the heart of *HUNGARIE*. Hereupon he leuied a great armie of an hundred and fiftie thousand of his best souldiours; in whom he reposed such an assured trust and confidence, that he accounted the citie already as good as taken, and a faire way made into *HUNGARIE*: so ready are we to promise vnto our selues, the things we earnestly desire. For the better accomplishment of these his designs, he had provided in readinesse a fleet of 200 ships and gallies, which he sent vp the riuer of *Danubius* from *VINDATO* *BELGRADE*, to the intent that no reliefe or aid should be brought vnto the citie out of *HUNGARIE*, by the great riuers of *Danubius* and *Sauus*, whereupon the citie of *BELGRADE* standeth. With this fleet he kept both those riuers so straitly, that nothing could possibly be conuaid into the citie by water: and not so contented, sent part of his said fleet farther vp the riuer of *Danubius*, and so landing his souldiours in many places, spoiled the country all alongst the riuers side. Shortly after he came with all his forces by land, and encamped before the citie: whereunto at his first coming he gaue a most fierce assault, thinking to haue taken them vnprovided: but finding greater resistance than he had before imagined, and that the Hungarians were ready to skirmish with them without the wals, he began to proceed more warily, and entrenched his army: and to provide for the safetie thereof, by casting vp of deep trenches & strong rampiers, against the sudden sallies of his enemies: and after, planting his batterie, began most furiously to shake the wals with his great artilerie. By the furie whereof, he ouerthrew a part thereof, and laid it flat with the ground: which the defendants with great industrie and labour speedily repaired, by casting vp of new fortifications and rampiers, in such sort, that it was rather stronger than before.

In the meane time *Huniades* (not to be named without the addition of a most worthy captain) being then Generall for the Hungarians, sent a fleet of ships and gallies, well appointed with all warlike prouision, downe the riuer of *Danubius* from *BUDA*: which encounting with the Turkes fleet, tooke twentie saile of them, and so discomfited the rest, that they were glad to run themselves on ground neere vnto the kings campe. All which were by *Mahomet*s commandement presently set on fire, because they should not come into the power of the Hungarians. By this means the Christians became masters of both the riuers of *Danubius* and *Sauus*; and so at their pleasure, by water conuaid into the citie all things needfull for the defence thereof. *Huniades* also himselfe, with fife thousand valiant souldiours, and *Io. Capistrano* a Minorite frier (by whose perswasion fortie thousand voluntarie Christians out of *GERMANIE*, *BOHEMIA*, and *HUNGARIE* were come to that warre) entred into the citie that way with their souldiours and followers.

Mahomet resolutely set down for the winning of the citie, had with continuall batterie made the same at length faultable; and so determined the next day to giue a generall assault, appointing which part of the wall euerie Colonell with his regiment should assaile. But as they were with great diligence and greater itire, preparing all things needfull for the next daies seruice: it was by chance slaine with a great shot out of the towne. With whose death, *Mahomet* was exceedingly troubled, as with an ominous token of the euill which afterwards ensued vnto him and his whole army. For all that, prosecuting his former determination, the next day early in the morning he commanded the assault to be giuen: and with the dreadful sound of trumpets, drums, cornets, and other instruments of warre, brought on his *Ianizaries* to the breach: who as courageous souldiours fiercely assailed the same, and without any great resistance, entred both there and in diuers other places of the citie; reckoning the same, to be now their owne. For *Huniades* hauing before stored euerie corner of the citie with his most valiant and expert souldiours, had taken order that the defendants, vpon the first charge of the *Ianizaries*, should forsake their stations, and as men discouraged, retire towards the citie: of purpose to draw the fierce enemies faster on, to their farther destruction; and vpon a signe giuen to set vpon them on fire, and to repaire vnto their former places of defence. Which was accordingly done: so that as soone as the *Ianizaries*, with other of the Turkes most forward souldiours, were in great numbers entred, vpon the retiring of the defendants, and the signe before appointed in the citie giuen, the defendants, as men suddenly changed, turning againe, fiercely charged the Turkes which were entered,

Belgrade besieged.

The Turke fleet
ouerthrown by
the Christians.

Carazies Bassa
slaine.

Belgrade assaulted
by the Turkes.

The Turke nota-
bly repulsed.

Mahomet the Great,

tered contrarie to their expectation: and the valiant *Huniades*, at the same time issuing out on euertie side with his most resolute souldiors, so oppressed the Turkes, that few of them that were entred escaped with life, but were there in the citie either slaine or taken prisoners; and the rest with exceeding slaughter beaten from the wals. Presently after, *Huniades* in this confusion of the Turkes, strengthened with the souldiors which came with *Capistranus* the frier, made a sallie out of the towne, and set vpon the Turkes appointed for the defence of the great ordinance; which was with such resolution performed, that the Turkes were glad with great slaughter to forsake their charge, and to leaue the ordinance to their enemies.

The Turkish tyrant fore troubled and throughly chafed with the losse of his great ordinance, courageously charged the Hungarians afresh, to haue recovered the same againe: but was so valiantly repulsed by *Huniades*, and so beaten with the murdering shot out of the citie, that he was glad when he had got him out of the danger thereof into his trenches. *Huniades* also retiring, turned the ordinance he had lately woon, vpon the Turkes campe, and with the same did them no small harme.

In this hurle, a great part of the Christian army (which then lay on the other side of Danubius) was speedily transported ouer the riuer; and making no stay in the citie, joyned themselves with *Huniades*, then lying without the wals of the citie. Who notably strengthened with this new supply, assailed the Turkes trenches, as if he would euen presently haue entered their campe: at which his presumption, the proud tyrant (neuer before so braued) disclaining, went out of his trenches, and valiantly encountering him, beat him backe againe to the great ordinance; from whence he was againe by the Christians driuen to his trenches. Which manner of doubtfull and dreadfull fight, was on both sides notably maintained, vntill the day was almost spent: victorie with indifferent wings, howering now ouer the one side, now ouer the other.

Mahomet's death
noted.

In these hote skirmishes and conflicts, *Chafans* capitaine of the Ianizaries, with many other valiant men were slaine. And *Mahomet* himselfe performing the part as well of a courageous souldiour as of a worthy chieftaine, was fore wounded vnder his left pappe; so that he was taken vp for dead and so carried into his pavilion, to the great discomfiture of his whole army. But comming againe vnto himselfe, and considering that he had in that siege lost his whole fleet, his great ordinance, with most part of his best souldiors, and yet in no possibilitie of the towne: secretly in the night arose with his army, and with great silence shamefully departed; still looking behind him when the Hungarians should haue pursued him into *SERVIA*, or haue troubled him vpon his way towards *CONSTANTINOPLE*. At this siege (beside many of his best captaines and chiefe commanders) were slaine fortie thousand of his best souldiours. The losse that he there sustained was so great, and so stucke in his mind, that euer after during his life, when he had occasion to speake of that siege, he would shake his head and sigh deeply, and many times wish, That he had neuer seene that citie, whereat both he and his father had receiued so great dishonour. Many were of opinion, that if *Huniades* had there had his horsemen on that side of Danubius to haue presently pursued the fearfull enemy, that the whole army of the Turkes might haue there been ouerthrowne. This notable victorie was obtained against the Turke the sixt of August in the yeare of our Lord 1456.

The death of the
most famous cap-
taine Huniades.

Shortly after, this most valiant and renowned capitaine *Huniades*, worthy of immortal praise, died of hurt taken in these warres; or as some others write, of the plague, which was then rife in *HUNGARY*: who when he felt himselfe in danger of death, desired to receiue the sacrament before his departure, and would in any case (sicke as he was) be carried to the Church to receiue the same; saying, That it was not fit, that the Lord should come to the house of his servant; but the servant rather to go to the house of his Lord and master. He was the first Christian capitaine that shewed the Turkes were to be overcome; and obtained more great victories against them than any one of the Christian princes before him. He was vnto that barbarous people a great terror, and with the spoile of them beautified his country: and now dying, was by the Hungarians honourably buried at *ALBA IULIA*, in *S. Stephens* church: his death being greatly lamented of all good men of that age.

Mahomet the Turkish emperor, no lesse desirous to extend his empire with the glorie of his name, by sea than by land; shortly after the taking of *CONSTANTINOPLE* put a great fleet to sea, wherewith he surprised diuers Islands in the *ÆGEUM*, and hardly besieged the citie of the

RHODES.

first Emperour of the Turks.

RHODES. At which time, *Calixtus* the third, then bishop of *ROME*, aided by the Genowaies (for the grudge they bare against the Turkes for the taking of *PERRA*) put to sea a fleet of sixteene tall ships and gallies well appointed, vnder the conduct of *Lodonicus*, patriarch of *AQUILIA*; who with that fleet scoured the seas, and recovered againe from the Turkes the Island of *LEBNOS*, with diuers other small Islands thereabout: and encountering with the Turkes fleet neere vnto the Island of the *RHODES*, at a place called the Burrow of *S. Paule*, discomfited them, sunke and tooke diuers of their gallies, and forced them to forsake the *RHODES*. After which victorie at sea, hee for the space of three yeares, with his gallies, at his pleasure spoiled the frontiers of the Turkes dominions all alongst the sea coast of the lesser *ASIA*, and wonderfully terrified the effeminate people of those countries; and so at length returned home, carrying away with him many prisoners and much rich spoile.

After that *Mahomet* was thus shamefully driuen from the siege of *BELGRADE*, and his fleet at sea discomfited (as is before declared) hee began with great diligence to make new preparation against the next Spring to subdue the Isles of the *ÆGEUM*, especially those which lay neare vnto *PELOPONNESVS*. But whilest he was busie in these cogitations, in the meane time embassadours from *Vsun-Cassanes* the great Persian king, arrived at *CONSTANTINOPLE*, with diuerse rich presents sent to him from the said king. Where among other things, they presented vnto him a paire of playing tables, wherein the men and dice were of great and rich precious stones of inestimable worth, and the workmanship nothing inferiour to the matter: which the embassadours for ostentation said, That *Vsun-Cassanes* found in the treasures of the Persian king, whom he had but a little before slaine and bereft of his kingdome, and had there beene left long before by the mightie conquerour *Tamerlane*. Together with these presents, they deliuered their embassage, the effect whereof was, That those two mightie princes might joyne and liue together in amitie: and that whereas *Dauid* the emperor of *TRAPZONDE*, had promised to pay vnto *Mahomet* a yearly tribute, enforced thereunto by *George* his lieutenant in *ASIA*; he should not now looke for any such thing: for as much as that empire after the death of the emperor then liuing, should of right belong vnto *Vsun-Cassanes*, in right of his wife, who was the daughter of *Calo-Ioannes*, the elder brother of *Dauid* the emperor, then liuing: And further requiring him, from that time not to trouble or molest the said emperor his friend and neere alliance, so should hee find him his faithfull and kind confederat: otherwise it was (as they said) in his choice to draw vpon himselfe the heauie displeasure of a most mightie enemy. *Mahomet* before enuying at the rising of the Persian king, and now disdainning such peremptorie requests, little differing from proud commaunds; in great choller dismissed the embassadours with this short answer: That he would ere long be in *ASIA* himselfe in person, to teach *Vsun-Cassanes* what to request of a greater than himselfe. This vnkindnesse was the beginning and ground of the mortall wars which afterwards ensued between these two, then the greatest princes of the East, as shall be hereafter more at large declared. The embassadours being departed, and *Mahomet's* fleet of an hundred and fiftie saile readie to put to sea, hee altered his former determination for the Islands of the *ÆGEUM* (which after the losse of *CONSTANTINOPLE* had for the most part put themselves vnder the protection of the Venetians) and commanded his admirall with that fleet to take his course through the straits of *Bosphorus* into the great Euxine sea (now called the blacke sea) and so sailing alongst the coast to come to anker before *SINOP*, the cheefe citie of *PAPHLAGONIA*, and there to expect his comming thither with his armie by land. This great citie of *SINOP* standeth pleasantly vpon a point of the maine which runneth a great way into the Euxine, sometime the metropolitane citie of that prouince: but as then, with *CASTAMONA* and all the countrey thereabout, was vnder the gouernement of *Ismael*, a Mahometane prince: vpon whom *Mahomet* had now bent his forces, for no other cause than that he was in league with *Vsun-Cassanes*, the Persian king. Now with great expedition had *Mahomet* leuied a strong armie, and passing therewith ouer into *ASIA*, was come before he was looked for, to *SINOP*. *Ismael* seeing himselfe so suddainly beset both by sea and land in his strongest citie, although he wanted nothing needfull for his defence, hauing in the citie foure hundred peeces of great artillerie, and ten thousand souldiours: yet doubting to be able with that strength to endure the siege, offered to yeeld vp the citie to *Mahomet*, with all the rest of his dominion, vpon condition, That he should freely giue him in lieu thereof the citie of *PHILIPPOPOLIS* in *THRACIA*, with the countrey therevnto adjoining. Of which his offer *Mahomet* accepted: and so taking possession of *SINOP*, with the strong citie of *CASTAMONA*.

1461

Vsun-Cassanes
Persian king
sendeth embassa-
dours with pre-
sents to Mahomet.

Mahomet invade-
th *Ismael*,
prince of *Sinope*.

Trapezond besieged by Mahomet.

Trapezond, reduced unto the Turks.

MONA, and all the rest of the princes territorie, sent him away with all his things to PHILIPPOPOLIS, as he had promised. This *Ismael* was the last of the honourable house of the *Isfendians*, who had long time raigned at HERACLEA and CASTAMONAI in PONTVS. From SINOPE he marched on forward with his armie to TRAPEZOND. This famous citie standeth also vpon the side of the Euxine or Blacke sea in the country of PONTVS, where the emperours of CONSTANTINOPLE had alwayes their deputies, whilest that empire flourished and commaunded the East part of the world, as farre as PARTHIA: but after it began againe to decline (as all worldly things haue but their time) one *Isack* (whose father, emperour of CONSTANTINOPLE, the Constantinopolitanes had for his euill gouernment slaine) flying to TRAPEZOND, tooke vpon him the gouernment of that citie, with the countries of PONTVS and CAPADOCIA, and many other great prouinces, and was at first called the king of TRAPEZOND: but after hee was well established in that gouernment, both he and his successours tooke vpon them the name and title of emperours; which they maintained equally, if not better, than the late Constantinopolitane emperours, and therefore are of most accounted for emperours. Hee that then raigned, was called *Dauid Comnenus*: which most honourable familie of the *Comneni* had long time before raigned in CONSTANTINOPLE; and out of the same were many other great princes descended, which ruled in diuers places of MACEDONIA, EPIRVS, and GRACIA. *Mahomet* comming to TRAPEZOND, laied hard siege vnto the same by the space of thirtie dayes both by sea and land, & burnt the suburbs thereof, as he had before at SINOPE. The fearefull emperour dismayed with the presence of so mightie an enemie, and the sight of so puissant an armie, offered to yeeld vnto him the citie with his whole empire, vpon condition, That hee should take his daughter to wife, and deliuer vnto him some other prouince, which might yeeld him such yearely profit as might suffice for the honourable maintenance of his state. *Mahomet* perceiuing the weakenesse of his enemie by his large offers, refused to accept thereof, and attempted by force to haue taken the citie: which not sorting to his desire, the matter was againe brought to parle: where after long debating too and fro, it was at last agreed vpon, That the emperour vpon the faith of the Turkish king for his safe returne, should in person meet him without the citie, if happily so some good attonement might be made betwixt them. Whereupon the emperour following the Turkes faith before solemnly giuen for his safe returne, as was before agreed, went out of the citie to meet him, in hope to haue made some good agreement with him: but as soone as hee was come out, *Mahomet* according to the damnable & hellish doctrine of his false prophet (That faith is not to be kept with Christians) presently caused the emperour to be cast into bonds, and so to be detained as prisoner. VVhich when it was bruted in the citie, the citizens vtterly discouraged, without farther resistance yeelded themselves with the citie into his power.

Mahomet now lord of TRAPEZOND, entring the citie, tooke prisoners the emperours daughter, with all the rest of his children and kindred, and all such of the nobilitie as hee found in the citie: whom he caused forthwith, together with the emperour, to be sent by sea as it were in triumph to CONSTANTINOPLE. Of the rest of the cittizens he chose out so many as hee pleased for his owne seruice, and appointed eight hundred of the Christian children, in whom appeared most towardlinesse, to be brought vp for Ianizaries, many also of the other citizens were sent into captiuitie to CONSTANTINOPLE: the beautifull women and virgines hee deuicid amongst his friends and men of warre, certaine chosen paragons of whom, hee sent as presents to his sonnes. After he had thus taken his pleasure in the citie, and left none there but the basest of the people, he put a strong garrison of his Ianizaries into the castle, and a great garrison of common souldiours into the citie, appointing his admirall to gouerne the same. The rest of the emperours strong townes, discouraged with the taking of TRAPEZOND, and the miseries thereof, in short time submitted themselves vnto the Turkish thraldome, wherein they haue euer since most miserably liued. So *Mahomet* in the space of few moneths hauing reduced that empire into the forme of a prouince, returned in great triumph to CONSTANTINOPLE; when hee had in this expedition subdued PAPHLAGONIA, PONTVS, and a great part of CAPADOCIA, with some other prouinces neere vnto the Euxine sea. When he was come to CONSTANTINOPLE, he sent the emperour with his children prisoners to HADRIANOPLE. But afterwards vnderstanding that the Persian queene, the wife of *Vsun-Cassan*, sought meanes to get some one of her vnckles children, whom by the power of her husband she might if it were possible aduance vnto her fathers empire, he sent for *Dauid* the wofull emperour to CONSTANTINOPLE, and there cruelly caused him,

him, with all his sonnes and kinsmen, to be put to death; and to the vttermost of his power rooted out all that most honourable familie of the *Comneni*, excepting *George* the emperours youngest sonne, who at his first comming to HADRIANOPLE turned Turke: whose sister (the emperours daughter) *Mahomet* afterwards tooke to be one of his concubines. This Christian empire was by the Turkish tyrant *Mahomet* thus miserably subuerted & brought to nought in the yeare of our Lord 1461.

The yeare following, which was the yeare 1462, *Mahomet* hauing intelligence, that *Wladus* Dracula prince of VALACHIA, his tributarie, was resolved to cast from him his obedience, and to joyne himselfe vnto the Hungarians, his mortall enemies; thought it best to proue if he could by policie circumuent him, before he were altogether fallen from him. For which purpose hee sent *Catabolimus* his principall secretarie vnto him to bring him to the court, promising him greater fauours and promotions from the emperour, than he had as yet at any time enjoyed. And by the same trustie messenger, he commaunded *Chamuzes Bassa*, gouernour of BIDINA and the countrey lying ouer against VALACHIA, on the other side of Danubius, to doe his vttermost deuoure for the entrapping of *Wladus*: promising him great rewards if he could bring the matter to effect. Whereupon *Chamuzes* deuised with the secretarie, that when he had done his messenger to the prince and with all his cunning perswaded him to take that journey vpon him, hee should secretly beforehand giue notice vnto him of the certaine day of his returne backe againe from the prince: at which time it was like, that *Wladus* would in courtesie of himselfe bring the secretarie well on his way, being a man of so great account in the Court, or at leastwise not refuse so to doe, being thereto requested by the secretarie: at which time the Bassa secretly passing ouer Danubius with certaine troupes of horsemen, and lying close in ambush vpon the way, should suddenly set vpon the prince, and so either take him, or els kill him. The plot thus laied, and euerie circumstance agreed vpon, the secretarie held on his way; and comming to the prince, forced his wit to perswade him to go to the court: sometime cunningly extolling the great opinion that *Mahomet* had of his fidelitie and valour; and otherwhiles feeding him with the hope of greater honours and princely preferments he was to receiue at the emperours hands. But when hee had said what he could, he obtained no more of the warie prince, but good words againe, and that he would in courtesie conduct him on his way vnto the side of Danubius. VVherof the secretarie by speedie messengers gaue *Chamuzes* intelligence: who secretly passing ouer Danubius with certaine troupes of horsemen, and riding a good way into the country, lay in ambush vpon the way, whereby the prince with the secretarie must needs passe. According as was before appointed, the secretarie accompanied with the prince, put himselfe vpon the way, and at the very prefixed time came to the place where *Chamuzes* lay in ambush with his horsemen: who suddenly arising, and on euerie side assailing the prince, slew diuers of his men before they were well aware of his comming. But *Wladus* being a man of great courage, and better appointed than the Bassa had supposed (for he went alwaies attended vpon with a strong guard of valiant and stout men) so receiued *Chamuzes* and his Turkes, that hee slew many of them, and at length after a hard conflict tooke him with the rest prisoners: whose hands and feet he caused to be cut off, and their bodies afterwards to be thrust vpon sharpe stakes, set fast in the ground, to the terror of all that saw them; and did the Bassa so much honour, as to hang him and the secretarie vpon a gibbet a great deale higher than the other Turkes. And not satisfied with this reuenge, presently gathered his forces, and passing ouer Danubius into the Turkes dominions, burnt all the country before him along with the riuers side, killing man, woman, and child, without mercie: after which great spoile & slaughter made, he returned againe into VALACHIA. The report of these news being brought to *Mahomet*, set him in such a choller and rage, that he commaunded the great Bassa *Mahometes*, which first sold him thereof, to be cruelly whipt; VVhich seruile punishment in that tyrannicall gouernment hath vially beene inflicted euen vpon the greatest Bassas of the court, vpon the least displeasure of the tyrants, especially if they bee not naturall Turkes borne; accounting the rest in their anger but as their base and contemptible slaues, as well appeareth by the wofull end of many, euen of the greatest of them. But when he vnderstood by most sure aduertisements, that all was as the Bassa had before reported, or rather worse, it is not to be in words expressed into what a rage he fell: the spoile of his countrey greeued him much, but the shamefull death of the secretarie his embassadour, and of *Chamuzes* the Bassa, tormented his heart, and filled him with indignation and desire of reuenge. VVherfore with all speed possible he assembled his souldiours and

The ruine of the empire of Trapezond.

1462

Mahomet seeketh to entrap *Wladus* prince of Valachia.

Chamuzes Bassa and the Turkes, secretarie hanged.

men of warre, out of all parts of his dominions to PHILIPPOPOLIS: and had in short time raised such an army, as the like he had not at any time imploied since the winning of CONSTANTINOPLE. At the same time also, he sent his Admirall with 25 gallies, and 150 saile of other small vessels by the Euxine, to enter the riuer Danubius, and there landing his men, to joyne his forces with the prince of PODOLIA: who for a grudge he bare against *Wladus*, had promised to aid the Turke against him. When all things were now in readinesse, he marched with his army from PHILIPPOPOLIS, and passing ouer Danubius, entered into VALACHIA, before which time, the Admirall had landed his men, and with the helpe of the Podolian, had burnt the citie of PRATILABA, the greatest towne of trade in all VALACHIA; and was besieging CEBTUM, called in antient time LYCOSTOMOS: where after they had lien a while and received some losse, they left the siege and departed, the Podolian backe againe into his countrey, and the Admirall to his fleet.

Mahomet himselfe in person invaded Valachia

Mahomet being got ouer Danubius, burnt the villages, draue away the cattell, and made havocke of all that came in his way. As for prisoners, he tooke but few; for the Valachies before his coming, had retired their wiues and children, and all that were vnto forwarres, either into their strong cities, or into the refuge of great and thicke woods (whereof there is in that countrey plentie) or else into the high and rough mountaines, where they were in more safetie than in any their strongest holds: and all such as were able to beare armes, followed the prince, who could, with safetie; and many times cut off such as stragled any thing farre abroad from the armie, into the countrey: yet neuer durst shew himselfe in plaine field, being indeed but a handfull, in comparison of the Turkes multitude. *Mahomet*, to small purpose roaming vp and down the countrey at his pleasure, staid neuer long in one place; and making no reckoning of such a weak enemy as durst neuer shew himselfe, pitched his tents still in the open plaines, and so lay with his army in great securitie, not entrenched at all. *Wladus* by his espials vnderstanding of this manner of *Mahomet*s encamping, came in the dead time of the night, and with all his power furiously assailed that quarter of the Turkes campe where the Asian souldiours lay, and slew many of them in their tents; the rest terrified with the suddennesse of the alarm, fled out of their tents for refuge vnto the European souldiours: the prince following them at the heeles, and entering into that quarter of the campe also, did there great harme; and stricke such a generall terrour and feare into all the Turkes army, that they were euen vpon the point to haue wholly forsaken their tents and betaken themselves to flight. Yea *Mahomet* himselfe, dismayed with the terrour of the night and tumult of his campe, and fearing least the Hungarians had joynd their forces with the prince; not knowing which way to turne himselfe, had vndoubtedly fled, had not *Mahomet* *Basha* a man of great experience in martiall affaires, perswaded him otherwise: and by generall proclamation made through the campe, That no man should vpon paine of death, forsake the place wherein he was encamped, staid the flight; and with much adoe enforced them to make head against the prince. *Wladus* perceiuing the Turkes now to begin to stand vpon their guard, and to make resistance: after great slaughter made, returning, tooke the spoile of the tents forsaken by the Asian souldiours, and vpon the approach of the day, againe retired with victorie into the woods. As soone as it was day, *Mahomet* appointed *Haly-Beg* with certaine companies of select souldiours, to pursue the Valachies: who ouertaking part of the princes armie, tooke a thousand of them prisoners, and put the rest to flight: all which prisoners were by the tyrants commaund, presently put to the sword. From that time *Mahomet* euerie night entrenched his army, and caused better watch and warde to bee kept in euerie quarter of his campe, than before.

A most horrible spectacle.

As he marched along the countrey, he came to the place where the Bassa and the secretarie were hanging vpon two high gibbets, and the dismembred Turkes empaild vpon stakes about them: with which sight he was grieuously offended. And passing on farther, came to a plaine containing in breadth almost a mile, and in length two miles, set full of gallows, gibbets, wheels, stakes, and other instruments of terrour, death, and torture; all hanging full of the dead carcases of men, women, and children, thereupon executed, in number (as was deemed) about twentie thousand. There was to be seene the father, with his wife, children and whole family, hanging together vpon one gallows; and the bodies of sucking babes, sticking vpon sharpe stakes: others with all their limbes broken vpon wheels, with many other strange and horrible kinds of death.

death: so that a man would haue thought, that all the torments the Poets faine to bee in hell had been there put in execution. All these were such as the notable, but cruell prince, jealous of his estate, had either for just desert, or some probable suspition, put to death; and with their goods rewarded his souldiours: whose cruell manner was, together with the offender to execute the whole family, yea sometimes the whole kindred. *Mahomet*, although he was by nature of a fierce and cruell disposition, wondred to see so strange a spectacle of extreame crueltie: yet said no more but that *Wladus* knew how to haue his subjects at commaund. After that, *Mahomet* sent *Iosephus*, one of his great captaines, to skirmish with the Valachies; who was by them put to the worke: but by the coming in of *Omares* the sonne of *Turechan*, they were againe in a great skirmish overthrowne, and two thousand of their heads brought by the Turkes vpon their launces into the kings campe: for which good seruice *Omares* was by the king preferred to be gouernour of THESSALIA.

Two thousand of the Valachies slain.

When *Mahomet* had thus traced VALACHIA, and having done what harme he could, saw it to be to no purpose, with such a multitude of men to hunt after his flying enemy, which still kept the thicke woods or rough mountaines: he returned againe to CONSTANTINOPLE, leaving behind him *Haly-beg* with part of his army, to prosecute that warre; and with him *Dracula* the younger brother of *Wladus*, who was also called *Wladus*, as a stale to draw the Valachies into rebellion against the prince. This *Dracula* the younger, was of a little youth brought vp in *Mahomet*s court, and for his comely feature of him most passionately affected: which inordinat perturbation, so preuailed in the intemperat nature of the lasciuious prince, that he sought first by faire words: and great gifts to corrupt the youth; and not so preuailing, attempted at last to haue forced him: wherewith the noble youth being enraged, drew his rapier, and striking at him to haue slaine him, grieuously wounded him in the thigh: and thereupon fled. Neuertheless being drawne backe againe to the court, and pardoned, he was afterwards reconciled to the king, and so became his *Ganimede*; and was of him long time wonderfully both beloued and honoured, and now set vp for a stale (as is before said) for the Valachies his countrey men to gaze vpon.

It fortuned, that after the departure of the king, diuers Valachies came to *Haly-Beg* the Turkish General, to raunsome such friends of theirs as had been taken prisoners in those warres, and were yet by him detained: to whom the younger *Dracula* by way of discourse declaring the great power of the Turkish emperour, and as it were lamenting the manifold and endlesse miseries of his natie countrey; cunningly imputed the same vnto the disordered gouernment of his cruell brother, as the ground of all their woes: assuring them of most happy and speedy redresse, if the Valachies, forsaking his fierce brother, would cleaue vnto him as their soueraigne, in speciall fauour with the great emperour. VVhich speech, he deliuered vnto them with such lively reasons, and in such effectually tearmes, that they their present, perswaded by him; and others by them; in short time all, as if it had been by a secret consent, forsooke *Wladus* the elder brother, and chose *Dracula* the younger brother to be their prince and soueraigne. VVho joyning vnto him the Turkes forces, by the consent of *Mahomet* tooke vpon him the gouernment of that waylike countrey and people; yet holding the same as the Turkish tyrants vassallo, the readiest way to infidelitie. *Wladus* seeing himselfe thus forsaken of all his subjects, and his younger brother possessed of his dominion, fled into TRANSYLVANIA, where he was by the appointment of the Hungarian king apprehended, and laied fast in strait prison at BELGRADE, for that he had without just cause (as it was laid to his charge) most cruelly executed diuers Hungarians in VALACHIA: yet such was his fortune, after ten yeares hard imprisonment, to be againe enlarged, and honourably to die in battaile against his auncient enemies the Turks.

The death of Wladus.

Mahomet returning out of VALACHIA to CONSTANTINOPLE, sent the same fleet which hee had vsed in his late warres, into the *AEgeum*, to take in such islands as being before vnder the Constantinopolitane empire, had vpon the losse of the citie put themselves vnder the protection of the Venetians; but especially the isle of MITYLENE, called in antient time LESBOS: pretending that *Nicholaus Catelusus* prince thereof, did harbour the pyrats of ITALY, and other places; and also bought of them such prisoners, and other bootie, as they continually rooke from the Turkes at sea, or alongst the sea coast; out of many places of his dominions: pretending also the chastising of the said prince, for that he had, by treacherie slaine his eldest brother, and so vnjustly taken vpon him the gouernment. His fleet thus set forward, he himselfe with a

II ij

small

small army passed ouer into ASIA, and came by land to POSSIDIUM a citie of IONIA ouer against MITYLENE. From whence he embarked himselfe ouer the narrow strait into the island; where after he had once landed his army, he in short time ouerran the whole island, and miserably spoiled the same, leading away all the inhabitants thereof into captiuitie; who shortly after were sold at CONSTANTINOPLE like flocks of sheepe, and from thence dispersed into all parts of his dominions. After he had thus harried the countrey, and left nothing therein vnspoiled; he besieged the Prince in the citie of MITYLENE, whereof the island now taketh name: and with his great ordinance continually battered the same by the space of 27 daies. In which time many sharpe assaults were also giuen by the Turkes, whereby the defendants were greatly diminished and wasted. The prince perceiuing himselfe not able long to hold out, offered to yeeld vp the citie, with all the strong holds in the isle, vpon condition, that Mahomet should therefore giue vnto him some other prouince, of like valew to the island: which his offer Mahomet accepted, and by solemne oath bound himselfe for performance of that he had promised. Whereupon the prince came out of the citie, and humbled himselfe before him, excusing himselfe for the receiuing of the men of warre (wherewith he was charged) as done for no other purpose, but that they should forbear to spoile his owne countrey, much subject to their furie: wterly denying that he had at any time bought, or shared, any part of such prizes as had by those pirats by sea or land been taken from the Turkes. With which his excuse, Mahomet seemed to be reasonably well contented, and with good words cheered him vp: neuertheless, as soone as the citie, with all the other strong holds in the isle, were by the princes meanes deliuered into his hands, hee no longer made reckoning of his Turkish faith, but cruelly caused many of the chiefe citizens of MITYLENE to be put to death; and three hundred pirats, whom he found in the citie, to be cut in two peeces in the middle, so to die with more paine. And when he had placed conuenient garrisons in euerie strong hold in the isle, he returned to CONSTANTINOPLE, carrying away with him the prince, and all the better sort of the inhabitants of MITYLENE, that were left aliue, together with all the wealth of that most rich and pleasant island; leauing it almost desolat, none remaining therein more than his owne garrisons, with a few of the poorest and basest people. Mahomet after he was arrived at CONSTANTINOPLE, cast the prince Nicholas, with Lucius his cosin (whose helpe he had before vsed in killing of his elder brother) into close prison: where they seeing themselves euerie houre in danger of their liues, to winne fauour in the tyrants sight, wickedly offered to renounce the Christian religion, and to turne Turke. Which Mahomet vnderstanding, caused them both to be richly apparelled, and with great triumph to be circumcised, and presently set at libertie: yet still bearing in minde his olde grudge, he shortly after, when they least feared any such matter, clapt them both fast againe in prison, and there caused them to be most cruelly put to death. A iust rewarde for the bloodie murderers, and apostacie, who to gaine a little longer life, were content to forsake God.

1464

Shortly after it fortuned, that Stephen king of BOSNA (in antient time called MASTA SYPRIOR) who supported by the Turkish emperour, had wrongfully obtained that kingdom against his owne brethren, refused now to pay such yearely tribute as hee had before promised: for which cause Mahomet with a strong armie entered into BOSNA, and laied siege vnto the citie of DOROBIZA: which when he had with much adoe taken, he deuided the people therof into three parts; one part whereof he gaue as slaues vnto his men of warre; another part he sent vnto CONSTANTINOPLE; and the third he left to inhabit the citie. From DOROBIZA he marched to IAZIGA, now called IACA, the chiefe citie of that kingdom, which after four monthes siege was deliuered vnto him by composition: In this citie hee tooke the kings brother and sister prisoners, with most of the nobilitie of that kingdom, whom he sent as it were in triumph vnto CONSTANTINOPLE. The other lesser cities of BOSNA following the example of the greater, yeelded themselves also. But Mahomet vnderstanding that the king of BOSNA had retired himselfe into the farthest part of his kingdom, sent Mahometes his chiefe Bassa with his European souldiours to pursue him: wherein the Bassa vsed such diligence, that he had on euery side so inclosed him before he was aware, that hee could by no meanes escape, which was before thought a thing impossible. So the king for safeguard of his life was faine to take the citie of CLYSSA for his refuge: where he was so hardly laied to by the Bassa, that seeing no other remedie, hee offered to yeeld himselfe vpon the Bassas faithfull promise by oath confirmed, that he should be honoura-

Mitylene besieged.

Mitylene yielded to the Turke.

bly vsed, and not to receiue in his person any harme from the Turkish emperour. Whereupon the Bassas oath to the same purpose was with great solemnitie taken; and for the more assurance conceiued in writing, firmed by the Bassa, and so deliuered to the king: which done, the king came out of the citie and yeelded himselfe. The Bassa hauing thus taken the king prisoner, carried him about with him from place to place, and from citie to citie, vntill he had taken possession of all the kingdom of BOSNA; and so returning vnto his master, presented vnto him the captiue king: who was not a little offended with him, for that hee had vnto him so farre engaged his Turkish faith. But when the poore king thought to haue departed, not greatly fearing further harme, he was suddenly sent for by Mahomet: at which time, he doubting the worst, carried with him in his hand the writing wherein the Bassas oath for his safetie was comprised: neuertheless, the faithlesse tyrant without any regard thereof, or of his faith therein giuen, caused him presently to be most cruelly put to death, or as some write, to be slaine quicke. Thus was the Christian kingdom of BOSNA subuerted by Mahomet in the yeare 1464: who after he had at his pleasure disposed thereof, and reduced it into the forme of a prouince to be (as it is at this day) gouerned by one of his Bassas, in great triumph returned to CONSTANTINOPLE, carrying away with him many a wofull Christian captiue, and the whole wealth of that kingdom.

Mahomet following the example of his father Amurath, had from the beginning of his raigne by one or other of his great Bassas or expert capitaines still maintained wars against Scanderbeg, the most valiant and fortunat king of EPIRVS: the greatest part whereof, although it did in the course of time concurre with the things before declared, and might by peccemeale haue bene amongst the same in their due time and place inserted; yet I haue of purpose for diuerse reasons wholly referred them for this place: First, for that I would not interrupt the course of the historie before rehearsed, with the particular accidents of this warre: And then, for that the greatest heat of this hereditarie warre, deliuered as it were from hand to hand from the father to the son, happened not long after this time; when as Mahomet hauing conquered the kingdom of BOSNA, had surrounded a great part of Scanderbegs dominion: Wherein I had respect also vnto the Readers ease, who may with greater pleasure and content, and lesse paines also, view the same together, than if it had bene dispersedly scattered and intermeddled with the other greater occurrences of the same time. In which discourse I will but briefly touch many things well wortie of a larger treatise. And if forgetting my selfe, I shall in some places happen to stay something longer than the Readers haft would require; yet I hope, that the zeale and loue hee beareth vnto the worthie memorie of most famous Christian princes, together with the shortnesse of the historie, in comparison of that which is thereof written in iust volumes by others, shall easily excuse a larger discourse than this. But againe to our purpose.

Mahomet in the beginning of his raigne sent embassadours to Scanderbeg, offering him peace, so that he would graunt to pay vnto him such yearely tribute as his father Amurath had in his life time demanded. Which embassage the craftie tyrant sent rather to proue what confidence Scanderbeg had in himselfe, than for any hope he had to haue his demand graunted. This dishonourable offerred peace Scanderbeg scornfully rejected, and so returned the embassadours as they came: and presently vpon their departure entered with his horsemen into that part of the Turks dominion which bordereth vpon EPIRVS: & when he had wasted the countrey, returned home laded with the spoile thereof. In reuenge of which despight, Mahomet shortly after sent Amesa one of his best men of warre, with twelue thousand horsemen into EPIRVS, to requite Scanderbeg with the like spoile of his people and countrey. But Scanderbeg vnderstanding by his espials of the Turks comming, lay close in ambush with six thousand souldiours vpon the great mountaine MODRISA, ouer which the Turks must of necessitie take their way: and as they were about by night to haue passed ouer that rough and steepe mountaine, and were with much difficulty almost got vp to the top thereof, they were suddenly charged by Scanderbeg his footmen, who hauing the aduantage of the place, made great slaughter of the Turkes, & draue them downe the mountaine amaine; at which time their horses stood them in no stead at all, but were rather vnto them an hinderance in that vneuen and troublesome ground. Now when the Turkes were come to the foot of the mountaine, they were in that great feare and disorder againe fiercely assailed on the one side by Scanderbeg, and on the other by his nephew, called also Amesa; who before the Turkes comming had placed themselves with their horsemen in places of most aduantage: so that the Turkes hardly beset and forced on euery side, were in short time ouerthrowne

The great warres betwixt the Turkes and Scanderbeg, are at large written by Marinus Barletius, in 12 booke. De vita & gestis Scanderbegi, from whence this Historie is taken: and were done betwixt the yeares 1450 and 1467.

Vide Marinum Barletium lib. de vita & gestis Scanderbegi.

and put to flight. In this conflict seven thousand of the Turkes were slaine, and *Amesa* Generall of the Turkes armie with diuers other captains taken, whom *Scanderbeg* sent prisoners to *CROIA*. For joy of this victorie at *Scanderbeg* his returne, great triumph & feasting was made at *CROIA*. During which time, *Scanderbeg* caused *Amesa* the Turke, with the rest of the Turkish captains, to be enlarged, to be partakers of that joy, whereof they against their wils had giuen the occasion; and afterwards vsed them with all kind of courttesie during the time of their abode. This *Amesa* requested of *Scanderbeg*, That he might send a messenger to *CONSTANTINOPLE*, to certifie *Mahomet* how the case stood with him and the rest, whom happily he might thinke to haue bene slaine in the battaile; and to procure from him their ransome. Which his request *Scanderbeg* easily graunted, and set downe their ransome at thirteene thousand ducats. The newes of this ouerthrow sore greued the Turkish tyrant, but afterwards when he saw the remainder of his armie without their generall and leaders, hauing for most part lost their ensignes and armor, and also the messenger that was sent from *Amesa*, he fell into such a rage, that hee denied to giue any thing at all for his ransome: imputing all that losse to his trecherie, follie, or cowardise. Howbeit he was afterwards perswaded by his Bassaes and other great courtiers, *Amesa* his friends, to thinke better of the Generall, of whose faithfulness and valour he had of long time had great experience, and also to send his ransome: by denying whereof, hee should (as they said) discourage his other generals and capitaines, who by chaunce of warre might hap to fall into the like danger. By whose perswasion *Mahomet* sent an embassadour to *Scanderbeg*, with the ransome demanded, and other great presents also. Vpon receit whereof, *Amesa* with the other capitaines were set at libertie, and sent with safe conuoy out of *EPHRS*. All the money sent for the Turkes ransome, *Scanderbeg* deuided amongst his capitaines and souldiours.

This late receiued ouerthrow filled the proud tyrant with desire of reuenge, so that hee determined forthwith to send another armie into *EPHRS*: the leading whereof, diuers of his great and most expert captains ambitiously fought for. For *Mahomet* had promised great rewards and most honourable preferments to him whose hap it should bee to vanquish *Scanderbeg*. Amongst the rest, one *Debreas* (a man for his forwardnesse and courage, in great fauour with his soueraign) by great sute obtained to haue that charge: promising with exceeding confidence vnto *Mahomet*, to make a beginning of better successe in his warres of *EPHRS*, than others thither by him before sent: for the accomplishment whereof hee required to haue no greater power than was sent the yeare before. But after that *Amesa* was returned to the court, and had with long discourse set forth the vertues and valour of *Scanderbeg*, with the inuincible courage of his souldiours, *Debreas* became more temperate in his speech, and was contented to receiue a new supplie: so that he had vnder his charge fouretee thousand souldiours: with which armie hee marched towards *EPHRS*, and was come to a place called *POLOVS*, where he lay with his armie encamped in a plaine in great securitie, fearing no danger, for that he was not as yet in the enemies countrey, neither as he supposed, nere the enemy. Of all this preparation, and of the coming of *Debreas*, *Scanderbeg* had intelligence: and being resolved not to expect the coming of the Turkes into *EPHRS*, made choise of six thousand of his best horsemen; with whom he marched with as much speed as was possible into the enemies countrey, and came by night vnto the plaine where the Turkes lay, hoping to haue been vpon them before they were aware, and so to haue ouerthrowne them. Wherein he was much deceiued: for by the light of the moone (which then shined all night) he was by the Turkes in time descried, yet the suddenesse of his approach with the strangenesse of the attempt, exceedingly dismaied the whole army of the Turkes. But *Debreas* mindfull of the promise he had made vnto his lord and master, with cheerefull words encouraged his souldiours, and presently sent out certaine troupes of light horsemen, to receiue the first charge of the enemy, vntill he might set his whole army in order of battaile. Betwixt these troupes, and others sent out by *Scanderbeg*, began a sharpe skirmish; both the armies standing fast, as beholders, carefully expecting the euent thereof. But *Scanderbeg* doubting, that if his souldiours should in this first encounter be put to the worse, it might tend to the great discouraging of the rest of his army; seconded his men with other fresh troupes vnder the leading of *Moses* and *Amesa*: by whose coming in, the Turkes were forthwith beaten backe, and chased euen to their maine battaile. In the heat of which chase, *Moses* forgetting himselfe, had with great danger in following on too fast, been enclosed by the Turkes, had not his furie bene in good time staied by *Amesa*: for which ouersight, he was afterward blamed by *Scanderbeg*, that he could not

Debreas sent with 14000 horsemen to invade Ephesus.

A skirmish betwixt the Christians and the Turkes.

with greater moderation vse his good fortune; commending such forwardnesse in a priuat souldior, but not in so great a commaunder. When *Moses* and *Amesa* had thus put the Turkes to flight, *Scanderbeg* brought on his whole armie, and fiercely assailed the Turkes, yet troubled with the discomfiture of their fellows. *Debreas* on the other side, with cheerefull speech, and his owne valour, so encouraged his souldiours, that *Scanderbeg* was there notably resisted, and his fortune as it were at a stand: vntill that *Musachius*, with certaine troupes of resolute men, drawne out of the left wing of *Scanderbeg* his armie, gaue such a fierce charge vpon the side of the Turkes armie, that he brake their rankes, and sore disordered that part of the armie. Which when *Debreas* perceiued, he withdrew himselfe out of the front of the battaile wherein hee had valiantly stood against *Scanderbeg*, and came to the place where *Musachius* had disordered the battaile, and with such courage cheared vp his troubled souldiours, that his onely presence and valour seemed to bee the very life and heart of his whole armie. Whilest *Debreas* was thus busied against *Musachius*, *Scanderbeg* in the meane time with might and maine still charged the front of the enemies armie: who now in the absence of the Generall began to loose their order and to giue ground, making no such resistance as before. At which time, *Moses* forcibly breaking into the thickest of them, tooke one of their ensignes, which hee threw backe amongst his followers: wherewith they encouraged, so pressed vpon their enemies, without regard of danger, that the Turkes being therewith discouraged, and their battaile disordered, were almost readie to turne their backs and to flie. *Debreas* seeing all in danger to be lost, hastened with all speed vnto the place where he saw most perill, and did what was possible to haue restored the battaile, and encouraged his souldiours: where pressing in amongst the foremost, hee was by *Scanderbeg* himselfe encountered hand to hand, and so by him slaine: with whose fall the whole armie discouraged, without further resistance fled. *Moses* pursuing them on the one side, & *Musachius* on the other, with furious hand slew more in that chase than were slaine in the battaile. Of the Turkes were slaine in this battaile 4120, and some prisoners taken, but of the Christians few or none: so that for the good fortune thereof, *Scanderbeg* accounted it a victorie giuen. All the spoile taken from the enemy, together with the prisoners, was by *Scanderbeg* equally deuided amongst the souldiours. Vnto *Moses* he gaue *Debreas* his horse and armour: and vnto *Musachius* a prisoner, which by his port and behauior seemed to be a man of some good account. This Turke agreed with *Musachius* vpon a ransome of two hundred ducats, and presently vpon agreement made, drew forth the money out of a little bag, which he had kept secretly about him, and offered it to *Musachius* for his ransome: VVho receiuing the money, told the Turke, that he must prouide another ransome, for as much as that money was his owne before by law of armes, as taken with his person. The Turke on the other side alledged for himselfe, the agreement already made, with the payment of the full summe agreed vpon. This controuersie was brought before *Scanderbeg*: who with great pleasure heard them both what they could say: *Musachius* laying in hard for another ransome, and the Turke for his libertie vying the agreement. VVho when they had both said what they could for themselves, *Scanderbeg* smiling, told them, that they both contended for that which was in right his and neither of theirs: for the prisoner with the money were both mine (said he) at the first taking of him; since which time I haue giuen to you *Musachius* the prisoner, which I knew, but not the money which I knew not of: neither doth the concealing thereof make it yours (said he to the Turke) who had by law of armes lost your selfe, together with that you had about you. After he had thus pleasantly discoursed of the matter, and brought them both in doubt, he awarded vnto *Musachius* the money he agreed for, and to the Turke his desired libertie: who glad thereof, and hauing also receiued his horse and armour of the gift of *Scanderbeg*, departed, speaking all the honour he could of so noble a conquerour. After this victorie *Scanderbeg* with great triumph returned againe to *CROIA*.

When *Mahomet* vnderstood that *Debreas* was slaine, and his armie ouerthrowne, hee became exceeding melancholie: but after he saw so many of his souldiours returned as had ben sufficient to haue restored a lost battaile, he was so highly displeased with their cowardise, as that he could not endure the sight of them. The death of *Debreas* greued none more than the king himselfe: for the capitaines generally either eniued at his hardinesse, or else hated his insolencie. *Amesa* amongst the rest tooke no small pleasure, that his proud successour had taken part of his euill fortune, and so in part eased his former infamie. The great Bassaes and men of warre seeing their soueraigne so desirous of reuenge, offered to spend their liues in that seruice: whose forwardnesse

The battell betwixt Scanderbeg & Debreas.

Debreas slain by Scanderbeg, and his armie ouerthrowne.

A pleasant contention betwixt Musachius and a Turke for his ransome.

The craftie pro-
ceeding of the
Turkish messenger

wardnesse he seemed not to refuse: howbeit he had in his mind already plotted another manner of reuenge. He was not ignorant, what great matters his father *Amurath* had brought to passe, by sowing discord amongst the princes of *GRACIA*: which fowle practise he purposed now to put in practise himselfe. There was at that time many famous chieftains in *EPHRS*, of *Scanderbeg* both beloued and trusted; amongst whom, he was in hope to find some one who for desire of wealth or promotion, might be allured to giue some desperate attempt against the life or state of *Scanderbeg*. Of all others, *Moses Golemus* of *DIABRA* (a man honourably descended) was most inward with *Scanderbeg*, and for his prowesse and experience in martiall affaires, of all men accounted the best capitaine in all *EPHRS*, next vnto *Scanderbeg* himselfe: him, the craftie tyrant most desired to alienate from *Scanderbeg*, as one fittest to serue his purpose, and easiest without suspition to be delt withall; because he commonly lay with a strong garrison in *DIABRA*, vpon the verie frontiers of *EPHRS*. Wherefore he directed his letters vnto the gouernor of *SEBTIGRADE*, commanding him by all meanes he could possibly deuise to withdraw *Moses* from *Scanderbeg*; and not to spare for any gold or golden promises whereby to allure him: promising also vnto the gouernour himselfe great preferments, if hee could winne him. Vpon receipt of which letters, the gouernour began forthwith carefully to deuise, how he might best attempt the matter he had in charge: where after many deuises, he at last thought vpon a shrewd-headed fellow, one of the Christians which dwelt in *SEBTIGRADE*; whom for that he was a Christian, he might without suspect vse as an instrument in so dangerous and important an action. This Christian the gouernour called vnto him, and after he had with great gifts and large promises wooed him to undertake the matter; he sent him away, fully before armed with plenteous instructions, full of treason and deceit. When this subtil messenger was come vnto *Moses*, and vnder pretence of great and secret matters of importance, had obtained to speake with him in priuie: he after some discourse had of matters well worth the hearing, began at length vnder the couert of faire glozing words, to vtter his poison: Shewing vnto him (as a messenger from the gouernour) the great and good opinion the Turkish emperour had of long time conceiued of his valour and prowesse: for which cause his heroicall nature could not but honour him, although he were his enemy; and therewith also manuell, that he being a man of that worth, could be contented to be commaunded by *Scanderbeg*, whose state was by him chiefly vpholden: whereas if he would doe wisely, and changing his affection, follow *Mahomet*, an emperour of greatst magnificence and power, he should quickly in his court find such honourable entertainment, as were to be preferred before the state of *Scanderbeg*: or if the soueraignie of *EPHRS* his native countrey did better please him, he might easily be thereunto advanced, by joyning his owne endeavour vnto *Mahomet's* great power. It pleased *Moses* well to heare his owne praises (a thing incident vnto haughty minds) and he liked well that he was so fauoured of the Turkish emperour: but the hope of the kingdome of *EPHRS* began to worke in him new conceits, and moued him more than all the rest. Such is the force of ambitious thoughts, that they make a man forget all things, save themselves: so glorious a thing it is, to stand in the highest place. For all that, *Moses* neither in word or countenance made any semblant of liking, or disliking the message. Which the wily messenger taking for a secret consent, and hartely glad that he had been so well heard: not desiring as then any further answer, craued leaue to depart; promising in short time to returne to him againe. After the departure of this messenger, many troubled thoughts began to arise in the mind of *Moses*: his mirth was changed into melancholy, and the cheerfulness of his countenance was abated, his haughty thoughts were his solitarie companions, and the imagined kingdome the idoll he in secret worshipped; so that in short time, he seemed vnto the wiser sort as a man altogether metamorphosed. Some were so bold, as for to aske the cause of the messengers comming: vnto whom he answered, That he was one, from whom he receiued intelligence of matters concerning the good of the state: which his answer was holden for true; for who durst once mistrust *Moses*? Whilste he was thus tossed vp and downe with his owne thoughts, as a shippe with the billowes of a wrought sea, the same sly messenger, according to his promise came againe; and for his more credit, in secret brought with him such presents as well might seeme to haue bene sent from the Great Turke; with his message better framed than before. Of all which that was sent, *Moses* is reported to haue receiued nothing but the worst, which was, the verie treason it selfe. And so returned the messenger, with answer, That he could not but in good part accept of the Turkish emperours great fauours; and for the rest of his re-

Moses corrupt-
ed.

quests, whatsoeuer he should chance to doe therein, he should not from thenceforth find him any great enemy: commanding the messenger at his departure, no more to repaire vnto him about that matter, for feare of suspition.

After that, it chanced that *Scanderbeg* came into *DIABRA*, to see how all things stood there, and to consult with *Moses* for the besieging of *SEBTIGRADE*; which citie it grieued him to see in the possession of the Turkes. *Moses* to auert *Scanderbeg* from that enterprize, wherein hee must of force be driuen to shew himselfe, told him, That he vnderstood of late by a certaine messenger which came to him out of *SEBTIGRADE*, that the citie was so well stored by the Turkes, of all things necessarie for the defence thereof, that it were but lost labour to attempt any thing against the same: wherefore hee aduised him rather to besiege *BELGRADE* (not that *BELGRADE* which is situated vpon the riuier of Danubius, but another of the same name) in the confines of *EPHRS*, then holden by the Turkes, but distant from *SEBTIGRADE* about an hundredth and fortie miles; of the taking whereof, there seemed to be more hope. By this persuation, *Scanderbeg* resolved with himselfe to make prouision for the besieging of *BELGRADE*. And forasmuch as his souldiours of *EPHRS* alwaies vsed to the field, were not so fit for the besieging of townes, he thought it good to pray aid out of *ITALY*, from his old friend *Alphonso* king of *Scanderbeg* craveth aid of *Alphonso* king of *NAPLES*, with whom he had been of long time acquainted, and vnto him much beholden. Wherefore he sent two of his noble men embassadours vnto him, with certaine rich presents, and familiar letters of this purport.

Our souldiours of *EPHRS*, know only how to fight with men, and them to vanquish: with walls they know not how to deale. You Italians (as I vnderstand) haue skill in that kind of seruice, and take pleasure therein: wherefore now at this present, I haue need of your helpe and cunning. There be certaine townes of our enemies in *EPHRS*, yea almost in the heart of our kingdome; which eye-sore I haue of long desired (if it pleased God) to take out of my sight: but being occupied with continuall wars, had no leisure vntill now, happily to attempt any thing against them. This time I haue chosen as most fit, to satisfie my desire, both for the seasonableness of the time of the year, and for that *Mahomet* spareth me leisure; whose furie I haue wisely calmed: You vnderstand in few words, what I haue need of: all other things are almost in readinesse, and we only looke for your helpe. Lend me such souldiours as know how to fight a faire off. I meane harquebusers and canoniers, for of others we haue store plenty. But happy is *APULIA*, my *Alphonso*, vnder thy government, from whence men fit for all seruices may be drawne as out of a most plentifull treasure. Whensoever we haue requested men fit for seruice, either in peace or warre, you haue beautified both our court and campe. By you the kingdome of *EPHRS* hath been supported with ciuile policie, and warlike strength: all sort of people, of what condition soeuer: yea euery corner of *EPHRS* soundeth forth thy praise, both at home and abroad. But for mine owne part, I doe so louingly embrace your kindnesse, and so firmly retaine the remembrance of your desert: towards me, that sometime I wish you that fortune (although in so doing I may seeme unkinde) which (as the common saying is) proueth, but getteth not friends: to the intent, that you might by some more certaine proofe know, how much I am to you deuoted.

When *Scanderbeg* had sent away his embassadours, he with all diligence began to prouide things necessarie for the siege of *BELGRADE*; wherein he had purposed also to haue vsed the seruice of *Moses*. But he now in heart a traitor both to his prince and countrey, and a friend to *Mahomet*, found many excuses to stay at home in *DIABRA*: alleadging first, that it was to be thought, that so soone as the Turkish king should heare of the siege of *BELGRADE*, he would inuade some part of *EPHRS*, thereby to withdraw his enemies from the siege: and then, that no part of all *EPHRS* lay neerer vnto the Turkes, or more in danger, than *DIABRA*; and that therefore he could doe any better seruice, than to see vnto the safetie of that countrey, long before committed to his charge, and in which also most part of his liuing lay. These his excuses, proceeding indeed from deepe treason, were yet neuertheless thought reasonable, and he for his prouident care highly commended; and authoritie giuen him with new supplies to augment the garrison vnder his command, as time and occasion should require.

By that time that *Scanderbeg* had fully made his preparation for the intended siege, the embassadours before sent to *Alphonso*, were returned into *EPHRS*, and with them such aid as *Scanderbeg* had before requested; and a great deale more: For *Alphonso* fearing the greatnesse

Alphonso sendeth aid vnto
of *Scanderbeg*.

of the Turkish emperour, in what he could furthered *Scanderbeg* his actions, reckoning *Epirus* not above 60 miles distant from his dominions, to be the strongest wals of his kingdome in *Asiatra* (as not many years after, it by prooffe appeared, when as the Turks having taken *Constantinople* put all *Italy* in no small feare.) With this aid he also wrote louing letters vnto *Scanderbeg*, to put all *Italy* in no small feare. With this aid he also wrote louing letters vnto *Scanderbeg*, thanking him for his presents, and for the good opinion he had of him, willing him to make as bold of all his things, as of his owne. But when he came to make mention of the fouldiours he had sent; *Alphonfus*, after the manner of his pleasant nature, merrily wrote vnto *Scanderbeg*, That he had sent him Italian fouldiours which could according to his desire, fight well both with men and wals; but better with women: and that therefore the Epirots were best to take heed, that they whole helpe they required for fight a farte off, proued not also good warriours at hand at home in their houses. The great commendation *Scanderbeg* had giuen of the king, was by him referred vnto the excesse of his loue, and by the king requited with like.

*Scanderbeg be-
sieged and si-
eriffish Belgrad.*

Scanderbeg now furnished with all things needfull, set forward, and according to his former determination, came and encamped before *Belgrad*, with an army of foureene thousand good fouldiours: and in short time had so distressed the citie, that the Turks were glad to take truce with him for sixteene daies, which time expired, they promised to deliuer vp the towne, if they were not before relieved. Vpon conclusion of this truce, *Scanderbeg* encamped himselfe vpon an high hill neere vnto the citie, with three thousand horse, and a thousand foot; and appointed *Musachius* and *Tanufius*, with the rest of the army, to remoue farther off, into a large plaine, where they might encampe themselves in a more wholsome and fresh ayre, in that hot season of the yeare, during the time of the truce. At which time he appointed also 25 scouts to keepe continuall watch vpon the top of the highest mountaine, to discouer a farte off the coming of the enemy, and to giue warning therof vnto the campe by making a fire vpon the mountaine: by the negligence of which watch, *Scanderbeg* receiued a great ouerthrow, as hereafter followeth.

The newes of the siege of *Belgrad* was brought vnto *Mahomet*, at such time as he was ready to haue passed into *Asia* against the emperour of *Trapezond*: which great enterprife he was loath to giue ouer, for the reliefe of *Belgrad*, and yet to lose that citie vnto *Scanderbeg*, grieved him much: wherefore he resolved with himselfe so to do the one, as that he would not altogether neglect the other. And so holding on his extended journey into *Asia*, himselfe, with such fortune as is aforesaid, he sent *Sebalias* one of his great Bassas, with fortie thousand horsemen to relieue *Belgrad*, promising him great rewards if he could bring him *Scanderbeg* either aliuie or dead. This Bassa was of the Turks accounted for a warie captaine, but not so contagious, alwaies more politike than forward: he hauing receiued his charge, set forward with all speed possible, no lesse carefull of that he was commanded, than was *Mahomet* himselfe, and by great journeyes came on so fast, that he still preuented the fame of his coming; and by his foretunniers intercepted, or rather (as some write) corrupted the watch which *Scanderbeg* had before placed vpon the mountaines; so that no signe was giuen vnto the campe of the enemies, as was expected. By meanes whereof, *Sebalias* with all his power were vpon that part of *Scanderbeg* his army, which lay in the plaines, before they were well aware of his coming: so that most part of them had not so much leisure as to bridle their horses, or to put on their armor. In which so sudden a feare, *Musachius* armed himselfe, and put his fouldiours in such order as the shortnesse of the time and the enemies approach would permit; doubting much, whether it were better to fight or to flie: but seeing no lesse danger in flight than in fight, he resolutely receiued the enemies charge, as a man desirous before hand to reuenge his owne death. And at length (seeing his men slaine about him by heapes, and that courage must needs giue place vnto fortune) fiercely attempted to haue broken through the midst of his enemies, and so to haue fled vnto the mountaine where *Scanderbeg* lay: but he was so beset, that no way was possible to be made; wherefore resoluing there to die, he desperately fought, to the great admiration of his enemies, vntill that he, with all there with him, were euery man slaine. *Tanufius* on the other side, after he had giuen diuers braue attempts to haue rescued his cousin *Musachius*, finding by prooffe, that he could doe him no more good therein but to become the wofull companion of his death, exhorted all the rest yet left, for safeguard of their liues to flie: in which doing, most of them were slaine, for the Bassas great army so filled all places thereabout, and so eagerly pursued the victorie, that it was almost impossible any way to scape. *Scanderbeg* lying vpon the

*Musachius slaine
and the Epirots
put to flight.*

mountaine, and seeing the ouerthrow of most part of his armie, was about many times to haue descended from the hill, to haue holpen them in what hee might, or els to haue there died with them: but yet stayed, being thereto earnestly requested by his other most expert captaines; and persuaded, not desperately to thrust both himselfe and them all into the manifest perill of assured death.

Sebalias hauing slaine *Musachius*, and put *Tanufius* to flight, followed the chafe with the greatest part of his armie, so that few were left in the great plaine, except such as stayed to rife the dead. *Scanderbeg* taking that oportunitie, came downe from the hill whereon he stood, with his foure thousand fouldiours, and in a moment slew all such Turks as he found in his way: and after following in the taile of the Turkes armie, cut off a great number of them, and brought a general feare vpon the whole armie: insomuch, that *Sebalias* perceiuing that he gained not so much in chasing of *Tanufius*, but that he lost more in the reteward of his armie, by the pursuit of *Scanderbeg*, left the chafe, and turned vpon his fierce enemy: Where after a sharpe skirmish begun, the warie Bassa fearing in the maintaining of that disordered fight to haue the victorie wrung out of his hands by *Scanderbeg*, caused a retreat to bee sounded, so to call together his disperfed fouldiours, and in better order to encounter his dangerous enemy. *Scanderbeg* in the meane time hauing assembled the remainder of his armie, valiantly again encountered the Turks, who thought in this battaile to haue made an end of the warres in *Epirus*: and with his owne hand slew *Mat* and *Barach*, two valiant fouldiours of the Turkes; which like stout champions had before sworn vnto *Mahomet* the death of *Scanderbeg*, if they should chance to meet with him. In this last skirmish a great number of the Turks were slaine: but night drawing on, *Sebalias* retired with his armie to a mountaine neere vnto the citie, and *Scanderbeg* likewise to another almost two miles off: and in the dead time of the night rising with his armie, returned in safetie into *Epirus*, leaving strong garrisons vpon all the strait passages as he went, for feare least the Bassa proud of this victorie, should forthwith breake into *Epirus*. This was the onely and greatest ouerthrow that *Scanderbeg* had hitherto receiued of the Turkes: wherein hee lost two thousand horsemen and three thousand foot (most part whereof were of the Italians sent from king *Alphonfus*) together with his tents and great artilerie, and about eightie of his men taken prisoners. And of the Turks were also slaine three thousand.

*Scanderbeg slaine
by night into
Epirus.*

The next day *Sebalias* perceiuing that *Scanderbeg* was retired, commanded the bodies of the slaine Turks to be sought out and buried: but of such Christians as they yet found breathing, the Turks cut off their hands and feet, and so left them amongst the dead. The head of *Musachius* and of many other the slaine Christians, which by their armour or apparrell were thought to be of the better sort, were by the commandement of *Sebalias* cut off: which because he could not for the distance of the place, and heat of the weather, without great annoyance carrie with him to *Constantinople*, as the barbarous manner of the Turks is; he caused them to bee slaine, and stuffed with chaffe, and so to bee caried as the vaine trophies of his victorie. Afterwards, when hee had repaired the battered wals of *Belgrad*, and put a new supplie of seuen hundred fresh fouldiours into the citie, beside the old garrison therein before, and set all things in good order, he returned with great triumph to *Constantinople*. And the more to set out the glorie of his victorie, at such time as he entered the citie, he first caused the captiue Christians to be led in chaines before him; after whom were borne the ensignes taken from the Christians, with the aforesaid heads thrust vpon launces, and after them all the spoile: last of all came *Sebalias* himselfe, with his fouldiours, as great conquerours, and was of the people receiued with such applause and joy, as if hee had conquered some great kingdome. No man was now spoken of but *Sebalias*, his praises were in euery mans mouth, hee was the onely man (as they said) that did shew that *Scanderbeg* was to be overcome: no preferment was now thought too great for him, or reward sufficient to counteruaile his desert. The poore Christian captiues were afterwards for most part sold: of the rest, some were aliuie thrust vpon sharpe stakes, some hanged vpon yron hookes, some otherwise cruelly at the victors pleasure tortured to death.

Moses lately before corrupted by the practise of the gouernour of *Spartigrade*, hearing of the great losse *Scanderbeg* had receiued at *Belgrad*, thought it now a most fit time for his reuolt. But for as much as the fact, in the nature of it selfe foule, seemed euen to himselfe the doer thereof a great deale fouler and more dishonourable, for that he had therein no complices: hee thought it good, if it were possible, to allure some others into the fellowship of his treason, so to diminish

diminish the infamie of himselfe, in communicating the same with many, and to appeare with greater credit before the Turkish tyrant, than if hee should as a contemptible fugitive come all alone. Wherefore vpon the bad newes from BALORDA, he seemed at the first very pensive, and much to lament the misfortune of *Scanderbeg* and the common miserie of the countrey of *EPIRVS*, with many words amplifying the same: and then on the contrarie part, setting forth to the vttermost the force and power of the Turkish emperor *Mahomet*, thereby to strike a greater terror and distrust into the minds of them with whom hee was conuerfant: but vnto such as were more secret and inward with him, hee discovered the great affection and fauour the great emperor *Mahomet* had of long borne him, with the large offer of his gifts and preferments, assuring them of the like also, if they would conformance themselves vnto his appetite; seeking hereby so much as he could, to allure them into the participation of his most execrable treason: yet when he had said what he could, he found none but a few of the baser sort of the common souldiours, which were willing to hearken vnto him or to follow him. When *Moses* saw how much he had laboured, and how little preuailed, fearing to be discovered, hee fled by night to *SPE*TI GRAD, accompanied with a few base fellows, and easily obtained the gouernours passe, with safe conduct to *CONSTANTINOPLE*: where he arriued a litle before the returne of *Sebalis* from *BALOR*DA, and was of *Mahomet* both joyfully receiued and honourably entertained.

When *Scanderbeg* vnderstood that *Moses* was thus revolted, at the first report thereof hee was troubled with the strangenesse of the fact, that he stood speechlesse as a man astonished: but after he had pawed a while, and vpon further enquire had found it to be true, he according to his heroicall disposition, said no more, but that he could easily haue *Moses* excused, for that hee was carried away with the violence of such fortune as might haue alienated the mind of a right constant man. And when diuers of his friends (according to the manner of the world) with hard speeches seemed to agrauate his offence: he could not abide to heare the same, but commanded them to hold their peace, and no more to vse such speeches: wishing that all treason and euill fortune were together with *Moses* gone out of *EPIRVS*. Vpon this newes, *Scanderbeg* accompanied with *Ancsa* his nephew and a troupe of horsemen, presently went into the countrey of *DIBRA*, and there with all care caused most diligent enquire to be made, if any could be found partakers of the conspiracie with *Moses*. But finding none, he much rejoyced in the fidelitie of his subjects: and hauing for all things in good order in that prouince, returned himselfe to *CROIA*.

Moses remaining in the Turks court, ceased not to sollicite *Mahomet* to proceede in his warres against *Scanderbeg*, promising to doe therein great matters, euen to the spending of his life in that seruice. But the craftie tyrant thinking it not good to trust him too farre before hee had further triall of him, delayed him off vntill the next Spring, pretending that the yeare was too far spent to begin warres. In the meane time he caused all *Moses* talke, his behauior and actions, to be diligently obserued and noted; and oftentimes himselfe discoursed with him concerning the managing of that warre: all which he did especially to sound the depth of *Moses* his thoughts. And finding nothing in him but the most assured and vndoubted signes of a mind deuoted to his seruice, and altogether estranged from *Scanderbeg*: in the beginning of the Spring he committed to his charge the leading of fifteene thousand horsemen for the invading of *EPIRVS*; such men as *Moses* himselfe should make choice of: for a greater number he required not for the vanquishing of *Scanderbeg*. These souldiours although they detested (so few in number) to enter that fatal countrey of *EPIRVS*, as men faire warned by other mens harmes; yet heartened on by the opinion they had conceiued of their new Generall, and the hope they had by his meanes to find friends in that countrey to joyne with them, were the willing to goe. So *Moses* furnished with a notable armie, and all warlike prouision he could desire for the destruction of his countrey; and blinded with the inagination of a kingdome, set forward; & matching through *THRACIA* and *Macedonia*, forgetting the loyaltie due vnto his soueraigne, and the loue hee ought to haue borne vnto his native countrey, came and entered into *DIBRA*.

Scanderbeg by his espials vnderstanding of the coming of *Moses*, as also what strength hee was of, stood not now vpon any policie against him who had of long been priue to all his secret games, but was readie euen at his first entrance with true valour to encounter him. As both the armies stood raunged in order of battaile, a messenger came from the Turks campe, to know of *Scanderbeg*, if any one of his armie durst to proue his fortune hand to hand against one of the Turks, before the beginning of the generall battell. By which messenger answere was returned, That

That the challenge should be accepted. The name of the Turk which made this braue challenge was *Ahemaze*, a man for his valour and courage of great name amongst the Turkes: Vpon this proud challenge, *Zacharias Gropa*, a gentleman of no lesse reputation amongst the Christians, hastily stepped forth before *Scanderbeg* (as if he had beene afraid to haue beene preuented by some other) and requested, that he might be the man to abate the Turkes pride: *Scanderbeg* embracing him, commended his noble mind, and wishing him good fortune, gaue him leave to carrie with him into the field the first honour of the Christian armie. As he was arming himselfe, his companions & fellowes in armes standing about him, wished vnto him not more courage or strength than he had, but onely the fortune of *Manessi*. Vpon his armour hee put on many rich jewels and ornaments, the allurements or rather the rewards of the enimie, if hee could vanquish him. The Turkish champion was no sooner come into the plaine betwixt both armies; & made shew of himselfe in great brauerie as if his match had yet beene scarcely found; but he saw *Zacharias* come forth brauely mounted, and readie to charge him: to whom *Ahemaze* calling aloud, said there would bee time ynough for him to hasten to his death; and therefore requested to talke with him before. So when he had learned of him both his name and place, he propounded such like conditions of the combat, as had beene long before derided by *Manessi*: whereof *Zacharias* in no better sort accepted. In few words it was agreed vpon betwixt them, That each of them should abide his owne fortune, without any helpe or aid of others; and that the victor should haue full power ouer the bodie and spoile of the vanquished. Thus agreed, they withdrew themselves one a good distance from another, and with their lances charged, ran together with such force, that with the violence of the encounter they brake their lances one vpon the other, and were both horse and man ouerthrowne. Both vnhorsed, they nimbly recovered themselves, and with their scimitars fiercely assailed the one the other on foot. Fortune it should seeme had determined to beautifie that combat with varietie, standing a great while indifferent to both. After many sturdie strokes giuen, without any hurt done, by reason they were so strongly armed, it fortuned that both their swords were beaten out of their hands: then grappling together with their bare hands, as if they had beene two vnarmed wrestlers, after long struggling till they were both almost out of breath, *Zacharias* ouerthrew the Turke, and lying vpon him, with his dagger, about the gorget thrust him into the throat, and slew him: and so rising vp, with the sword that first came to his hands, cut off the Turkes head: at the sight whereof the Christian armie gaue a great shout for joy, to the great discomfure of the Turks. To be short, *Zacharias* depoyling the Turke of his armour, and what else he thought good, returned loded with the spoile of his enimie, and presented vnto *Scanderbeg* the proud Turkes head: for which hee was of him afterwards most honourably rewarded.

Into this place yet reeking with the blood of the late slaine Turke, came *Moses*, and with a loud voice challenged *Scanderbeg* hand to hand; thinking indeed that he would not haue aduentured his person: but when he saw him readie to come forth, hee shamefully forooke the place, and returned with shame ynough into his armie.

Presently after, both the armies vpon signall giuen set forward, and so began to joine battaile: where at the first onser *Scanderbeg* so valiantly charged the vauward of the Turkes armie, that they were glad to giue ground: which *Moses* perceiuing, releued them with new supplies: and riding now here, now there, with his presence and courage restored the battaile, in many places almost lost. Howbeit, the Epirots encouraged with the beginning of their good fortune, still preuailed vpon their enemies, and after great slaughter made, came to the strength of their battaile; where *Moses* had placed most of his best souldiours, as his most assured and last refuge: In this place the Turks fought with exceeding courage, and *Moses* warily obseruing in what part of the battaile *Scanderbeg* himselfe was, directed his greatest forces against him, of purpose, if possibly he might, to haue slaine him: whereof he missed but a litle; for a courageous souldiour of the Turkes by chance encountering with *Scanderbeg*, with his horsemans staffe bare him quite backward vpon his horse, in such forcible manner, that the Turks for joy gaue a great shout, thinking verily he had beene slaine: but *Scanderbeg* recovering himselfe againe, and chased with such an vnwonted disgrace, furiously assailed the same Turke with his sword, and after a great fight slew him. A great part of the Turkes armie being alreadie ouerthrowne by them that had the leading of the wings of *Scanderbeg* his armie, diuers of the common souldiours thrust the heads of the slaine Turkes vpon the points of their speares, in token of victorie, to the great astonishment of the

Mahomet sent
desirous *Moses* with
fifteene thousand
sett men to in-
uade Epirus.

The battell be-
twixt *Scander-
beg* and *Moses*.

the Turkes: and now joyning themselves with *Scanderbeg*, more fiercely charged the maine battail of the Turkes than before. Neuertheless, *Moses* encouraging his souldiours, did what was possible for a man to doe, and euen with his owne valour a great while staid the course of the victorie: vntill he seeing the ground about him couered with the dead bodies of his best souldiours, and that there was no remedie but that he must either flie, or there die; turned his backe and fled. In which flight, many of the hindermost of the Turkes were slaine: as for *Moses* himselfe, he escaped by waies to him well knowne, onely with foure thousand men, the poore remainer of so great an armie: the rest, to the number of about eleuen thousand, all choise men, were slaine: whereas of the Christians were not past an hundred lost, and about eightie wounded. Of all the Turkes that were taken, onely one was sau'd; who being a man of good account, had yielded himselfe to *Zacharias*, and was afterward raunfomed: the rest were all by the common souldiours, without pittie, tortured to death, in reuenge of the crueltie by them shewed at *Belgrade*: *Scanderbeg* himselfe either not knowing thereof, or winking therat.

Moses condemned of the Turkes

Moses with the rest of his discomfited armie, lay still a while vpon the borders of *Epirus*, and would faine haue perswaded them, after the departure of *Scanderbeg*, to haue followed him againe into *Epirus*, to haue surpris'd the garrison left in *Dibra*, in number not aboue two thousand; promising to bring them vpon the same garrison, before they should be aware of their coming. But the Turkes hauing him now in contempt, were about by generall consent to forsake him, and to returne home. And so *Moses* seeing no remedie, returned with them to *Constantinople*, with countenance as heauie as if he had bene a condemned man now carried to the place of execution: and the Turkes which had not long before had him in great admiration, expecting that he should haue ended the wars in *Epirus*; began now to disgrace him as fast, and to speake all the euill of him they could deuise. Yea the proud tyrant himselfe (although he could blame nothing in the man, but his fortune) was so highly offended with him, for the losse of his armie, that he had vndoubtedly put him to most cruell death, had not the great Basses, and others nere about him, perswaded him otherwise: saying, That in so doing, he should alienate the mindes of all others from reuolting vnto him, or attempting any great thing for his seruice. So was he by their mediation, pardoned his life; but withall, so disgraced, that he had little or nothing allowed him afterwards for his necessarie maintenance: all which despitefull contumelies he outwardly seemed patiently to beare; but was inwardly so tormented with melancholy and grife, that he could neither eat nor drinke: The remembrance of the foule treason committed against his prince and countrey, was day and night before his eyes; and the disgraces of the Turkes court inwardly tormented him with intollerable grife: The sight of the tyrant (who measured all things by the euent) filled his heart with secret indignation; and to returne againe vnto his naturall prince, of whom he had so euill deserued, he was ashamed: Sometime the clemencie and princely nature of *Scanderbeg*, whom he knew of old, flow to reuenges, and easie to be entreated to forgiue, hartened him on to thinke of returne; and by and by, the consideration of his foule treason ouerwhelmed him with despaire. Thus with contrarie thoughts plunged too and fro, tormented with the inspeakeable griefes of a troubled conscience, not knowing what to doe, purposing now one thing, and by and by another: at last he resolved to forsake the insolent tyrant, and to submit himselfe to the mercie of *Scanderbeg*; wishing rather to die in his countrey for his due desert, than to liue with infamie, derided in the Turkes court. Resting himselfe vpon this resolution, one euening hee got secretly out of the gates of *Constantinople*, and traueilling all that night and the day following before he reitied, by long and weariie journies, came at last vnto his natie countrey, of *Dibra*. The garrison souldiours beholding their old gouernour all alone, full of heauinesse, as a man eaten vp with cares; moued with compasion, and forgetting the euils hee had bene the occasion of, receiued him with many teares and friendly embracings, and brought him to *Scanderbeg*, who by chance then lay not farre off. *Moses* comming vnto him with his girdle about his necke, in token that he had deserued death (as the manner of that countrey was) found him walking before his tent, and there with heauie cheere falling downe vpon his knees at his feet, submitted himselfe vnto his mercie, and with great humilitie and signes of repentance, craued his most gracious pardon. Which his request *Scanderbeg* presently granted, and taking him vp by the hand embraced and kissed him, in token he had from his heart forgiuen him: and within a few daies after, caused all such things of his as were before confiscat, to be againe restored vnto him; with all such offices and promotions

Moses fleeth from Constantinople.

tions as he had before enjoyed: and by open proclamation commanded, That from thenceforth no man should either publicly or priuately speake of that *Moses* had trespassed. *Mahomet* vnderstanding that *Moses* was returned againe into *Epirus*, and honoured of *Scanderbeg* as in former time, was much grieued therat, and fumed exceedingly: First, for that he had at all trusted him; and then, that he had so let him slip out of his hands: being verily perswaded, that all that *Moses* had done, was but a finenesse of *Scanderbeg* to deceiue him.

Shorly after that *Moses* was returned into *Epirus*, *Mahomet* by like practise allured vnto him *Amesa*, *Scanderbeg*'s nephew; promising to make him king of *Epirus* in his vnckles steed. For by that meanes, the craftie tyrant thought it a more easie way to draw the mindes of the people of *Epirus* from *Scanderbeg* vnto him descended of the princes blood, than to *Moses*, or to any other stranger he should set vp. *Amesa* vpon this hope of a kingdome, fled to *Constantinople*: and because he would cleere the mind of the tyrant of all suspition and distrust, he carried with him his wife and children, as the most sure pledges of his fidelitie. This *Amesa* was of stature low, and the feature of his body not so perfect as might sufficiently expresse the hidden vertues of his mind: He was of courage hautie aboue measure, subtilly, and of a pregnant wit; wonderfull painfull, and thereto courteous and bountifull (the chiefe meanes whereby aspiring minds steale away the hearts of men). Whatsoeuer he got of himselfe, or had by the gift of his vnckle, he deuided it amongst his souldiours or friends: he was verie affable, and could notably both couer and dissemble his affections: for which things, he was about all others both beloued and honoured of all the people of *Epirus*, next vnto *Scanderbeg* himselfe. At his first comming to *Mahomet*, he filled not his eares with great promises, and vaine praises of himselfe as had *Moses*; but only excusing his owne reuolt, labour'd to perswade him, That he had for iust causes left his vnckle, with a desire now faithfullly to serue him. And to that purpose spake vnto him as followeth:

If it should please thee (most noble Mahomet) to call to remembrance the old iniuries, and ancient displeasures by vs committed against thine imperiall Maiestie: we might seeme now rather to haue come hither to receive the iust guerdon of our euill deserts, than vpon any hope of honor or preferment. For what could haue beene done more in disgrace of the Othoman empire, than that you haue seene long since done by vs, in the most dangerous time of the Hungarian war: rather of a malicious & set purpose, than for that we were just enemies? When as in the same perfidious course, I my selfe being a helper and partaker therein (for now no excuse is to be pretended for our doings, more than repentance) your fathers army was betrayed at *Morava*, and the kingdome of *Epirus* by great treacherie wrested out of your fathers hands: the only cause of so many calamities, and of so much bloodshed. But vaine is this feare, and our suspition needlesse, with so wise and mercifull a prince; especially for that my yeares then greene, and youth prone vnto the harme of it selfe, and a mind not resting vpon his owne resolutions, deceiued me. I beloued mine vnckle (for the ignorant beloued many things) and allured with the desire of soueraigntie (the proper disease of that age) and too much credulous, I forsooke you and followed his promises: but discretion growing with yeares, I haue by little and little perceiued both the perfidious dealing of mine vnckle, as also that my reuolt from you was more hurtfull vnto my selfe than to any other. *Scanderbeg* recovered, and also enlarged the kingdome of *Epirus*; but not without my great labour and helpe. I expected long time, that he should haue giuen me, if not my fathers whole inheritance, yet at least some part thereof, as a small reward of my so great travell and danger. Not long after he married a wife, and hath begot a young heire, a new successor in his kingdome: vnto me for shame of the world, because I should not altogether lead a priuat life, he hath assigned a base corner of *Epirus*; where he enioyning the rest, I might lead a poore and contemptible life. In this case I had much adoe to bridle my affections, and could neuer disgeast that iniurie: yet the iniquitie of the time, with the insolent disposition of the man, compelled me to smother vp my thoughts, and to make faire weather; least finding some suspition, he should craftely haue entrapped me, as he did of late George Strefie his sisters sonne; whom wrongfully charged with fauined surmises, he hath almost deprived of all his possessions. I would willingly haue fled vnto the feet of your highnesse, I would gladly haue forsaken my ingratefull vnckle with the staines of his infamous kingdome: but that the remembrance of the old rebellion, and many iniuries since done, did make me afraid: vntill that now (God I thinke so appointing it) I came most gladly, following your most royall faith and promise. You had scarcely beckned vnto me, you had scarcely inuited me, hauing of long intently waited en-

Amesa his first speech vnto Mahomet.

ric occasion; but straight way I came with such speed, as if I would haue slowne: I lingred not, I expected not either Scanderbeg or his euill happe, or your more prosperous successe, as of late did Moses: least I might thereby justly seeme either for feare or regard of some imminent danger, rather to haue provided for mine owne safetie than to haue embraced your magnificence. Neither haue I lest any thing for you in me to suspect, nor any cause wherefore I should desire to returne againe into EPIRVS: here are present most sure bonds of my loue, and faithfull pledges of my loyaltie. Behold (worthy Mahomet) you haue whatsoeuer is decre unto me, yea whatsoeuer nature could giue, pleasing vnto men in the course of mans life. These I haue brought vnto thee, which should with violence haue been taken from an enemy: such pawns as might assure thee of the faith of a most doubtfull man. More than this, haue I brought nothing: for in so great speed and secret departure, I could not haue regard of my substance. And if I might haue had time to haue trussed up my trash at leysure; yet I know not how, I should haue thought it a kind of basenesse, to haue brought with me any part of the poore reliques of mine old fortune: especially vnto thee, of all other the richest. Onely my fidelitie I lay downe before thee, for any thing greater I haue not: and if thou desire of me any other bond for more assurance, I refuse not whatsoeuer your highnesse shall appoint: for I came not hither to set downe covenants and agreements of my selfe, but to receive them from you. I dare not promise to vanquish mine vncle, and to subdue EPIRVS with an army of fiftene thousand men: the misfortune of Haly-Bassa and other your Generals; yea and the late and rare victorie of Sebalias, with great bloodshed gained, may serue for examples. In me you shall neither want diligence nor faithfull seruice: as for other things concerning the euent of this warre, and for the reuenge of the iniuries by you receiued; you being a prince of power inuincible, and of a most deepe judgement, are not to be aduised by me your unskilfull vassall.

*Ameſa honoured
by Mahomet.*

This speech of Ameſa, seemed vnto Mahomet free from all dissimulation, forasmuch as he knew most part thereof to be true; and his wife and children brought vnto his presence, confirmed the rest. Wherefore commending his good affection, he appointed him honourable entertainment, referring other matters vnto a farther time.

Vpon the approach of the Spring, Mahomet desiring nothing more than to be reuenged vpon Scanderbeg, entered into consultation with his great Bassaes, concerning the inuasion of EPIRVS: vnto which counsell Ameſa was by Mahomet admitted, and his wicked deuise for the destruction of his country, of all others best liked. After the matter had been long too and fro debated, it was concluded, that Isaack the great Bassa of CONSTANTINOPLE, should with an army of fiftie thousand be sent against Scanderbeg, and Ameſa with him, hauing the charge of five thousand horsemen: and the Bassa to proclaim Ameſa king of EPIRVS; thereby to persuade the Epirots, that Mahomet inuaded EPIRVS rather for the displeasure he bare against Scanderbeg, and for the aduancement of Ameſa, than for any ambitious desire he had to take vnto himselfe that kingdome.

Great was the preparation for this warre, and the expectation thereof greater. Flying fame had in short time filled euery corner of EPIRVS with the report of these newes; adding thereto (as the manner is) a great deale more than was true. Whereupon Scanderbeg without delay, sent for his great captains and men of warre into DIBRA, where that tempest was first to be expected: and when they were all assembled, he declared vnto them the greatnesse of the danger, and what he thought thereof himselfe as followeth.

*A notable speech
of Scanderbeg
vnto his cap-
tains, how the
Turks were sub-
dued at their
conquering
into EPIRVS.*

Amongst all other things which God hath left to vex and grieve the minds of men in so great variety of worldly affaires, we see (right worthy souldiers) these two the greatest, Hope and Feare. The first a more comfortable thing, and proper to courageous minds: I may not say of light beleefe: the other a thing of more discretion and safetie, which although it vse to deferre the desires of men, yet hath it power at length excellently to cure and season the same. Hereupon is it easily to be gathered, that the great cheefestaines of former times haue gained more honour and greater victories, by fearing all that was to be feared, than others in shew more hardie, which feared nothing. Hereupon the great Carthaginien captaine vsed to call Q. Fabius (whom the Romanes euer thought too slow and too fearefull) his great enemy: but Terentius Varro he called a greater enemy vnto his owne countrey and the people of ROMES, than to himselfe. But wherefore do I wrongfully call that Feare, which might more truly be called Discretion, or wholesome Policie? Call it as you will, it is not much materiall: but this one thing no man can denie, That thereof hath risen the antient discipline of warre, and the old and sound

government

government of martiall affaires. This aduised carefulnesse cherisheth and nourisheth Hope it selfe, it doth nothing rashly, it hath eyes before, behind, and on both sides, it weigheth in indifferent ballance things past, present, and to come. You may now perceiue to what end my speech tendeth. I would first conferre with you, and know your opinions, before I determine any thing of the order of this warre; that either I might yeeld vnto your opinion, or els you (as you haue alwaies hitherto done) to mine. You heare, you now heare with your eares what preparation, what warlike provision is daily made against vs. Lo the great Bassa of CONSTANTINOPLE, all the flower of EUROPE, and whole strength of the Ottoman kingdome knocketh at our gates. I want not courage (neither euer did) to prooue my fortune against him, not without your honour: but I thinke it better to vse policie and warie heed against so great an enemy, than our wanted force and courage. That notable overthrow of Hali Bassa, so many great victories by vs atchieued, our minds by so many good hap confirmed, persuade me to thinke that we haue both courage and strength to encounter him in plaine battaile: but the vncertaine euent of war, and fortune neuer sufficiently knowne, maketh wise men to forget what is past, and to feare that is to come. It was neuer proper to any man, it was neuer giuen by inheritance, alwaies to overcome; new occurrences require new correspondents: neither may you, for that you conquered yesterday, presume to assure your selfe to deuide the spoile of your enemies to day. Victorie is like a trauellour, and goeth hither and thither, not resting long in a place: and although it be for most part both gotten and kept by courage and discretion; yet oftentimes, when you haue most carefully and politically disposed of all things, the fortune and chance of warre haue therein a great sway. I was wont to require (I remember it well) onely valour and courage in my souldiers, contemning all externall accidents and fortunes hap; if you did promise vnto me courageous minds, I assured you of all good hap and prosperous successe: but that losse we receiued at BELGRADE (the remembrance whereof my mind feareth, and alwaies abhorreth to thinke vpon) hath much changed my former cogitations, and made me to deeme farre otherwise of worldly matters, and the vncertainetie of fortune. What if that day had been longer? or Sebalias of more courage? might not the state of EPIRVS haue that day been utterly overthrowne? we wrethen rather by God preserved, than by any thing that was in our selues: what remained more, but that we should like cowards haue yeeld: our selues to haue been bound of the conquerours? The night defended vs, yea euen God himselfe defended vs; whoooke from them both policie and force, and gaue vs time to breath and escape away. We were then but as a prey, expecting but the coming of the victor: Howbeit, he tooke nothing from vs, he carred little or nothing away with him, being too much careful to keepe the honour he had already gained, and peradventure in feare of them of whom he was not without cause most feared. I spake not this of purpose to terrifie any of you, but rather to admonish you, and to consult with you, how such great preparations may be frustrated and ouerthrowne, and some notable victorie by vs atchieued, without the price of our blood, or the losse of such things as we haue. The number of our enemies is, great, and so great, as vntill this day we neuer saw in EPIRVS greater, except at such times as they came to besiege our cities, and to deuour vs all. Now if we shall meet them in the plaine fields in a set battaile, the euent thereof will be doubtfull, many of vs must needs fall, many of vs must die (I would I might be a false prophet) before so great an armie will either slie or be overcome, your victorie shall be mingled with teares, and the heauinesse of the conquerour not much unlike the sorrow of the conquered. Was it but a few that we lost at BELGRADE? Is that losse so to be recovered? What flower of Chinabrie, hardly to be in many yeares restored? How many worthy men were there slaine? EPIRVS must needs in short time be vnpeopled, if we shall so desperately only seeke for such glorious victories. Wherefore if we will doe well, we must so fight to day, as that we may fight to morrow also. Neither are our enemies and we in like case: The losse of fortie or fiftie thousand is lesse vnto the Turkish tyrant, than the losse of an hundred of you is to me. We are in all but a few, and therefore carefully to be kept: which if we regard not for our owne sakes, yet let vs doe it for our wiues and childrens, whose welfare and libertie dependeth of our liues: I know the number of you, I know your faces and countenances, and almost euery one of your names, which maketh me also more careful of your health. And yet I would not refuse to trie the whole fortune of this battaile in plaine field, if we might thereby end all the wars against the Turks for euer: if I were in hope so to find an end of our labours and trauels hereafter, I would gladly aduenture my life with yours, for the perpetuall quiet and peace of our posteritie: but a new enemy alwaies ariseth, and we must still looke for new wars. When this Isaack is gone, another Isaack will ere long come in his place: we shall be alwaies exercised with new wars, and enclosed with new dangers: It is the destinie of EPIRVS (as far as I can see) and wee our selues are borne thereto. Wherefore we must gather our wits together, we must well husband our forces,

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and

and so diuide our patrimonie, as that we may alwayes haue something to content our creditors, when they shall chance to come vpon vs. Yet shall God (no doubt) giue an end also vnto these troubles: for extremities cannot be of long continuance, and you your selues shall at length take rest: yea, the strong and puissant enemy, wearied with so many vaine attempts, will at last haue ynough thereof, and leaue off his perpetuall hatred against vs: then shall it be to you no small pleasure to remember so many labours and dangers past. Thus haue I declared vnto you the commodities and incommunities ensuing the victorie in plaine battell. But what if we be vanquished? where haue we any hope of reliefe left? from whence may we expect helpe? Will the bloodie enemy, inflat with victorie, expect whilest we again recover our strength and encounter him againe with new forces? No, he will pursue vs and chase vs, so long as any of vs are left: and hauing ouercome vs, will poure out the rest of his furie vpon our towns and country, then subiect to his iniurie. But some of you peraduenture will say, that they are by policie to be ouertaken, and not to be met in open field: of which opinion I also am my selfe, yet happily differ from you in the time of doing the same. Then I thinke it best to deceiue them, when they thinke they cannot be deceived: when as they being as it were in possession of a supposed victorie, like men ouerjoyed, shall cast no perill. Now they come euen from the gates of CONSTANTINOPLE, full of distrust, prying into euery corner, as men before warned by others harmes, and so many dreadfull examples of their fellows. Besides that, they haue with them my gracelesse nephew and domesticall foe Amesa, who will teach them to foresee and shun such snares as in times past he with vs was wont to lay for them. Wherefore we must now tower vp vnto the height of some notable and strange policie, whereby both our country may be from danger preserved, and also some great victorie, without our owne bloodshed (which seldom chaunceth) obtained: which to the maintenance of our antient glorie and renowne, we haue to this day by many most notable victories gained: But time and space, and the sight of the enemy shall furnish us with this deuise. Now (that my discourse may come to the purposed end) first of all, all things subiect either to the furie or victorie of the enemy, are to be removed out of the way; all people, of what age, sex, or condition soeuer, are to be brought out of the country into places of safetie; and then, our towns are to be furnished with strong garrisons and all other necessarie provision, against all the chaunces of fortune. Besides, who knoweth the secret designs of the tyrant? or whether he himselfe (of long time desirous of renenge, and thirsting after our blood) will follow the Bassa at the heeles, or no? Perhaps I may beleue and feare more than is needfull: but it is good to feare all that may be feared, that we may indeed feare nothing. If all things shall thus be set in order, if there shall be nothing left in the fields or in the villages, that may enrich, feed, or feare our enemies, and which may withdraw our care and thoughts from our enemies, undoubtedly we shall be victors. And if you will be ruled by me, and follow my direction in these wars, I will assuredly deliuer your enemies into your hands to be slain at your pleasure; and (by the leaue of God) will make the name and valour of the Epirots more terrible vnto the Turke, than euer it hath been in the time of our ancestors. I flatter not my selfe, I deceiue you not wif any thing may be promised in worldly actions, this I assure you of, and this will I take vpon mee. But these things are better done than said. In the meane while, to spend no more time in longer talke and discourse (than which, no greater losse can be to soldiers) let euery one of vs take a part in this charge, for the good disposing of all things, and how to withstand the enemy. I will not commaund any thing to others, which I will not my selfe doe: I will refuse nothing, or reckon any thing base, which may tend to the common honour or profit of vs all.

This speech of Scanderbeg was well liked and joyfully receiued of all the hearers, so that many besought him to manifest vnto them how he purposed to proceed in those wars: whereunto hee with cheerefull countenance answered, That it was ynough for him, if they did but beleue him, promising himselfe in person to bee in the most dangerous actions as farre as any of them, wherwith they rested contented. And presently dispatching his lieutenants into diuers parts of his kingdom, as he thought most conuenient, provided, That all things were in short time conueyed out of the country into the strong townes and other places of refuge. No corne, no cattell, or other things of any worth was left in the country; but all left desolate, in like manner as was before at the coming of the great king Amurath to the siege of CROIA.

By this time Isaack the great Bassa was come into EPIRVS, accompanied with Amesa: and as hee marched, still sent before him his scouts and espials, carefully to view euery corner of the country, for feare to bee entrapped as others before him had bene; directed in his journey for most part by Amesa. Scanderbeg had in readinesse such an armie as he had purposed to vie against

his mightie enemy, but lay with six thousand horsemen onely in shew, as if hee had determined with them to haue giuen them battaile, but meaning indeed nothing lesse. For as soone as the Bassa was come in sight, he with those horsemen, according as hee had before appointed, as if hee had bene discouraged with the very sight of the Turkes, turned his backe and fled. And because he would not giue them any occasion to suspect it to be done for some policie or finenesse, and so to make them more careful, he fled not into the mountaines or woods, as his wonted maner was, but directly toward LYSSA, a towne of the Venetians standing vpon the sea coast, as if hee had quite despaird of the keeping of EPIRVS, and fled thither for refuge. The Bassa seeing him flee, was glad thereof, and sent certaine troupes of horsemen to pursue him, & diligently to marke which way he tooke: but encamped himselfe with his armie in the plaines of DIBRA, neer vnto ORONTIUM, where Scanderbeg lay before: & there rested his armie, wearie of long trauell, expecting the returne of his horsemen, sent after Scanderbeg. But vpon their returne, when it was for a certaintie reported by them, That Scanderbeg with an handfull of men was fled out of EPIRVS, and not an enemy to be seene, the Turkes began to reioyce, and proudly to triumph; that they had without any losse driuen the enemy out of the country; yet much greued, that they could no where find any thing to satisfie their greechie desires: for why, all things were so cleane gone, as if the country had bene swept against their coming, which might haue bene a sufficient cause for them to haue distrusted some great matter; but they flattering themselves, supposed all this to be done for feare of them, vpon extreame desperation: such is the fraile condition of men, to loose strength of bodie, common sence, yea, their reason and vnderstanding, when some great mischeefe is appointed for their ouerthrow or destruction. The Bassa seeing the enemy fled, and now no cause of feare, consulted with his cheefe captaines, what were now best to bee done: Amesa still perswading him not to remoue, but there to stay a time, and to expect the farther euent of matters. But the greater number, whose opinion preuailed, said it was better to goe farther into the country, and to take the spoile thereof, before the country people should conuey away all their substance into places of safetie, as they had done there in DIBRA, and leaue them nothing but the bare ground and emptie cottages. By this perswasion, the Bassa early next morning in good order set forward: commaunding by generall proclamation, That no man vpon paine of death should breake his array or straggle from the armie. Yet before he set forward, he called Amesa vnto him; whom after he had highly commended, and with great vehemencie inuayed against Scanderbeg, he with the great applause of the whole armie in the name of Mahomet created him king of EPIRVS. That day he marched not farre, by reason of the great heat: for it was then about the midst of Iuly. Yet when he had well wearied himselfe with that daicles trauell, finding neither enemy nor any things els worthe to be accounted in any part of a victorie; he encamped at night, keeping diligent watch, and sending forth his scouts euery way, but especially towards LYSSA. The next day, which was the third day after the Bassaes coming into EPIRVS, hee set forward againe, and came at length into ÆMATHIA, and there encamped that night.

When Scanderbeg (flying for feare, as the Turkes supposed) was gone a great way out of their sight towards LYSSA, and come euen to the borders of his kingdom, he there staid all the rest of that day. And a little before the going downe of the sunne, he with a few select horsemen departed from the army, and with painfull trauell got vp to the top of the high mountaines, from whence a man might by day well discouer all the plaines of ÆMATHIA. There he appointed one Petrus Emanuel, a politicke and valiant gentleman, with certaine horsemen to marke diligently which way the enemy held, and by certaine secret and appointed waitings and signes, to giue knowledge thereof to the army. After such order taken, he returned himselfe, and came againe to the campe after midnight. And presently rising with his army, and fetching a compass about, came vndiscovered, and secretly encamped himselfe as neere as he could vnto the mountaines where his scouts lay, with eagles eyes waiting for the least mouing of the enemy. The Bassa desirous to get as farre as hee could into the country, before the heat of the day, began early in the morning to set forward, and came to the plaines of PHARSALIA, through the world spoken of for the great battell in them long time before fought, between the two most famous chieftaines Cesar and Pompeius: and now once more to bee made famous, by the slaughter of the Turkes. Here the enemy finding some stragling cattell, and other small things which the country people had in their hastie flight left behind them, fell to seeking after boocie, and as men without feare

The Epirots remove all their things out of the country into the strong townes, before the coming of the Turke.

Amesa is by the Bassa created king of Epirus.

feare, spent that day in roaming vp and downe the countrey, in hope to find something: and at night encamped without any great watch, but towards *LYSSYM*, from whence they (in great expectation) looked for the coming of *Scanderbeg*; and as it were in disgrace of him, carried *Amesa* in triumph vp and downe the campe, as if he had been already possessed of the kingdome of *EPYRVS*. *Scanderbeg* lying on the other side of the mountaines, perceived by his espials which way the enemy lay: and with great silence vnder the couert of the mountaines and woods, secretly bent his course the same way, vntill hee came to a mountaine called *TVMENIST*, at the foot whereof he encamped that night. The next morning the Bassa holding on his way, came and encamped not farre from the same mountaine, and there staid himselfe with halfe his army, and sent *Amesa* with the other halfe to burne and spoyle the countrey: who about noone returned to the campe with such prey as he had got, with his souldiours well wearied with trauell and the heat of the day. *Scanderbeg* like a carefull housholder, who being about to entertaine and feast some honourable personages, trusteth not to his wife and seruants, but looketh vnto the bestowing of his prouision himselfe, carefully ordering and disposing and setting forth all things, especially if his prouision (for want of abilitie) be short, to welcome so great guests; and setting all things forth to the greatest shew, seeketh at least to fill the eies of his guests, although he doubt to satisfie their appetites: so he carefully viewing all the mountaines and thick woods therabouts without resting, set *Moses* in one place, *Tamiusus* in another; and all the rest in places most conuenient. He appointeth euery man what to doe, and instructeth them, and considereth of euery particular circumstance himselfe: and so diuideth his forces, as might best serue his purpose, and make the most terrible shew vnto the enemy: for which purpose he in euery companie placed mo trumpets, drums, and other instruments of war, than he had before at any time vsed. When he had so to his most aduantage bestowed so many of his captaines and souldiours as he thought good, and as the nature of the places would giue leaue, he with foure thousand horsemen and the like number of foot, speedily marching vp the rough mountaine of *TVMENIST*, from thence plainly beheld in what order the Turkes campe lay in the plaines below. The Turkes, especially they which were lately returned with *Amesa* from the spoile of the countrey, lay scattered abroad in the fields, with their horses vnbridled and vnbridled, resting their wearie bodies: some got vnder the shadowes of trees were victualing themselves; some hauing filled their bellies, lay fast on sleep vpon the greene grasse; the rest were passing the time, some with one kind of sport, some with an other, as souldiours doe in field when they haue little or nothing to doe: for it was then the hottest time both of the yeare and of the day, being about the midst of Iuly, and the noontime of the day: The like negligence was also in that part of the campe where the Bassa himselfe lay: euery man taking his ease and pleasure, with small regard of horse or armour; for being out of feare of *Scanderbeg*, whom they thought to haue been a great way off at *LYSSYM*, they lay as men without care wrapped vp in securitie, the common destruction of great armies and common wealths. *Amesa* with the great captaines, were at the same time altogether in the Bassas pavilion; consulting what course they were best to take, to doe something to the contentment of *Mahomet*, and their owne commendation: Some said it were best, with fire and sword to destroy all they could in *EPYRVS*; and so hauing laied the countrey wast, to returne: Others thought it better to march directly to *CRONIA*, to proue if the citizens could be perswaded to yeeld themselves, and receiue *Amesa* for their king; otherwise to threaten them with a continuall siege, and vnto destruction of the countrey, if vpon the vaine expectation of helpe from *Scanderbeg* they should refuse to submit themselves. As for *Scanderbeg* himselfe, who then lay hovering ouer their heads, he was in all that consultation least feared: who from the top of the mountaine, beholding the securitie and disorder of the Turkes camp, and delighted with the sight therof; encouraged his souldiours, and martialled them in such order as they were to follow him, for the charging and terrifying of the enemy. But first of all he determined to oppresse the Turkes scouts; which lay at the foot of the mountaine; for which purpose he himselfe with a few horsemen first secretly descended the mountaine, the rest of his army following shortly after, and so suddenly came vpon the scouts that he slayd them all, excepting one, who escaping by the swiftnesse of his horse, came running into the campe as one halfe scared out of his wit, crying out that *Scanderbeg* was coming. The Turkes suspecting nothing lesse than the coming of him that way, at the present instant hardly beleued that he was so nigh: while as he following him at the heels as fast as he could, with his horsemen and his footmen after them, was in a moment as if it had been a sudden tempest, broken in amongst

amongst the vnarmed Turkes, and there making great slaughter of them, filled all the campe with sudden tumult and feare. *Amesa* who at the first noife had speedily got him to his charge, with his souldiours some halfe armed, some on foot, hauing no leisure to bridle their horses, was the first that made head against *Scanderbeg*. The Bassa also did what he might in that sudden feare and shortnesse of time, to arme his men, and to put them in order: but whilest these things were in doing, the souldiours which lay in ambush in the woods, came downe the mountaine with such horrible shouts and noise of instruments of warre, as if heauen and earth should haue presently gone together; the hills and vallies with their hollow echoes, encreasing the terror of the alarm. Insomuch, that the Turkes dismayed, and fearing that all the force of *EPYRVS* with the countries adioyning had come vpon them, began to flie on euery side, before that *Moses* and the rest that lay in ambush were come into the plaines. *Amesa* acquainted with his vnckles stratagems; as much as he could encouraged the Turkes; crying aloud and telling them, That such vaine tumults and terrours were not to be feared, being but the bare shifts and deuises of their enemies to couer their owne weaknesse: and by his owne valour staid many which before were about to haue fled. In this while, the Bassa hauing put his men in best order he could, was coming to the aid of *Amesa*, hardly charged by *Scanderbeg*: but in his setting forward, he was so valiantly encountred on the one side by *Moses* with his horsemen, and on the other by *Tamiusus* and *Emanuel* with their footmen, that he was enforced, not without great losse, againe to retire vnto his trenches.

All the hope of the battell depended vpon *Amesa*, who still with great courage withstood his vnckle; exhorting his souldiours valiantly as men to endure that first assault, which should afterwards bring them most assured victorie: hartening them on with hope of speedie help from their fellowes, if they would but a while endure the furie of their enemies, whose hearts (as hee said) would presently be discouraged, if they preuailed not in that their first and desperat attempt, hauing nothing else to trust vnto. By which perswasion the Turkes were againe encouraged, accounting it a great dishonour to flie, and leaue their chieftaine in the field. But when they saw *Scanderbeg* still to preuaile vpon them, and that no helpe came as they hoped (for many were by *Scanderbeg* his horsemen slaine as they were arming themselves; many were by the way cut off as they were coming, and the rest put to flight) they which before fought valiantly with *Amesa*, turned their backs and fled also. *Scanderbeg* his horsemen pursuing the chafe, made great slaughter of the Turkes, and in the same chafe tooke *Amesa* prisoner. *Scanderbeg*, hauing ouerthrowne that part of the Turkes battell, was coming with a thousand footmen and some horsemen, to haue ayded *Moses* against the Bassa: but before his coming, *Moses* to blot out his former infamie, had with inuincible courage put the great Bassa with all his army to flight: and *Scanderbeg* following the chafe, gaue him not leaue to looke behind him, vntill he was got out of *EPYRVS*. Many were in this chafe taken prisoners, and amongst the rest one *Mesites* a Sanzacke, a man of great account amongst the Turkes. In this battell beside the prisoners, were taken twentie of the Turkes fairest ensignes. As for horses, armour, and other spoiles taken in the field, and in the campe, all which fell vnto the souldiours share, it is almost incredible to be told. The number of the slaine Turkes is of diuers diuersly reported, they which write of the most, reckon vp thirtie thousand; and they which speake of the least, account twentie thousand. Of the Christian answers lost but sixtie. Now if any account it strange, that so great a victorie should be gained with so little losse; not to speake of that is written in holy writ, let him but read the auncient histories of the Romans, or the chronicles of our owne country, and he shall in them find victories no lesse strange. There was to be seene the sudden and strange alteration of these worldly things, no more indeed (whatsoeuer we account of them) to be reckoned of, than of things we haue not. *Scanderbeg* possesseth the rich pavilion, erst belonging to the great Bassa; and other of his captaines enioy tents, with much other rich furniture neuer prepared for their vse. *Amesa* which the same day as a victorious conquerour oucran a great part of *EMATHIA* with his horsemen, and was in triumph carried vp with the generall acclamation of many thousands of valiant souldiours, and honoured as a king, and of them so called; is now led through the Christian army to his vnckle, with his hands bound behind him as a slave, speechlesse and confounded, vnable to hold vp his head for shame: whose miserie moued most of the beholders to compassion, and forced teares out of the eies of many.

The next day after this great victorie, *Scanderbeg* caused the bodies of the slaine Turkes to be

The Turke camp
broken downe
i.e.

A notable victorie
of the Christian
souldiours.

be buried, together with their horses; which he did not for any regard of them, but that their loathsome carcases should not infect the country: and after that, returned in great triumph to CROIA. By the way as he went, the countrey people, which were before for feare of the Turks fled into the woods and mountaines in great multitudes, met him; as did others also out of the cities, whose mouthes were all full of his worthy praises. Before him went the captiue Turkes with their hands bound behind them, excepting such as were enforced to carrie the Turkes on signes: Next vnto them followed the great Bassaes rich pailion, in such manner supported by his vnckle, that he might not as he well deserved, be carried bound amongst the other captiues: Last of all came Scanderbeg his victorious souldiours in goodly order, euery man leading a spare horse taken from the enemy, and loaded with spoyle. So when he was come to CROIA, and there of his subjects joyfully receiued, he brake vp his army, and gaue euery man leaue at his pleasure to depart. The Sanzacke, and Amesa, were committed to safe keeping, vntill farther order was taken for them. Amesa afterwards was for his treason worthely condemned to perpetual prison, and by an embassador from Scanderbeg sent vnto king Alphonsus to NAPLES, there to be kept in durance; and with him was also sent an honourable present of part of the spoile taken from the Turkes, in token of the victorie. What became afterward of this Amesa, concerneth not much the course of our historie; yet to satisfie the desirous, I think it not amisse with him to stray a little out of the way.

When Amesa had remained a yeare in prison at NAPLES, Scanderbeg vnderstanding of the death of Alphonsus, by his embassadour requested of Ferdinand his sonne, to haue Amesa restored to him againe. By which meanes he was brought backe againe into EPIRVS, and cast in prison at CROIA; but not in such straight manner as before: for Scanderbeg according to his accustomed clemencie, began now to forget the injurie to him before done; and at last ouercome with the continuall supplication and teares of his nephew, pardoned him his life; and restoring him to his former libertie, receiued him also into his former fauor. But Amesa remembering what pledges of his loyaltie hee had left with Mahomet at CONSTANTINOPLE, and fearing what would become of his wife and children, if he should hastily vnto his libertie, giuing his vnckle most humble thanks, brake vnto him his mind concerning that matter, as followeth:

The speech of
Ameſa to Scanderbeg.

Whereas you of your owne gracious goodnesse onely, without any desert of mine, haue regarded my life and welfare, it behooueth me also to be carefull for the life of others: least whilst I receive your exceeding bountie with too much desire of mine owne health and honour, I doe at this present, by this same benefit of yours, cast away them, whom I haue long sithence by mine owne treacherie undone. Mine unfortunate and guiltlesse wife is with Mahomet, my little and innocent children are with him also: these yet liue, and shall liue, so long as the tyrant shall thinke, that I liue in heart his; but when he shall once perceiue by this your gracious dealing that I am fallen from him, the cruell creditor will forthwith cut and rend in peeces the pledges of my faith, and their innocent blood shall pay the guilt of their fathers offence. Wherefore the Othoman tyrant is of me by some deuice to be deceiued, that I may in the meane time preserve those pledges, vntill I may by some fit occasion afterwards redeeme the same. I will by your leaue this night take my flight out of CROIA, as if I had broken prison, and escaped against your will, and so flie vnto Mahomet, making the greatest shew I can of my wonted loue and loyaltie towards him: not omitting to heare, or speake vnto that credulous king such things concerning your estate, as I was wont in my better fortune: that hauing so cleared my selfe of all suspicion, which he perhaps hath conceiued by reason of my captiuitie and long stay with you, I may at length, with my wife and children, so escape from him: wherein you may helpe me much, if you shall openly make shew as if you were grieued with my escape, and seeme to be highly offended with the keepers of the prison for the same. In the meane time, whilst I shall stay in the tyrants court expecting some fit time for my escape, I will stand you in stead of an intelligencer, so that your enemy shall not to my knowledge either attempt or goe about any thing against you, which shall be kept from your hearing or knowledge.

Scanderbeg refused not to graunt whatsoeuer he had requested, but said vnto him:

Ameſa

The answer of
Scanderbeg to
Ameſa.

Ameſa, sithence we haue graunted you life, with all the good things thereunto belonging, we will not prohibit you to use that our gift to your most good, and to the preservation of them who for euer may most justly call vpon you, as debtor vnto them, for their welfare and libertie. Go thy waies, proceed, take thy time and occasion as seemeth vnto thee best; and at length reforme thy selfe, whilst thou yet hast sufficient time and space. We now belene you in all things, and well like of this your deuise: Ameſa you shall herein deceiue no man but your selfe, if you shall longer follow the faith & court of the barbarous king, whereas like danger is both of bodie and soule both to thee and thine. Whensoever thou shalt returne vnto vs, thou canst not doe vs a greater pleasure: and in what regard thou hast heretofore been with vs, in the same thou shalt be with vs againe.

The death of
Ameſa.

The same night Amesa by secret order from Scanderbeg, escaped both out of prison and out of CROIA: and in the morning it was all ouer the citie, that he was gone, and the keepers sharply rebuked for their negligence. He comming to CONSTANTINOPLE, easily persuaded Alahomet, that he was by chance escaped, with all things els that he told him: yet was he not for all that, so well graced of him as before; nor for any distrust he had in the man, but for the euill successe hee had in the former warres. Now whether Amesa neglected his promised returne, or could find no oportunitie to performe the same, is vncertaine: but certaine it is, that shortly after he died at CONSTANTINOPLE, poisoned as was thought by the commaundement of Mahomet, who could no longer endure the sight of him, whom he reckoned the author of the notable ouerthrow receiued in ÆMATHIA. This was the wofull end of this noble and valiant man, well worthe of remembrance; had not his haughtie thoughts soared too high with the desire of souerainetie.

When Mahomet vnderstood in what manner Isaack Bassa was ouerthrowne, and his armie discomfited, hee was therewith much grieued, and justly blamed the Bassaes securitie: yet such was his credit with his soueraigne, that the matter was in better sort passed ouer than was supposed it would haue beene. Neuerthelesse, Mahomet in reuenge thereof would willingly haue employed all his forces vpon Scanderbeg, if his more vrgent affaires would haue so permitted. For at the same time, besides that great warres began to arise betwixt him and the Venetians (which continued for many yeares after) hee was certainly enformed, That the Christian princes were making a strong confederation against him. At which time Mahomet disdainingly openly to sue for peace at Scanderbegs hands, cunningly practised by such as were sent to redeeme the prisoners, and also by the Sanzacke himselfe, to perswade Scanderbeg to require peace of him; assuring him, that if he did but aske it, it would for a long time bee easily obtained. Which thing Scanderbeg well acquainted with the Turkish policie, vterly refused to do. Wherefore Mahomet for defence of his countries bordering vpon EPIRVS, sent two of his most expert captaines, Sinam, and Hamur, with each of them foureteene thousand souldiours into MACEDONIA, expressly charging them not to enter at any time or vpon any occasion, into EPIRVS, or by any meanes to prouoke Scanderbeg: which his commaundement they so well obserued, that the Epirots by the space of almost two yeares enjoyed the fruits of peace, although there was no peace at all concluded. So that the remembrance of old injuries wearing out with time, at length by the mediation of the same captaines, a peace for a yeare was agreed vpon betwixt Mahomet and Scanderbeg. In which time he passed ouer into APTIA, and there notably aided king Ferdinand against the French, the proceeding wherein, as not pertinent to our historie, I of purpose passe ouer.

A peace for a
yeare concluded
betwixt Mahomet
and Scanderbeg.

After that the time of the peace before concluded was expired, all things now going well with Mahomet, as he desired, he determined according to his wonted maner to trouble the quiet estate of Scanderbeg: and so sending a new supplie of souldiours vnto Synam-beg, who then lay with a strong garrison vpon the frontiers of EPIRVS, commaunded him with all his power to make warres vpon Scanderbeg. Synam accordingly, with an armie of twentie thousand men entered into EPIRVS, where he was forthwith encountered by Scanderbeg, and his armie vterly ouerthrowne, so that but few escaped by flight with Synam himselfe. Presently after he sent Asam-beg, another of his captaines, into the same seruice, with an armie of thirtie thousand, whom Scanderbeg also in plaine battaile vanquished at OCRIDA: in which battaile Asam himselfe was fore wounded, and finding no way to escape, was glad to yeeld himselfe prisoner to Scanderbeg, by whom hee was courteously vied, and afterwards set at libertie. Iussim-beg following Asam with eigheten thousand into EPIRVS, was set vpon by Scanderbeg also, and hauing lost part of his armie, was glad

glad by speedie flight to saue himselfe with the rest. After all this, *Caraza-beg*, an old captain and a man of great experience (who had bene a great commaunder, and a companion with *Scanderbeg* in the time of old *Amurath*) requested of *Mahomet*, That he might proue his fortune against his old acquaintance *Scanderbeg*, assisting him of better successe than before. The long and approued experience of this old leader put *Mahomet* in such hope of good speed, that he gaue present order for the leuying of such an armie as *Caraza* had requested, and for ten thousand more than he had at the first required. With this strong armie, in number almost fortie thousand, *Caraza* set forward, hauing before filled the minds of men with the expectation of some great matter to haue bene by him done. *Scanderbeg* vnderstanding certainly, that *Caraza* was comming, stood more in doubt of the man than of his power: and therefore assembled greater forces than he had vsually done before: and to welcome him, sent two thousand of his best and most expert souldiors secretly into the enemies country: who lying in ambush amongst the woods & mountaines, whereby *Caraza* must needs passe, suddenly set vpon foure thousand horsemen, the runners of *Caraza* his armie; who marching disorderedly, and fearing no such matter, were in a trice ouerthrowne, and most part of them slaine: those few that escaped, fled backe againe to the armie, as if they had come in poast to bring tidings of some haste newes to the Generall. With which so vnfortunat a beginning, *Caraza* was so discomfited, that if he might for shame, he could haue bene content to haue returned againe and gone no farther: yet for his honours sake holding on his way, he came into *EPIRVS*; where whilst hee was (after the manner of old men) long in resolving what course to take, he was vpon the sudden assailed by *Scanderbeg*, before he could well put his men in order of battaile. At which time there fell such a vehement shower of raine, that both the armies were glad to retire before any great hurt was done. Three dayes together it rained continually (for it was about the later end of Autumne): all which time *Scanderbeg* ceased not in one place or other to trouble the Turks campe: so that the old Generall, partly distempered with the extremitie of the weather, which for the violence thereof he tooke to be ominous; and more discouraged with the restless attempts of *Scanderbeg*, rife with his armie, and retreating backe, by the same way he came returned to *CONSTANTINOPLE*. Where he was well derided of *Mahomet*, that hauing promised so much, had performed so little: yet afterwards was againe by him in some fort commended, for that he had with lesse losse looked vpon *Scanderbeg*, than other his Generals before sent against him.

Mahomet perceiuing that *Scanderbeg* was not to be subdued but with such forces as hee was not then at leisure to employ vpon him, thought it not amisse to proue if hee could by faire speeches and glorious shewes of fained friendship get within him, and so bring him to confusion. For which purpose he sent vnto him an embassadour, with rich presents, and letters of this purport.

Sultan Mahomet, Lord and Emperour of the East and of the West,
and of all parts of the World, vnto *Scanderbeg*, prince of
ALBANIA and EPIRVS, sendeth greeting.

The letters of
Scanderbeg to
Mahomet.

I thinke friend *Scanderbeg*, that no acquaintance can be greater, or friendship more firm, than that which hath growne of long and mutuall conuersing and liuing together: and especially if the same haue taken beginning from childhood and tender yeares, as you know it hath done betwixt vs two; who haue of long time, euen from our childhood, liued together in great loue and friendship, when as you first lay as hostage in my fathers court. Wherefore beloued *Scanderbeg*, when as I call to remembrance all those things, with others, wherewith our youthfull yeares were then delighted; and being mindfull also of all those things which you haue oftentimes done for the aduancement of our empire and kingdome, and for the glorie of the Othoman familie; I cannot chuse but embrace thee with a singular Zeale and affection. For I take God to witnes, that nothing could chance more welcome or pleasing vnto me in my life, than to haue thee with me, and for a while to enioy thy companie. Neither needest thou to fear any thing to come vnto me, for that my souldiors without my knowledge or commaundement haue of late broken in and spoiled thy kingdome: which thing as reason required, was vnto me exceedingly displeasing: neither did it any whit offend me, that they were by thy forces vanquished and overcome, and so received the iust reward of their euill deserts; and that all things fell out with thee according to the equitie of thy cause, and as thy heart could haue desired. But to let these things passe, the remembrance of our old loue and friendship perswadeth me to come to agreement, & to ioine together with thee in a perpetuall league

of amitie: to the intent that our auntient acquaintance and familiaritie, which by reason of long absence is almost worne out, may againe take life, encrease, and be confirmed. Of which peace, let these be the capitulations, if they shall seeme vnto you reasonable: for I know it belongeth vnto him that requirerh not the peace, to appoint the conditions of the same. First, we require of you freely and peaceably to suffer our armies to passe through your kingdome, for the besieging of the cities and inuading of the countries subiect to the Venetians our enemies: Then, to deliuer vnto vs your sonne *Iohn* in hostage, whom we will alwayes vse as one of our own naturall children: And afterwards, that our marchants and men of trade may peaceably come and trauell into all parts of your kingdome with their marchandize, and there freely and safely vse their negotiation: Last of all, that your selfe in person may, at your pleasure safely and without all feare repaire vnto vs, and in like manner, retorne againe. In which things if you will yeeld vnto vs, I promise in the faith of a king, to graunt vnto you and your kingdome sincere peace, with perpetuall tranquillitie; and that there shall not be any more deerer vnto me than your selfe; and will neuer to the vttermost of our power permit your kingdome to be infested or molested by any of our subiects, or others. Whatsoeuer you shall farther receiue from vs by the mouth of our embassadour *Mustapha*, you may thereto giue full credence. Fare you well from our imperiall pallace at *CONSTANTINOPLE* the 10 of May 1561.

Scanderbeg hauing receiued these letters, and well considered of the same, returned him answer by the same messenger as followeth:

The souldiours of Christ Iesus, George Castriot, otherwise called Scanderbeg,
prince of the Albanefes and Epirots, vnto *Mahomet* prince of the
Turkes, greeting.

Your letters (most magnificent) are deliuered vnto vs: wherein you write of your exceeding loue and singular affection towards vs, confirmed as you say by old acquaintance: which being growne up betwixt vs, and by tract of time firmly rooted, and as it were into nature conuerted, shall alwayes retaine his force and strength. But for as much as it seemeth vnto you good to awake the same, hauing of long time and many yeares lien as it were asleepe; and to make a motion that we should enter into a certaine new league and confederation, whereof amongst other conditions of the league by you propounded, this is one, That your forces may freely passe through my kingdome, to inuade the Venetians: Vnto this your request, worthe *Mahomet*, it standeth neither with equitie nor with mine honour to consent, for so much as the Venetians are my especiall good friends and confederats. As for that you desire to haue my sonne *Iohn* with you in hostage for the better assurance of the peace betwixt vs, I should peraduenture doe it (most noble *Mahomet*) if fatherly affection would giue me leaue: but since I haue no more but him, and he as yet a tender child, it is not for the good either of him or vs, to haue him now taken from vs, when as he ought of vs to be most tenderly cherished, and carefully instructed. As for that you requested concerning your marchants, that they may freely and safely trafficke into my kingdome at their pleasure, I can be content to yeeld therunto, and wish heartily, that there might be a free entercourse for our marchants indifferently with their commodities into both our kingdomes. Farther, whereas you earnestly persuaide me boldly and without feare to come vnto you, that by such interview and personall presence, our great desire, growne of long absence, might be the better satisfied: in this thing most excellent prince, I cannot but praise your most honourable disposition; and commend your good nature; and would therefore boldly follow your perswasion, if my other vrgent affaires, with the gouernment of my kingdome, would so permit. But what should I doe? my sonne *Iohn* is (as I said before) but little, and as yet vnfit to gouerne; and my people (as you know) loue alwayes to haue something to doe; being by nature a fierce and restless nation, whom I my selfe haue much adoe to rule and gouerne: For all that, I will come vnto you according to your desire, expecting onely a more commodious time. So fare you well, and loue me still. From our campe the 30 of May, 1461.

When *Mahomet* had receiued these letters, and well perused the same, he writ to him againe in manner following:

Sultan Mahomet, Emperour of all the parts of the World, vnto Scanderbeg,
prince of the Albanefes and Epirots, greeting.

Your letters we haue receiued by our embassadour *Mustapha*, wherein you giue vs to vnderstand, that you

The letters of
Mahomet to
Scanderbeg for
the concluding
of a perpetuall
peace betwixt
you
them.

you like of none of the conditions of peace by us propounded, but onely that concerning our marchants and men of trade, that they might freely and as their pleasure use their traffique and trades with their marchandise too and fro: and upon this condition onely you graunt us peace. Thus your offer we accept of, and all the rest of your excuses we willingly admit: wherefore I promise vnto thee (my loving Scanderbeg) and will performe all that thou dost require, and upon that resolution rest: and will so long as I line obserue and keepe a sincere and inuolable peace with thee for euer, except thou first giue cause of violating the same. And for that purpose haue we with our usuall and imperiall seale signed these our letters, which we by our embassadour Mustapha haue sent vnto thee, as thereby confirming vnto thee this perpetuall peace. Wherefore you also (if you be so content) may subscribe, and with your seale confirme this of ours, that I in like manner may also haue your like consent and agreement. And would farther, that you would commaund knowledge thereof to be made by open proclamation through all your kingdome, as I will in like manner cause to be done through mine. And for the more manifestation of this my loue towards you, I would also that you should vnderstand, That of mine owne mere motion and bountie, I doe freely giue vnto you all those things, which you by force of armes haue taken from my father in ALBANIA and EPIRVS, so that you may possesse and enioy the same, as if they had alwaies been yours and your ancestors: wherefore I giue, graunt, and confirme vnto thee and thy heires, all the right, title, or interest, which I heretofore had therein: and from henceforth will alwaies account and repute thee as prince of ALBANIA and EPIRVS, and so call thee. And as I haue promised thee in the faith of a king, will neuer hereafter with warres molest thee or thine, except thou thy selfe giue cause thereof. Wherefore after you haue with your seale confirmed these things, you may commend them to our faithfull embassadour Mustapha, to bee by him brought vnto us: vnto whom I would you should in all things giue full credit. So fare you well, and render vs loue for loue. From our imperiall palace at CONSTANTINOPLE, the 22 of Iune, 1461.

A peace concluded betwixt Mahomet and Scanderbeg.

Vpon receit of these letters a peace was concluded betwixt Mahomet and Scanderbeg, and the same by publicke proclamations solemnely published through both their kingdomes, to the great reioycing of many. Which peace was for a season faithfully kept on both sides, vntill that the Turkes lying in garrison vpon the frontiers of EPIRVS, began after their wonted manner againe to fetch preyes and booties out of the country. Of which injuries Scanderbeg by letters complained to Mahomet: who answered that he was altogether ignorant thereof, and affirmed in shew to be much offended with the insolencie of the doers thereof: and forthwith caused many things to be againe restored. By which meanes the peace before concluded, was still as before continued.

A little before the conclusion of the aforefaid peace, great warres began to arise betwixt the Turkes and the Venetians: who all this while being in league with the Turke, peaceably followed their traffique and trades of marchandise, little or nothing at all regarding their neighbours harmes and miseries, vntill that now the flame and fire began to take hold vpon their owne houses, and as it were to awaken them out of a dead sleepe. For Mahomet after he had subuerted the empire of CONSTANTINOPLE, and driuen Thomas and Demetrius the emperours brethren out of PELOPONNESVS (now called MORRA) rested not so contented, but by his lieutenants and other great captaines began to disturbe the quiet of the Venetians, who then held in their possession METHONE, CORONE, NEAPOLIS, ARGOS, with diuers other strong townes in PELOPONNESVS, standing vpon the sea coast. And now it chanced, that about this time, Iofue, Mahomet's lieutenant in PELOPONNESVS, had by the treason of a Greeke priest, vpon the suddaine surpris'd the citie of ARGOS: And Omares another of his great captaines, hauing first spoyled the country about NAFPACTVM (now LEPANTO) entered farther into the territorie of the Venetians about METHONE and CORONE, making hauocke of what cometh in his way. With which injuries, plainly tending to open warre, the Venetian Senators being much troubled, sat oftentimes in counsell, deliberating with much care what course to take in a matter of so great importance. Some being of opinion, that it were best to send embassadours to Mahomet, so to make prooffe if the matter might by faire means be redressed: others on the contrarie part deeming it to be to no purpose so to doe; for as much as such great and manifest outrages, nothing differing from plaine hostilitie, could not possibly be done without the tyrants knowledge and expresse commaund. After the Senators had oftentimes met together, and with many great reasons debated the matter too and fro, and yet for all that concluded nothing

(as in consultations of great matters with a multitude, it most commonly falleth out to be a harder matter, and to require longer time, to bring the multitude to some certaine resolution, than it is afterwards to performe the same in action.) In this so great a diuersitie of opinions concerning so weightie a cause, at length one Victor Capella, a noble gentleman and graue Senator step vp in the midst of the Senate, and there stauckely deliuered this notable speech vnto the rest concerning the matter propounded, as followeth:

I haue before this at other times, by long experience, often noted (most noble Senators), that in all our greatest consultations of matters most concerning our common state, some are alwaies so aduised or rather wedded vnto their owne conceits, that they can hardly with patience endure to heare the reasonable opinion of others contrarie to their owne: the chiefe cause of our slow resolutions, wherefore I haue thought it good, briefly at this time to call vpon you for resolution: for as much as I see we must of necessitie take up armes, be we neuer so loth or unwilling: For to my vnderstanding, you doe but betray the state, in delaying the time to make present warre vpon the barbarous enemy. Yet many principall men amongst vs, aduise vs to beware, that wee doe not rashly or vnadvisedly determine of matters of so great consequence: and thinke it requisite, that we should send embassadours vnto the tyrant, to expostulate with him his vnjust dealing in breaking his faith and league: and withall to request him to obserue the conditions of the peace before agreed vpon, if happily he may rather by perswasion than by armes be moued to change his purpose: and if by this meanes nothing may be obtained, then at length they thinke it necessarie to resolve to make warre vpon him. They alledge further, That if we shall attempt warre, our citties in the continent bordering vpon the Ionian, in PELOPONNESVS, with diuers others of ours in the firme land, will not bee able to hold out very long, but for want of necessities must needs perish with the first of the trouble: besides that, if those places shall be wasted and spoyled, great losse (as they say) shall ensue thereby vnto most of vs in priuat: the greatest motive (perhaps) wherefore they thinke it most convenient to deferre the warres, and for that purpose to send our embassadours vnto him. Of which embassage, first by your leave a few words. At such time as these our embassadours, men of great wisdom and reach, not long since came vnto him, he had them in no regard; but dallying off the time with fraudulent, deceitfull, and glosing speeches, did indeed such things to the contrarie as we least hoped: wherefore I cannot well denie (if we should send them, or such others againe) what especiall thing of all that we then gaue them in charge, they should now propound vnto him, hauing alreadie said what is to be said; except they should say, That where as we are not of sufficient strength and power to wage warre against him, we would be glad to decide the matter by talke, and by that simple meanes to redresse our injuries: and vpon the matter to shew our selues prest and ready to fall to agreement with him; according as shall stand with his good pleasure and liking. Truly this were good plaine dealing, but it will not serue our turne: ARGOS is alreadie taken from vs, and he maketh open war vpon vs: where in he doth but proue our courage; and trie how long we will put up these injuries. If we will quietly digest these, he will then confidently and without feare proceed further: but if we shall as best seemeth vs, valiantly resist him, he shall be glad of such rest as wee shall giue him; and when he knoweth not well which way to turne himselfe, shall be as glad as we to lay downe armes and to seeke for peace: where as if we shall doe otherwise, I feare we shall repent our selues when it will be too late. It is reported, that as soone as he was come into PELOPONNESVS, he went himselfe in person vnto EVBEA, to view the citie of CALCIS: and going a second time out of PELOPONNESVS, founded the depth of the passage, and came within the sight of the citie, of purpose to haue assaulted it, if he had found opportunitie: at which time he himselfe rid ouer that strait of the sea betwixt Bœotia and EVBEA with his horse, and curiously viewed in what place he might most conveniently passe ouer with his armie to besiege the citie. Verely these are the most manifest signes of war, where by any man may sufficiently proue, that he hath long since resolved (so soone as he is ready) to make warre vpon vs, whilst we are yet dreaming in the midst of our long consultations. Hee will proceed in the warres he hath begun: and cutting vs short, augment his owne dominions. Then will hee blame his lieutenants and captaines, as authors thereof: but yet still be doing that best serueth his purpose. And whilst no man opposeth himselfe against him, his power daily encreasing, he will doe the best he can suddainely to swallow vs up, being vnprovided. For he may easily raise great forces, that by sufferance of others, maketh himselfe of great strength there where hee had before no footing. Shall we then say that we haue no warres with this encroaching tyrant? Some I know feed themselves

The notable speech of Victor Capella, to persuade the Venetians to take up armes against Mahomet.

and others also, with vaine hopes, saying; That he will neuer turne his forces vpon vs, nor ruinate our estate, although he might at ease doe it: wherefore (say they) let vs reframe from warres, and vse our peace and quietnesse, yet omitting nothing in the meane time that shall bee needfull for our safetie. But for as much as it plainly appeareth vnto all men by that which is before said, That he hath alreadie indeed proclaimed warre against vs, invading our countries, surprizing our cities, and killing our people: Whether thinke you it more expedient or profitable for vs, to sit still and suffer our dominions to bee taken from vs, or rather by open warre to make the barbarous king know the greatness of our power and strength? For if we shall enter into open warre; wee being in armes sufficiently provided for all euents, and with carefull eye attending all his attempts, shall easily avoid both himselfe and all his deuises: who if wee be suffered to run still on forward with his prosperous successesse, people will dayly more and more fall vnto him, in hope to liue the better, as his friends. For which cause, I thinke it better to preserve an honourable warre before a doubtfull peace. As for delay it hath hurt many great States, and our selues most of all: whereby wee haue in sort betrayed the empire of GREECE, with the wofull emperor himselfe, when as this tyrant battered the wals of CONSTANTINOPLE: for our traffique was much holpen by the Grecians, whom we then left to themselves. After that, we despaired and reiected the pittifull complaints of the princes of PELOPONNESVS, who with teares craved our aid: and now wee see that famous country lost, and fallen into his hands, through our sloth and negligence. Of late, when as the king of BOSNIA humbly requested our aid, and promised fully to requite our courtesie, and whatsoever els we should doe in his behalfe; we suffered his kingdome to be lost, and himselfe to be cruelly murdered of the Turkes. For all these things by vs thus neglected, we cannot escape the infamous report of all the rest of the nations in EUROPE, but that they will say, That we for the greedie desire of trade and filthie gaine, haue forsaken, and for our parts betrayed whole kingdomes and nations, agreeing with vs both in manner and religion; and to haue stood still, looking on, untill they were subdued and brought in thralldome by the Turkes. Wherefore in few words to shew you the matter, if we shall ioyne in league with the Hungarians, and enter into armes, we shall so be able to keepe our owne: whereas if we shall vse delays, and hunt after peace, we shall in short time see, that he will suddainely deuour vs, being vnprouided, and wrest from vs all our prouinces and territories which border vpon him. And therefore it is (in my opinion) best to send our embassadours into HUNGARIE with a great masse of money to stir vp that warlike nation into the fellowship of this warre. And beside the naue we now haue in readinesse, to put to sea as many mooships and gallies as we are able. The great Bishop also is not to be forgotten, but by all means to be drawne as a cheefe man into this warre. Besides all this, we must doe what wee can to raise vpr rebellion against the Turke in PELOPONNESVS: which will be no hard matter to bring to passe. For if the Peloponnesians rise in armes with one of their poore princes which revolted from the Turkish king, and forsaking all that they had, aduentured themselves into all manner of perill and danger: what thinke you they will doe, if they shall see so great forces coming both by sea and land against the Turkish king? It were good also, that we should send two thousand Italian horsemen into PELOPONNESVS, to animate the people: who when they shall see vs thus to proceed, will undoubtedly presently revolt from the Turkes, and yeeld themselves with their country vnto vs from whence we may most commodiously vex and molest this tyrant: For there is no where better entrance into his kingdome, than by the way of PELOPONNESVS. So that ioyning in league with the Hungarians, we shall beset him on euery side: they all along the riuier of DANEBVS, and we out of PELOPONNESVS. Let vs not therefore sit still with our hands in our bosomes, suffering our countries to be taken from vs, & our subiects made bondslaues to the Turkes: but encouraging them by our example, animate them to take vp armes and valiantly to resist the cruell and barbarous tyrant.

The greater part of the Senat mooued with this graue Senatours speech, decreed without delay to make warres, and to send their embassadours to the Pope, the king of HUNGARY, and other the Christian princes their neighbours, to pray aid of them in these warres against the Turkes. According to this decree, the Venetians for defence of their territorie sent one *Bertholdus Eiste*, a valiant capitaine, with an armie into P E L O P O N E S S : where at his first coming, he in short time recovered the citie of A R G O S before lost. And departing thence, marched through the country with his armie of fiftene thousand men vnto the strait of C O R I N T H, called I S T H M V S. At which place *Mouisius Lauretannus*, Admirall for the Venetians (by appointment before made) met him : and there joyning their forces together, with great labour

in the space of fifteene dayes fortified all that strait from the Ionian vnto the sea *Aegeum*, with a continuall rampier and double ditch, in length about fise miles. In which worke they vsed the helpe of thirtie thousand men: and in doing thereof, were much furthered by the ruines of the old wall before destroyed by *Amurath*. The Venetian commanders hauing fortified this strait, encamped before *CORINTH*, and laied strait siege vnto it: where, at the second assault, *Bertholdus* the Generall desirous by his owne forwardnesse to encourage his souldiours, was in that assault greeuously wounded with a stone, cast downe vpon him from the wall, of which hurt he shortly died. Neuerthelesse, the siege was still continued by *Bettinus Calcinatus*, who succeeded in *Bertholdus* his place. But whilst the Venetians lay thus at the siege of *CORINTH*, suddainely newes was brought vnto the campe, that *Mahomet* was comming with a great armie himselfe in person to raise the siege, and to destroy the new fortifications at *ISTHMVS*. Whereupon the Venetians left the siege, with purpose to haue defended the late fortified strait. But after that it was certainly knowne, that *Mahomet* was euen now at hand with an armie of fourescore thousand *Turks*, *Bettinus* distrusting with his small number to be able to defend the strait against so puissant an armie, left the place so lately before fortified, and with all his armie retired to *NEAPOLIS* to keepe the sea coast.

Shortly after, *Nabomet* without any reluctance at all entered with a world of men by the strait into *PELOPONVS*: and when he had with the great slaughter of the country people roamed vp and downe about *ARGOS*, he came to *NEAPOLIS*, and in most terrible manner assaulted the citie twice: both which times hee was notably repulged by the Venetians, and many of his men slaine. Departing thence, he destroyed and wasted the country about *METHONA* (now *MODON*) and *CORONE*; and assaulted the citie of *IVNCV*, but with no better successe than he had before *NEAPOLIS*. Wherefore Winter now drawing on, hee returned with his armie to *CONSTANTINOPLE*.

After his departure, the Venetians spoiled all that part of *ARCHADIA* which was subject to the Turkes, requiting him with like injuries as he had done them before. Nor long after, *Laurentinus* the Venetian Admirall had the Island of *LEMNOS* deliuered vnto him by one *Cominius*, a famous pyrat, who had surpris'd the same, and taken it from the Turkes: but distrustful how he should be able to keepe the same, deliuered it ouer vnto the Venetians. Shortly after, *Vrsatus Iustinianus*, a great magnifico amongst the Venetians, was sent to succeed *Laurentinus* their Admirall: But whilst he was scouring the *Ægeum* with a fleet of two and thirtie great gallies, *Andreas Dandulus*, Generall of their forces at land, inconsiderately encountering with the Turkes horsemen betwene *MANTINEA* and *PITHEME*, was by them ouerthrowne and slain, and with him diuerse other gentlemen of great account. In which skirmish fiftene hundred of the Venetians were slaine also with their Generall. And as fortune is neuer more constant than in mischefe, so at the same time *Vrsatus*, Generall at sea, landing his men in the Island of *LESBOS*, besieged the citie of *MITYLENE*, and gaue thereunto two great assaults, wherein he lost fife thousand men. And vnderstanding that the Turkes fleet was comming to releue the citie, raised his siege, and sailed into *EVBÆA*, and from thence passed ouer into *PELOPONVS*: where hee shortly after died for sorrow and griefe of mind. In whose place the Venetians sent another famous capitaine called *Jacobus Laurentanus*.

The Venetians well considering the great power of the Turkish emperor, laboured by their embassadours, to draw as many of the Christian princes as they could into the fellowship of this warre; but especially the great Bishop, by whose meanes they were in good hope to bee greatly strengthened. *Pius* the second of that name was then the great Bishop, who at first answered the Venetian embassadours, That he must take away the little Turke, before hee had any thing to doe with the great: meaning thereby, *Sigismundus Malestestus*, prince of *ARMINVM*; whom he deadly hated, for that he tooke part with the French against the Aragonians. Howbeit (the warres in *ITALIE* being well appeased) *Pius* still sollicitèd by the Venetians, made great preparation against the Turkes, giving it out, That hee would in person himselfe goe vnto those warres: and by his authoritie, then much regarded, procured great aid out of *GERMANIE*, *FRANCE*, *SPAIN*E, and other countries also farther off: at which time also voluntarie men in great numbers reforted out of all parts of Christendome into *ITALIE*, ready to adventure their liues in those religious warres. At the same time also the Venetians had with much adoe by the working of *Paulus Angelus*, Archbishop of *DIACONVM*, perswaded *Scander*

*The Venetians
enter into confeder-
ation with
other Christian
princes against
the Turke.*

derbeg to renounce the league which he had before made with the Turke, and to enter into arms againe: which he presently did, and vpon the sudden spoyle the borders of the Turks dominions next vnto him. Wherewith Mahomet was no lesse troubled, than with all the rest of the great preparation of the Christians against him: fearing that (as it was then reported) he should be made generall of the Christian armie, which Mahomet feared might tend to the viter ruine of his kingdome: so dreadfull was the name of Scanderbeg amongst the Turkes. Wherefore thinking it most expedient for his affaires, to reconcile him if it were possible, by his embassadour sent for that purpose, writ vnto him as followeth:

Sultan Mahomet, Emperour of the East and of the West, vnto Scanderbeg, prince of the Albanenses and of the Epirots, greeting.

The letters of
Mahomet to
Scanderbeg.

I haue alwayes had thy fidelitie and vpright dealing in great admiration, most noble prince Scanderbeg: for which cause, I thought it a thing incredible, that thou being a prince of such an hericall and princely perfection, should so inconsiderately and without any occasion breake the faith and league which thou not long since solemnely contracted with me. For as I am aduertised, thou hast entred into the confines of our dominions with a great armie, and with fire and sword destroying all that thou couldst, hast caried away with thee a great bootie. Of which thing I know right well, that the Venetians are the onely cause, by whose counsell and perswasion thou hast becme set on to doe this deed; and seduced by their allurements and subtil perswasions, hast made war vpon me, and art become the faithlesse breake of thine owne league, and of the sacred law of nations. Yet doe I little or nothing blame thee therefore, regarding more the cause of the ignominie, than the despite it selfe, and lay the blame vpon them who haue alwayes been my foes and capitall enemies, rather than vpon thee. But alas, what is this vnto me (Scanderbeg) that thou hast done, which possesse so many and so large dominions? Diddest thou thinke to doe so great hurt vnto our kingdome, by spoiling a little peece of our country, and by stealing our cattell, more like a theefe and robber than an open enemy? I yet account not worthe the name of an iniurie. But if thou thinke it so good, proceed in these thy doings: for I make more account of thy friendship and loue, than of whatsoeuer is to me dearest: because as thou knowest I haue alwayes borne vnto thee an especiall fauour, and loued thee most entirely. And therefore as oft as I call to remembrance our tender yeares and old familiaritie whilest we liued together in my fathers court at HADRIANOPLE, I cannot but thinke my selfe bound vnto thee in all courtesie. And therefore my good Scanderbeg, I most heartily request and entreat thee, that we renewing the former conclusions of peace, may of new confirme the same by solemne oath: wherewith if the former peace had bene established, thou wouldest not haue suffered thy selfe to haue been now of the Venetians so circumuenced or seduced. It is therefore needfull, that we now againe for euer confirme a league and peace betwixt vs by solemne and sacred oath on both sides: which if thou shalt doe (as I hope thou wilt) and in this be aduised by me, thou with thy posteritie shall vndoubtedly alwayes raigze in peace, and in safetie possesse whatsoeuer is yours. Where, as if thou shalt doe otherwise (beleue me) it will repent thee, and that right quickly. Thou knowest alreadie my force, which whether thou be able to withstand or not, thou were best to be well aduised. The poore princes thy neighbors, the Venetians thy seducers, cannot deliuer thee from my forces and power. Doe they not see the Grecians almost all rooted out before thy face? the emperours of CONSTANTINOPLE and TRAPEZOND by vs deprived of their empires? the princes of SERBIA and RASIA destroyed? the king of BOSNIA put to death? and all the kingdomes of ASIA, with many other kings and princes mee vanquished and ouerthrowne, and made subiect vnto mee? Wherefore Scanderbeg, I aduise thee in this to follow my counsell, keepe thy promise, and so beleue me thou shalt not be deceived. Concerning these matters, we haue giuen further commaundement to our embassadour and seruant Mustapha, which commeth vnto thee: vnto whom doubt thou not to giue credence in any thing. Farewell from our imperiall citie of CONSTANTINOPLE the 7 of May 1463.

Scanderbeg hauing by the afore said messenger receiued these letters, and well considered of the same, returned answer as followeth:

The champion of Christ Iesus, George Castriot, otherwise called Scanderbeg, prince of the Albanenses and Epirots, to the most excellent Mahomet king of the Turkes, greeting.

Thou marvell (most noble Mahomet) that my souldiors (as you say) contrarie to our league and the conditions

conditions of our peace, haue entered into your confines, and from thence caried a great bootie. Of which thing (you say) the Venetians are the authors, whom you call your mortall enemies: inferring afterward, that you are little therewith offended, for that you are a most mightie prince, and can easily digest such vniuersall, for the great loue you beare vnto me: and the rather for that I did it deceived (as it pleaseth you to say) by others. All these things you can easily forgine and forget: so that I will by solemne oath confirme the same conditions of peace that were in our former league betwixt vs agreed vpon. And thereunto you do greatly vrge me, you admonish and counsell me to follow your aduise, as tending to the great profit and securitie of me and my posteritie, least happily whilest I seeke to please the Venetians, I incur your heauie displeasure. Besides this, the more to terrifie me, you reckon up as it were in a catalogue, the people, nations, kings, and princes, by you overcome and subdued. But what is that which is so strange (I pray you) and which you so much maruell at (most noble Mahomet)? Is it not for that my souldiors did that in the confines of your dominions, whereof they were (of right) sorrie: and had therof to me complained, that your souldiors had before done the like in their goods and possessions. Wherefore if they also vpon a militarie brauerie (as is your manner of phrase) haue made themselves whole, and done one shewd turne for another reuenging iniurie receiued, and not inferring any of new: there is no cause that you should either thinke it strange or blame me. I would my selfe haue restrained my souldiors, although they were greenously iniured (I will plainly confesse vnto you a truth) I would haue appeased their angrie minds, enflamed with desire of reuenge; if you (a prince of all others most rich and bountifull) would either haue taken order, that full restitution might haue bene made vnto them of all such things as they had lost, or els would with condigne punishment haue chastised the insolence of your souldiors: which you would seeme to conuer with the tearme of militarie wantonnesse or brauerie; an excuse scarce currant amongst children. For although offences are in all places greenous, yet ought they most of all so to be deemed in martiall affairs. What I pray you, would you haue me to take it for a lasciuiousnes in your men of war? especially when I had receiued so great losse, when as you might with a word first haue restrained them from doing of it, and at your pleasure corrected them after the deed was done. Wherefore (most excellent Mahomet) take you also in good part these our tearmes, which you haue accustomed hitherto most gloriously to giue and sell vnto vs, whilest you alwayes couer your reach with some excuse or shew of right. As for that in excusing me vnder colour of old acquaintance and friendship you inuey against the Venetians, verely you do them wrong: for why those good, iust, and vertuous princes are not to be slandered by you, as seducers of me or others. Beside, what need that inuincible state to enter into counsell with me, or (as it pleaseth you to say) to allure me to fall at ods with you, or to prosecute you as their enemy? Who of them, I beseech you, (I say) of themselves alone, when occasion shall require, are able to dare you in plaine battell, and to abate your pride. Further, where as you aduise me to reiect their friendship, your labour is therein but lost: for what man is so disperate, or hated of his subiects, that would not chuse rather to erre with that most honorable Senat, than to be in the right with you? especially I, who haue of long time bene confederat with them, and am of all others vnto them most deere: which you for all that had no regard of, but (according to your vntrustie dealing) breaking in sunder the bonds of peace, spoiled and wasted their territorie in PELOPONNESVS. Neither can your great threats terrifie me, which you after the Turkish manner thundr & poure out against me, except I will be ouerruled by you: for it is the part of an Albanese both to endure when need shall require, and also to do such things as be seeme a man of courage. You cannot make me afraid, being but a small prince, with my honorable friends the Venetians. And what are you? so great an emperour of the East and of the West, and of all parts of the world, as you vaine tearme your selfe? Truly you make me smile, and other Christian princes laugh you to scorne, in vsurping falsely to your selfe the stately stile of the emperour of the world. What possesse you in ASIA the greater? verely nothing. Is all yours in ASIA the lesser? not so. What haue you in EUROPE? except THRACIA, MYTIA, part of GRECIA, and PELOPONNESVS, with the Isle of MYTILENE. As for AFRICA, you neuer set your foot therein. Is this to be emperour of all the world? But suppose, suppose (I say) woorthie Mahomet, that all from the farthest part of the Ocean were yours, you ought not therefore so to swell, as to contemne all others. Cease to boast, and learn now (if you can) the speciall but true examples of humane fragilitie. Where are now the Assyrians, which sometime swayd the world? where be the Medes? where the Persians? and to be short, where are the Romans, the great commanders of all? Verely, Iamerlane the Scythian king (called the terror of the world) was far greater than you: who in triumph drew before his chariot thy great grandfather Baiazet in chains: who had before gained so many victories, whom neuer the lesse he ouerthrew in the plains of ARMENIA, with three hundred thousand Turkes hauing in his armie (as is reported) twelue hundred thousand

Scanderbeg his
answer to the
letters of Mahomet.

thousand men greater than Xerxes or Darius, whose armies couered the seas, and dried up the rivers before them as they went, yet for all this (noble Mahomet) they are all cast out by him that casteth out all nations, the finger of the highest hath brought them all to nought. Wherefore learn to know your selfe to be a man also. Trust not too much to the multitude of your souldiors, and strength of your armies: for oftentimes great and puissant armies haue been ouerthrowne with far lesse, as all histories beare witness: whereof it is commonly said, Thou shalt not praise the valor of the Generall, before he be brought to the triumph. And do you not thinke Mahomet, that God will fauour the better cause? you know, you well know, that all your kingdome is violently gotten, that it is wrongfully and vniustly possessed: for which cause I am not afraid not only to withstand you when you shall come, being so great a prince; but also valiantly and courageously to dare you into the field, and by the power of God both to hope for, and have a notable victorie ouer you. We haue souldiors also, which know how to vse their weapons, to march before their enemies, and how to beare themselves in the heat of the battell. Wherefore, to that you say vnto me for the new confirming of the former league, you labour now but in vaine to circumuent me with such faire gloses, I hate your faith in such distrust, and your friendship in detestation: for as much as you cunningly and subtilly, after the manner of your ancestors, whatsoeuer you do, or whatsoeuer you promise vnto me, it tendeth all to no other end than to thrust me out of my kingdome. Yet thus long I haue by Gods helpe well escaped all your policies, all your crafts and deceits. But I hope there will in short time be an end of all these matters, when all your sleights and deuises shall not ease you, neither your winking head or Turkish pride any thing profit you. It is not I alone that so much stomacke you, there cometh after me a great number of Christian princes: Behold, the whole chinalrie and glorie of the Christian commonweale is in armes, and coming against thee with all their force: all the kings and princes of Christendome haue combined themselves together, with the great Bishop, against thy state, and will in short time be present to destroy thee & thy kingdome. Wherefore (worthie Mahomet) I haue thought it good in regard of our old friendship (although the same hath by you been greatly empaiued and violated) to forewarne you of all these things, that you might gather your wits together, and in time provide for the safetie of your selfe and of your kingdome. You see the force and power of so many great princes, from which whether you can escape or no, I know not: yet you may, if you will follow my aduise, you may I say make both your name and empire of great, greater, of famous most renowned, of fortunate most happy and blessed; if casting off from you the grosse errors of the Mahometane superstition, you will embrace the faith and truth of Christ Iesus, and at length haue regard of your soules health. And you which excell all your predecessors in highnesse of spirit and pregnancy of wit, suffer not your selfe and your subiects as it were by inheritance to be longer blinded in your wilfull errors: but doe that (as wise prince) of your owne accord, which other wise you will shortly of necessitie be constrained to doe. To say, Had I wist, hath ever been accounted a great disgrace from the mouth of an emperor. At length amend and measure your selfe. Behold, Almighty God doth offer you means, whereby you may quiet the whole state of your kingdome, and all our kings and princes lone, honour, and reuerence you. Neither let the ambitious desire of souerainetie or immoderate care of those things you possesse, trouble you from so doing: For whatsoeuer you haue vniustly and unlawfully vsurped, the Christian princes will grame, confirme, and establish vnto thee, as if they had been your owne by antient inheritance. So shall you be a true monarch indeed, and rule and raigne lawfully, if you shall embrace this faith, and worship God aright: which so soone as you shall fee the sweetnesse of, you will be sorrie that you knew it no sooner, you will grieve at the time you haue lost, and utterly detest and abhorre all that filthy superstition which the most filthy false Prophet Mahomet hath left amongst you. From our campe the 26 of May 1463.

With these letters Scanderbeg dismissed the Turks embassadour. About which time he received letters from the great bishop, That he accompanied with the Christian princes, would without delay come ouer into EPIRVS with a strong army of valiant Christians, to joine their forces with his against the common enemy of the Christian religion: exhorting him in all their names to denounce war against the Turkish king. Which thing Scanderbeg most joyfully undertooke: and without delay with all his power brake into the Turkes dominion, burning and destroying the country before him as he went: from whence he returned laded with the spoile there gotten.

When Mahomet had perused Scanderbeg his letters, and certainly vnderstood of the great preparation made against him in ITALIE, as also of the great spoile of late made by Scanderbeg, hee became exceeding melancholic, as a man much troubled in mind, which dayly more and more

more increased: for that hee saw not the wonted cheerefulness in his men of war, but all full of heaviness and dispaire, as if they had beene men already vanquished. Neuertheless, he speedily took order for the leuying of a great armie: fortifying his cities and strong holds, leaving nothing vndone that was possible, for the assurance of his state. And to repress the furie of Scanderbeg, sent *Siremer Bassa* with fourteen thousand souldiours to lie vpon the borders of EPIRVS, with charge onely to attend vpon him. Who mindfull of his charge came into MACEDONIA towards vnto the citie OCRIIDA, now called ALBIRIA, in the verie confines of MACEDONIA towards EPIRVS, and there lay with his armie: some part thereof lodged in the citie, and the rest in places more conuenient neere about the same.

The coming of the Bassa, as also the manner of his lying, was not vnknown to Scanderbeg, who desired nothing more than to bee doing with him. Wherefore he secretly in the night marched towards OCRIIDA with twelve thousand souldiours, and being come within three miles of the towne, lay close in ambush, and vpon the breaking of the day sent out 500 horsemen towards the enemy, vnder the conduct of *Peicus Emanuel*, and *Petrus Angelus*, two valiant and expert captaines, to draw him if they could into the field. But Scanderbeg had before commanded them, that if the enemy did come forth to fight, they should make but small resistance, but retire backe as if they had fled, and so to traine him on to the place where the armie lay. Which was so well performed by the two skillfull captaines, that the Bassa with all his power was according as they could haue wished, drawne into the field, and brought to the verie place where Scanderbeg lay: Who suddenly rising vp with all his armie, assailed the Turkes on euery side, and slew them as deere enclosed in a toile. In this battell ten thousand of the Turkes were slaine, the treasurer of the armie with twelve other of great marke were taken prisoners, and brought bound to Scanderbeg, who were presently ransomed for 40 thousand ducats.

Scanderbeg hauing obtained the victorie, returned with triumph into EPIRVS, daily expecting the coming of the great armie out of ITALY: but fatal destinie, the mightie controuler of mens highest designs, had not so appointed. For when *Pius* the great bishop had out of all parts of Christendome assembled a great armie (whereof the greatest part were voluntarie souldiours) and all things were now in such readinesse, that he had put himselfe vpon the way, and was come to ANCONA, a citie vpon the sea side (where *Christophorus Maurus* duke of VANCE came vnto him, with ten gallies well appointed, to haue accompanied him in those warres: and all men were now in expectation of some great matter to haue beene done) suddenly he fell sick of a feuer, and died in the yeare 1464. Whereupon the armie was forthwith dispersed, and all that great preparation frustrated, to the exceeding griefe of many Christian princes; and no lesse joy of the Turkes, who now rejoiced to see themselves deliuered of so great a feare.

About this same time, *Vittor Capella* chiefe persuader of this warre betwixt the Venetians and the Turkes, was by the Senat sent Generall of their forces at sea, in stead of *Laurentius*, whose yeare was then expired. He hauing received the charge from *Laurentius*, and sayling out of EVBOEA, in short time tooke from the enemy the citie of AVLIS in PELOPONESVS ouer against CHALCIS, and also the citie of LARVS in the gulf of THESSALONICA, with the isle of HINER. Afterwards landing his men by night at PYRVS, he suddenly surprised the citie of ATHENS (now called SATINAE) sometime the mother of learning, and most noble citie of GRACIA; and from thence carried away with him into EVBOEA all the people he there found, as his prisoners, together with the rich spoile of that citie. Whilest he lay in EVBOEA, he was persuaded that the citie of PATRAS in PELOPONESVS would be deliuered vnto him by the Christians that dwelt therein, if hee did but shew himselfe before it. Whereupon he departed from EVBOEA, and coming into the gulf of PATRAS, landed 4000 footmen vnder the leading of *Barbaricus*, and 200 horsemen, of whom one *Nicholaus Ragius* was captaine. *Barbaricus* marching toward PATRAS, was come within a mile of the citie; when manie of the horsemen, and of the vnruely mariners, disorderly scattering abroad, neglected the intended service, and sought after pillage all about the countrey. The Turkes garrisons taking this opportunity, set vpon them with their horsemen, and so easily ouerthrew them, being scattered and out of order. At the first encounter, *Barbaricus* himselfe was slaine: *Ragius* captaine of the horsemen was taken, & aliue empaiued vpon a sharpe stake. Of all them that were landed, scarce a thousand were left, who saved their liues by flying vnto the gallies. With this ouerthrow *Vittor* the Venetian Admirall was greatly discomfited; yet hauing conceived some hope of better success, in few daies

The Venetians attempting to win PATRAS, receive great losse.

daies after attempted againe to haue taken P A T R A S, but with like hap as before. For hauing lost a thousand of his men about the citie, and the rest glad to take their refuge to the fleet, he was constrained with great dishonour to depart thence. And so full of sorrow and heaviness returning into E V B O A oppressed with melancholy, there suddenly died.

The Venetians deceived of the great hope they had conceived of the generall preparation made against the Turkes, and much troubled with the hard proceeding of their warres against so mightie an enemy: by their embassadours solicited *Mathias*, not long before chosen king of H V N G A R I E, to joyne in league with them, and to take vpon himes against the common enemy: offering presently to furnish him with a great summe of money, beside a large yearly pension for the maintenance of those warres: for which he should to his power by land defend all their territorie betwixt the Rhetian Alpes, and the Adriatique; against the invasion of the Turke.

This *Mathias* surnamed *Corvinus*, was the younger sonne of the most famous capitaine *Johannides*, whose elder brother *Vladislaus*, a gentleman of such courage as might well shew who his sonne he was, being not able to digest the injuries and disgraces done vnto him and his brother, by *Vrbicus* countie of C I L I A, and ynnke vnto *Ladislaus* the yong king of B O H E M I A and H V N G A R I E; for the despite he alwaies bare vnto their father *Huniades*, slew the same *Vrbicus* at A L B A R E G A L I S, euen in the kings court. Which outrage the yong king was glad for the present to winke at, and also to grant him pardon; as hauing taken away the man, whose immoderate power well stood not with the kings safetie: but in deed fearing the citizens of A L B A R E G A L I S, who exceedingly fauoured the sonnes of *Huniades* for their fathers sake, for all that, *Ladislaus* returning into B O H E M I A, caused both the sons of *Huniades* vpon the sudden to be apprehended, and most cruelly executed *Vladislaus*, being then about six and twentie yeares old. *Mathias* the younger brother was kept in prison, expecting nothing else but to be partaker of his brothers hard fortune: as vndoubtedly he had, had not *Ladislaus* the yong king vpon the sudden, as hee was vpon the top of his marriage with *Magdalaine* the French kings daughter, by vntimely death bene taken away. After whose death, the Hungarians for the loue they bare vnto the remembrance of *Huniades*, by a militarie election, chose this *Mathias* his youngest sonne, then in prison at P R A G E, to be their king. Whereof *Pogebrawe* (who after the death of *Ladislaus*, of an old gouernour had made himselfe the yong king of B O H E M I A) hauing speedie intelligence as he was sitting at supper, sent for *Mathias* his prisoner, and when he was come, commaunded him to sit downe at the vpper end of the table: whereat the yong gentleman being then but about eightene yeares of age, and sore abashed, began to craue pardon. But when the king would needs haue it so, and that he was set; the king to quiet his troubled thoughts, willed him to be of good cheere, for that he had good newes to tell him. Good newes, said he, if it would please your maiestie to grant me libertie. Yea that, said the king; and more to: and then saluting him by the name of the king of H V N G A R I E, brake vnto him the whole matter, how that he was by the generall consent of the Hungarians, chosen their king. And so in few daies after, married vnto him his daughter: which done, he furnished him with all things fit for his estate, and royally accompanied him into H V N G A R I E, where he was with great joy and triumph receiued of the Hungarians: ouer whom he afterwards gloriously taigned for the space of eight and thirtie yeares. In which time, he notably enlarged the kingdome of H V N G A R I E, and became a farre greater terrour vnto the Turkes, than euer was his father *Huniades*. And therewithall (which is not to be accounted in the least part of his praises) was alwaies a great fauourer and furtherer of good letters, and ingenious deuises.

But to returne againe to our purpose, *Mathias* hauing well considered of that the Venetians had requested: answered them, that they had many times before in like case refused to giue aid vnto the Hungarian kings his predecessours: yea and that more was, thought it a thing not reasonable, that anie such thing should be requested at their hands; forasmuch as they theretoe receiued no harme from the Turke, but were in league and amitie with him: so that the Hungarian kings wanting their helpe, had manie times receiued greater losse from the Turke, than otherwise they should haue done, if they had bene by them aided. Yet for all that, he was content to forget all such unkindnesse, and to grant them what they had requested: promising the next Spring to inuade the Turkes dominion, and according to their request, to take into his protection all their territorie betwixt the Rhetian Alpes, and the Adriatique: which thing hee

most honourably performed. For with the first of the Spring he passed ouer Danubius at B A I G R A D E with a puissant armie, and rased the forts which the Turkes had built thereabouts; and so entering into S E R V I A, laid all the countrey waste before him: and afterwards laden with spoile, returned home, carrying away with him twentie thousand captiues. Neither so rested, but with great good fortune maintained great warres against *Mahomet* during all the time of his raigne: and afterwards against *Baiazet* his sonne also, wherein he most commonly returned with victorie: so that it is of him as truly as briefly written, That no Christian king or chieftaine, did more often or with greater fortune fight against the Turkish nation, or had of them greater victories.

Mahomet deliuered of the great feare he had before conceived of the generall preparation of the Christian princes against him; determined now to worke his will vpon such as were nearest vnto him, and afterward not to forget them that were farther off. The proceeding of *Scanderbeg*, with the late ouerthrow of S E R R E S with his armie in E P I R V S, stucke in his stomacke: in reuenge whereof, he now sent one *Balabanus Badera*, a most valiant capitaine, with fiftene thousand horsemen, and three thousand foot, to inuade E P I R V S. This *Balabanus* was an Epriot borde, a chorles sonne of that countrey: and being of a boy taken captiue of the Turkes, as hee was keeping of his fathers cattell, and of long time brought vp in seruitude amongst them, framing himselfe both to their religion and manners; after long seruice, got the credit of a good common souldiour. But when as at the taking of C O N S T A N T I N O P L E, it was his fortune to bee the first man of the Turkes armie that gained the top of the wals, and entered the citie; hee was for that peece of seruice, euer afterwards of *Mahomet* greatly esteemed: and beside his other great preferments, now sent Generall of his armie into E P I R V S. Who as soone as hee was come to A L C H R I A (a citie vpon the frontiers of that countrey) sent manie rich presents to *Scanderbeg*, making shew as if hee had bene desirous peaceably to lie vpon the borders committed to his charge, without farther purpose to trouble his countrey: yet in deed waiting nothing more than some notable opportunitie, suddenly to doe him the greatest mischief he could. But *Scanderbeg* well seeing into the malice of the man, rejected his fained friendship and giftes, and in derision sent him a spade, a mattocke, a flail, with other such instruments belonging vnto husbandrie: willing him to take in hand those tooles, and to follow his fathers trade of life, and to leaue the conducting of armies vnto men of greater skill and better place. Which disgrace *Balabanus* tooke in exceeding euill part; purposing in himselfe, if euer it lay in his power, to be thereof reuenged. Wherefore knowing that *Scanderbeg* with a small power lay not farre off vpon the frontiers of his kingdome, he determined suddenly in the night to set vpon him before hee were aware of his comming, and so if it were possible to ouerthrow him: but *Scanderbeg* hauing knowledge thereof by his scouts, set forward in good order to haue met him. When *Balabanus* perceiuing that hee was discouered, staid vpon the way, and encamped within two miles of *Scanderbeg*: who had then in his armie but foure thousand horsemen, and one thousand and fife hundred foote, but all choise men and most expert souldiours: and then lay in a large pleasant valley called V A L C H A L. At the farther end whereof *Balabanus* lay also encamped, neere vnto a rough and wooddie hill which enclosed that part of the valley. Whilist both armies thus lay within view one of another, *Scanderbeg* well considering the ground the enemy had taken, and that it was like he would offer him battell, with cheerefull speeches encouraged his souldiours: straidly charging them vpon paine of his displeasure, that if the enemy vpon the fortune of the battell, should chance to flie or to retire, they should not in anie case pursue them farther than the straits of the hill where-by the enemy lay: guessing too truly, that hee would in so conuenient a place leaue part of his armie in ambush, as a sure refuge to trust vnto whatsoever should befall. When he had thus encouraged and instructed his souldiours, he rise with his armie, and in good order retired vnto the rising of an hill, which was a good way behind the place where he before lay; of purpose to haue the aduantage of the ground, if the enemy should follow to giue him battell. *Balabanus* seeing him retire, and the small number of his armie, thought verily that he had fled for feare: and therefore to itay him who ment nothing lesse than to flie, set forward in great hast. The Turkes thinking vpon so great aduantage to haue found no great resistance, followed after *Scanderbeg* as if they had had him in chase: and by that time they were come to the place where hee staid, were by their hast greatly disordered and out of aray. *Scanderbeg* his old trustie souldiours

Mathias of Bohemia
prisoner of the
king of Hungary.

Mahomet sent
Bader Balabanus
to invade Epirus

Balabanus sought
against Scanderbeg.

The battell be-
twixt Balabanus
and Scanderbeg.

ours nothing dismayed with the hastie coming & hidious clamour of the Turks, received them with great courage: so that there began a fierce battell, with much slaughter on both sides, which for a great while stood doubtfull. Yet such was the inuincible courage of *Scanderbeg* his resolute souldiours, that the *Turkes* (who as then fought in great disorder) were at last put to flight: and with much slaughter chased vnto the straits of the mountaine, where *Scanderbeg* had before commanded his men to stay. But certaine of his best and principall captaines forgetting what he had said vnto them; and led on (whether with the heat and furie of the battell, or rather with inuitable desire hard to stay) vnaduisedly pursued the enemy into those straits, whereof they were by *Scanderbeg* before warned, and charged that they should not enter: where they were on euery side beset with their enemies, arising out of ambush: and after they had a long time desperately fought as wild beasts enclosed with hunters, at last oppressed with multitude, were there together taken and brought to *Balabanus*; by whom they were forthwith sent to *Mahomet* to *CONSTANTINOPLE*. Who as soone as hee heard of their taking, is reported with great reioycing to haue said: Now am I sure that the strength of *Scanderbeg* is broken. The names of the principall men which were there taken, was *Moses Golemus* of *DIERA*, the greatest captaine of *EPHRS* next vnto *Scanderbeg* himselfe; *Giuriza Vladerius*, *Scanderbeg* his kinsman; *Musachius*, *Scanderbeg* his nephew by his sister *Angelina*; *Ginius Musachius*; *Ioannes Perlatus*, who valiantly defended *SEFETIGRABE* against *Amurath*; *Nicholaus Eerisus*; *Georgius Chucca*; and *Ginius Manesius*: whereof euery one of them was able to haue conducted a great armie, and might worthely haue bene accounted amongst the greatest captaines of that age. The taking of these worthie men brought such a generall sorrow and heavinesse vpon *EPHRS*, that the victorie was nothing accounted of, euery man lamenting the losse of such notable leaders. *Scanderbeg* carefull of their deliuerance, presently sent an embassadour to *Mahomet*, requesting that hee might redeeme his prisoners: either by exchanging of others for them, or else for such raunsome as it should please him to set downe. But hee knowing them to be *Scanderbeg* his best captaines, would neither exchange them for others, nor grant that they should be raunfomed for anie gold: but after hee had vsed them with all the despite he could deuise, caused them all by little and little, to be slaine quicke: in which miserable torment they liued fifteene daies, and so died. *Scanderbeg* hearing thereof, was therewith rather encouraged than discouraged: and in reuenge thereof, with fire and sword entered into the *Turkes* dominion, sparing nothing that hee could either burne, or possibly by anie other meanes destroye.

Moses and other
notable captives
ouerlaid, executed
by Mahomet.

Mahomet glad of the taking of these notable men (although they were bought with the liues of manie of his people) commended *Balabanus* highly, as the onely man that knew how to fight against *Scanderbeg*: and in reward of his good seruice, sent him diuers rich giftes, with commaundement to repaire againe his armie, and to proceed in his warres so happily begun. Which thing *Balabanus* with all diligence performed. Yet trusting more vnto his pollicie, than his strength: lying at *ALCHRIA*, sent againe diuers rich presents to *Scanderbeg*, as desirous to liue in peace by him: but seeking indeed to bring him into securitie, and so suddenly (if it were possible) to entrap him. Which thing *Scanderbeg* well perceiuing, rejected his fained friendship together with his presents, as sent from a base peisant: Whereupon *Balabanus* entered into a new deuise, and by secret meanes, with great rewards corrupted *Scanderbeg* his scouts, whereof some were *Balabanus* his kinsmen, though it were to *Scanderbeg* vnknowne. By which practise, he had vpon the sudden in the night oppressed *Scanderbeg*, lying encamped in *ORONCHEVA*, if *Scanderbeg* himselfe (who commonly spent most part of the night in careful watch) going about the campe, had not in the silence of the night a farre off perceiued the coming of the enemy by the noise of his horses: and thereupon with wonderfull celeritie putting his armie in such order as he best could, was readie to receiue him; and at last after a great fight, put him to flight: and hauing him in chase, slew most part of his armie, *Balabanus* himselfe with a small remnant hardly escaping.

Now when *Mahomet* vnderstood that *Balabanus* was ouerthrowne, and his armie lost, hee was in doubt, whether to send another Generall, or else againe to prooue the fortune of the old. But after hee had well considered, that *Balabanus* was a right valiant captaine, and one that well knew the countrey of *EPHRS*, and withall a mortall enemy to *Scanderbeg*: he resolved to staie vpon him, and not to send anie other. So committing to his charge fourteene thousand

thousand horsemen and three thousand foot, sent him againe to inuade *EPHRS*: and the more to encourage him, promised to make him king of that countrey, if he could subdue *Scanderbeg*. *Balabanus* with this armie coming to *ALCHRIA*, and still in vaine plotting how hee might circumuent his warie enemy, after his wonted manner sent diuers presents to *Scanderbeg*; which he still scornfully refused. Three moneths he lay still at *ALCHRIA*, with nothing more troubled than with his owne thoughts: but finding nothing that pleased himselfe, hee determined to aduenture by plaine force to subdue him. And vpon that resolution marched with all his armie into the great plaine neere vnto *SEFETIGRABE*, whither *Scanderbeg* came with his armie also; which then consisted of eight thousand horsemen and fifteene hundred foot: with which small power hee refused not to ioine battaile with *Balabanus*; being in number two to one. But after they were come to handie blowes, to haue seene *Scanderbeg* his men fight; a man would haue said them to haue bene rather raging Lyons than men, they so furiously assailed their enemies; without regard of perill or danger, as men nothing affraid to die. *Scanderbeg* with great skill gouerned that battaile, carefully providing for euery danger; himselfe valiantly fighting in the head of his battaile, but not without care of the rest, still sending speedie reliefe where most need was; and bringing in fresh supplies in stead of them that were wounded or slaine, performed all the parts of a most worthie cheefestaine and valiant souldior: where most perill was, there was hee straight, and at his presence danger fled, as if victorie had attended vpon him. But whilest he thus fought in the midst of his enemies, his horse fortun'd to be slaine vnder him, and falling downe with him, fore brused one of his armes, whereof he complained long time after. The *Turkes* seeing him downe, pressed on fiercely to haue slaine him: but hee was quickly rescued by his owne souldiours, and remounted. And forthwith encountering with one *Suliman*, a great commander in the *Turkes* armie, slew him in fight hand to hand: whereupon such a terrour fell vpon the *Turkes*, that they began to retire, and after a while to betake themselves to plaine flight; *Scanderbeg* pursuing them with such execution, that of that great armie few escaped with *Balabanus* to carrie newes home.

Balabanus now thrice vanquished by *Scanderbeg*, and in the last battaile hauing lost what hee could loose, except he should haue lost himselfe, returned to *Mahomet* at *CONSTANTINOPLE*, of whom he was sharply rebuked for the great ouerthrowes he had so often receiued. At which time *Balabanus* at first gaue place to the kings furie: but afterwards when the heat was ouer, hee with a large discourse cunningly excused himselfe, imputing all those his mishaps vnto the appointment of God, and the fortune of warre: and in the end told *Mahomet* plainly, That it was but in vaine to send such small armies into *EPHRS*. But if it would please him at once to send two valiant captaines with a puissant and strong armie, who deuiding the same betwixt them, and entering at one time into diuers parts of *EPHRS*, might spoile the countrey before them, and enclose *Scanderbeg* betwixt them, if he should aduenture to giue either of them battaile, being before resolved neither of them to offer him battaile, or yet to accept of the same being by him offered, except the other were also at hand: and so by mutuall consent to vndertake him, but neuer single. By which course hee promised vnto him an easie and assured victorie: for as much as it were impossible for any man so beset, and as it were on euery side coupt vp with his enemies, either to escape or yet to make any great resistance. This perswasion of *Balabanus* so well fitted the tyrants humor, that he appointed *Balabanus* himselfe to be the man to put his own deuise in execution: giuing him commission to leue such an armie as he should thinke sufficient for the performance of that seruice: and withall to associate vnto himselfe for his companion which soeuer of his captaines as he pleased. *Balabanus* according to his commission, tooke musters of the men of warre, and made choice of fortie thousand good souldiours, and chose one *Iacup Arnauth*, (otherwise called *James* the Epirot, because he was also borne in *EPHRS*, a valiant captain) to be his companion: whom he sent with sixteene thousand souldiours by the way of *THASSALIA* and *GRECIA* into *EPHRS*, commaunding him in no case to ioine battaile with *Scanderbeg*, vntill he himselfe were also come into the countrey with the other part of the armie. And so setting both forward, *Balabanus* taking the nearer way, through *THRACIA* and *MACEDONIA*, came first into *EPHRS* with twentie thousand horsemen and foure thousand foot, and encamped in the valley of *VALCHALI*. *Scanderbeg* both by his espials and letters from his secret friends in the *Turkes* court, hauing certaine intelligence of all *Balabanus* his intent and purpose, had in readinesse against his coming a strong armie of eight thousand horsemen and foure thousand foot,

The battell of
Sfetigrade be-
twixt Balabanus
and Scanderbeg.

Scanderbeg his
famous traitor-
ies flye to Balab-
anus.

all choise souldiours. And now hearing that he was come into EPIRVS, and encamped in VALCAA, sent out three espials to discouer in what order he lay: one of which spies was Balabanus his kinsman (but not so knowne to Scanderbeg) by whose perswasion the other two when they had taken full view of Balabanus his army, and should haue returned to Scanderbeg to haue giuen intelligence of that they had seene, like false traitors went ouer to Balabanus, and discouered vnto him all that they knew concerning Scanderbeg: hoping therefore to receiue some great reward, as their fellow had before borne them in hand. Scanderbeg maueing that his espials returned, not againe as they were appointed, and doubting that they had been by the enemy intercepted, and vsing many times in matters of such importance to trust himselfe best, presently went out with five lustie souldiours, and rid forth to discouer the manner of the enemies lying. Balabanus like a craftie fox, mistrusting that Scanderbeg decciued of his first espials would for like purpose send forth others, laied certain horsemens in secret ambush in diuers places, to intercept them if it were possible. These horsemens lay not so couert, but that they were in good time descried by Scanderbeg and his followers (who with Argus eyes, pried into euerie bush and thicker as they went) before he was altogether fallen within their danger: and yet but so that he came to handle strokes, where Scanderbeg and his followers oppressed with multitude, were glad to flie as fast as they could into the next wood, the Turkes horsemens following them at the heeles. It fortuned that as they were flying, a great old tree was fallen crosse the way, which Scanderbeg putting spurs to his horse, leapt ouer, with one of his men after him; the other foure not able to get ouer, turned backe vpon the Turkes, and there fighting were slaine. One of the Turkes which so hardly pursued Scanderbeg being well mounted, forced his horse to leape the tree, and still followed after Scanderbeg: who looking backe and seeing but one, turned vpon him and slew him: the other Turkes hauing slaine foure of Scanderbeg his men which could not get ouer the tree, returned. And Scanderbeg accompanied but with one of his followers, came backe againe to his campe; and there with all speed put his army in readinesse to go against Balabanus before the coming of his companion, with the other part of his army. Vpon which resolution, after he had with cheerefull perswasions encouraged his souldiours, and filled their minds with hope of victorie, he set forward, and came with great speed into the valley of VALCHA where Balabanus lay. Scanderbeg had deuided his army into foure squadrons, whereof Tanusius had the leading of one, Zacharias Groppa of another, the third was committed to Petrus Emanuel, and Scanderbeg himselfe conducted the fourth. So setting forward, he sent before certaine companies of harquebusiers, and archers, to prouoke the enemy and to draw him forth vnto battell. Balabanus also shewed himselfe with his army in seemly order before his tents, but there stood fast and would not stirre, expecting continually the coming of his fellow. Which Scanderbeg perceiving, and that he sought but to dallie out the time, and as one vnwilling to fight had againe retired his army into the safetie of his trenches; drew neerer and neerer vnto him; continually skirmishing with such as he sent out, daring him into the field, and brauing him vnto his trenches, in such sort as if hee would haue forced the same, and by strong hand haue fet him out thence. Whereat the Turkes fretted and chafed exceedingly: insomuch, that they were ready to rise against their Generall, because he would not lead them forth to battell, but suffer them to be so disgraced. Balabanus mindfull of that he had promised vnto Mahomet his great lord and master, did what he might to haue deferred time: but when he saw that his fellow came not, and that he could no longer delay the matter; being so continually assailed and braued by Scanderbeg his souldiours, that his Turkes therewith prouoked, were ready oftentimes to haue issued out without his direction, and now no remedie but that he must needs fight; placed his men in good order, and so went out of his trenches to giue battell, himselfe leading the left wing thereof: where betwixt him and Scanderbeg was made a fierce fight, many falling on both sides. But Scanderbeg strengthened with the old garrison of CROIA, and the most expert souldiours of DIBRA, prevailed vpon the Turkes and forced them to giue ground, yet still keeping their order: The fight was so great in this part of the battell, that in other places they stood almost still as lookers on, expecting the doubtful fortune of their Generals: Which thing Scanderbeg perceiving, drew certain troupes out of the right wing, where as he saw was least danger, which speedily fetching a compass about, charged the side of the enemies army; and againe withdrawing themselves, and with wonderfull celeritie wheeling about, set vpon the backe of them that fought in the left wing: so that the Turkes there fiercely charged both before and behind, by the most valiant souldiours

of Scanderbeg his army, fell in other places with a great slaughter. Balabanus with exceeding courage gainstood his enemies, so long as there was any hope left: but when he saw the fortune of Scanderbeg to preuaile, and all about him to become desperat, he made shift for himselfe, and fled out of the battell as fast as he could. The rest of the army, being in other places before troubled and disordered, fled also, some one way, some another, euery man as his fortune led him. Some few that followed Balabanus escaped: the rest were for most part either slaine or taken prisoners.

Scanderbeg had scarcely well breathed himselfe after this victorie, and deuided the spoile amongst his souldiours; but that newes was brought to him in post from the lady Mamiza his sister, then lying at PETRELLA, that Iacuppe, Arnauth was by the way of BELGRADE come into EPIRVS with an army of sixteene thousand horsemens, burning and destroying the country before him; and then lay encamped in the plaines of TIRANNA the lesse. When Scanderbeg to proue the minds of his souldiours, had cheerefully imparted vnto them such newes, as was like to be the beginning of new labour and perill; they were therewith nothing dismayed, but ready to follow him with such cheerefulness of countenance & mind, as if they should haue gone to some great feast or banquet: reckoning of them, but as of the remnant of a discomfited army. This cheerefulness of his souldiours, Scanderbeg tooke as an assured token of his good success; and hauing all things in readinesse, presently set forward, and in short time came to the place where the enemy lay. Iacuppe hearing of his coming, remoued his campe into a corner of the plaines of TIRANNA, neere vnto a little hill, as a place of more safetie for his army to lie in. Scanderbeg taking the plaines, encamped his army in the same place from whence Iacuppe was but a little before departed, where he rested one whole day. The next morning to vex his enemies (who as yet had not heard of the ouerthrow of Balabanus) he caused diuers of the Turkes heads which were slaine in the late battell (which he had brought for that purpose) to be cast before the trenches of the enemy, and withall, diuers of them which were taken prisoners to be shewne: Which Iacuppe beholding, in great dispaire said, *I see the euill hap. of Mahomet*. Immediately after, Scanderbeg sent forth 500 horsemens to skirmish with the Turkes, commanding them so soone as they were charged by the enemy to retire, if happily they might so be drawne into battell: which fell out accordingly. For Iacuppe now seeing his fellow was not to be looked for, and willing also without farther delay to trie his fortune, came readily into the field, and began a fierce battell: which endured not long, for Scanderbeg perceiving in what part of the army Iacuppe was, bent his greatest force that way, and singling him out, with his owne hand slew him. Where with the Turkes being discouraged, forthwith betooke themselves to flight, and in flying, were for most part slaine or taken. Those which escaped the present furie of the sword, stragling through the country by thicke woods and blind waies, were by the country people either slaine or taken prisoners. In these two battells were slaine of the Turkes foure and twentie thousand, and six thousand taken. And of Scanderbeg his men, were lost about a thousand. Scanderbeg and his souldiours were so wearie of the slaughter of the Turkes, that when it was told him the next day, that Balabanus was fled but with one cornet of horsemens, and might easily be surprised, if he were well pursued: he said, *O let some of our enemies liue to report their owne slaughter and our victorie*. After that Scanderbeg had in this sort vanquished these great captains, he presently entered into the frontiers of the Turkes dominions, and roaming vp and downe at his pleasure without resistance, made haucke of all that came in his way. And after returning to CROIA with victorie, brake vp his army, and gaue his souldiours leaue to depart, euery man to his owne dwelling.

Whilest these things were in doing, Mahomet had with great rewards procured two Turkes to undertake to kill Scanderbeg. These traitors came vnto Scanderbeg as fugitiues, making such shew of the detestation both of Mahomet his tyrannicall government, and vaine superstition, that they were both of Scanderbeg and others reputed to be in deed the men they desired to be accounted: and so after they had learned the principles of the Christian religion, were by their owne desire baptised. But treason against princes whom God hath in his most mightie protection, cannot be long couered; much lesse without his great sufferance performed. So fortuned it, that these two false dissembling traitors, expecting nothing but opportunitie to performe their diuillish deuilie, vpon some occasion fell at variance betwixt themselves, and in their heat, let some such words fall, as being taken vp by some there present, drew them both into suspicion: and

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Iacup slaine by
Scanderbeg, and
his armie dis-
comfited.

therupon being straitly examined, it was at last by them confessed, that they were sent by *Mahomet* of purpose to haue slaine *Scanderbeg*: for which their treason they were both presently executed, as they had right well deserved. When *Mahomet* vnderstood that *Balabanus* was out come, *Iacup* slaine, and both their armies almost quite destroyed, he after his impatient manner fell into a great rage, and became as a man almost frantick: and afterwards calling together his great Bassaes, resolved by their aduise, not to send any mo generals against *Scanderbeg*, but to go himselfe in person with such an armie as should at once make an end of his warres in *Epirus* for euer. Hereupon commissions were directed through all his kingdome, and an armie raised of two hundred thousand men: whereof *Scanderbeg* hauing certaine aduertisement, fortified all his cities and strong holds, especially the citie of *Croia*, vpon the fortune whereof, depended the whole state of his kingdome. Into this citie he put a strong garrison of his most valiant and faithfull souldiours; and thoroughly furnished the same with all things necessarie for the enduring of a long siege: and left one *Balthasar Perduci* (a graue and worthy captain) gouernour thereof. With like care he provided for the safetie of his other cities, and tooke order that the country people were either receiued into the strong townes, or else conuayed into other places of refuge: and left nothing abroad in the country for the Turkes to prey vpon, as he had in like case done long before, at the coming of old *Amurath* to the siege of *Croia*, as is before in his life declared.

Mahomet cometh to the siege of Croia.

By that time that *Scanderbeg* had set all things in order, his old friend *Balabanus* with eight thousand horsemen (the fore-runners of *Mahomet* his armie) were entered into *Epirus*, and ranging ouer the country two daies, came and sat downe before *Croia*: Vpon whom the gouernour at his first coming, made many brauesallies. In few daies after came *Mahomet* with his huge armie, and there encamped also. Who at his first coming summoned the citie, requiring to haue it deliuered vnto him, vpon such vnreasonable conditions as it pleased himselfe (as the manner of the Turke is:) whereunto the worthy gouernour returned him no other answer, than by continuall thundring shot into his campe. Whereupon *Mahomet* caused such ordinance as he had, to be planted for batterie; and commanded other new to be cast, of such mettall as he had for that purpose brought in masse: all which he did rather to strike a terror into the minds of the defendants, than for any great hope he had of taking the citie by force; knowing by his owne experience, that it was a place almost impregnable. Whilest *Mahomet* was thus busied and little or nothing preuailed, *Scanderbeg* lying abroad in the woods and mountaines with a small army of most valiant and couragious souldiours, continually cut off the forragers of *Mahomet*'s armie, and such as brought in victuall or necessities for his campe: and many times in the night, suddenly brake into one quarter or other of the Turkes great camp with great slaughter, and with continuall alarmes neuer suffered them to rest in quiet. *Mahomet* seeing his army to decrease daily, and no hope of winning the citie but by famine, which would require a long siege, and fearing also to make that same place again famous by some notable mischance, which might happen vnto himselfe vnder the wals of *Croia*, as had before vnto his father *Amurath*; determined to returne himselfe to *Constantinople*, and to leaue *Balabanus* with a great part of his armie to continue the siege. Vpon which determination he committed the charge and ordering of the whole matter for the continuing of the siege to *Balabanus*, joyning vnto him eight of his most expert captaines; yet so, as that they should be all at *Balabanus* his commaund. And so leauing with him three and twentie thousand of his best souldiours, and with euery one of the other eight captaines seuen thousand moe, departed himselfe with the rest of his armie from *Croia* towards *Constantinople*. But by the way as he went he tooke from *Scanderbeg* certaine small forts, and with faire promises corrupting the Gouernour of a place called *Chirina*, wherein eight thousand of *Scanderbeg* his souldiours lay, had the same deliuered into his power, vpon his faith before giuen, That all the souldiours with the rest of the people should in safetie depart thence. But after the tyrant had them in his power, without regard of faith or promise, hee caused them all most cruelly to be cut in peeces, sparing neither man, woman, nor child, to the great grieue and weakening of *Scanderbeg*, who had not at any time before receiued so great a losse. And after hee had so ragged, hee in great melancholic returned vnto *Constantinople*.

Scanderbeg disdaining to haue his cheefe citie besieged by *Balabanus*, sometime one of the basest of his fathers subjects: and yet finding himselfe vnable to releue the same, for as much

as his souldiours were with continuall warres fore wasted, and his warie enemies lay so encamped, as that they were not but by a strong armie to be removed, sent vnto the Venetians and other the confederat princes of *Albania*, *Illyria*, and *Dalmatia*, praying of them aid now at his need against that enemy, which preuailling against him, would forthwith set vpon them. All which princes promised forthwith to send their succours. At the same time also hee passed ouer into *Italia* secretly, and disguised in simple attire, came to *Rome*, to craue aid of *Paulus* the second of that name, then great Bishop: by whom he was honourably entertained, but obtained nothing of that he came for; so cold was his holy deuotion: onely at his departure hee gaua vnto *Iunetrio*, *Scanderbeg* his treasurer, a poore almes of three thousand duckats.

Scanderbeg returning into *Epirus*, found all such aid readie as was promised from the confederat princes, but especially from the Venetians, which was for most part drawne out of their garrisons of *Scutari*, *Drivasto*, *Alyssa*, and *Dirrachium*: so that hee had in few daies in his armie thirteene thousand foure hundred choice souldiours. With this strength he marched towards *Croia*: but vnderstanding by the way, that *Ionima* was within a daies journey coming with a new supplie to his brother *Balabanus*, hee drew out certaine troupes of his best horsemen: and coasting ouer the country in the night, suddainly came vpon the Turkes, and put them to flight; where amongst others, *Ionima* himselfe, with his sonne *Hedar*, were taken prisoners, whom he shewed the next day in bonds to *Balabanus*. This exploit so happily performed, he with all speed returned to his armie: and so marching to *Croia*, by plaine force driue the Turkes from the mountain *Crivina*, their greatest strength, and nearest to the citie of *Croia*. Which thing when *Balabanus* saw, he with certaine troupes of horsemen rid euen to the gates of the citie, perswading the defendants to yeeld the citie, making them in the name of his master such offers and promises as he thought might most moue them. But they nothing regarding his words, but rather incensed with his presumption, sallied out vpon him, and enforced him to retire: but he therewith enraged, and halfe mad for anger, came vpon them with a fresh charge, thinking by plaine force to haue driuen them backe into the citie. In which skirmish he was by one *Georgius Alexius* with a bullet shot quite through the throat; and feeling himselfe mortally wounded, setting spurs to his horse, ran as fast as he could to his campe, where he presently fell down from his horse and died. The Turkes discouraged with the death of their Generall, and the coming of *Scanderbeg*, rise the same night, and with great silence retired themselues vnto the plain of *Tirana*, about eight miles from *Croia*. *Scanderbeg* the next morning entering the forsaken tents of the Turkes, found therein great store of corne and other victuals, which he caused to be forthwith conueyed into the citie, and in great triumph followed after himselfe, to the great joy and comfort of his late besieged subjects: whom he highly commended for their fidelitie, and bountiully rewarded according to their deserts. The same day he sent certaine companies of souldiours to take the strait passages whereby the Turkes must needs passe in their returne out of *Epirus*; which when the Turkes vnderstood, they sent two messengers vnto *Scanderbeg* (who seemed to be men of good account in the armie) offering in the name of the rest of the captaines and commanders, to deliuer vnto him their horses and armes, so that they might in safetie depart with their liues. Which their request *Scanderbeg* propounding vnto his counsellors & captaines, was by them diuersly disgested. In conclusion, they receiued this answer from *Scanderbeg* himselfe, That as they came into his country without his commandement, so should they not by his leaue depart thence. The Turkes receiuing this short answer by their messengers, and considering that they must needs in that bare countrey in short time perish, either with famine or with the sword; the very same night departed from *Tirana*, and in the dead time of the night entering the aforesaid straits, by plaine force desperately brake through and escaped, but not without their great losse: for whose escape the common souldiours murmured greuously against *Scanderbeg*, and were not without much ado appeased. In short time after, *Scanderbeg* recovered all such places as *Mahomet* had before taken from him, and put to sword the souldiours he had left for the keeping of the same: which done, he brake vp his armie, retaining only two thousand horsemen and a thousand foot for the defence of his frontiers.

The Turkish tyrant hearing of the euill successe of his affaires in *Epirus*, as that his Generall was slaine, *Croia* releued, his armie discomfited, and all that he had done, brought to nought; fretted thereat exceedingly, and was therewith so much greued, that hee could not for a season eat or drinke or take rest, his discontented thoughts so much troubled him. In the end, to reme-

Scanderbeg surpriseth Ionima the brother of Balabanus, and Hedar his sonne.

die the matter, he resolved the next Spring to goe againe in person himselfe with a most puissant armie into EPIRVS, and so if it were possible, to make a full conquest thereof: of which his purpose Scanderbeg vnderstanding, prouided for his comming, as he had in former time. The Spring being come, Mahomet according to his former resolution, with a mightie armie entred into EPIRVS, and there with exceeding labour and charge first repaired or rather reedified the old ruines of the citie of VALMES, wherein he left a strong garison, of purpose to trouble that part of the countrey. From thence he marched to DIRRACHIVM (now called DVRAZZO, but of old time EPIDAMNVM) a citie vpon the sea coast, then in the possession of the Venetians, famous for many things in the time of the Romane empire, but especially for the flight of the Romane Senate thither, and their entertainment there in the time of the ciuile wars betwixt Caesar and Pompeius. This citie Mahomet thought to haue taken vnprouided, and so vpon the suddaine to haue carried it; but was therein much deceiued, finding it strongly fortified and manned both by the Venetians and Scanderbeg. Where when he had there spent some time, and to his great losse in vaine attempted the citie, hee rose vpon the suddaine: and retiring into EPIRVS, came and sat downe againe before CROIA, of purpose by his suddaine comming to haue terrified the citizens: and vainely perswaded, that he had left Scanderbeg in DIRRACHIVM, for that in the assailing thereof he had discovered many of Scanderbeg his men, and thereby supposed him to haue bene there also; the greatest cause why he so suddenly rose and came to CROIA. At his first comming he offered great rewards and large priuiledges vnto the citizens, if they would forthwith yeeld vp their citie; otherwise he threatened vnto them all the calamities of warre, vowing neuer to depart thence before he had it: whereunto he received no other answer out of the citie than was sent him by the mouth of the Cannon, or brought him by many most braue sallies. Scanderbeg in the meane while continually molesting his campe, and euery night falling into one quarter or another thereof. Mahomet taught by experience, to what small purpose it would bee for him to lie there long, rose with his armie, & marched againe to the sea side to a place now called the head of REDON vpon the gulfes of VENICE, not farre from DIRRACHIVM, where Scanderbeg had begun to build a new citie called CHIVRILL, not yet finished: which Mahomet in despite of the man, rased downe to the ground. After that, hearing that many of the Epirors were retired into the mountaines, hee went to seeke them out, and was with great losse by those mountaine people repulled: Scanderbeg still following him at the heeles, and awaiting all oportunities, daily cut off part of his armie. So that at last the tyrant despairing of any good to bee done in that expedition, was glad to depart out of EPIRVS, hauing atcheued nothing worth his comming, and so full of discontentment and melancholie returned to CONSTANTINOPLE.

After all these great troubles, Scanderbeg rid ouer most part of EPIRVS, to view the state of his kingdome, and so at last came to LYSSA (a citie of the Venetians, which he had alwaies specially liked) there to conferre with the Venetian legate and other the confederate princes, of matters concerning their state in generall, as his manner was: but more particularly how they might take the citie of VALMES, which Mahomet had the last yeare built in the siegnorie of Aramites Comynat, and much troubled that part of EPIRVS. But whilest he lay there, he fell sicke of a feauer, which daily so encreased vpon him, that he became sicke euen vnto death: and now perceiving his end to draw nigh, sent for his wife and sonne, with the princes and lords his confederates, and the embassadours of the Venetians, into his bed chamber. Where after he had at large with greater paine notably discoursed of his troublesome life led amongst them, than he had before passed the same, and carefully forewarned them of the dangers like to ensue; he earnestly exhorted them to continue in vnitie and concord, and valiantly to stand in defence of their religion, countrey, and libertie. And afterwards turning his speech to his wife and his sonne, commended them both with his kingdome to the tuition of the Venetians: who by the articles of the consideration betwixt him and them, were in honour bound to protect his sonne and kingdome, during the time of his minoritie, and afterwards peaceably to place him in the same. In fine, he willed his wife after his death to passe ouer with her sonne into APLIA, where they might in safe and quiet liue vpon such possessions as he there held by the gift of king Ferdinand. And so after he had with most feruent prayer commended his soule into the hands of Almighty God, departed in peace the seuenteenth day of Ianuarie, in the yeare of our Lord 1466, when hee had liued about 53 yeares, and thereof reigned about 24. His death was worthily lamented of all Christian princes, but especially of the Venetians and princes of ALBANIA, who had now lost

Scanderbeg's fall
leib. f. 14.

The death of
Scanderbeg.

their most carefull watchman and inuincible champion: the sorrow of his subjects is not to bee expressed, euery man bewayling him, as the onely stay of the commonweale; and as if with him they had lost all their hope. His dead bodie was with the generall lamentation of all men royally buried in the cathedrall church of S. Nicholas at LYSSA: where it rested in peace, vntill that about nine yeares after, the Turkes comming to the siege of SCODRA, by the way tooke the citie of LYSSA, and there with great deuotion digged vp his bones, reckoning it in some part of their happinesse, if they might but see or touch the same: and such as could get any part thereof, were it neuer so little, caused the same to be set, some in siluer, some in gold, to hang about their neckes, or weare vpon their bodies; perswading themselves by the wearing thereof to be partakers of such good fortune and hap as had Scanderbeg himselfe whilest he liued: which is not vnaptly by Gabriell Fairnus of CREMONA, thus in verse expressed.

Scanderbeg buried at Lyssa.

The bodie of Scanderbeg digged up by the Turkes, and of them greatly honoured.

SCANDERBEG.



Paulus Iovius illust. v. 1. rorum, Elog. lib. 3.

Epiri tutela, illo iachere sepulchro:
Quo quondam inuicti cubuerunt ossa Georgi.
Nunc & membra viri, & dissectum in frusta sepulchrum
Interijt, sparsi manes, conscisa vagantur
Ossa, nec in gelida nunc saltem morte quiescunt.
Namq; ut is assertum toties cum laude patrum
Imperium, exacta moriens atate reliquit.

Illicet

Mahomet the Great,

*Illicet immanes tenuerunt omnia Turca.
Tum clari Herois venerati nobile bustum,
Ossaque, marmoraque, inuictum condentia corpus
Abstulerant, sibi quisque in partes secta minutas,
Tanquam ijs bellica vis, & Martius ardor inesset:
Et genium prestare bonum, sortemque valerent.
Sic que alijs tumulum virtus parat abstulit illi:
Atque eadem dire venerandum praeiit hosti.*

In English thus.

The bloudie bane of faithlesse Turkes, and terrour of their name,
EPIRVS strong defence and guard, lay buried there with fame:
Within that tombe wherein long since, Great *Castriotus* lay;
But now those limbs and tombe defac'd, are carried quite away;
The remnants of that worthy wight out of his graue were torne:
And being dead could find no rest, but were for jewels worne.
For after he farre spent with age, gaue place to fatall doome,
And left his fathers kingdome got, and kept with great renoume:
Forthwith the cruell Turkes preuaile, and all things there possesse.
Who worshipping his stately tombe, and place of quiet rest,
Dig'd vp his bones, and brake the tombe wherein he did remaine:
And glad was he that could thereof, some little part obtaine.
As if in them some martiall force, or vertue great had beene:
Or fortune rare, such as before in him was liuing scene.
So vertue which to others giues, a sepulture and graue,
Bereft it him, yet forst his foe in honour it to haue.

Most part of the time of these warres betwixt *Mahomet* and *Scanderbeg*, the Venetians by sea and the Hungarians by land, kept the Turkes throughly busied. *Mathias Corvinus* king of HUNGARIE (according to his promise made vnto the Venetians) entred into the kingdome of BOSNIA, where by force he ouerthrew the strong forts which the Turkes had built for the defence of their frontiers, and manfully draue them out before him vntill he came to IAZIGA (off some called IATZB) the chiefe citie of BOSNIA, which he at length tooke: and following the course of his victorie, scarcely suffered the Turkes to breath, vntill he had by force wrested all that kingdome out of their hands. Wherewith *Mahomet* being exceedingly grieved, in great furie came with a strong armie into BOSNIA; and laid hard siege to IAZIGA, which was by the Christians right valiantly defended: vntill *Mathias* with a puissant armie came to the reliefe thereof, who so troubled the Turkes campe with continuall skirmishes on the one side, and they of the towne with desperat sallies on the other; that at length the prowde Turke was driuen to such extremitie, that he was glad secretly to steale away by night with all his army into SERVIA; and for halfe a leaue behind him both his tents and great ordinance, which (the Turkes histories report) he caused to be cast into the riuer, because it should not come into the hands of the Christians. *Mathias* after he had thus valiantly put to flight his enemies and relieved his citie, followed the Turkes into SARVIA, and tooke part of that countrey also, which together with BOSNIA he vniuered to the kingdome of HUNGARIE. In these warres, *Mahomet* had such prooffe of the force and power of *Mathias* and the Hungarians; that for a good while after he had no great stomache to prouoke them farther: for why, the name of *Mathias* was now become vnto the Turkes no lesse dreadful, than was sometime the name of his father the valiant *Huniades*.

The Venetians at the same time also with their gallies scoured the seas, and landing their men sometime in one place, sometime in another, did great harme in manie places of the Turkes dominion neere vnto the sea coast. Amongst other their generals at diuers times sent from that state, one *Nicholas Canalis* succeeding *Lauretanus* (whom we haue before spoken of) as soone as he had receiued his charge, came with his fleet into the bay of SALONICHI, and landing his men, burnt diuers townes and villages alongst the sea side. Afterwards returning into PLO-

first Emperour of the Turks.

PONESVS, he fortified the towne of LIGOSTICVM in the gulf of PATRAS, which worke the Turkes with their often skirmishes laboured to haue hindred, but in despite of all they could doe it was brought to perfection, and a strong garrison therein left for the defence thereof, which done, he returned againe to EVBEEA. Shordly after, he with the same fleet put to sea againe; and sayling alongst the coast of MACEDONIA and THRACIA, surpris'd the citie of ZENUS which standeth vpon the mouth of the riuer Meritza, called in auncient time Hebrus, vpon which riuer the famous cities ANDRINOPLE and PHILIPPOPOLIS are also situate. *Canalis* after he had taken the spoyle of the citie returned to his gallies, carrying away with him two thousand captiues into EVBEEA. At the same time also, the Venetians giuing aid vnto *Nicholas Duchaine* against his brother *Alexius*, then at variance for the principalltie of ZADRIMA, neere vnto the riuer of DRINO in EPIRVS, gaue a great ouerthrow to the Turkes which came in the quarrell of *Alexius*.

Mahomet not a little offended with the harmes done vnto him by the Venetians, and perceiving that the island of EVBEEA (now called NIGROPONTE) was for the commodious situation and strength thereof, the chiefe place from whence they wrought him all these wrongs, and whither they afterwards retired againe, as vnto a most sure place of refuge; determined with himselfe at once to be euen with them for all, and to imploy his whole forces both by sea and land, for the gaining of that place. This island of EVBEEA is about an hundred miles in length, and lieth ouer against that part of GRACIA which was of old called BAEOTIA, from whence it is separated with a narrow strait of the sea: it aboundeth with corne, wine, oyle, fruit, and wood fit for shipping. The chiefe citie thereof, was in auncient time called CHALCIDE, and of later time NIGROPONTE, by which name also the whole island was knowne: albeit the Turkes now call it EGORIOS: a populous, rich, and strong cittie; so fortified with wals and bulwarks, that (in most mens iudgement) it seemed a place impregnable. Vnto this strong citie *Mahomet* resolved to lay siege, knowing well that vpon the fortune thereof depended the state of the whole island. Wherefore he assembled a mightie army, and made great preparation both by sea and land: and when all things were in readinesse, sent *Mahomet* (the great Bassa of the court) with a fleet of three hundred gallies, and certaine other small vessels well furnished with souldiours, mariners, and all things necessarie, by sea into EVBEEA: and with a great armie marched himselfe by land through ACHATA, vntill he came ouer against the citie of CHALCIS. The Venetian Admirall hearing of the comming of the Turkes fleet, set forward to haue met them neere vnto the straits of HELLESPOINTVS: but after he had by his espials descried the great number of the enemies fleet, finding himselfe too weake, shaped his course to the island of SCYROS. The Bassa comming out of the straits of HELLESPOINTVS, couered the sea with his fleet, and holding on his intended course, without let came to EVBEEA: where at his first landing, he tooke STORA and BASILICON, two small townes, which he rased to the ground, and from thence went directly to CHALCIS. As soone as this great fleet was there arriued, *Mahomet* caused a bridge to be made of his smaller vessels ouer the strait betwixt ACHATA and EVBEEA, whereby he passed all his armie, and so belaid the citie round both by sea and land. And after he had planted his batterie, began most furiously to shake the wals: wherein he had in short time made faire breaches, and the sooner for that one *Thomas* of LIBURNIA (chiefe canonier of the citie) before corrupted by the Turkes, by signes agreed vpon, gaue them certaine knowledge in what places the wals were weakest: whereby they so aptly planted their batterie, as if they had taken view on the inside of the wals. Which foule treason was at length perceiued, and the traitor therefore worthily executed. Yet little preuaile the tyrant thereby, for such was the industrie of the defenders, that whatsoeuer he had by the furie of his great ordinance beaten downe by day, that they with restlesse labour repaired againe by night. Thus was the siege continued thirtie daies, in which space many a sharpe assault was giuen by the Turkes, to their great losse; and the citie still valiantly defended by the Christians. At length the Venetian Admirall (to the great comfort of the besieged) came with his fleet within view of the cittie, making semblant as if he would haue giuen the Turkes battell. Whereupon it is reported, that *Mahomet* was about to haue raised his siege, and haue got himselfe ouer into the maine, for feare the Venetians should with their gallies haue broken the bridge, and so haue shut him vp into that island: Which thing it was thought the admirall might haue done to his great praise, if he would as a courageous chieftaine haue aduentured the matter; as he was earnestly requested by the captaines of euerie priuat gally; who

Mathias king of Hungary, taking the kingdom of Bosnia from the Turke.

Chalcis the chiefe citie of Eubaea besieged by the Turke.

Treasure in the citie.

PONESVS.

who generally grieved to see him so great a commander, to let slip so faire an opportunity. But he fearing to come any nearer, came to an anchor and shewed not, neither gaue any signe of comfort or reliefe to the besieged. Which thing the Turkish king quickly perceiuing, and therewith encouraged: hauing now in diuers places beaten downe the wals, and made them faultable; brought on his men to the breaches, promising them the spoile of the citie, with many other great rewards and hie preferments according to their particular desert, whereof he said he would himselfe be an eye-witnesse. Hereupon the Turkes gaue a most fierce and furious assault, which the defendants with inuincible courage receiued, and made such slaughter of them, that the ditches were filled, and the breaches made vp with the bodies of the dead Turkes. But such was the number of that populous armie (the greatest strength of the Turkes) that the living little felt the losse of the dead: *Mahomet* continually sending in new supplies of fresh men, in steed of them that were slaine or wounded: So that one could no sooner fall, but two or three step vp in his roome, and so successiue, as if new men had sprong out of the bodies of the dead. Twice they had euen woon the breaches, and were both times with wonderfull slaughter beaten out againe. This deadly and dreadfull assault, was maintained a whole day and a night without intermission. At length the defendants being for the most part slaine or wounded, and the rest wearied with long fight, and vnable to defend the towne now assaulted almost round, retired from the breaches into the market place, and there like resolute men, sold their liues at a deere price vnto the Turkes. Amongst the slaine Christians, were found the dead bodies of many notable women, who seeing the ruine of the citie, chose rather to die with their friends in defence thereof, than aliue to fall into the hands of their barbarous enemies.

Chalcis taken by
the Turkes.

Mahomet being now become lord of the citie, and hauing lost fortie thousand of his Turkes in that siege, in reuenge thereof caused all the men that were found in the citie aliue, to be put to most cruell death, especially the Italians, vpon whom he shewed his tyrannie with most exquisite and horrible torments. *Paulus Ericus* gouernour of the citie, with a few others, who with him were fled into the castle, without resistance deliuered the same vnto him, vpon his faithfull promise, that they might in safetie depart: but after that he had got them into his power, the perfidious tyrant without regard, commaunded them all to be cruelly murdered. The gouernours daughter a maiden of incomparable beautie, was amongst the rest taken prisoner, and for her rare perfection, by them that tooke her presented to *Mahomet*, as the mirour of beautie. The barbarous tyrant greedie of so faire a prey, fought first by flattering words and faire persuasion, to induce her to consent to his desire: but when hee could not so preuaile, he fell into another vaine, and began to shew himselfe in his owne nature, threatening her with death, torture, and force, worse than death it selfe; if shee would not otherwise yeeld vnto his appetite. Whereunto the constant virgin (worthie eternall fame) answered so resolutely, and so contrarie to the tyrants expectation, that hee being therewith enraged, commaunded her to be presently slaine. The horrible and monstrous crueltie, with the filthy outrages by that beastly and barbarous people committed, at the taking of that citie, passeth all credit. *CHALCIS* thus woon, the rest of that fruitfull island without farther resistance yeelded vnto the Turkish slaue, vnder which it yet groaneth. This calamitie happened to the Venetian state, or rather (to say truly) to the generall hurt of the Christian common-weale, in the yeare of our redemption 1470.

The fruitfull
island of Rhodus
taken by the
Turkes.

Canalis the Venetian Admirall, who all the time of the siege, had in the sight of the citie lien at anchor as a looker on; fearing now that the citie was lost, to bee set vpon by the Turkes fleet, hoised saile, and laded with dishonour returned in hast vnto *VENICE*, where hee was by the commaundement of the Senat committed to prison, and afterward with all his family exiled to *VINVM*.

1471

Shortly after, when *Mahomet* was departed with his armie out of *EVBOA*, and his fleet returned to *CONSTANTINOPLE*: the Venetians with their gallies, attempted to haue vpon the sudden surprised the citie, a little before lost. But *Mahomet* had therein left so strong a garrison, that when the Venetians had landed their men, they were againe enforced to retire to their gallies, and to forsake their island.

CHALCIS thus lost with all the island of *EVBOA*, the Venetians chose *Petrus Mocenig*, a valiant and discrete gentleman, Admirall of their fleet, in stead of *Canalis*: and by their embassadours solicited *Sixtus* the fourth of that name, then bishop of *ROME*, and *Ferdinand* king

of *NAPLES*, with *Lewis* king of *CYPRUS*, and the grand master of the *RHODES*, to ioine their forces together with theirs against the great and common enemy: which thing all the aforesaid Christian princes promised them to doe. And the more to entangle the Turke, they at the same time sent *Caterinus Zenus* their embassadour with rich presents vnto *Alymbicus Vsun-Cassanes*, the great king of *PERSIA*, to incite him on that side against the Turke: in which negotiation *Zenus* so well behaved himselfe, that the next yeare following that great king tooke vp armes against *Mahomet*, and had with him mortall warres, as shall be in convenient place hereafter declared. *Mahomet* not ignorant of these proceedings of the Venetians, and that they did what they might to stirre vp as many enemies as they could, and to bring him (if it were possible) into hatred with the whole world: and well knowing how much he had offended the minds of the Christian princes with the crueltie he had of late vsed against them of *CHALCIS*, thought it not best as then further to prouoke them, and so happily to bring all at once about his eares, but for a season to lie still at *CONSTANTINOPLE*, as if he had bene desirous now to liue in peace, not meaning further harme: hoping thereby, that although he concluded no peace with any of them (which indeed he was not desirous of) yet that tract of time might mitigate the hainousnesse of the fact, and coole the heat of their displeasure: whereby it came to passe as hee wished, that nothing worth the speaking of was that yeare attempted against him. And because the Persian king was the man of whom he stood most in doubt, hee fought by his embassadours to pacifie him, and to withdraw him from the league of the Christians: requesting him, if it were for nothing els but for the communitie of the Mahometane religion, wherein they well agreed, and were thereby the professed enemies of the Christians, to withdraw his hand, and in their cause to cease to take vp armes: vrging now (for that it so stood with his purpose) the zeale of religion, whereas otherwise he regarded (as was thought) no religion at all. But *Zenus* the Venetian embassadour lying continually in the Persian court, so wrought the matter with *Vsun-Cassanes*, that hee told the Turkes embassadours plainly, That he could not nor would not longer endure the manifest iniurie and wrong done vnto him by the Turkish king: and farther, that hee had made a faithfull league with the Christian princes, and therefore would to the vttermost of his power make it knowne vnto the world, that he would effectuallie performe what thing soeuer he had promised: and so dismissed them, now no lesse discontented than were before the Persian embassadours: at such time as they returned from the Turkes court, hauing obtained nothing they then requested concerning the emperour of *TRAPEZOND*.

The yeare following, *Mocenig* the Venetian Admirall with his fleet arriued in the Isle of *1472* *LESBOS*, where he did great harme. From thence hee passed the bay of *ADRAMITTIVM* into the lesser *ASIA*, and sore spoiled the countrey about *PERGAMVS*. After that hee landed againe at *CNIDVS* vpon the coast of *CARIA*, where he tooke a great bootie: and so hauing done the Turkes exceeding much harme in *ASIA* all along the sea coast opposit to *GRÆCIA*, he returned laden with spoile towards *PELOPONNESVS*. In his returne, about the promontorie of *MALEA*, vpon the coast of *PELOPONNESVS*, he met with *Richienfis* comming vnto him with seuentene gallies from king *Ferdinand*: by whom hee was certified, that the great Bishops fleet was readie to come forth also. After mutuall gratulation, as the manner at sea is, the Admirals joining in their fleets in one, landed at *METHONE*, now called *MODON*, then a citie of the Venetians in *PELOPONNESVS*: where after they had well refreshed their souldiours, and taken in fresh victuals, they put to sea againe: and sailing through the Islands, landed in *ASIA*, where they were at their first landing encountered by the countrey Turkes, whom at last they put to flight, and by the space of foure daies tooke what pillage they could in the countrey: where the souldiours found great store of rich bootie, especially of Turkie carpets, which are there made in great abundance. From thence they sayled to *HALICARNASSVS*, which is a part of *CARIA* (where sometime stood the starily tombe which queene *Artemesia* built for her husband *Mausolus*, accounted amongst the wonders of the world) where they tooke a wonderfull spoile. There came vnto them *Nicholas* Bishop of *MODRVS*, with twentie gallies sent from the great Bishop: whom the other two Generals welcommed with great joy. At the same time also came thither two gallies from the great master of the *RHODES*. With this fleet of 85 gallies, they sailed to the Isle of *SAMOS* ouer against *EPHESVS* (sometime a place of great fame, but then altogether desolate and vnpeopled) there to consult for their further proceeding in those warres. Loosing from *SAMOS*, they tooke their course along the coast of *ASIA*, and landed at *ATTALIA*, the cheefe citie of

The Venetians aided by king Ferdinand, the bishop of Rome, and the great master of the Rhodes, doe the Turkes great harme all along the coast of the lesser Asia.

of PAMPHILIA, a place of great trafficke: where they found in the suburbs of the citie great store of many rich commodities, brought thither out of *EGYPT* and *SYRIA*; whereof they tooke what pleased them, and burnt the rest, together with the suburbs. Vnto the citie it selfe they began to lay siege, but perceiuing that it was not without great losse of their men to be taken, they departed thence: and running all alongst the coast of PAMPHILIA, burnt and destroyed what came in their way, and so returned backe againe to the RHODES: where they met an embassadour from *Vsun-Cassanes* the Persian king, to the bishop and the Venetians, for great ordinance: whereof that so mightie a prince was altogether vnfurnished. Of this embassadour they vnderstood, that *Vsun-Cassanes* was entered into league with the Christian princes, and now busie in making preparation against the Turke. At which time *Mahomet* requited the Venetians with no lesse harme in *EPHROS* and *DALMATIA*, than they had done to him in *ASIA*: for now that *Scanderbeg* was dead, the Turkes mightely preuailed vpon the weake princes of *EPHROS* and *ALBANIA*, with the countries adioyning. The Christian fleet departing from the RHODES, landed in the countrey of the Myndians, a part of *CARIA*, and with great spoile returned to the Island of *NAXOS*, one of the *CYCLADES*: from whence king *Ferdinand* his gallies returned home, laded with much rich spoile; for now the yeare was farre spent. Yet after the departure of the kings gallies, *Mocenicus* with the Legate returned backe againe into *ASIA*, and there landing their men, tooke the famous citie of *SMYRNA* in *IONIA*, and when they had taken the spoile thereof, set it on fire. At which time also they did great harme about *CLAZOMENE*, not far from *SMYRNA*. So Winter drawing now fast on, they returned laded with the rich spoiles of *ASIA*, the Legate into *ITALIE*, and *Mocenicus* to *METHONE*.

1473

*Mahomet no
le is trouble some
vnto the Maho-
metane prin ces
than to the Chris-
tians*

The insatiable desire of soueraigntie, whereunto the Turkish king was naturally endined, had continually armed him, not onely against the Christian princes, but against others also euen of his owne superstition: making no great difference betwixt the one & the other, if so he might extend his dominion. He had long before vnder the pretence of a friendly parley craftely circumuented the king of *MYSIA*, a countrey in *ASIA*, and hauing got him within his danger, cruelly put him to death, and by force subduing his kingdom, left not one of the kings blood aliue. After that he inuaded *CILICIA*, which the Turkes call *CARAMANIA*, where the two young brethren, *Pyramet* and *Cassambet* reigned, and draue them both out of *CILICIA*: of whom *Pyramet* the elder, fled for refuge to *Vsun-Cassanes*; *Cassambet* the younger, assisted by his old friends, sought by force of armes to recouer againe his inheritance wrongfully by the Turkes possessed, and was besieging certaine townes vpon the sea coast, which being taken from the Turkes would easily draw all the rest of the kingdom after them. *Mocenicus* the Venetian Admirall being now with the first of the Spring come vpon the coast of *CILICIA*, at the request of *Cassambet* landed certaine companies of his men vnder the leading of *Nictor Superantius*, and certaine peeces of great artillerie, wherewith he so battered the wals of *SICHINVM*, that hee enforced the Turkes therein to yeeld vp the citie: which he deliuered to *Cassambet*. In like manner he tooke the citie of *CORYCVS*, which he also restored to *Cassambet*. At last hee laid siege to *SILEVCIA*, which standeth vpon the riuer *ORONTS*, and was built by king *Seleucus*, one of the successors of *Alexander* the Great, distant from the sea about fise miles: the Governour of this citie discouraged with the sight of the great artillerie, deliuered the citie to the Venetian captain, who by the appointment of the Admirall restored the same to *Cassambet*. Who by this means brought againe into his kingdom, gaue great thanks vnto the Admirall, promising both for himselfe and for his brother to be alwayes friends vnto the Venetians. *Mocenicus* departing from *CILICIA*, landed his men in *LYCIA*, and harried that countrey all alongst the sea coast: After this *Mocenicus* sailed into *CYPRVS*, to appease a great insurrection there raised against the queene, who was by her husband at his death left to the protection of the Venetians: which rebellion when he had well quieted, hearing that *Triadanus Gritius*, was by the decree of the Senate appointed Admirall, and already come into *PLOPONISVS*, he with as much speed as he could hastened thither, to giue vp his charge, and so to returne home againe to *VENICE*.

About this time the great Persian king *Vsun-Cassanes* began to make warre vpon the Turkish emperor *Mahomet*, for the better vnderstanding whereof, it shall not be from our purpose briefly to shew by what meanes this *Vsun-Cassanes*, of a small prince aspired to the kingdom of *PERSIA*, and so in short time grew to that greatnesse, that he was iustly accounted amongst the greatest monarchs of the world then liuing; as appeareth by these warres betwixt him and the great Turkish

Turkish emperor *Mahomet*. This *Vsun-Cassanes* of whom we now speake, was the sonne of that *Tachretin*, who with other poor princes was driuen into exile by the violence of *Baiazet* the first, great grandfather to this *Mahomet* the great emperor of the Turks; and was againe restored by the great *Tamerlane*, as is before declared in the life of *Baiazet*. By the death of *Tachretin*, his sonne *Vsun-Cassanes* (of some called also *Asymbeius*) obtained that small territorie which his father had in *ARMENIA*: nothing answering vnto the greatnesse of his conceits. *W*herefore not contented with such possessions as was from his father descended vnto him, he began to shoulder for more roome, with such weake princes his neighbours as he thought he might best deale withall; wringing one province from this prince, another from that, and thrusting some others quite out of all that they had: And in short time so enlarged his dominion, that he had got into his hands a great part of *ARMENIA*, and was reputed both for a mightie and fortunat prince. Infomuch, that *Calo Ioannes* then emperor of *TRAPEZONDE* (whose power altogether answered not to the greatnesse of his stile, being for most part shut vp within the bounds of *PONTVS*; and fearing the greatnesse of the Turkish emperor *Mahomet*, whose name began then to grow dreadfull vnto his neighbour princes) gaue to him his onely daughter *Despina* in marriage: by such aliance to strengthen himselfe against the Turkish tyrant, if need should require. At which marriage it was agreed, that *Vsun-Cassanes* should in the right of his wife enjoy all the kingdom of *PONTVS*, after the death of *Calo Ioannes* her father, and of *Dauid* his brother: and that *Despina* should so long as she liued haue the free exercise of her Christian religion. By this woman, *Vsun-Cassanes* had a daughter called *Martha*, whom I willingly remember, for that she was the mother of *Hyfmael*, afterwarwards the great king of *PERSIA*, commonly called *Hyfmael the Sophi*: of whom more shall be said hereafter in the life of *Selymus*. *Vsun-Cassanes* honoured with this great marriage, and strengthened with this new alliance, ceased not after his wonted manner daily to encroch vpon his neighbour princes: and proceeded so farre, that at length he began to lay hand vpon a part of *ARMENIA*, which was then part of the dominion of the Persian king. *Zenza* (whom some call *Trokies*, which was indeede the name of his father) reigning then in *PERSIA*, by his embassadours admonished and in fort commaunded *Vsun-Cassanes* to hold himselfe content with his owne, or at least with that he had already wrongfully taken from others, and not to presume to come within the bounds of his dominion, threatening otherwise to take him as an enemie to his state, and to turne his forces vpon him. *W*ith which embassage *Vsun-Cassanes* being much offended, gaue the embassadours no entertainment, but commanded them with speed to get them out of his kingdom, and to tell their master, That he would shortly himselfe in person come and debate the matter with him face to face. *W*ith which proud answer from so meane a prince, the Persian king moued, leuied such an armie for the inuading of him, as was thought to haue bene sufficient to haue subdued a farre greater prince: and so appointed, set forward toward *ARMENIA*. *Vsun-Cassanes* much inferiour to this great king in wealth and number of men, but not in haughtinesse of mind and valiantnesse of courage, staied not to expect the comming of so puissant an enemie, but full of hope set forward to meet him, & by great Iournies sought to come vpon him before he could haue any knowledge of his comming: yet had he then in his armie scarcely one man to ten, but all armed with courageous hearts, and conducted by a most fortunat chieftaine which feared nothing. So holding on his way, at length he met with the great armie of the Persians, with whom he presently joyned battell; and after a long and cruell fight, ouerthrew them in the plaine field, with such a slaughter, as might well haue weakned the forces of a right great kingdom. The great king more enraged than discouraged with this ouerthrow, raised a farre greater armie than before, the verie strength of his kingdom: resolving now not to send anie more his lieutenants, but to goe in person himselfe against so desperat an enemie. All things being in readinesse, hee set forward, and at length met with the Armenian prince, whom he found as readie to giue battell as he was at the first. So being both desirous to trie their fortune, they joyned battell; wherein the Persians were againe discomfited and put to flight, and mo of them slaine in that battell, than were brought into the field in the first armie. *Zenza* the Persian king was there slaine with *Vsun-Cassanes* his owne hand, and *Cariaphus* his sonne taken prisoner: whom the Armenian prince vsed with the greatest honour could be deuised, giuing vnto him the honour and title due vnto the Persian king, taking vnto himselfe the bare name of the protectour of the Persian state. *W*hich he did onely to please the Persians, and to keepe them quiet vntill he had got some more assured possession

*Vsun-Cassanes
in a great battell
ouerthroweth the
Persian king.*

N n

session

session of that kingdome. But after hee had in the two former battels broken their great strength, and then vnder the colour of a peaceable gouernour got into his power the regall cite of TAVRIS, with the rest of the cities and strong places of that great kingdome, and that all men had him now in great reuerence and admiration for his great vertues: hee secretly dispatched out of the way the poore titular king his prisoner (the last of the posteritie of the mightie *Tamerlane*) and tooke vpon himselfe the highest place, which admitteth no partner. Whilst this restlesse prince was thus tumbling in the world, and not yet well settled in his new gotten kingdome, *Mahomet* the Turkish emperour no lesse ambitious than himselfe, had scornfully rejected the embassadours and presents which *Vsun-Cassanes* had sent: and hauing shamefully put to death *Dauid* the emperour of TRAPEZONDE his aliance, had conuerted all the kingdome of PONTVS (which *Vsun-Cassanes* of right claimed, as his wiues dowrie) into the forme of a province, and so vnitid it vnto the Turkish empire. Which so manifest a wrong, *Vsun-Cassanes* in the newnesse of his so late atchieued greatnesse, durst not aduenture to redresse: but after that he was surely feared, and had with the course of time ouercome all dangers at home, being daily prickt forward with the remembrance of the former injuries (still suggested by the importunite of his wife *Despina*) and the solicitation of the Venetians, to whom he had by solempne promise bound himselfe; he determined now to take the matter in hand, and to trie his forces vpon his proud enemy the Turkish emperour. Hereupon he raised a great armie, and being well appointed of all things necessarie, passing through ARMENIA toward PONTVS, neere vnto the river EUPHRATES, was encountred by *Mustapha* (*Mahomet* his eldest sonne, a young prince of great hope) and *Amurath* the great Bassa of ROMANIA, whom *Mahomet* (fearing such a matter) had sent before with a strong armie out of EVROPE to joyne with such forces as *Mustapha* had already raised in ASIA, so to withstand the inuasion of the Persian. These two great commaunders *Mustapha* and *Amurath* joyning battell with *Vsun-Cassanes*, were by him in the plaine field overthrowne; where *Amurath* the great Bassa himselfe with thirrie thousand Turkes were slaine: *Mustapha* with the rest of the armie, by shamefull flight sauing themselves.

1474

Two huge armies of the Turkes and Persians in fight together.

Now when *Mahomet* vnderstood that *Amurath* was slaine and his armie discomfited, he was therewith exceedingly troubled. But purposing to be thereof reuenged, gaue order into all parts of his dominions for the leuying of new forces: so that at the time by him appointed, was assembled a great and mightie armie of three hundred and twentie thousand men. *Vsun-Cassanes* in like manner was in the field with an armie, nothing in number inferiour vnto his enemy. These two *Mahometane* kings, drawing after them their huge armies, met together neere the mountaintaines of ARMENIA: where, at the first encounter, one of the Turkes greatest Bassas was slaine with fortie thousand Turkes. With which hard beginning the proud tyrant was so daunted, that he could hardly be perswaded to proue his fortune anie farther, but contenting himselfe with that losse, was about to haue retired: and had vndoubtedly so done, if some of his most expert and valiant captaines which might be bold with him, had not sharply reprovied him, that hauing so populous an armie as scarcely felt that small losse, he should once thinke of returning without victorie. With which their comfortable perswasions, he was againe encouraged to giue battell. Yet for his more safetie, he withdrew his armie into a strait betwixt two mountaines, and with his cariages fortified the front thereof, as with a trench: behind which cariages, he placed his great ordinance, and on either side his archers. The Persians, as men of great valour, and thereto encouraged with their former victories, came on as men fearing no perill, to haue charged the Turkes euen in their strength; presenting their whole armie before they were aware, to the mouth of the Turkes artillerie: which suddenly discharged amongst the thickest of them, brake their rankes, and tooke away a number of them. Besides that, the Persian hostes terrified with the vnacquainted and thundring report of the great ordinance, were not to be ruled by their riders, but starting backe, ran some one way, some another, as if they had felt neither bit nor rider. Which their confusion *Mahomet* perceiuing, presently tooke hold of the occasion offered, and with his horsemen fiercely charged them, being now by themselves entangled and out of order. Neuerthelesse the Persians made great resistance, and slew manie of the Turkes: but still fighting confusedly and out of order, they were at the last enforced to flie. In which fight a great number of them were slaine, and their tents also taken. *Zeinal Vsun-Cassanes* his eldest sonne, labouring to stay the flight of the Persians, was slaine with a small shot. So the honour of the day remained with the Turkes: yet had they no great cause to brag of their winnings, hauing

lost in that battaile fortie thousand souldiours: whereas of the Persians fell not aboue ten thousand. *Mahomet* contenting himselfe with this deere bought victorie, returned homewards. And *Vsun-Cassanes* leauing another of his sonnes with his armie for the defence of ARMENIA, returned likewise to TAVRIS. But whilst the Christian princes were in their greatest expectation what might bee the euent of these warres betwixt these two mightie *Mahometane* kings; they vpon the suddaine concluded a peace, and confirmed the same with new affinitie, excluding the Christians quite out of the same. This last battell betwixt *Mahomet* & *Vsun-Cassanes*, was fought in the yeare of our Lord 1474, about foure yeares before the death of *Vsun-Cassanes*; who died the fifth of Ianuarie, in the yeare 1478.

In the time of these warres died the noble *Mustapha*, *Mahomet* his eldest sonne, at ICONIUM, hauing spent himselfe with reuelling amongst his paragons: or as some write, commanded to die by his father vpon this occasion. This youthfull prince vpon a time coming to the court to see his father (or as they teame it, to kisse his hand) became amorous of the wife of *Achmetes* Bassa (a ladie of incomparable beautie) and daughter to *Isaack Bassa*, the chiefe men in the Turkish empire, next vnto *Mahomet* himselfe: but finding no meanes how to compasse her in whom his soule liued, he awaited a time, when as shee (after the manner of the Turkes) went to bathe her selfe: and there as he found her all discoabed, shamefully forced her, without regard either of his owne honour or of hers. Of this so foule an outrage, *Achmetes* her husband, with his clothes and hat all rent for madnesse, came and greiuously complained to *Mahomet*, craving vengeance for the same: vnto whom *Mahomet* againe replied: Art not thou thy selfe my slaue? and if my sonne *Mustapha* haue knowen thy wife, is shee not my bondslaue hee hath had to doe withall? cease therefore thus to complaine, and hold thy selfe therewith content: Neuerthelesse, hee in secret sharply reprovied his sonne for so hainous and dishonourable a fact by him committed, and commanded him out of his sight: and as hee was of a seuerer nature, caused him within a few dayes after to be secretly strangled. Neuerthelesse, the wrong done vnto the Bassa, sunke so deep into his haughtie mind, as that he would neuer admit excuse therefore, but put away his wife, the ground of the implacable hatred betwixt him and the great Bassa *Isaack*, his father in law: and in fine, the very cause of his vtter destruction, as is afterward declared in the life of *Baiazer*.

Mahomet deliuered of his greatest feare, by the peace he had lately concluded with *Vsun-Cassanes* the Persian king, was now at good leisure to employ all his forces against the Christians. And bearing a deadly hatred against the princes of EPIRVS and ALBANIA, with a wonderfull desire to extend his empire vnto the Ionian and Adriaticke, that he might from thence but looke toward ITALIE, which he began now to long after: he determined with himselfe first to subdue those countries, as standing in his way, both for the inuasion of ITALIE, and of the territories of the Venetians. And for as much as the strong cittie of SCODRA (otherwise called SCYTARIA) then in the possession of the Venetians, for the commodious situation thereof seemed to giue him the best entrance into the countries of ALBANIA, EPIRVS, DALMATIA, and to such cities as the Venetians held alongst the sea coast, he resolved there to begin his wars.

This citie was of great strength, as well for the naturall situation thereof, as for the strong fortifications therein made by the hand of man, which thing *Mahomet* was not ignorant of: but presuming of his owne strength and power, vainely perswaded himselfe, that no place was now able long to hold out gainst him. Wherefore hauing prepared all things fit for the besieging thereof, he sent *Solyman Bassa*, an Eunuch (whom hee had made his lieutenant Generall in EVROPE, in the place of *Amurath Bassa*, before slaine by *Vsun-Cassanes*) with eightie thousand souldiours to besiege SCODRA. This great Bassa according to his charge came, and with great pompe encamped round about the citie, the five and twentieth of May. Shortly after hauing planted his batterie, hee began most furiously to shake the wals, and ceased not by all meanes hee could deuise to trouble the defendants: and when he had by force of the cannon done what hee could, gaue diuers sharpe assaults vnto the citie, but was still with great losse valiantly repulsed by them of the citie. Long it were to declare, how often and in what terrible manner that warlike Bassa, *Mahomet* his chiefe captain, attempted to haue woon the citie: as also to shew how they of SCODRA directed by their worthie Gouernour *Antonius Lauretanus*, valiantly defended themselves and their citie: nothing was omitted, that the enemy could doe or deuise for the gaining thereof; but all his deuises and attempts were so met withall by the defendants, that they serued him to no other purpose but to the destruction of his people. With the Bassa thus lay at the siege of SCODRA

Nn ij

DRA

The death of the noble *Mustapha*, *Mahomet* his eldest sonne.

1475

Solyman Bassa besiegeth *Scodra* with an armie of eightie thousand men.

DRA, *Mocenius* hauing receiued such commaundement from the Senate, came and joynd him selfe to *Gritius* the new Admirall, who then lay with his fleet in the mouth of **BOLYANA**, a great riuer running out of the lake whereupon the citie of **SCODRA** standeth. These two great commaunders being met together, were both as one man, and with a wonderfull consent did what they might for the furtherance of the common good, a thing not common: first they put strong garrisons, with all things necessarie, into **CHOLCHINVM**, **LYSSA**, **DIRRACHIVM**, and other cities of their signorie vpon the sea coast. After that they went vp the riuer **BOLYANA** with certaine gallies, and came within sight of **SCODRA**, and there by fires in the night, and other tokens of comfort, encouraged the defendants as with an assured promise of reliefe: which thing it greened the Turkes to behold, who therefore went about to haue shut in those same gallies with a great chaine drawne crosse the riuer, where it was narrowest betwixt them and the sea: but in doing thereof, the Venetians out of their gallies slew five hundred of the Turkes, and wounded diuers others, and so returned againe to sea. It was afterward attempted by the aforesaid Admirals, if a new supplie might haue bene put into the citie: but the enimie had so beset the same, that it was not possible to be done. In the meane time, *Mathias* king of **HUNGARIE** (receiuing a great yearly portion of the Venetians for the defence of their countries against the Turke) hearing that **SCODRA** was besieged, began to make such spoile in the Turkes dominions bordering vpon him, that *Mahomet* was glad to call home the great Bassa from the siege of **SCODRA**, to defend his owne frontiers. So the Bassa after he had lien three months with his great armie at the siege, and lost foureteene thousand of his men, whereof the greatest part died of sicknesse taken by long lying in the rotten moorish ground neere vnto the riuer, by commaundement from his master tie with his armie and departed. The Venetians also, which lay all that while thereabout in their gallies, were toucht with the same contagion: *Triadanus Gritius* died thereof, and *Mocenius*, the other Admirall fell thereof dangerously sicke; but being somewhat recovered, returned home, and was shortly after for his good seruice chosen duke of **VENICE**, *Marcellus* the old duke being then dead. With this dishonour taken at **SCODRA**, *Mahomet* was so discontented, that he appointed a yearly fee vnto one, to put him in mind dayly of the siege of **SCODRA**.

The same yeare that this great Bassa *Solyman* had in vaine besieged **SCODRA**, hee was afterward sent with a great armie into **VALACHIA**, where he was so entangled in the woods and fens by *Stephanus* the Vayuod, that hee lost all his armie, and with much adoe escaped himselfe by the wonderfull swiftnesse of a mare whereon he rid.

The yeare following, which was the yeare 1476, *Mahomet* sent out a great fleet to sea, vnder the conduct of *Gedules Achmetes*, his chiefe counsellour and man of warre, (whose very name was dreadfull in all places where hee came) in hope to haue by treason surpris'd the Island of **CRETE**: But that plot was in good time by the Venetians perceiued, the traitors executed, and he of his purpose disappointed. Whereupon he changed his former purpose for **CRETE**, & sent the same *Achmetes* with his fleet into the Euxine (or as the Turkes call it, the Blacke sea) to besiege the rich citie of **CAPPA**. This citie was in ancient time called **THEODOSIA**, situate in the country of **TAVRICA CHERSONESVS**, fast by the sea side, and had of long time bene in possession of the Genowayes, and was a place of exceeding great trade, vntill that this great emperor *Mahomet* hauing taken **CONSTANTINOPLE**, and falling out with the Venetians, had by his strong castles built vpon the straits of **HELLESPONTVS** and **BOSPHORVS**, taken away both the trafficke of marchants into those seas, and all possible meanes for the Genowayes to send succour to that citie: yet it is credibly reported, that one valiant captain vndertooke to carrie his companie (in number not about an hundred and fiftie men) by land from **GENVA** to **CAPPA**, not much lesse than two thousand miles, and worthely performed what hee had vndertaken. *Achmetes* comming thither with his fleet, enclosed the citie both by sea and land: which deuised in it selfe by reason of the diuers disposition of the inhabitants, being of diuers nations, some Genowayes, some Greekes, some Armenians, but most Tartars, could not long hold out, but was in short time giuen vp to the Bassa, vpon condition, That the Genoway marchants, who were there both in number many and exceeding rich, might in safetie depart thence with their wealth. Which promise the Bassa performed not: but when he was possessed of the citie, sent such as he thought good to **CONSTANTINOPLE**, and commaunded the rest vpon paine of death not to depart thence, or to conuay away from thence any part of their substance. In short time after, the whole country of **TAVRICA CHERSONESVS** yeelded vnto the Turkish obedience. At which time

time also the Tartar princes, namely the **Precopenfes** and **Destenses**, terrified with the greatieffe of the Turke, cowardly yeelded themselves as tributaries vnto him; euer since which time they haue liued a most seruile and troublesome life, subject to euerie commaund of the *Othoman* emperours: for whom they haue done great seruice manie times in their warres, against the *Persians*, the *Polonians*, the *Hungarians*, *Translyuanians*, and *Germanians*, as in the proceffe of this historie well appeareth; and as the aforesaid nations their neighbours, with others also farther off, haue euen of late to their great losse felt.

Although the Venetians had in these late warres lost the great and fertile island of **EVBEA**, with the strong citie of **CHALCIS**, the surest harbour for their gallies: yet held they still diuers strong townes and commodious hauens by the sea coast, both within **PELOPONESVS** and without, as **METHONE**, **CORONE**, **TENARVS**, **NAVACTVM** and others: which standing as it were in the bosome of his empire, *Mahomet* sore longed after. And therefore to satisfie his ambitious desire, sent *Solyman* (the great Bassa of **EVROPE**) with a strong fleet into **PELOPONESVS**: who entring the gulf of **CORINTH**, at his first comming laied siege to **NAVACTVM**, now called **LEPANTO**, a citie standing in the gulf of **CORINTH**, in the countrey of **OZOLAE** neere vnto **LOCNIS**, ouer-against **PELOPONESVS**. *Antonius Laurettanus* (for his late good seruice done in defending of **SCODRA**) made Admirall for the Venetians, came with speed to **NAVACTVM**, and in despite of the enimie, so furnished the citie, both with men and whatsoeuer else was needfull, that the Bassa now out of hope to win the citie, rise vpon the sudden with his armie, and in a great furie departed, after he had lien there foure moneths. In this fret returning towards **CONSTANTINOPLE**, he put certaine companies of his men to shoare in the island of **LEMNOS**, in hope to haue vpon the sudden surpris'd the citie **COCINVM**: but as they were about to haue entred, they were contrarie to their expectation manfully resisted, by such Christians as by chance were next the gate. Where the notable courage of *Marulla* (a maiden of that citie) was much commended: who seeing her father slaine in the gate, tooke vp the weapons that lay by him, and like a fierce Amazon notably reuenged his death, desperately fighting in defence of other countrey with those few which were there at the first; and so kept the Turkes out vntill the rest of the citizens (mooued with the alarum) came to the gate, and forced them (not without some losse) to retire againe to their gallies. Not long after, *Laurettanus* came thither with his fleet: but before his comming, the Bassa was departed thence for **CONSTANTINOPLE**, hauing in this expedition done nothing that was expected at his hands.

Mahomet after the death of *Scanderbeg*, ceased not from time to time by one of his great captaines or other to invade **EPYRVS**, and the other parts of **ALBANIA**; and so gaining sometime one part, and sometime another, had subdued most part thereof. And about this time, his armie lay at the siege of **CRIOIA**: for reliefe whereof, the Venetians (in whose protection it was) sent *Franciscus Contarenius* a noble gentleman their lieutenant, with such forces as were sufficient for the raising of the siege. He finding the Turkes in the plaine of **TRANNA**, gaue them battell; which for a great while stood doubtfull, at length victorie inclining to the Venetians, the Turkes began to flie: after whom, the Venetians made no great pursuit, but contented to haue put them to flight, tooke their tents, with such forts as they had raised against the citie. Thus whilest the Venetians thinke themselves in sure possession of the victorie, and out of feare of their enemies, they were through their owne too much securitie, by and by themselves ouerthrowne: For whilest the common souldiours hauing their minds more set vpon the spoile than vpon the pursuit of the enimie (the battell as yet scarce ended) scatter themselves; and the captaines were consulting whither they should lodge that night (which began then to approach) in the enemies tents or not: in the midst of their consultation, the Turkes hauing perceiued their disorder, suddenly returned againe vpon them, and without great resistance ouerthrew them, and put them to flight. In which flight, a thousand of them fell; amongst whom *Contarenius* the Generall, and diuers others of good place and calling were slaine also. This ouerthrow, the Venetians tooke a great deale better than that which shortly after followed, in the confines of **ITALY** at the riuer of **Sontium**.

Mahomet hauing conquered a great part of **ALBANIA**, and daily encroching vpon the Christians, made diuers incursions into the countries of **DALMATIA**, **HISTRIA**, and **CARNIOLA**, yea and sometime went so farre, that he with his Turkes entred into the prouince of **FRIVLI**, called in ancient time **FORVM IVLII**, a part of the Venetian seignorie; and so carried away

*Mauritius King of Hungarie
surrendereth the Turkes
to forsake the
siege of Scodra.*

*Crete besieged by
the Turke.*

*Contarenius the
Venetian Generall
slaine.*

The Turke shew
themselves at the
riuer of Sontium

with them manie prisoners with much spoile. For remedie whereof, the Venetians with exceeding charge and wonderfull labour fortified alongst the riuer of Sontium from GORITIA to the fens of AQUILEA, the space of twelue miles, and there built two forts, wherein they continually kept strong garrisons for the defence of the country. Whereby the country people thinking themselves now in safetie, began to fall into securitie (the dangerous sicknesse of all common weales) neglecting by their carefull watch, to foresee a farre off the enemies comming, as they had before vsed. It fortun'd at this time, that *Aly-Beg* (whom some call *Marbecke*) one of the Turkes great capitaines, vpon the sudden when no such things was feared, came and shewed himselfe in an euening vpon the farther side of the riuer of Sontium, with a thousand horsemen: vpon the sight of whom, an alarum was raised in both forts, and euerie man put himselfe in readinesse, as if they should euen presently haue joynd battell. But it was so nie night, as that nothing could as then be done: yet the Venetian garrisons joyning themselves together, watcht all that night in armes. There was at that time in both these forts, three thousand horsemen and some few companies of footmen, all vnder the commaund of *Hieronimus Nowell* Countie of VERONA, a famous capitaine of that time: who with the rest of the capitaines resolued if hee could, to keepe the Turkes from passing the riuer; if not, then to giue them battell. *Marbecke* Generall of the Turkes armie, taking good view of the place, in the night time secretly conuaied a thousand of his best souldiours ouer the riuer, foure miles off, in such a place as the Venetians feared least, deeming it impossible for anie man there to haue passed ouer. These men he appointed to lie close in ambush behind a great hill in sight, not farre from the other side of the riuer, and vpon a signe giuen, presently to discouer themselves and charge the enemy. The next morning verie early he sent certaine troupes of his readiest horsemen ouer the riuer, which by offering to skirmish with the Venetians, might so draw them into the field; and then as men in doubt whether to fight or to flie, to tole them on vnto the place where the ambush lay. The Venetians had diuided themselves into three battalions; wherof the Generall himselfe had the leading of the first, who seeing these disordered troupes comming to skirmish with him, encountred them fiercely, and easily put them to flight, being so determined before, and in that flight earnestly pursued them: especially the Countie sonne, a valiant young gentleman, who with others like himselfe, thought by that daies good seruice to gaine vnto themselves great honour. When the Turkes Generall saw that the Venetians following the chase, were gone a great way from the riuer, he forthwith passed ouer with the rest of his armie, and followed the Venetians at the heeles: which the Turkes which before fled now beholding, turned againe vpon their fierce enemies, and valiantly withstood them. At which verie instant, the other Turkes vpon signe giuen arising out of ambush, came downe from the hill LICINIS, with such violence & clamor, that the Venetians therewith discouraged, would haue fled if they could haue told which way: but they were on euerie side so beset, that there was no way left for them to escape: but were there all slaine, except some few which yekeld themselves and so were saved. The other two battalions of the Venetians, discouraged with the slaughter of the first, fled incontinently; and in flying, were manie of them slaine. In this battell the Countie himselfe with his sonne, and manie other notable gentlemen and halfe the horsemen, were lost. The Turkes encouraged with this victorie, the next day spoiled all the country of FRIVLI, betwixt the riuers of Sontium (otherwise called Lisonzo) and Tiliauentum, and cruelly burnt all the country before them: so that at once an hundred countrey villages were to be seene on a light fire together; which stood so thicke, that it seemed as if one continuall fire had wholly couered all the face of the country. The barbarous Turkes laden with the spoile of that rich country, and driuing before them great numbers of miserable captiues as if they had beene flocks of sheepe, returned to Sontium. But when they had passed the riuer, and had travelled homeward one daies journey, and all men thought they had now beene quite gone; they suddenly returned backe againe, and posting through the countrey they had before spoiled, came to the riuer of Tiliauentum, which they desperatly passed, and did no lesse harme on that side the riuer, than they had before on the other: and so carrying away with the what they pleased, returned by the same way they came, hauing filled all that part of ITALY with terror and feare. This overthrow at Sontium, the Venetians account amongst the greatest losses which they receiued from the Turkes in all these their long warres.

The countrey of
Friuis spoiled by
the Turkes.

The next yeare about Haruest, the Turkes came againe with a farre greater power; and passing the riuer of Sontium, came before the forts at GRADISCA, where *Carolus Fortebrachius* lay

lay with a strong garrison of the Venetians, offering him skirmish, so to haue drawne him into the field. But the watie capitaine considering the great strength of the enemy, and the losse receiued the yeare before, would not be drawne out of his strength, but stood vpon his guard, expecting to take the enemy at some more aduantage: which thing the Turkes fearing, durst not dispute themselves abroad for the spoile of the countrey, leauing so strong a garrison of the enemies behind them. And therefore when they had gone about foure miles into the countrey, they turned their course vp into the mountaines (which are part of the Alpes) towards GERMANIA, and there grieuously spoiled the mountainie people: strangely passing through those abrupt and hie mountaines with their horses, where men could hardly either go or stand on foot without something to stay vpon. And so when they had done what harme they could, taking a great compasse about, returned home another way.

Mahomet remembering the shamefull repulse hee had about foure yeares before receiued at SCODRA, and hauing the name of that citie daily sounding in his eares; determined now once againe to gage his whole forces vpon the winning thereof, and so to giue peace to his ambitious desires. And because he would not againe be dishonored with that he purposed to take in hand, he gaue out order into all parts of his dominions, both in EVROPA and ASIA, for the assembling of his best souldiours and men of warre. Now when all things were in readinesse, and such an armie assembled as he seldome or neuer had a stronger; first he sent forth *Aly-Beg* (warden of the frontiers of his kingdome alongst the riuer Danubius) with eightie thousand of the souldiours called Achanziz, towards SCODRA. These Achanziz are horsemen, which for their good seruice according to their deserts, haue certaine lands giuen them by the king to liue vpon during their liues; for which they are of duetie bound to serue vpon their owne charge as the forerunners of the Turke his armie, whensoever he goeth to besiege anie place: These be they which first enter into the enemies countrey, burning and spoiling what they can, vntill they come vnto the place appointed: and haue this priuiledge, That so soone as all the armie is come to the place to be besieged, they may then at their pleasure either depart or stay.

The gouernour of SCODRA vnderstanding both by common fame and certaine intelligence, of the Turkes designs, with all care and diligence fortified the towne, labouring continually both night and day at the rampiers, as if the enemy had been already present, and plentifully provided all things necessarie for the enduring of a long siege. The aged and vnneccessarie people, he sent out of the citie into other places of more safetie farther off: in whose stead hee tooke in great numbers of strong and able men which dwelt in the countrey round about; among whom were manie mariners taken out of the gallies, and other men of like qualitie, which got their liuing vpon the riuer and lake of SCODRA, lustie bodies enured to hardnesse, who in the long siege following did great seruice.

Whilest this preparation was making in SCODRA, behold the mountains a farre off Northward from the citie, began to shine with manie great fiers, and all the country was couered with thicke smoake, which euerie houre seemed to draw neerer and neerer: when within short time after, the poore countrey people (which as yet were not all fled) with such trash as they could well carrie, came running for life all ouer the countrey to the strong cities vpon the sea side, crying out that the Turkes were come.

The next day which was the fourteenth of May, *Aly-Beg* with his eightie thousand Achanziz, came into the suburbs of the citie, and there encamped; so that none could go in or out of the gates: which was not the least part of his charge. To him by the commandement of *Mahomet*, had *Scander-Beg* gouernour of BOSNIA, and *Malcotius* with seauen thousand horsemen, joynd themselves vpon the way. Of this *Malcotius* it is reported (as was of *Augustus*) that the majestic of his countenance, with the replendent beames issuing out of his eyes (as if it had been the raies of the Sunne) were of such piercing brightnesse; that no man was able with immoued and fixed eye long to behold the same: These horsemen (the forerunners, as I said, of *Mahomet's* great army) the Christians much troubled with often sallies and shor, out of the towne, and slew manie of them with little or no losse vnto themselves.

When *Aly-Beg* had thus lien before the citie ten daies, came *Tant Gaiola* the great Bassa of CONSTANTINOPLE with fise and twentie thousand souldiours, and about twelue thousand camels, for most part laden with mettall in mass, for to make great ordinance of, and other necessaries for the campe. The Bassas great and stately tent of purple colour, was pitched vpon the

Vile Marius
Bariterium de
expug. Scod-
rensi.

The poore coun-
try people flie
for feare of the
Turkes.

the top of an high hill called the Bassaes hill, because in that place *Solyman Bassa* had lien in the former siege about foure yeares before: The Bassaes armie lay encamped betwixt the same hill and the towne. This *Taut Gaiola* was borne in *EPYRVS* of base parentage, and was from thence by the Turkes carried away young to *CONSTANTINOPLE*; where for his sharpnesse of wit and rare actiuitie, he grew into such fauour, first with *Mahomet*, and afterward with *Batazet* his sonne, that he was by them promoted to the greatest places of honour, next vnto themselves: wherein he became so popular, and had so possessed the hearts of the people, that it was suspected of some, he would haue aspired to the Turkish empire himselfe. Presently after the comming of this great Bassa, workmen were set a worke about the casting of the great ordinance, and making readie of other things for the siege. The Christians also were no lesse busie about their fortifications, the gouernour appointing vnto euerie man his charge; and which part of the wall to defend: yet keeping continually in the market place certaine companies (with the ensignes of *S. Marke* and *S. Stephen*) to serue as fresh supplies, as need or occasion should require. While the great ordinance was in casting, the Bassa caused a great bridge of timber to be made ouer the riuer, that so he might at his pleasure passe ouer his men, and commaund both sides of the riuer. The Christians in the meane time with vigilant eye so attending the Turkes, that none of them could stir within shot, but he was forthwith set off and slaine.

The thirteenth of Iune, *Mustapha* the Beglerbeg or Viceroy of *ASIA* (commonly called the great Bassa of *NATOLIA*) came also in great pompe to the siege with thirte thousand souldiours brought out of *ASIA*; personable men, but not accounted so good souldiours as they of *EUROPE*: for it is a common saying among the Turkes, That the men of *EUROPE*, and the horses of *ASIA* doe best seruice. This great Bassa was honourably met and welcomed by the other great Bassa of *CONSTANTINOPLE*, and was quartered vpon an other side of the citie, where his rich pavilion (all of Greene) was pitcht in a vineyard about a mile from the towne. *Mustapha* to proue the courage of his souldiours, propounded a reward to which soeuer of them, as durst aduenture but to go and touch the wals of the citie: vpon which occasion, two of his souldiours passing well mounted, attempted to haue performed that enterprife. But making what halft they could possibly, they were both slaine from the wall, and one of their bodies recouered by certain valiant souldiours which fellied out of the towne, and his head being cut off, was vpon a lance set vpon the wals for the Turkes to behold.

The sixteenth of Iune 5600 Ianizaries came into the campe, with foure white ensignes: whose comming all the souldiours of both the Bassaes camps gaue a wonderfull shout, and welcomed them with great joy. These are the great Turkes guard and best souldiours, in whom the greatest strength of his kingdome consisteth, and are called the sons of the great Sultan: after whose comming, *Mahomet* himselfe was daily expected. Three daies after came two other great men, attended vpon with a number of followers, who by their countenance, and the great reverence done vnto them by therest of the Turkes, seemed to be men of great place and authority: these men desired that they might with safetie speake with the gouernour of the citie and the rest of the captaines, to deliuer vnto them such a message, as they had for their good (as they said) brought vnto them from *Mahomet*. Which their request being granted, the elder of them, after he had with manie glorious words set forth the power of his master, and what he had done to other great cities, with their princes; and farther shewed into what danger they were like to fall, if they should long stand vpon their defence: he began to persuaide them to yeeld vpon the citie, assuring them of all kind vlsage, with manie rich rewards from the great emperour; whereas otherwise, they were to expect nothing but extreame miserie and most shamefull death. Vpon this answer was in the name of them all given by the mouth of *Petrus Pagnanus*, a graue and worthy citizen, That they were not afraid of the greatnesse of *Mahomet*, or of any thing he had done or could doe: and that he should find it hard to enforce them, but impossible to persuaide them to deliuer their citie: and therefore that he might at his pleasure vse his forces against men fully resolu'd rather to yeeld vnto nature her last due, than to hearken to any composition: and in conclusion told them, that if they should at any time after make any such motion, they should not expect any other answer than from the mouth of the Canon. With which short answer these great men departed, not a little discontented.

At this same time the strong citie of *CAROLIA* (which the worthy *Scanderbeg* had liuing so honourably defended, and dying had left it with his kingdome, in the protection and possession of

the Venetians) hauing holden out a yeares siege, after that all the kingdome of *EPYRVS* and most part of *ALBANIA* was lost, for lacke of victuals was yeelded vp vnto the Turke, vpon condition, That the hungerstarued defendants (who then seemed rather ghosts than men) might at their pleasure in safetie depart: which agreement the faithlesse Turke brake, and without merce put them all to the sword. This heauie newes was deliuered to them of *SCODRA* by certaine Christians in the Turkes campe: wherewith they were much grieved, but nothing at all discouraged. Whilest the Turkes thus lay at the siege, the watermen, of whom a great number liued vpon the great lake of *SCODRA* (being in circuit about an hundred mile) came many times down the riuer by night, and did much harme in the Turkes campe: for remedie whereof, they were enspiced to build certaine small gallies to keepe them in, who for all that many times stole secretly vpon them, and much troubled them.

The two and twentieth of Iune the Turkes mounted two great peeces of Ordinance vpon the top of the hill whereon the Bassa lay: whereof the one carried a bullet, made of an hard kind of round stone, of three hundred pound weight, and the other a bullet of foure hundred, wherewith they began to batter the towne foure daies: after that, they placed a third peece of artillerie at the foot of the same hill, which deliuered a bullet of foure hundred pound weight: and the next day they planted a fourth peece, greater than the rest, about the middle of the same hill, which carried a shot of six hundred and fiftie pound weight. In this while, eight thousand of the Turkes souldiours, called *Alapi* (which are knowne from the Ianizaries by their red caps, whereas the Ianizaries weare white) came into the campe. And shortly after came *Mahomet* himselfe with all his armie to the riuer of *Drimon*, whether the two great Bassaes of *ASIA* and *CONSTANTINOPLE* went with great pompe and triumph to meet him.

The second of Iuly *Mahomet* with all his armie before the rising of the Sunne came to the campe before *SCODRA*: where after he had well viewed the situation thereof, he is reported to haue said: *O what a faire and stately place hath the Eagle chosen out for her selfe to build her nest, and to hatch her young ones in.* Diuers rich pavilions were set vp for *Mahomet* himselfe, but one faire greater than the rest, distant from them about a flight shoot, which was the place wherein he held his counsell: the other were for his owne priuat vse. Round about these his tents lay the Ianizaries encamped, a good distance off; yet so close one to another, as if it had been a perpetual tamping or strong trench, whereinto was but one entrance, continually guarded with a most strong guard. Round about the Ianizaries lay all the rest of the armie encamped: so that all the countrey, as farre as a man could see, was couered and white with tents, much like as when the ground in Winter is couered ouer with a deepe snow: and still moe people resorted to the campe dayly, so that it was deemed by men of great experience, that *Mahomet* had then in his armie of all sort of people about three hundred and fiftie thousand men, all gaping to deuour that poore citie: a sight of it selfe sufficient to haue daunted the courage of right valiant men: But what can be terrible vnto them that feare not to die? Against this terrour of the enemy, the defendants were notably encouraged by the comfortable persuations and exhortations of one *Batholomew*, a preacher (sometimes one of the wortheie *Scanderbeg* his souldiours) who afterwards giuing himselfe to the studie of diuinitie, became a zealous preacher, and in this siege did notably comfort the Christian defendants against the terrour of so great an armie of miscreants. All this while the batterie was still maintained: and the fifth of Iuly the Turkes mounted two other great peeces, whereof the one was like vnto the former before mounted, but the other placed vpon the middle of the Bassaes mount, was of an incredible greatnesse, discharging a shot of twelue hundred pound weight, and was called the Princes peece, in whose name it was with much cunning and industrie made: with which huge peece, the Turkes euen from the beginning of the siege had threatened the besieged, willing them to expect the comming of the Princes peece. The next day they planted vpon the same mount a seuenth peece, which carried a shot of six hundred and fiftie pound weight: from which time they battered the citie with the aforesaid seuen great peeces; and ceased not oftentimes by night out of their great mortar peeces, to cast great balls of wild fire into the citie, so to haue set it on fire: whereby diuers of the citizens were enforced to vncouer their houses couered with shingle, and by men appointed for that purpose, to watch the fall of such fireworkes, and so to quench the same: which they so carefully looked vnto, as that the deuile of the enemy tooke none effect at all. At the same time also the Turkes out of their short mortar peeces cast huge great stones of incredible weight, which falling from high, did

Mahomet by person him selfe commeth vnto the siege of Scodra. The order of Mahomet's campe.

Two of the Turkes attempting to touch the wals of Scodra, are both slaine, and one of their heads set vpon the wals.

most terribly crush in peeces whatsoeuer thing they light vpon, wherewith the defendants were wonderfully troubled. In few daies after, the enimie mounted three other great peeces, wherof one was greater than that was called the Princes, and caried a bullet of thirteene hundred weighte from which time they daily battered the citie with ten such peeces, as the like hath seldome times been heard of: and arrowes fell so thicke into the citie, as if it had beene continuall showers of haile, so that no man could goe or well stirre in the streets without hurt. Yet in the midst of all these dangers the Christians valiantly defended the citie, and with their deadly shot from the wals and mounts exceedingly annoied the enimie. The eleuenth of Iuly the Turks mounted another great peece like vnto the former, vpon the Bassaes mount, and the same day battered the wals with 178 shot of this huge artillerie.

Mahomet hauing by the furie of his great ordinance beaten downe a great part of the wall, and that now nothing stood in his way but such simple repaires as the defendants had made of timber and planks, with earth cast in betwixt, was in good hope in short time to become master of the towne: and therefore sent certaine companies of his Ianizaries and other souldiours (which he with continuall supplies of fresh men still releued) to assault the breaches, so if it were possible to enter the towne, or at leastwise to burne such fortifications of timber as the defendants had made. But that which seemed vnto him at first so easie, hee found in execution full of difficultie and danger: for the Turkes approaching the breach, found there resolute men, a surer defence than any wall: whose valiant courage serued in stead of a strong bulwarke. So whilest the Turkes desperately striue in the face of the breach either to enter or to set fire vpon the new fortifications made for most part of timber, and the defendants with no lesse resolution doe what they may to the vttermost to repulse them, many were on both sides slaine, but especially of the assailants. Whiche Mahomet well perceiuing, and that by that manner of assault he gained nothing but notable losse and spoile of his best men, caused a retreat to be sounded, and his batterie to be againe forthwith renewed: euery day shaking the wall with 160 or 180 most terrible great shot, and one day with 194, which was the greatest batterie he made in one day during that siege.

After this great batterie, the tyrant caused a fresh assault to be giuen, but with little or rather worse successe than before: for though diuers of the defendants, & amongst them some of good place, as *Franciscus Patavinus*, *Franciscus Scorbaro*, two Italian captaines, and some other of the better sort of the citizens were there slaine with the great shot, wherof the enimie that day discharged into the breaches 193: yet were they with greater losse enforced againe to retire, and with shame to giue ouer the assault.

Notwithstanding this repulse, Mahomet continuing his batterie with no lesse furie than before, still fought by force of his artillerie to open a way into the citie: and the third day after the former assault gaue a more furious and desperate attempt vnto the citie than before, inasmuch that the Turkes were in the breaches come to handie strokes with the Christians, and there made a most cruell and deadly fight; wherein many fell on both sides, but of the Turkes most, yet were there many of the Christians also slaine, especially with the Turkes great ordinance. It was a right ruthfull sight to haue seene the rampiers at the great gate of the citie beaten downe flat to the ground, and to lie full of the rent bodies of the Christians: at which place the enimie so prevailed, that he was euen now readie to haue entered; for the Turkes so furiously assailed the defendants, and the murthering shot from the Bassaes mount fell so thicke and so terribly into the breach, beside the infinit number of arrowes, that there was scarce any of the Christians which defended that place but they were either slaine or greuously wounded. But when all seemed now almost desperat and forlorne, and the greedie enimie euen ready to deuour his prey, a new supplie of lustie souldiours well armed, came courageously to the breach, and as Lyons encountering the enimie, draue him downe againe, and so enforced him with great losse to retire. Mahomet greued with this repulse, in his furie caused 173 great shot to be discharged into the citie, and afterwards sending for his great Bassaes and other his principall men of war, declared vnto them his mind as followeth:

Mahomet purposing to giue a generall assault, encourageth his captaines and souldiours therunto.

I thinke none of you are ignorant (right worthie souldiours) that now it is the third moneth since this citie hath by vs bene most straitly besieged, and with all manner of artillerie and engines of war impugned, assaulted, and on euery side assailed, the wals thereof vtterly subuerted, and the bulwarke laid flat with the ground, and (as you see) as good as raised: Besides that, so oft as wee haue set fire

upon their fortresses, so oft we haue prouoked them of SCODRA to fight, and haue also much vexed them with assaults. Last of all, as you know, we haue left nothing vnproued, nothing vnattempted which could be deuised, the easier to overcome them, being wearied, worne out, & their strength spent. Wherefore (in mine opinion) the matter is not longer to be put off or delayed, but euen to morrow before the enimie can recouer his strength or repaire his breaches, let vs enclose the citie round, and giue them a generall and terrible assault: and therefore euery one of you make your selues readie, and exhort your souldiours in the campe, that they euery one of them to morrow with the dawning of the day come forth armed and well appointed for the winning of the citie. Now will I proue and know them that are worthy of my pay. Thou the Bassa of CONSTANTINOPLE, with thy squadrons and certaine companies of the Ianizaries our faithfull guard, giue charge vnto the breach: in the meane time, let the Bassa of ASIA with his power assault the other parts of the cittie: let euery man make readie and bring with him what so is needfull for this generall assault; my mind giueth me, that to morrow before this time we shall win the citie: for who is there can resist vs? The towne (as you see) is bared both of wall and of aliother defence: the bulwarke and ditches are laid euen, and an easie way for vs to come vnto it: the citizens themselves wearie with so many fights and assaults faint and want strength; whereas we are still fresh and lustie: they in number few; we almost innumerable: besides that, we farre passe them in the force of our artillerie, wherewith many of them shall perish in the defending of the breaches. Who then can gaine say, but that they of SCODRA are already our prisoners? Where, vpon such as remain alieue, I will at my pleasure vse the law of armes and captiuitie. On therefore courageous hearts without further delay. Is not the very name of SCODRA hatefull vnto vs? for which of you dooth not with great disdain call to remembrance the death of your parents, or brethren, or friends, or companions, cruelly slaine under these wals? Can you digest your hatred against them of SCODRA? and so many slaughters of your friends, by them made? But to forget elder times, and the harmes received from them long since, let vs but looke vpon our late slaughters and wounds as it were yet bleeding: it is not yet full foure yeares since that we made warre with these men of SCODRA; wherein so many thousands of our people fell, that their slaughter is yet almost obiect to our eyes, and their blood craving reuenge. This very hill whereon we stand, and the stones yet seeme besprinkled and polluted with their blood. Wherefore hast you as men of courage, take up armes, valiantly mount the hill, assault the town, and reuenge your old iniuries. Glut your selues to the full in the effusion of the Christian blood, whereunto our lawes doe so much exhort vs, and do what you may with force and sword, that not one of them of SCODRA may be left alieue: which you may easily bring to passe, hauing all things thereunto needfull: for there is nothing to withstand you, nothing wanting for the gaining of the victorie. All things are prepared, all things are readie: an easie matter it is for a strong man to overcome the weake and feeble, that wanteth strength as doe they.

This speech of the barbarous tyrant, was receiued with great applause and good liking of the hearers: and now was SCODRA to be with all might and maine assaulted; and not a man there left alieue. Hereupon proclamation was made throughout the campe, That euery man vpon paine of death should be readie against the appointed time. And the great captaines and commanders of the armie departing from Mahomet, went vp to the top of the hill whereon the Bassa lay, and from thence taking view of the citie, and laying their heads together, consulted how they might best giue the assault. The defendants on the other side alwaies expecting their enemies hovering ouer their heads, left nothing vndone that they could possibly deuise, for the defence of themselves and the citie. Now vpon the top of the Bassaes mount was a royall pavilion erected, richly couered with purple, from whence the proud tyrant might plainly behold all the assault: who with the dawning of the day (being the two and twentieth of Iuly) entering the same, the Turkes who in the couert of the night had conuaid themselves as neere vnto the wals as they could, (vpon the signall of battell, giuen by a tire of ordinance discharged from the Bassaes mount) suddenly ran to the breaches as thicke as bees, in hope by their sudden approach to haue taken the Christians at some aduantage: wherein they were much deceiued. For they alwaies doubting such a matter, and carefully obseruing the least motion of the enimie, were alwaies in readinesse to meet with their attempts: so that the Turkes desperately struing to gaine the breaches, and the Christians valiantly defending the same, there was in diuers places begun a most cruell and mortall fight; but especially neere vnto the great gate, where the furie of the Canon had made the wals most faultable. There the enimie was come to fight hand to hand, and preuailing

The citie of Scodra assaulted by the Turkes the fourth time.

trailing vpon the defendants, had set vp one of the Turkes ensignes vpon the top of the rampiers: which *Mahomet* beholding, rejoyced exceedingly, thinking the citie now as good as taken. But the Christians seeing the danger, speedily repaired thither with new supplies, and by plaine force draue the enimie out againe, and beat him from the rampiers. Vpon them also that were comming vp, they cast downe peeces of timber, great stones, wildfire, pots of lime, and such other things as might most annoy them: as for shot, none fell in vaine by reason of the wonderfull multitude of the Turkes, who stood so thicke, that a man could hardly haue cast downe a graine of mustardseed from the wall but it must needs haue light vpon some of them: by which meanes the Turkes were notably repulsd, their ensigne pluckt downe, and they enforced to retire from the wals. Which sudden alteration *Mahomet* perceiuing, fell into a great rage, and forthwith commaunded his great ordinance, with greater furie than euer, to be discharged into the breach: And with great words commaunded the two chiefe Bassaes which stood by him vpon the mount, to go presently downe and enforce the souldiours which were already retired, to returne againe vnto the assault. These great commanders seeing the tyrant in such a fere, forthwith descended from the hill, and where perswasion would not serue, with their drawne swords enforced the souldiours to returne backe againe to the assault. The Turkes knowing that they were now in the eye of their king, and in the presence of their greatest commanders, strue with might and maine to win the rampiers: for in that place, the wals of the citie were beaten downe to the ground, shaken before this assault with 2539 shot of the cannon or other peeces of no lesse force. The Christians likewise in defence of themselves and their citie, with inuincible courage

A most terrible assault.

opposed themselves against the Turkes: so that a more desperat fight than there, was hardly euer to be seene; desperat men with desperat hand assailing one another: And the more to encrease the terrour of the day, the thundring shot, with the clamour of men and noise of the instruments of warre, was so great, as if heauen and earth should haue presently fallen together; and arrows falling into the citie as if it had bene showers of raine, oftentimes darkened the light of the day. In this dreadfull fight, manie of the defendants were slaine; but of the Turkes, twentie to one. Neere vnto that gate where this terrible assault was giuen, were certaine loupes hewen out of the maine rocke, which flanked the ditch all alongst that side of the citie, out of which the Christians with their murdering shot made lanes amongst their enemies, and slew them without number. For all that, the mightie Bassaes and great capitaines, one while by perswasion, another while by threatening, forced them still forward; and if anie turned backe, presently slew him: so that the Turkes seeing no lesse danger in retiring, than in fighting against the enimie, like desperat men thrust forward by heapes, and were slaine without number. Yet still pressing on so long as life lasted, and others stepping forward in stead of them that were slaine; they began againe to preuaile vpon the defendants (who in that place were for most part either slaine or hurt) and againe recovered the top of the rampiers, and there aduanced the Turkes ensignes. Then began the tyrant to lift vp his head, making sure account that the citie was now his owne. But as the common saying is, He that reckoneth without his hoast, must reckon twise: so chanced it to *Mahomet*. For the companies, from the beginning of the siege left in the market place ready for all euents, and oftentimes wishing for some occasion wherein to shew themselves; being now in good time aduertised of the imminent danger, came with speed to the place of the assault before the Turkes had taken good footing; and there valiantly encountering them, slew a great number of them, and forced the rest from the rampiers; and plucking downe their ensignes before set vp, in stead of them placed their owne. With which repulse the Turkes were so dismayed, that they quite forsooke the assault, and in despite of their imperious commanders, not expecting anie signe of retreat, in hast retired to their campe. *Mahomet* fallen from so great a hope, and grieved about measure with this shamefull repulse, returned into his pavilion fretting and fuming as a man halfe mad, where two daies he tormented himselfe with his owne passions, not admitting any man to his presence. The Christians afterwards tooke the spoile of the dead Turkes, and cutting off diuers of their heads, set them vp vpon poles round about the citie, to the terrour of their fellowes. In this assault were twelue thousand of the Turkes slaine, and many more wounded. Of the Christians were lost 400: and of them that came to the breach escaped none, but he was wounded more or lesse.

Twelue thousand Turkes slaine in this last assault.

After that *Mahomet* had two daies digested the last repulse, the shame whereof grieved him more than the losse it selfe: he sent for both the great Bassaes of CONSTANTINOPLE & ASIA,

and other two of his chiefe councillors, with whom hee resolved to giue another assault, and thereon to gage his whole forces: for they were all of opinion with him, that the defendants were so weakened and wasted with the former assault, that they could not possibly hold out another. Whereupon straight commandement was giuen through the campe, that euery man without exception, should be ready to go to the assault whensoever they were called vpon: and the more to encourage the souldiours, great rewards and preferments were promised to them which in time of the assault should performe any especiall piece of seruice. The first appearance of the new Moone (which the Turkes worship with great deuotion) was the time that *Mahomet* had appointed for this generall assault: in the meane space he spared not to poure out his furie against the wals and rampiers of the towne, by the mouth of the cannon. The Christian defendants on the other side, first by heartie prayer commended themselves, and their citie to the protection of the most mightie; and afterwards with restlesse labour and no small perill, speedily repaired and new fortified whatsoever the furie of the artillerie had ouerthrowne or shaken, omitting nothing that could be done or deuised for the defence of themselves and the citie. Now as soone as the new Moone began to shew her selfe, the *Mahometane* priests going about the armie, gaue the souldiours knowledge thereof (as their manner is) by singing of a song, in manner of a procession; wherunto the whole armie answered with a short response, but with such a terrible noise as was wonderfull to heare: and at the same time bowing themselves to the ground, saluted the Moone with great superstition. All their fond ceremonies performed, they began to draw ne the citie so thicke, and in number so manie, that all the ground, for the space of a mile round about SCODRA, was thicke couered with men. The Christians expecting euery houre to be assailed, were ready vpon the wals and rampiers of the citie to repulse the enimie: but especially at the great gate where most danger was feared, for that the Turkes with their great ordinance had made that place of all others most faultable. Here *Jacobus Moneta* a noble captain, with his brother *Moncinus* a valiant gentleman, tooke vpon the to receiue the first assault which is commonly of all others most terrible; for the Turkes vse in their assaults to giue three attempts, whereof the first is most furious and dangerous, as performed by their best souldiours; the other two are of lesse force: but if they faile in all three, they forsake the enterprise as men discouraged. Whilst both the assailants and the defendants stood thus in readinesse, the one as it were facing the other a great part of the night, *Mahomet* before day went vp to the top of the Bassaes mount, from whence he had before beholden the former assault: at whose comming, there were presently eleven cannons discharged, and twelue smaller peeces (the signal appointed for the assault.) The Turkes vpon this signe giuen, with exceeding tumult and most hideous outcrie (as their manner is) began to assaile the citie round, and with such wonderfull agility of bodie and courage mounted the rampiers at the great gate, that they had there as it were in a trice set vp one of their ensignes, which was forthwith pluckt vp by *Moneta*, and the Turkes with great slaughter driuen downe, where many of them were slaine with stones, timber, fire, and such other things cast downe vpon them; beside a great number slaine or wounded with shot, arrowes, and darts, whereof none fell to the ground in vaine, by reason that the Turkes stood so thicke, that they violently pressed one another forward, in such sort, that the foremost could by no means shun any danger, were it neuer so great or terrible. In this sort the assault was with great slaughter; of the Turkes continued vntill it was day: they struiuing to win the breach, and the Christians most valiantly defending the same: *Moneta* himselfe in this fight receiued diuerse wounds, and was twice beaten downe to the ground; yet still recouering himselfe, encouraged his souldiours, and woorthily repulsd the enimie. *Mahomet* seeing his souldiours beaten from the breach, caused a tyer of his great Ordinance to be discharged vpon the Christians which stood therein thicke for the defence thereof, by force whereof many of them were rent in peeces, and the rest fore dismayed: which the Turkes quickly perceiuing, and therewith encouraged, came on againe with a fresh charge, forcing themselves to the vttermost to haue entered. But the valiant captain nothing discouraged either with the losse of them that were slaine, or with the danger of himselfe, courageously withstood the furious enimie, and maintained the place vntill new supplies came to releas him, and neuer departed thence, either suffered any man to depart, vntill the assault was ended. Many were slaine on both sides, yet nothing troubled the defendants so much as the great ordinance; which being discharged from the Bassaes mount into the breach, at such times as the Turkes were driuen backe, slew many of the Christians, leauing the breach almost cleare: so giuing

The Turkes superstitiously reverence the new Moone.

Scodra against most furiously assailed by the Turkes.

The assault
fiercely againe
renewed by the
Turkes.

uing occasion for the Turkes to haue entred, had not other couragious souldiours stept vp in stead of them that were slaine, who manfully repulsed the enimie. The tyrant from the mount seeing the inuincible courage of the defendants, was therewith exceedingly troubled; but fully resolu'd now or neuer to haue it, commaunded all his forces to be drawne from all other parts of the citie vnto the great gate, there to renew the assault; straightly charging his capitaines, neuer to returne thence vntill they had taken the citie. Hereupon the greatest part of that huge armie was forthwith in the sight of himselfe brought vnto the appointed place, and there gave a sharpe and cruell assault at the breach, with such desperat furie, that in short time they had slaine most of the defendants there present, and aduanced diuers of their ensignes vpon the top of the rampiers. Which *Mahomet* beholding from the mount, rejoyced exceedingly; making sure account that the citie was now his owne: but by that time he had well conceiued this hope, new supplies of fresh and couragious men (of purpose reserved for all euents) came to the place of danger, and with great resolution encountering the wearied Turkes, draue them backe, cleared the breach, and ouerthrew their ensignes. Which so sudden an alteration in the breach, wrought no lesse alteration in the prowd tyrants mind, his hope was turned into despaire, and his rejoycing into choller: inso much that in his furie, he commaunded all his great artillerie to be at once discharged into the breach; whereby manie of his forward and couragious souldiours were slaine together with the defendants. At the same time, the great commanders and capitaines knowing themselves to bee in the eye of their imperious lord and maister, with their drawne swords forced the poore souldiours againe forward to the breach; and the more to encourage them, aduentured themselves also amongst them: whereby the fight became more fierce and terrible than before. Manie of the Turkes were there slaine; yet such was the force and multitude of them which still stept vp in their place, and bullets and arrowes flew so thicke, that the defendants oppressed with multitude, and ouerwhelmed with shot, were hardly able longer to maintaine the place, being for most part either slaine or wounded. Whereupon a great cry ran vpon the sudden through the citie, that euery man without exception, should forthwith retire to the breach. Which was with such cheerefullnesse done, that in lesse time than was to haue been thought, a wonderfull multitude of all sort of people was there met together, encouraging one another against the present danger; who all as men resolu'd to lay downe their liues in defence of their countrey, valiantly encountered the Turkes vpon the top of the rampiers, and so hardly laid vnto them, that notwithstanding their great number, they began now againe to wauer and shrinke backe. Which thing the tyrant perceiuing from the mount, in great rage commaunded his canoniers, as fast as they could to discharge the great ordinance into the breach, without anie regard of his owne men, so that together with them, he might also kill some of the Christians: and withall imperiously commaunded his capitaines, with all their force and power to maintaine the assault, threatening them with most horrible death, if they returned without victorie. Hereupon the assault was againe renewed, euery man (in shew at least) set downe there to doe his last deuoiere. But the great ordinance still playing vpon the breach, slew manie of the Turkes as well as of the Christians. Thise the great shot fell amongst the Turkes themselves, and rent in sunder a great number of them which were formost, to the great discouragement of the rest: whereof the tyrant had small regard, so that together with them he might also diminish the number of the defendants. Neuertheless, such was the desperat furie of the enimie, that the citie was in no small danger to haue been euen presently taken, had not fresh supplies come from other places of the citie which they were appointed vnto; who with great courage resisted the enimie. Yet the Turkes farre exceeding in number (and fresh men continually stepping vp in stead of them which lay by heapes vnder their feet, and ferued them in stead of steps to get vp to the rampiers) maintained a long and terrible fight: at which time the great ordinance also fore annoied the defendants, so that with one shot (whereby the greatnesse of the harmes done at other times may be gathered) eightene of the Christian defendants were slaine. As for arrowes, they flew as thicke as haile into the citie; so that they obscured the light of the day, and lay in most places of the street a span thicke: so that for the space of a moneth after, the inhabitants vsed no other fuelle to burne, but Turkish arrowes. It was a ruthfull sight to haue seene the bodies of the valiant Christians rent in sunder with the great shot, and pieces of them cleauing vpon euery wall thereabout, euery street was stained with their blood, the great ordinance continually thundred, churches and houses came rattling downe, yea the heauie countenance of the

A wofull sight.

ayre it selfe seemed to bewaile the miserie of the poore Christians: besides, the noise of trumpets, drums, and other instruments of warre, with the horrible crie of the hellish Turkes, was so great and hideous, that it seemed as if heauen and earth should haue gone together; nothing was to be heard but the verie terrour of the care; nothing to be seene but death, and the verie instruments of death. And now in this extremitie a fearefull crie ran through the citie, That without present helpe all would be lost at the great gate: Whereupon, not onely they which were whole (which were the fewest in number) but they also which lay wounded or sicke in their beds, cheering vp themselves, with weapons in their hands ran with speed to the place where the danger was; chusing rather there to die, than to be slaine in their beds. Thus whilest the Christians of all sorts, pressed and in great number slaine: yet fresh men still comming vp as if they had sprung out of the earth, the deadly fight was by them still maintained. For the Turkes on the one side, for feare of the tyrant, laboured with might and maine to win the citie; and the Christians on the other, knowing no hope left for them if they should be overcome, with no lesse resolution defended the same. In this obstinacie of minds, manie fell on both sides: sometimes the Turkes seemed to haue the better, and were straight way by the Christians put to the worse. Which manner of mortall fight with doubtfull euent, was continued most part of that day: vntill that at length manie being on both parts slaine, and the rest for most part sore wounded and hurt, the furie of the assault began to assuage: for the Turkes now wearie of that long and deadly fight, and fainting with their wounds, had no great stomacke to mount vp the rampiers, where they saw no hope to preuaile, but all things threatening present death. *Mahomet* beholding the wonderfull slaughter of his men, and that hauing done what was possible for men to doe, they now fought as men discouraged, and in despaire of victorie himselfe, caused a retrait to be founded, which the Turkes no sooner heard, but that they left the assault, and without order ran to their tents as men halfe feared out of their wits.

A doubtfull
fight.

Of this victorie, the Christians (as they had good cause) rejoyced greatly: yet was this joy mingled with much sorrow and heauinesse, for the losse of such worthy men as were slaine in that assault, manie of whose bodies, they were glad to gather vp by peccemeale, some here, some there, some cleauing on this wall, and some on that: which they, as the time would giue leaue, honourably buried with the rest of the slaine. At which time also, they with all diligence and expedition repaired their breaches, and put all things in such readinesse, as if they should haue presently receiued a fresh assault.

Mahomet wonderfully grieved with the shamefull dishonour and great losse he had receiued at the last assault, repented himselfe that euer he had taken the matter in hand, wishing that hee had neuer heard of the name of *Scoora*: and in his choller and frantike rage, most horribly blasphamed against God, most wickedly saying, That it were enough for him to haue care of heauenly things, and not to crosse him in his worldly actions. In which furie he descended from the mount and got him into his tent, where he againe tormented himselfe with his melancholic passions by the space of two daies; wherein he would neither be spoke withall, or admit any man to his presence. Vpon the third day he called a generall counsell of his commanders and best souldiours, and there openly before them all said, That he was determined to giue the enimie a fresh assault, for that being weakened with so manie assaults, he could not possibly be able to hold out another: and therefore hoped for an easie victorie. But he had no sooner so said, but that all they that heard him, cried out with one voice to the contrarie: saying, That it was not by anie meanes to be attempted, forasmuch as his best souldiours were already slaine, and the greater part of them that were left, either sore wounded, or brought to that weaknesse that they were not able to doe anie more seruice; and that therefore it were better for them to kill one another, or else themselves to kill them one by one, than to expose them to be so shamefully butchered by the Christians. In this diuersitie of opinions, *Achmetes Bassa* the great champion of the Turkes (a man reuerend and of great authoritie, for his birth, yeares, and rare experience in martiall affairs, and one by whom *Mahomet* had done great matters) standing vp, with pleasing speech calmed his furious mind, and with substantiall reasons perswaded him to desist from that his intended purpose, and to take another surer course, as followeth.

Your great valour and worthy praises inuincible emperour (said he) who is able to expresse the great-
O o y

A notable speech
of the great Bassa
Achmetes.

greatnesse whereof the mind of man cannot conceiue, and my dull spirit but wonder thereat; my tongue faltereth to speake of them, neither would this time serue so much as to recount them. It is of all men deemed a thing of great honour (most dread soueraigne) when a prince hath receiued a kingdom from his ancestors, to be able in safetie to keepe and defend the same: greater than this is it, honourable to encrease and augment it, so left: but of a small thing, by worthie prowesse to bring it to the highest type of worldly honour, is of all other things the greatest. Which most rare excellencie, all men worthily ascribe vnto your perfection and felicitie: and I of all others can thereof bring the most assured testimonie, who haue oftentimes heard it of mine ancestors (which following the fortune of the Ottoman princes out of ASIA into EVROPE) that your worthie predecessors at their first comming into EVROPE (without offence be it said) possessed but a corner thereof; to whom you afterward by diuine appointment succeeding, haue adioined so many prouinces, kingdomes, and empires, as were tedious to rehearse them. For who can worthily expresse, how you haue in EVROPE subdued CONSTANTINOPLE, the imperiall citie of the East empire, with all THRACIA, ACHAEA, GRECIA, PELOPONNESVS, BEOTIA, THEBES, and the noble citie of ATHENS, the mother and nurse of all good learning. The empire of TRAPEZOND, with the emperor thereof, is by you ouerthrowne: the kingdomes of SERUIA and BOSNA, with the princes of PELOPONNESVS, are by you gloriously vanquished. You haue at your commaund twelue kingdomes in ASIA the lesser, PONTVS, BYTHINIA, CAPPADOCIA, PAPHLAGONIA, CILICIA, PAMPHILIA, LYCIA, CARIA, LYDIA, PHRYGIA, NICHOMEDIA, and NICEA, with the famous citie of PRYSA. Besides these, IONIA, DORIS, SMYRNA, COLOPHON, EPHESVS, MILETVM, HALICARNASVS, PERGAMVS, with the countrey of TAVRICA, are vnder your subiection. The great countrey of ARMENIA hath felt your force: the Islands of LESBOS, CHIOS, and EVBEA, are parts of your empire. What should I speake of infinit people and nations, by you most victoriously vanquished? This may suffice for all, that you haue gained from the Christians twentie prouinces and two hundred great citties. For it were in long to rehearse the Mahometane kings and princes by you also vanquished: in all your expeditions at things haue yet giuen place to your fortune. The antient monuments may now cease to extoll the praises of Caesar, Scipio, Pyrrhus, Hanniball, and other chieftaines of ROME, and forraigne nations: for why, they are all inferior to you both for victories and countries subdued. The Ottoman familie is undoubtedly fatal for soueraignetie: all the world shall in short time come vnder your government, and all nations shall serue you. As for this towne of SCODRA, let it not so much grieue you: worldly things (as you know) doe oftentimes deceiue our expectation: in them fortune beareth great sway. In for this matter, quiet your selfe: for I dare gage my faith vnto your imperiall maiestie, that I will in short time find means, that this citie shall stand at your deuotion. Did not I of late bring into your subiection the impregnable citie of CROIA, which you so long desired? But where as you would now again forthwith attempt to win it by assault, I therein craue your pardon, in that I cannot be of that opinion, but must needs thinke farre otherwise: for to attempt warre, and to be ouerthrowne, is an easie matter for euery man to doe; but to vanquish the enemy, and to carrie away the triumph, that right few men know. He that consulteth of such great and weightie matters, ought to be free both from furie and desire, both euill counsellours. The Christians of SCODRA are not in my opinion to be againe assaulted: for in so doing you shall but lose your labour. For if you could not subdue them, your armie being then fresh and strong, how shall you now overcome them with much fewer, and they wounded, weake and feeble? I haue viewed the whole campe, and searched euery tent; and found no place, no tent, yea scarcely any cabbin, without groning, sighing, weeping or wailing; in euery place was heauinesse, sorrow, mourning and death it selfe: for in the last assault you lost thirtie thousand and more of your best souldiers: many moe are greuously wounded and maimed: none, but he carrieth about him some signe that hee was there: few or none there be that dare againe mount the hill to giue a fresh assault, they are all afraid and discouraged. Whom when I demanded, how so great a feare was come vpon them, and what was the cause they had so lost their wanted courage? they answered me, That it was the looke, euery the very looke of them of SCODRA, whose eyes did seeme vnto them to burne and sparkle with fire: their sterne and terrible countenances (said they) haue stricke this terrour into vs. Wherefore I thinke it not good to giue a fresh assault with men so dismayed: but rather to vse policie and delay against such resolute enemies. This citie of SCODRA is the eye and head of all this prouince, which the Venetians haue notably fortified and planted with store of ordinance and of all things els necessarie for defence thereof; but especially with most valiant souldiers, of purpose chosen out of many their garrisons for defence of this citie: you haue not now to doe with the weake and effeminate people of ASIA, but with

the hard and rough people of EPIRVS. And you know (most mightie emperor) the strength and courage of this nation: it is now thirtie yeares that you haue made warre against this people, and haue not yet altogether subdued them: and how dangerous and chargeable this warre hath bene vnto you, who knoweth not? It is now six moneths since we came first before this citie; we haue intrenched our selues round about it, we haue day and night laid hard siege vnto it, we haue battered it of long with eleven cannons: I speake not of other smaller peeces or engines of warre, with all kind of shot and fire-works, and whatsoever els we could deuise. We haue many times to our cost assaulted it: what could be done by force, strength, or multitude of valiant men is already done in the former assaults. Nothing hath been left vnattempted, no policie no direction hath wanted in your leaders, neither courage in your souldiers. What should I recount the innumerable great shot, or speake of our arrowes and darts, deliuered into the citie as showers of haile? Did all this or any thing els we could doe, any thing terrifie these defendants? Were they not, maye are they not still readie, with great assurance and courage at all assays to encounter vs. You take a wrong course by force to constrain them. They haue taken vpon them the defence of this place, and are not thence to be removed, there shall you be sure still to find them either alieue or dead. And what account they make of their lines, you see, they will sell them vnto vs deare for their countrey, and preferre an honourable death before a seruile life. Wherefore against men so set downe, policie is to be used: and them whom we cannot by force subdue, let vs by delay and time overcome. If you will win SCODRA, blocke it vp, build strong forts in places conuenient round about it, and furnish them with good souldiers: make a bridge ouer BOLIANA, with a strong castle on either side, to stop the passage: which done, besiege the other weaker cities of the Venetians, which are as it were the lims of SCODRA: and subdue the countrey round about, which will be no hard matter for you to doe, being master of the field: so must SCODRA at length of necessity yeeld vnto you, as of late did CROIA, enforced thereunto by famine. Thus may you in safetie without slaughter of your people come to the full of your desires.

The wholesome counsell of the Bassa so well pleased Mahomet himselfe; and the rest there present, that the assault was laid aside, and present order taken for the speedie execution of that which was by him so well plotted. Whereupon the Bassa of CONSTANTINOPLE with his forces was sent to ZABIACHE, a citie in the borders of DALMATIA, standing vpon the lake of SCUTARIA, not farre from ASCRIVUM, which in few daies was yielded vnto him. The Bassa possessed of the citie, thrust out all the inhabitants, and leauing therein a garrison of Turks, returned againe to the campe at SCODRA. At the same time the great Bassa of ASIA was also sent by Mahomet against DRIVASTO, a citie also of the Venetians: which when hee had besieged and fore battered by the space of sixteene dayes, the great tyrant came thither in person himselfe, and the next day after his comming tooke the citie, without any great resistance. Such as hee found vpon the wals, he put to the sword: of the rest he tooke three hundred away with him vnto the campe at SCODRA, and there in the face of the citie caused them all to be cruelly slain, of purpose so to terrifie the defendants. The next day after hee sent the great Bassa of CONSTANTINOPLE to LYSSA, called also ALESSA, a citie of the Venetians, situated vpon the riuer Drinus, about thirtie miles from SCODRA. The Bassa comming thither, found the citie desolate (for the citizens hearing of his comming, were for feare before fled) for which cause he set the citie on fire. Here the Turks digged vp the bones of the worthie prince Scanderbeg, for the superstitious opinion they had of the vertue of them: and happie was he that could get any little part thereof to set in gold or other jewell, as a thing of great price, as is before declared. All these things thus done, Mahomet committed the direction of all things concerning the siege of SCODRA, vnto the discretion of Achmetes. By whose perswasion, he leauing a great power for the continuing of the siege, departed thence himselfe with fortie thousand souldiers for CONSTANTINOPLE, cursing and banning by the way all the countrey of EPIRVS, all the inhabitants therein, and euery part thereof, their come, their cattell, &c. whatsoever els was fruitfull; but about all other things the citie of SCODRA, with all that therein was, for that he had neuer receiued greater dishonour or losse than there.

After his departure, which was about the seuenth of September, the two great Bassas of CONSTANTINOPLE and ASIA, according to order before taken, built a great bridge ouer the riuer Boliana, and on either side a strong castle, to the intent that no reliefe should that way bee brought into the citie. Which worke when they had brought to perfection, and furnished both

Lyssa taken by the Turks, and the bones of Scanderbeg digged up by them, and had in great reuerence.

castles with garrisons, ordinance, and all things necessarie, they left *Achmetes Bassa* with some thousand souldiours to continue the siege, and returned themselves the one to *CONSTANTINOPLE*, and the other into *ASIA*. The warre and politicke Bassa mindfull of the charge he had taken vpon him, tooke such order, that no releefe could possibly be brought vnto the citie either by land or by water: and so lying still before it a long time, brought it at length into such distresse and want of all things, that the poore Christians were faine to eat all manner of vncleane and loathsome things; horses were daintie meat, yea they were glad to eat dogs, cats, rats, and the skins of beasts for: it exceedeth all credit to tell at what exceeding great price a little moule was sold, or puddings made of dogs guts. All these bare shifts and extremities the poore Christians were content to endure euen vnto the last gaspe, rather than to yeeld themselves into the hands of their mercilesse enemies.

Whilest *SCODRA* thus lay in the suds, the Venetians wearie of the long and chargeable warre they had to their great losse now maintained against so mightie an enemy, by the space of sixteene yeares; and hauing no meanes to releue their distressed subjects in *SCODRA*, thought it best to proue, if they could procure a peace from the tyrant. For which purpose they sent *Nedictus Triusianus*, a graue Senatour and a man of great experience, to *CONSTANTINOPLE*: who so well vsed the matter, that after long debating too and fro, at length a peace was concluded; whereof the cheefe capitulations were, That the Venetians should deliuer vnto *Mahomet* the citie of *SCODRA*, the island of *LEMNOS*, and the strong castle of *TENARVS* in *PELOPONNESVS*, and pay him yearely eight thousand duckats; That they might freely after their wonted manner trafficke into the Euxine by the straits of *Hellespontus* and *Bosphorus* *Thracius*; & other parts of his dominions. Concerning the citizens of *SCODRA*, it was comprised in the same peace, That it should bee at their owne choice either to liue there still vnder the government of the Turkish emperour, or els at their pleasure to depart in safetie with their goods whether they would. *Triusianus* hauing in this manner concluded a peace, in his returne homeward the fourth of Aprill, found the Venetian Admirall riding at anker in the mouth of *Boliana*, from whence they both by letters certified the Gouvernour and citizens of *SCODRA*, in what manner the peace was concluded with the Turke, and what prouision was therein made for them. Vpon receiue of which letters, the gouernour calling together the citizens, declared vnto them how the case stood: and there with them entered into consultation vpon this hard question, Whether they would remaine there still in their natiue country vnder the Turkish tyrannie; or forsaking the same, liue amongst other Christians in perpetuall exile? But after the matter had beene thoroughly debated, and many reasons on both parts alledged, at length it was by generall consent concluded, That they should all forsake the citie and the house of bondage, as dangerous both to their soules and bodies, and liue as it should please God amongst other Christians. So the Turks giuing pledges for the safe departure of the Christians in *SCODRA*, they all at an appointed day with bag and baggage came out of the citie, and were by the Venetians carefully transported into other parts of their territorie in *ITALIE*, where they liued in peace. The Turks (who had now besieged the citie a whole yeare) after the departure of the Christians entered the citie with great joy and triumph, which with many others therabout, hath euer since to the great ruth of all Christendome, remained in the possession of the faithlesse infidels. Thus was the strong citie of *SCODRA* lost, and the long warres ended betwixt *Mahomet* and the Venetians, which happened in the yeare 1478.

*Scodra yeelded
vnto the Turke.*

1480

Mahomet now at peace with the Venetians, sent the same *Achmetes Bassa* (by whom he had but a litle before taken in *SCODRA*) with his fleet of gallies against one *Leonard*, prince of *NAXOS*, *ZACYNTHVS*, and *CEPHALENIA*, islands neere vnto *PELOPONNESVS*: where the Bassa arriuing, easily tooke the same islands, the poore prince for safegard of his life being glad to flee into *ITALIE* with his wife & treasure to king *Ferdinand*, whose nigh kinswoman he had married.

About the same time *Alis-Beg*, surnamed *Michal Oglu*, *Isa Beg* the sonne of *Cassanes*, and *Baba Beg*, surnamed *Malco Oglu* (men of great account amongst the Turks, and most honourably descended) entered into *TRANSYLVANIA* with a great armie of an hundred thousand men, and brought such a generall feare vpon the country, that *Stephanus Bator* the *Vaiuod*, was glad with all speed to flee vnto *Matthias* king of *HUNGARIE*, to declare vnto him the danger of his country, and to craue his aid. *Matthias* at the same time lay sicke of the gout: neuertheless he tooke such order by his capitaines, *Stephanus Cherepetrus*, and *Paulus Kimisus* countie of *TRANESYVANIA*, that

that the Turks were encountered not farre from *ALBA IULIA*, and there in a great and bloodie battell ouerthrowne: wherein *Isa* one of their great caprains was slaine, with 30 thousand Turks mo. Neither was this victorie gained by the Christians without losse, *Bator* the *Vaiuod* himselfe being sore wounded, and eight thousand men slaine.

Mahomet in his ambitious humour, had long time desired to haue in his subjection the island of the *RHODES*. For why, it grieved him that so small an island should lie so neere his great dominions in *ASIA*, holden by a few Christians, to the great trouble of his merchants trading in the *Mediterranean*, beside manie other harmes daily from thence receiued, and to haue no feeling of his greatnesse. But forasmuch as the winning of that place was thought to be a matter of great difficultie, and in former times vnfortunatly attempted by some of the *Mahometane* princes: he purposed now with good aduise to take this enterprize in hand. Wherefore calling together his graue counsellors and most expert men of warre, after he had declared vnto them the manifold injuries receiued from them of the *RHODES*; he propounded the matter, Whether it were best to attempt the winning of that island or not? Some forward men perswaded him to reuenge those injuries done by those Christians, and to subdue that island; which for the neerenesse vnto *CYPRUS*, might of right be accounted as part of his dominion; and not to forbear that enterprize for feare of repulse, forasmuch as he was able to bring mo men to assaile it, than were stones in the wall about it. Others better aduised, declared the strength of the island, with the valour of the defenders; men alwaies brought vp in armes, and as it were chosen out of all parts of Christendome: so that it was (as they said) like to proue a matter of more difficultie than was by some supposed; whereof some of the *Mahometane* princes had to their no small dishonour, already made sufficient triall: Alledging farther, that that small island which scarcely appeared in the sea, was not of that worth, as that he should thereon gage his honour, with the liues of so manie good men, and most valiant souldiours as might serue for the conquest of a kingdom. For all that, *Mahomet* pickt forward with the spurs of ambition, and continuall solicitation of *Anthionius Meligalus*, a fugitiue knight of the *RHODES*, resolved to follow the counsell of them which perswaded the warre. This *Meligalus* was a knight of the order, which when he had prodigally consumed his substance which was great, with two others, *Demetrius* and *Sophonius*, men of his owne qualitie and disposition, fled vnto the Turkish emperour; presenting vnto him a perfect plot of the citie, with all the strength both of sit, and the ille wherein it stood, and which way he might with most ease win it. In which seruice they frankly offered to spend their liues: but hoping indeed by such foule treacherie to repaire their broken estate. All things being now in readinesse, *Mahomet* appointed *Mesithes Paleologus*, one of his chiefe Bassas (the neere kinsman of *Constantinus Paleologus* the last emperour of *CONSTANTINOPLE*) Generall for that expedition; committing to his charge the whole managing of that so great an action. *Mesithes* imbarcking his armie in number eightie thousand, and thoroughly furnished with all things necessarie for the siege, set forward from *CONSTANTINOPLE*, and with a pleasant gale of wind, sayled alongst the coast of *ASIA* the lesse, towards the *RHODES*: where by the way he called vnto him *Demetrius* (one of the fugitiue knights) to learne of him the best meanes for the safe landing of his armie. As for the arch traitor *Meligalus*, and chiefe author of this warre, he was fallen sick vpon the way; and in the extremitie of his sicknesse, growing both troublesome and loathsome vnto the Turkes that were with him in the same gallie, was by the mariners throwne ouerboard aliue: crying out in vaine for helpe, no man vouchsafing to haue anie compassion vpon him; and so swallowed vp of the sea, receiued amidst the waues, the iust guerdon of his treacherie.

*Mahomet
sent after the
Rhodes.*

At this time *Peter Damboise* a Frenchman, an Auergnoies, a man of singular gouernment, was Great Master of the *RHODES*; whose valiauncie was such, that commonly once in eight daies he had certaine intelligence what great matters passed in the Turkes court: and therewith of such deepe judgement, that he was seldom or neuer ouertaken, or deceived with anie false aduertisements. This carefull Graund Master, was not ignorant of all these great preparations, neither of the coming of the Bassa; and therefore had before strongly fortified the citie, and so stored the same with all things needfull, as might well haue serued for manie yeares siege: but especially with such shot and powder, that it was deemed (as indeed it was) an especiall meeries whereby the citie was afterwards preferred. At the same time, manie noble and valiant gentlemen hearing of the Turkes designs, repaired thither out of *ITALY*, *FRANCE*, *SPAIN*, *GERMANIE*,

*A death right
won thy such a
traitour.*

MANIE, and other places of Christendome, cheerfully to adventure their liues, in defence both of the place, and of the Christian religion, against the common enemy of Christianity. The Great Master taking a general view of all the forces he had, to oppose against so puissant an enemy, found that he had in the citie sixteen thousand able men: in which number were reckoned manie Jewes and other men of seruile condition; who in the siege following, did fight good seruice. The great Bassa conducted by the false traitour *Demetrius*, safely landed both his arme and artilerie in the island the two and twentieth day of Iune, not farre from the citie. At which time the Great Master considering that the safetie of the citie consisted more in the liuely valour of the defendants, than in the strength of the dead wals, or other warlike prouision; thought it requisite, as a part of his dutie, by cheerfull persuasions to encourage them, valiantly to withstand the force of their enemies. And therefore calling them all together, spake vnto them as followeth:

The oration of
the Great Ma-
ster to the rest of
the knights and
souldiours, to en-
courage them
valiantly to with-
stand the Turke.

At length valiant souldiours and fellows at armes, we see the Turkes our mortall enemies (as we were before aduertised, as well by letters from our friends, as by common fame) breathing after our destruction; in readinesse to destroy our churches, our oratories, our alters, our religion, and whatsoeuer els we account sacred or religious; seeking the ruine of this noble citie, and the cruell death of vs all; gaping at once, to denour our liues, our wealth, our hope, with all our former honour. And thus as I cannot denie but that the chance of warre is doubtfull, and the event thereof vncertaine: I will consider your valiant courage and cheerefulness of mind, I presently conceive a most assured hope of victorie. They haue entered into armes against vs, not so much for anie desert of ours, or vpon any other quarrell; as for the insatiable desire of rule, and the great despite they beare against vs and the Christian religion. But to withstand their furie, and to frustrate their designs, we want neither weapons, nor artilerie, nor prouision for many yeares; we haue a most strong garrison of Frenchmen, Spaniards, Germanes, English, and others, the verie chivalrie of Christendome: and that which more is, Christ Iesus our Captaine and Generall, by whose power, we shall no doubt easily repulse the vaine force of our most wicked and gracelesse enemies. The care wee haue for the defence of the Christian faith, wherunto we are by speciall profession bound, will animate and encourage vs against them, which seeke for nothing more than to extend their wicked and grosse superstition, to the great dishonour of God, and of his sonne Christ Iesus. Besides that, we are warlike Frenchmen, Italians, Germanes, and other worthy Christians: they are of CARIA, LYDIA, CAPADOCIA, and the other delicate countries of ASIA; effeminate persons, brought up to pleasure. I say it not to draw you into anie manifest or inevitable danger, neither to feed you with vaine hope, or to fill your eares with windie words: but this I promise and assure you of, that if this siege shall continue long, hither will come such strong aid out of FRANCE, ITALY, GERMANIE and SPAINIE, as will serue not onely to raise the siege, but to recouer againe the empires of CONSTANTINOPLE and TRAPEZONDE. Then shall our enemies see no good end of their counsels; but all their deuises so confounded, as that they shall hardly be able by speedie flight to saue themselves. But suppose the hardest should happen, which I feare not: would not anie man account his life most happely and honourably spent, in defence of a good conscience, and the quarrell of Christ Iesus? Truly my great yeares and course of life now almost spent in defence of the Christian religion (as I euer desired) doth call me forth, as one so assured of that good lucke for me in heauen by Christ Iesus (whose battell we are to fight) that I no whit feare anie enemies for or future chance: which for all that, I haue as farre as I could, and to the uttermost of my power provided for, as that we will not (I hope) be therewith ouerwhelmed. Be you therefore of good cheer and comfort (as I know you are) and shew your selues valiant and courageous, which reflecteth vpon your selues: and as for all the rest, time, and our discretion shall right well provide I doubt not.

The valiant men and worthy souldiours, resting vpon the assurance of their aged gouernour, departed euery man to his charge, full of hope and courage. Now had the Bassa landed his great armie, and sent *Demetrius* the traitorous knight, *Meligalus* his companion, with certaine troupes of horsemen and some foot, to view the ground, where he might best encampe with his armie. *Demetrius* in great pride riding about the citie, was knowne by *Anthony Damboisse*, the Great Masters brother; by whose leaue, he sallied out with a troupe of gallant horsemen, and skirmished with them: but the Turkes being mo in number, cast about to haue enclosed them: which *Anthony* perceiuing, turned vpon them that were comming behind him, and that with such

such force, that he slew or wounded most part of them. In this hoat skirmish, *Demetrius* hauing his horse slaine vnder him, and himselfe ouerthrowne, was there troden to death vnder the horses feet: an end too good for so false a traitour. *Muratus* a French knight, vnadvisedly disposing his dead bodie, was by the Turkes slaine, and his head presented vnto the Bassa in stead of *Demetrius*.

The Bassa approaching the citie, at the first comming tooke a great orchard, which the Great Master had strongly entrenched, and therein placed certaine companies of souldiours, with some small pieces of ordinance: which place if it could haue beene kept, might haue fitly serued the defendants to haue at their pleasure sallied out vpon the enemy. But they which were appointed to the keeping thereof, either terrified with the sight of so great an armie, or else doubting to be able to hold it against so great a power, abandoned it by night, and retired into the citie; leauing the great ordinance behind them for haist. In this place, the Bassa by the counsell of *George Frapaine* (a Christian fugitiue of the ROMANS, and now master of his ordinance) began to plant his batterie, & from thence to batter the tower called *Nicholea*, or *S. Nicholas* his tower, distant fro the citie three hundred paces. But against this place, *Damboisse* had so aptly mounted two great Basiliskes, that he made him glad quickly to forsake the same: yet finding no other place more conuenient for his purpose, shortly after he nere vnto the same place planted againe his batterie, of farre greater force than before. Wherein beside the ordinance of greatest charge, he had three hundred smaller pieces for batterie: wherewith at the first he did small harme, for that this *George Frapaine* repenting himselfe (as it was thought) of his foule treason, bestowed the shot to small purpose; for which cause the Bassa began to haue him in distrust: which *Frapaine* perceiving, fled by night againe vnto the ROMANS, and discovered vnto the Great Master all the secrets of the Turkes campe. The Turkes continuing the batterie, had sore shaken the aforesaid tower called *S. Nicholas*, and beaten downe some part thereof: which the Christians with great industrie, speedily repaired in best fort they could. For all that, the Turkes gaue therunto a fierce assault, by the space of six houres, forcing themselves to the vttermost to haue taken it: but perceiving that it preuailed them nothing, they retired, hauing lost eight hundred of their men, with manie others drowned in the sea, of whom the number was not knowne, and a thousand others fore wounded.

Eight hundred
Turkes slaine.

Meslhes disappointed of his former purpose, bent his artilerie against the wals of the citie, and with continuall batterie had made a faire breach. But *Damboisse* foreseeing the danger, had with great labour cast vp such rampiers with a countermure before the breach, that the Bassa durst not in anie case adventure to enter the breach he had made. For performance of this so necessarie worke, the captaines themselves refused not to put to their helping hands: by whose example, all the rest of the people which were able to doe anie thing, being moued, willingly employed their labour vntill the worke was fully finished.

Whilest these things were in doing, *Calibassa* the younger (a great courtier) was sent from *Mahomet*, to see with what successe the siege went forward. Vpon whose arrival, it was giuen out through all the Turke campe, that *Mahomet* was in person himselfe comming to the siege, with an hundred thousand men, and an hundred and fiftie peeces of great ordinance. These news (of purpose deuised to the terror of the defendants) being blowne out of the campe into the citie, stricke an exceeding great feare into the mindes of some of the defendants, and so discouraged the Spaniards, with their nigh neighbors that came from *NAVARR*, that they began openly to reason in their conuenticles, that it was not possible for the citie to be defended against such a power; and therefore after an insolent manner, desired leaue to be gone: to the great discouragement of the rest. The Great Master vnderstanding of their doings, sent for these mutinous Spaniards: and after he had sharply reprooued them both of disorder and cowardise, promised to ship them away forthwith out of the isle, saying, That he doubted not, right well to defend the citie against the greatest power of the Turke, without the helpe of such base minded cowards. In the meane time he commanded them to surcease from their mutinous talke, threatening otherwise to make them examples to others, what it were so much to forget themselves. But these Spaniards shortly after, better considering of the matter, and what a dishonour it would be both to themselves and their nation, if they should so dishonourably be sent away; repenting themselves of that they had done, came and craued pardon of the Great Master: and to redeeme their former fault, in all sallies and seruices during that siege, shewed themselves most valiant and forward

Treason against
the great Master
discouered, and
the traitours
executed.

forward men: for all that, the Great Master would neuer afterwards trust them in any seruice alone. The Bassa attempting much and preuailing little, thought it would much further his designs, if he could by anie means take the Great Master out of the way, by whose careful policie he saw all his deuises still countermaunded: wherefore to bring this his purpose to passe, he practised by the meanes of one *Ianus* a Dalmatian, to poyson him. This *Ianus* hauing conceived this treason from the Bassa, was receiued into the citie of the *Rhodes*, as a Christian fugitiue fled from the Turkes: where hee acquainted himselfe with one *Pythius* an Epitoe, of great familiaritie with *Marius Philephus* (of late secretarie vnto *Damboyse*, but as then out of fauour and in disgrace, for that he was partaker with the Spaniards in the late mutinie.) *Ianus* by the meanes of *Pythius*, whom he had now thoroughly corrupted, sought after *Philephus*, who then as hee right well knew, liued discontented, as a fit instrument whereby to worke this treason; for that he was a man well acquainted with the cookes and butlers, and other seruitors in the Great Masters house, and himselfe (yet) there verie conseruant also. *Pythius* presuming of his old acquaintance and familiaritie with *Philephus*, and waiting vpon his melancholic humour, began to persuaide him to reuenge the disgrace he liued in, and withall to shew him the meanes how to doe it, by poysoning of the Great Master: which might (as he said) fall out to his greater good than he was yet aware of. *Philephus* making semblant as if he had not disliked of the motion, was desirous to know of him what farther benefit might thereby arise vnto him, more than reuenge. To whom *Pythius* forthwith shewed the Bassas letters, to *Ianus*, whereby hee assured him, that whatsoever he should promise vnto anie man for the furtherance of the practice, he would to the full performe the same. *Philephus* hauing got full vnderstanding of the treason, presently discouered the same to *Damboyse*. By whose commendement *Ianus* and *Pythius* were straightwaies apprehended, and being examined confessed the treason: for which *Ianus* lost his head, and *Pythius* (as hee had well deserued) was shamefully hanged. *Philephus* for his fidelitie, was pardoned his former error, and againe receiued into the Great Masters fauour.

The Bassa vnderstanding that the treason was discouered, and the traitours executed, was much grieved therewith. Neuerthelesse, he ceased not with continuall batterie to shake the citie, but especially the tower of *S. Nicholas*, for the assailing whereof he made wonderfull preparation. Amongst other things, he had framed a great bridge, staid with strong ropes and cables, ouer a short fret of the sea, betwixt the place of his batterie and the same tower, whereon six men might march a breast: in which deuise he reposed great hope. But as the Turkes were making fast this bridge, and had (as they thought) brought the worke to a good perfection; *Geruaise Rogers* an English man of great courage, and verie skilfull in sea matters, found meanes by night to cut and breake in sunder all the ropes and cables wherewith the bridge was staid: which now loose, was by the violence of the sea quickly carried away, and the Turkes disappointed of their purpose. For which good seruice he was by the Great Master honorably rewarded, and of him in publike audience highly commended.

Yet was the furious batterie by the Bassa still maintained, and a new bridge framed vpon small boats and lighters, fast moored with cables and anchors; and diuers peeces of great ordinance placed in fusts and gallies. So that the tower was at one time battered both by sea and land, the defendants assailed with small shot and arrowes innumerable, and the tower at the same instant desperatly scaled. But *Damboyse* had so placed his great ordinance, that with the force thereof the bridge was broken in sunder, foure of their great fusts sunke, with great store both of men and ordinance: the defendants also in the tower, with shot, timber, stones, and other such like things provided for that purpose, grievously overwhelmed the Turkes that were scaling the wals, and beat them downe with great slaughter. This hot assault was desperately maintained by the Turkes, from three a clocke in the morning vntill ten: when the Bassa seeing no hope to preuaile, gaue ouer the assault, hauing therein lost about 2500 men; whose dead bodies shortly after driuen on shoare, were spoyled by the Christians. The same night two mercinarie souldiers of *Cretes*, going about to haue fled vnto the enemy, were apprehended and put to death. And *George Frapaine*, who in the beginning of the siege fled from the Turkes, now againe vehemently suspected of treason, was executed also.

Thus neither force nor treason preuailing, the Bassa because he would leaue nothing vnto himselfe that might better his cause, sent certaine messengers vnto the great Master, offering vnto him

Two thousand
five hundred
Turks slaine in
the assault.

in the name of the Turkish emperour, great rewards, with many honourable preferments, if he would yeeld vp the citie; which he could not (as they would haue persuaaded him) long hold against so mightie an enemy: wishing him now in his declining estate not to refuse such honourable and princely offers, for feare he were afterwards constrained to accept of farre worse; or els through his desperat willfulnesse plunge himselfe and his people into such extreame perill, as should be impossible for him or them to find any way out of. Whereunto the great Master in breefe answered: That he would not willingly in his sure estate use the counsell of his enemy; neither in his greatest distresse refuse chearefully to yeeld his life vnto Almighty God, to whom he did owe it; and that with farre better will than to yeeld up the citie vpon any conditions, beare they neuer so faire a shew of honour or profit. The messengers perceiving his constant resolution, rather to die than to yeeld his citie, began (according to instructions before giuen them by the Bassa) to temper with him another way, and to persuaide him to yeeld vnto the mightie emperour some small yearly tribute or other homage, as an acknowledgement of his greatnesse, and so to liue as his friend in peace. But the great Master knowing by the wooll example of others, that in that small request lay included the beginning of the Turkish thraldome and slaerie: vterly refused to pay him the least tribute, or to doe him the least homage that could be deuised. With which answer the messengers returned, hauing obtained nothing of that they were sent for.

The resolute answer of the great Master reported by the afore said messengers vnto the Bassa, troubled him exceedingly: for though he had small hope by force to win the citie, yet hee was alwayes in hope vntill now, at his pleasure to forsake the siege with some such reasonable composition as might stand with his honour. But sith nothing remained now, but by plaine force to constrain his enemies; hee resolved for the safegard of his honour, in that extremity to vse that extreame remedie. Wherefore beside the great peeces of batterie he had already planted against the wals, he mounted diuers smaller peeces much higher, thereby the more to annoy the defendants, by beating downe of their churches and high built houses. His ordinance thus placed, he battered the citie day and night for the space of foure dayes together without intermission: during which time, the Christians out of the citie spared not liberally to bestow their shot amongst their enemies also: so that the aire seemed to grow thicke, and the light of the day to be darkened with the smoke of the great ordinance; and the great shot came so thicke into the citie, that the fearefull women and children were glad to shroud themselves from the danger thereof, in cellars and caues vnder ground. So long continued this great batterie, that at length the strength of the wail gaue place to the furie of the cannon, and a faire breach was laid open for the enemy to enter: which was no sooner made, but that with the first shew thereof the Turkes gaue thereunto a desperat assault; and preuailing by reason of their multitude, had vpon the suddaine recovered the top of the wals, and there set vp some of their ensignes: but the Christians speedily continuing in on euery side to the defence of the breach, they were againe quickly repulsed and beaten down into the ditches, out of which most of them neuer rise more. At which time the Turkes in another place with their scaling ladders had gained the top of the wals, and there aduanced their ensignes also, and were now five hundred of them entred the citie, and come into the street called the Iews street: where they were encountered by the Great Master & his followers, and all slaine that were already entred, and their ensignes that stood vpon the wals throwne downe. The rest yet scaling the wals, and ignorant of the fortune of their fellowes, were likewise beaten from the wals, and with wonderfull slaughter rejected. So that the Bassa not able longer to endure the slaughter of his men, being in both places repulsed, caused a retreat to be sounded, and left the assault; wherein he had lost of his most forward men about five thousand, with small losse of the Christians. In this assault the great Master himselfe receiued five wounds, whereof one vnder his right pap was thought to haue been deadly: which yet afterwards was very well cured with the rest.

After that the Bassa had by the space of three months to small purpose spent all his forces and deuises vpon the citie, he began to doubt whether it were better for him to raise his siege and depart, or to tarry and expect some better fortune, which in all his former actions had seemed almost to haue waited vpon him: to forsake the siege, was dishonourable; and to continue it without hope, presented no lesse danger. Besides that, in the former assaults he had already lost nine thousand of his best souldiours, and all the rest of his armie was filled with heauinesse and despair, to heare the wooll fighting and groning of their fellowes, of whom fiftene thousand lay dispersed

The resolute answer of the great Master.

A faire breach made by force of the Turkes batterie.

dispersed in the campe fore wounded, and readie many of them to giue vp the ghost: and also but euen a litle before two great ships sent from *Ferdinand* king of *NAPLES*, with men and munition, were in despiht of all the *Turkes* gallies safely arriued at the *RHODES*, to the great joy and encouragement of the besieged, and no lesse discontentment of the *Turks*. Whilest the *Bassa* was thus deliberating what course to take, a rumor was raised in the campe, That the *Christian* princes were comming with great power to relieue the town: with which news the whole armie was exceedingly troubled; whereupon he raised his siege. Some others say that *Mahomet* hearing of the euill successe of his armie in the island of the *RHODES*, with the difficultie of the siege, and now readie to goe in person himselfe against the Sultan of *ÆGIPP*, sent for the *Bassa*, and that so the siege was raised. Howsoeuer it was, the *Bassa* before his departure caused all the vines and trees growing in that part of the island to be cut downe and spoiled: and so after he had poured forth his furie vpon the sencelesse creatures, which he could not according to his desire exercise vpon the people, againe embarked his armie, and with shame departed, the 17 day of August.

The *Bassa* raiseth his siege.

At the same time that the *RHODES* was thus besieged, *Mahomet* sent his old and most expert captain *Achmetes Bassa*, with a great fleet and a strong armie to make an entrance into *ITALIE* (for no kingdom was so strong, which the ambitious tyrant in the pride of his heart thought not hee might now commaund) and hauing long before conquered *CONSTANTINOPLE*, otherwise called *New Rome*, was still dreaming I wot not what of the conquest of *Old Rome* also. The mischeuous *Bassa* according to his great masters designs, embarked his armie at *VALLONA* (otherwise called *AVLONA*) a sea towne in the borders of *MACEDONIA*; and from thence passing directly ouer that narrow sea, which is in breadth about sixtie miles, landed his men in that rich and fertile part of *ITALIE*, called in ancient time *APVLIA* (now *PUGLIA*) next vnto the old and famous citie of *HYDRUNTUM*, at this day called *OTRANTO*: where as soone as this warlike *Bassa* had landed his forces, he foraged all that rich country alongst the sea coast, and tooke such infinit spoile as might well haue satisfied the greedie desire both of himselfe and of his hungrie soldiours: all which rich bootie he caused to be conueyed vnto his gallies. So when he had at his pleasure raunged vp and downe the country by the space of foureteene dayes, and saw that none made head against him, he laid siege to *OTRANTO*, the cheefe citie of that countrey, and as it were the key of that part of *ITALIE*: and hauing with such ordinance as he tooke out of his gallies made a breach, easily entred the same, and so without any great losse tooke the citie. A thing not greatly to be maruelled at, for as much as it was but weakly manned, and more weakly defended, by men altogether liuing in securitie in the midst of their wealth and pleasure. The Archbishop, with *Zurlo* the Gouverneur, and the cheefe men of the citie, for safegard of their liues fled into the great cathedrall church, as into a sanctuarie; where they were altogether most miserably slaine. The rest of the citizens, whose hard fortune it was to escape the sword (as people refered to more miserie) were after ward shipped ouer into *GRECIA*, and there sold for slaves. The landing of the *Turkes* in *APVLIA*, with the taking of *OTRANTO*, brought a generall feare vpon all *ITALIE*, inso much that *Sixtus Quartus*, then the great Bishop of *Rome*, forgetting all things saue himselfe, was about to haue forsaken the citie for feare. Now after the *Turkes* had at their pleasure ranackt *OTRANTO*, *Achmetes* caused the same to be strongly fortified (as the sure footing of the *Turkes* in *ITALIE*) and victualled for eighteene moneths, and there leauing eight thousand of his best souldiours in garrison, returned himselfe with the rest to *VALLONA*, and so by land to *CONSTANTINOPLE* to know his great Masters further pleasure: but purposing with himselfe, with the first of the next Spring to haue returned with greater forces againe into *ITALIE* for the prosecuting of his former victorie. Which if he had done, it was greatly to haue been feared, that all that goodly countrey, sometime mistresse of the world, but then and yet also rent in sunder by the discord and ambition of the *Christian* princes, had in short time become a prey vnto the barbarous *Turke* for euer.

But whilest the great *Bassa* (in his life time the great scourge of *Christendome*) thus proudly plotteth the ruine and destruction of faire *ITALIE*, God in whose hands the hearts of kings are, put an hooke in the great tyrants nose, and led him quite another way. For at the same time, the *Caramanian* king, aided by the *Persian* and the Sultan of *ÆGIPP*, had in a great battaile overthrowne *Baiazet* (*Mahomet*s eldest sonne then liuing) and slaine most part of his armie: in reuenge whereof, *Mahomet* with great expedition raised a great and puissant armie, and taking

Achmetes

Achmetes with him as his cheefe man of war, rejecting the wars of *ITALIE* vnto a more conuenient time, passed ouer into *ASIA*: where vpon the way, about a daies journey short of *NICOMEDIA*, a citie of *BYTHINIA*, at a place called *GAIVISEN*, he fell sicke; and there for the space of three dayes greuously tormented with an extreame paine in his bellie, which some supposed to be the collicke, died; but being indeed (as most men thought) poysoned: when hee had liued about 52 yeares, and thereof reigned 31, in the yeare of our Lord 1481. His bodie was afterwards magnificently buried in a chappell neere vnto the great *Mahometane* temple, which he himselfe first built at *CONSTANTINOPLE*.

1481
Mahomet dies at Geimsin in Bythinia, now without suspect on of poyson. He is buried at Constantinople.

The death of this mightie man (who liuing troubled a great part of the world) was not much more lamented by those that were neerest vnto him (who euer liuing in feare of his crueltie, hated him deadly) than of his enemies, who euer in doubt of his greatnesse, were glad to heare of his end. He was of stature but low, and nothing answerable to the height of his mind, square set, and strong limbed; not inferior in strength (when he was yong) vnto any in his fathers court, but to *Scanderbeg* onely; his complexion was *Tartarlike*, fallow and melancholic, as were most of his ancestours the *Oshtoman* kings; his looke and countenance sterne, with his eyes piercing, hollow and little funke as it were in his head, and his nose so high and crooked that it almost touched his upper lip. To be breefe, his countenance was altogether such, as if nature had with most cunning hand therein depainted and most curiously set forth to view the inward disposition and qualities of his mind: which were on both parts notable. Hee was of a very sharpe and apprehensiu wit, learned as amongst that nation, especially in *Astronomie*, and could speake the *Greek*, *Latine*, *Arabicke*, *Chaldey*, and *Persian* tongues. He delighted much in reading of histories, and the liues of worthie men, especially the liues of *Alexander the Great*, and of *Julius Cæsar*, whom he propoed to himselfe as examples to follow. He was of an exceeding courage, and thereto very fortunate: a seuerer punisher of iniustice, in them especially to whom hee had committed the administration of justice. Men that excelled in any qualitie, he greatly fauoured and honourably entertained: as he did *Gentill Bellin*, a painter of *VENICE*, whom he purposely caused to come from thence to *CONSTANTINOPLE*, to draw the lively counterfeite of himselfe, for which he most bountifully rewarded him. He so seuerely punished theft, as that in his time all the wayes were safe, and a theefe scarcely to bee heard of. But these good parts were in him obscured with most horrible and notorious vices: for why, he was altogether irreligious, and of all others most perfidious, ambitious aboue measure, and in nothing more delighted than in blood: inso much, that it is probably gathered, that hee was in his time the death of eight hundred thousand men: craft, couetousnesse, and dissimulation were in him accounted for tollerable faults, in comparison of his greater vices. In his loue was no assurance, and his least displeasure was death: so that hee liued feared of all men, and died lamented of none. He had issue three sonnes, *Mustapha* (dead before him as is before declared) *Baiazet*, and *Gemes*, or rather *Zemes*, of some called *Zizimius*, *Isapha*, *Baiaxet*, and *Zemes*. competitor of the empire with his elder brother: whom hee exceedingly troubled in the beginning of his reigne, so that he could not well attend any other thing but him: which oportunitie (by God himselfe no doubt offered for the safegard of *ITALIE*) *Alphonse* duke of *CALABRIA*, (king *Ferdinand*s eldest son) taking hold vpon, with all the power he could make in *ITALIE*, besieged the *Turks* in *OTRANTO*: with whom he had many sharpe skirmishes, wherein he lost diuers of his great captaines and commaunders; as the countie *Iulio de Aquino*, *Loys de Capua*, and the countie *Iulio de Pisa*, with others, and was still by the strong garrison of the *Turks* put to the worse: vntill such time, as being strengthened with aid out of *SPAIN* and *PORTINGALE*, but especially with certaine companies of most valiant souldiours sent from *Matthias Corninus* out of *HUNGARIE* (whose forces the *Turks* most feared) he began to cut them short, and straitly besieged the citie both by sea and land: vntill at length the besieged *Turkes* hearing of the death of their great emperour, and now hardly pressed with the dangers of a strait siege, no longer expecting the reuente of *Achmetes* their Generall (then readie to haue come to their rescue with five and twentie thousand soldiours) yielded vp the citie vnto the duke vpon composition before made, That they might with bag and baggage in safetie depart thence: which they did, after they had to the great terror of all *ITALIE* holden that strong citie by the space of a yeare. And so was that rich countrey rather by the mercie of God (in taking away the great tyrant) preferred, than by the strength or policie of the inhabitants; which was then in great danger to

The sonnes of Mahomet, Mustapha, Isapha, Baiaxet, and Zemes.

Oranto yielded up by the Turke upon composition

Mahomet the Great,

haue for euer giuen place vnto the power of the great tyrant, had he longer liued; yea and after his death to the power of *Baiaſet* his ſonne, had he not by domeſticall troubles been enforced to turne himſelfe another way, and as it were to neglect in time to releue his diſtreſſed garriſon in *OTRANTO*, as ſhall hereafter be declared.

FINIS.

Christian princes of the ſame time with Ma- homet the Great.	Emperours	Of the Eaſt	Constantinus Paleologus, laſt Chriſtian emperor of Conſtantinople.	1444. 8.
		Of the Weſt	Frederick the third, Arch- duke of Auſtria.	1440. 54.
	Kings	Of England	Henrie the ſixt. Edward the fourth.	1422. 39. 1460. 22.
		Of Fraunce	Charles the ſeuenth. Lewis the eleuenth.	1423. 38. 1461. 22.
		Of Scotland	James the ſecond. James the third.	1437. 24. 1460. 29.
	Biſhops of Rome		Nicholas the V.	1437. 8.
			Calixtus the III.	1455. 3.
			Pius the II.	1458. 6.
			Paulus the II.	1464. 7.
			Xyſtus the III.	1471. 13.





Phil. Lonicer.
Turc. Hist. lib. 1.

*Arma manu quatunt fratres hostilia, regnum,
Hinc Baiazethes, Zizimus inde petit.
Baiazethes rerum potitur, Rhodon, inde Quiritum,
Zizimus extrema mania sorte petit.
Sustinet & bello, varias & pace, procellas,
Baiazethes, felix & miser, inter opes.
Iam senio tremulus, fert bella domestica, regno
A gnato ciecus, dira venena bibit.*

Like earthborne brethren, Baiazet and Zizimus in armes,
Seeke for the Turkish empire great, the one by th' others harmes.
Vntill that Baiazet preuail'd, and Zizimus was faine
To flie to RHODES, from thence to ROME, whereas he caught his baine.
Great stormes endured Baiazet, in peace and bloudie broiles:
A man both happie and accurst, amongst his richest spoiles.
But now forworne with trembling age, and ciuile discord new,
Thrust from his empire by his sonne, died poisoned by a Jew.



THE LIFE OF BAIAZET, SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND SECOND EMPEROVR OF THE TURKES.



Pon the death of *Mahomet* the late emperor, great troubles began to arise about the succession in the Turkish empire; some of the Basses and great capitaines, seeking to place *Baiazet* the eldest sonne of *Mahomet* in the empire; and others with no lesse deuotion labouring to preferre *Zemes*, or *Gemes*, otherwise called *Zizimus*, *Baiazet* his younger brother. By occasion whereof, there arose two great and mightie factions, which in few daies grew to such heat, that manie great tumults and hoat skirmishes were made in diuers places of the imperiall citie, betwixt the fauourites of both factions, and great slaughter committed. In these broiles, the prowd Ianizaries for an old grudge slew *Mahometes*, one of the foure great Basses, a man by whose graue counsell most of the waightie affaires of the Turkish empire had beene managed during the raigne of the late emperor: And proceeding farther in their accustomed insolencie, spoiled all the Christians and Iewes which dwelt amongst them, of all their wealth and substance; at which time the rich merchants and citizens of CONSTANTINOPLE which were naturall Turkes themselves, escaped not their rauening hands, but became vnto them a prey and spoile also. The other three Basses of the court, *Isack*, *Mesthes*, and *Achmetes* (lately returned from the winning of *HYDRUNTUM* in *ITALIA*) although they secretly maligned and enuied one at the greatnesse of an other; yet to appease these so dangerous troubles, and to assure their owne estates, joynd hands together, and by their great authoritie and multitude of followers and fauourites, found meanes that *Corcutus* (one of the younger sonnes of *Baiazet*, a young prince of eightene yeares old) was as it were by generall consent of the nobilitie and souldiours saluted emperor, and with great triumph and solemnitie placed in the imperiall seat. In whose name, the aforesaid Basses at their pleasure disposed of all things, little or nothing regarding either *Baiazet* or *Zemes*, then both absent, the one at *AMASIA*, and the other at *ICONIUM* in *LYCAONIA*: for the jealous Turkish kings, neuer suffer their sonnes to liue in court neere vnto them, after they be growne to yeares of discretion; but send them to gouerne their prouinces farre off: where they are also vnder the command of the emperours lieutenants generall in *ASIA* or *EVROBIA*, and may not depart from their charge without great danger, not so much as to visit their father, without his expresse leaue and commandement. So jealous are those tyrants, yea euen of their owne sonnes.

Baiazet and *Zemes* hearing of the death of their father, and of the troubles in the imperiall citie, halted thitherward with all speed, where *Baiazet* being the neerer, first arriued: but finding the empire already possessed by *Corcutus* his younger sonne, and himselfe excluded; he in the griefe of his heart, poured forth most grievous complaints before God and man, calling heaven and earth to witnesse of the great wrong and injurie done vnto him by the prowd Basses. And what by teares and humble obtestations, what by great gifts and greater promises, but most of all by the earnest labour & sollicitation of *Chersegle* the Viceroy of *GRACIA*, and the Aga or capitaine of the Ianizaries, both his sons in law, preuailed so much with the great Basses and souldiours of the court, that *Corcutus* being of a mild and courteous disposition, overcome by their entrea-

tie and the reuerence of his father, resigned vnto him the imperall gouernment, which he presently tooke vpon him with the genierall good liking of the people, and made *CORCUTUS* gouernor of LYCIA, CARIA, and IONIA, with the pleasant and rich countries thereabouts, allowing him a great yearly pension for the better maintenance of his estate, with promise also of the empire after his decease: and so sent him away to his charge, where he most pleasantly liued during the raigne of his father *Baiazet*; giuing himselfe wholly to the studie of Philosophie, which made that he was afterwards lesse fauoured of the Ianizaries and other men of warre.

*Zemes riseth a-
gainst his bro-
ther Baiazet.*

Zemes thus preuented by his elder brother, and vnderstanding by his friends how all things stood at CONSTANTINOPLE, and that *Baiazet* was already possessed of the empire: returning with great speed, raised a puissant armie in the countries which were vnder his command; and marching through the heart of ASIA the lesse, by the way as he went, tooke into his possession such cities and strong places as he thought best: and so entering into BYTHINIA, tooke the great citie of PRUSA, the ancient seat of the *Othoman* kings. Purposing in himselfe, that as *Baiazet* had shut him out of EVROPE, so he would also in requitall thereof exclude him out of that part of the Turkish empire which is beyond HELLESPOINTVS in ASIA, and to make himselfe lord thereof. Wherein fortune at the first seemed vnto him most fauourable, all the people whereofsoeuer he came yeelding vnto him obedience as vnto their prince and soueraigne: so that in short time he seemed both vnto himselfe and to others in strong possession of that part of the empire.

*Baiazet riseth a-
gainst Zemes.*

Of these his proceedings *Baiazet* hauing intelligence, and perceiuing the greater part of his empire now in danger to bee lost; and doubting farther that *Zemes* his ambitious mind would hardly rest therewith long contented: for remedie of so great a mischeefe, leuied a strong and puissant armie, wherewith he passed ouer into ASIA, and came to NEAPOLIS, a citie of ANATOLIA, nere whereunto *Zemes* lay with his armie strongly encamped. As *Baiazet* was vpon the way against his brother, *Achmetes* the great Bassa (in the confession of all men the best man of warre, and most expert capitaine amongst the Turkes, and of all others most entirely beloued of the Ianizaries) came, and vnarmed, presented himselfe vpon his knees before *Baiazet*, his sword hanging at his saddle bow: to the great admiration of many, who could not but wonder to see so worthe a cheefestaine of so great place in time of seruice, without any apparent cause, in such humble manner to appeare before his soueraigne, as if he had had nothing to doe with armes. It chanced many yeares before in the mortall warres betwixt *Mahomet* the late and great emperor K of the Turkes, and *Assymbicus Vsun-Cassanes* the king of PERSIA, that *Baiazet* hauing the leading of the right wing of his fathers armie, had not martialled it in so good order as was to *Mahomet* his liking: for which cause he commaunded this *Achmetes* to goe and set that part of the battell in better order. Which his soueraignes commaund whiles hee most skilfully performed, *Baiazet* taking it in euill part, as tending to his owne disgrace, in great choller threatened the Bassa to find a time when he would be reuenged vpon him: But he being a man of great spirit, and one that durst both do and say much, perceiuing his meaning, bid him do what pleased him; and laying his hand vpon his sword, solemnly vowed, That whensoever he came to command as emperor, he would neuer after weare sword in field: the remembrance wherof was the cause that he then came in manner aforesaid, readie to serue if he were thereto commaunded, or otherwise to endure what so his princes pleasure was. *Baiazet* perceiuing, that the vnkindnesse so long before conceiued, was not yet digested, in token of grace stretched out to him his scepter, and taking him vp, commaunded him to girt his sword vnto his side, and not to remember that which he had long before both forgiven and forgotten. And knowing right well that he was a most valiant and expert capitaine, made him Generall of his armie, to the great contentment of the Ianizaries and the rest of the armie: who so soone as they saw him, gaue out diuers great shouts for joy, as if victorie had most assuredly attended vpon him. *Achmetes* taking vpon him the charge, came and encamped so nere as he could to *Zemes*, and so lay by the space of ten daies: during which time, many shapieskirmishes were made with diuers fortune; sometime the one side preuailling, and sometime the other. At length the matter was brought to a generall battell: wherein after a long and cruell fight, and great slaughter on both sides, the fortune of *Baiazet*, conducted by the policie of *Achmetes*, preuailed against *Zemes*. VVho seeing his armie ouerthrowne, betooke himselfe to flight, and came to ICONYM: in which flight, many of *Zemes* his followers were taken prisoners, whom *Baiazet* would haue pardoned and enlarged, but that by the persua-

*Achmetes made
Generall of Ba-
iazet his armie.*

sion of *Achmetes* he changed his mind, and to the terrour of others suffered them all to be put to the sword.

Zemes doubting after this ouerthrow to fall into his brothers hands, and finding no means to make head againe: when he had stayed three daies at ICONYM, caused his treasure, plate, jewells, and other things of great valour and light carriage to be trussed vp, and taking with him his mother and his two yong children, a sonne and a daughter, accompaied with a small retinue, fled into SYRIA, then part of the dominion of *Caytbeyus*, commonly called the great Sultan of EGYPTE and SYRIA. It was not long after the departure of *Zemes* from ICONYM, but that *Baiazet* came thither with his armie, to haue surprised him: but vnderstanding of his flight, he took order for the peaceable gouernment of that part of his empire. And so hauing suppressed that dangerous rebellion, and againe reduced that troubled part of his empire to his obedience, returned with victorie to CONSTANTINOPLE.

The distressed prince *Zemes* travelling through SYRIA, came at length to HIERUSALEM: where he stayed a good space, deuoutly visiting the monuments of that most auncient and famous citie. From thence he travelled into EGYPTE; where at his first entrance into the countrey, he was met by diuers of the greatest nobilitie of that kingdome, sent from the great Sultan, by whom he was honourably conducted to CAIRE, and there presented to *Caytbeyus*, of whom hee was graciously welcommed: vnto whom after due reuerence done, hee declared the cause of his coming as followeth:

1482

If it were not to me certainly knowne (most victorious) that you are not ignorant either who I am, or from whence descended, or with what iniurie enforced, after long and painefull trauell I am here arrived; it would much concerne me to use another manner of beginning of my speeche, and with greater protestation of words to seeke your gracious fauour. But for as much as all these things are vnto your most royall Maiestie sufficiently knowne, as I doe well perceiue in this, that your infinit clemencie hath entertained me with farre greater kindnesse, than I in such my aduerser fortune durst wish for; much lesse request: now nothing remaineth for me to say, more than iustly to complaine vnto your invincible Maiestie of the wrong and iniurie done vnto me by *Baiazet*, whom I waz more iustly to arme my cruell enemy than kind brother. For he not contented to haue taken vnto himselfe my fathers empire by great tumult and slaughter, hath with all hostilitie and force of armes persecuted me his brother, excluded out of the imperall citie, and then liuing in BYTHINIA, troublesome neither to him nor any of his people, and neuer rested untill he had chased me out of the bounds of my fathers empire. Neither hath the zealous desire of soueraigntie (whereof my father whilest he liued, had him alwayes in distrust) so much moued him vnto this so cruell a fact, as a certaine vnnaturall crueltie towards all his kindred in generall, and mortall hatred against me his brother in particular: for he which is already possessed of the empire, and doth with all hostilitie persecute a priuat person, subiect and exposed to his iniurie, that man thirsteth not after soueraigntie, but after blood; neither desireth he to conquer, but to kill. And whereas after my fathers death great troubles arise in CONSTANTINOPLE, and many bloodie skirmishes were fought betwixt the fauourits of both of vs, it cannot wish any truth be laid to my charge, as done by my aduise or counsell, I being at the same time so far from thence. Neither am I iustly to be blamed, if that after my fathers departure I put my selfe vpon the way towards CONSTANTINOPLE, especially being sent for thither by many my good friends, men of great marke and qualitie: but his fortune preuailling, I gaue place, and least my coming to the imperall citie might haue been the occasion of new troubles, I turned aside into BYTHINIA, and so to PRUSA, with purpose there to haue rested in quiet, if my brother would haue giuen me leaue. But so farre was he from that, to suffer me there to rest, as that I was by him most cruelly assailed as an open enemy: and had I not by speedie flight withdrauone my selfe from the imminent danger, and departed quite out of my fathers kingdome, I must haue yeelded my selfe, my blood, and life, as a sacrifice into his cruell hands. Neither is he to me so mortall an enemy, or thirsteth after my life so much for feare, as for vengeance and mallice: for what is there in me to feare? Verely nothing: CONSTANTINOPLE is his, the fauour of the great cheefestaines and men of warre is his, the treasure and regall riches are all his, wherefore he hateth his brother, but feareth him not. He will sway all things alone, he will haue all that belongeth to the Othoman familie alone, and he, yea none but he, must lue alone. Xerxes was a mightie king, and yet in that great and large kingdome he not onely preferred his brethren in lesse, but had them also in great honour and estimation. What did Alexander the Great? who not

only

Baiazet the second,

only tooke pleasure in his brother, but had him also as a companion of his most glorious expeditions: and many other famous kings of forraigne nations, and of our owne familie, haue ruled both more safely, and better strengthened with the counsell and aid of their most louing brethren, rather than with others. But Baiazet is of a farre other mind, reputed violence and haughtinesse of heart to be his greatest and surest defence: herein his fierce nature delighteth, more than in the lawfull course of nature, iustice, and equitie; he had rather haue his brother his enemy than his friend, and to driue him into exile than to make him partaker of his counsells. But I beseech thee most puissant Monarch, the faithful keeper and maintainer of our law and religion, by the sacred reliques of our great prophet Mahomet, which thou hast at Hierusalem and Macha, suffer me not, a kings sonne, to liue in banishment and exile, poore and miserable, a scorner of his brothers crueltie, farre from home, farre from his countrey and kingdome: but regarding the law of the great Prophet, lift vp the afflicted and oppressed, and by the great authoritie which you haue, bridle domesticall wrong: or if that will not take place, reuenge it with thy sword, and suffer not our empire, with so great trauell founded, by the crueltie or follie of one wishfull man to be ouerthrowne: which should be no more grieuous and lamentable to vs, than dangerous to your most high estate, and all other kings and princes of our religion. For you of your selfe vnderstand right well, what deadly enemies the Christian princes are vnto the Turks: and doe you thinke, that if any great warre (which I wish not) should arise of this our discord, that they would long rest in quiet, and as idle beholders stand looking on, untill it were of it selfe appeased? Or rather, hauing such an opportunitie presented, would not with might and maine suddainely invade our kingdome, before shaken with ciuile warres, and seeke the utter ruine and destruction of the same? which their desire, if that hatefull people could bring to passe (which thing Mahomet turne vpon themselves) my mind abhorreth to thinke how far that mischeefe would run: for the Othoman familie once rooted out, there is none of our religion, your Maiestie onely excepted, which is able to withstand their power: wherefore you must then stand for your selfe, and all the rest, you alone must withstand the force of the Christians, you must maintaine that warre with much losse, and greater charge, and most vncertaine successe. Wherefore inuincible Monarch, I most humbly beseech thee, that pitying our estate, whilst the matter is yet whole, and remedie is yet to be had, to deale with Baiazet by your ambassadors, That though he will not receiue me his brother as partener of the empire, yet at least to admit me into some small part of my fathers kingdome: let him raigene and rule, let all things be at his command; let it be lawfull for my poore man, but to liue in rest and quiet somewhere, possessing but so much as may suffice me honestly to lead a priuat life. which thing if he shall refuse to grant, although he neither feare the lawes of God or man: yet as I haue at Hierusalem, so will I also shortly at Macha (if by your leaue I may) complaine vnto the great prophet of the iniuries done vnto me by my cruell and vnnatural brother; and afterwards make prooffe of your compassion towards me, all which I hope shall much auail. But if (which I would not) I shall proue all these things in vaine, with desperation enforceth men to all extremities, I will goe with fire, sword, and slaughter, by secret and open force, by right and wrong; and hated, will vex my hatefull brother by all manner of mischeefe, by all manner of reuenge. Neither will I make an end of confounding of all, untill I be either receiued into part of the empire, or els together with my life leaue those desperat and lost things for him alone to enjoy. For I deeme it much better, quickly to die, than with disgrace and infamie to protract a lingering loathed life.

The great Sultan in courteous manner comforted the distressed prince, willing him to bee of good cheere, and patiently to beare his present hap: for as much as it became a man borne in so high fortune, not to be discouraged with any mischance, or dismayed if things fell out otherwise than he looked for: commending him withall, for that hee saw in him no lesse courage than might well haue becommen his better estate: and willing him to liue still in hope, promised to doe what in him lay, to reconcile him vnto his brother, and to perswade him that he might be receiued into some part of the kingdom. And to that purpose shortly after dispatched away an honourable embassage to *Baiaſet. Zemes* in the meane while, by the same Sultans leaue, vpon a superstitious deuotion travelled into *ARABIA*, to visit the temple of *Mahomet* at *Meca*, and his sepulchre at *Medina*. Vpon his returne to *Caire*, the embassadours before sent, returned also, but not hauing obtained any thing they desired: for *Baiaſet* would not giue care to any agreement, but seemed altogether to contemne and despise his brother. Wherefore *Zemes* more vpon stomacke and desire of reuenge, than for any hope he had of the empire, determined with

A himselfe to make open warre vpon him: reposing some good hope in his secret friends, and in the result of some of the great captaines, who discontented with the government of Baiazet, secretly wished for his returne.

Whilest hee was thus plotting these waightie matters, a messenger with letters came fly-
from the king of *CARAMANIA*, offering with all the power he could make, to joync with him,
if he would take vp armes against his brother. This poore ritular king then liued in *ARMENIA*,
and being able by his friends to make some good force, was in hope by joynning with *Zemes*, to
recover some part of the *Caramanian* kingdom, from whence his father was not many yeares
before driuen by the force of the late Turkish emperour *Mahomet* the Great, *Baiazet* his father.
It is hard to say, whether of these distressed and exiled princes, gaue the greater encouragement
to the other, to take this desperat war in hand, being both together farre vnable by all the friends
they could make to encounter with the great power of *Baiazet*. But what is so dangerous or
desperat which aspiring minds will not attempt, in hope of a kingdomes whose brightnesse fo-
resheweth their eyes, that they can see nothing but it.

Hereupon *Zemes* hauing receiued great gifts of the *Ægyptian Sultan*, with promise of aid, departed from *CAIRE* (the Sultan earnestly perswading him to the contrarie) &c. as it was before appointed, met with the *Caramannian* king vpon the borders of *ASIA*, the lesser: where they concluded to joyne together such forces as they had, and to invade *Babazel*. VVhich they accordingly did: for raising all the power they could, they entered into *CILICIA*, now called *CARAMANNIA*; and joyning their armies together, encamped betweene *ICONIUM* and *LARENDA*. Neither did *Babazel* in time of so great a danger sit still, not so much fearing his brothers power, as the reuolting of his captaines and souldiours; whom he knew, either to loue, or at least not to hate the young prince his brother. VVherfore he raised a great armie, and sent *Achmetes* the greatest man of war before with the one part thereof, himselfe following after with a far greater strength: for at that time he had vnder his ensignes two hundred thousand men.

for at that time he had vnder his ensignes two hundred thousand men.
As he was marching with this great armie, a rumor was raised in the campe, That some of his cheefe capitaines had conspired to betray him into the hands of his brother, and that many of the souldiours secretly fauouring *Zemes*, would vpon the joyning of the battell forsake him, and take part with his brother. Which report so troubled *Baiazet*, that he stood in doubt what to doe, or whom to trust: but knowing that nothing winneth the heart of the common souldiour more than the Generals bountie, he forthwith caused a wonderfull masse of money to be deuicd amongst the capitaines and souldiours, lodging their minds with ample promises of farre greater rewards, for their fidelitie and valour to be shewed in that present seruice. Having thus assured vnto himselfe the wauering minds of his souldiours, he began to draw neerer to *Iconium*, where his enemies lay encamped: and by glosing letters and flattering messengers made shew openly, as if he had bene very desirous to come to some good agreement with them, but secretly went about to stop all the straits & passages, in such manner as that it should not be possible for them againe to retire backe into *Syria*: for hee doubted nothing more, but least they being but few in number, & so in strength far vnequall vnto him, would not vpon so great disadvantage hazard the fortune of a battell, but retire themselves into *Syria*, and so to his exceeding trouble and infinite charge protract the warre.

E fini charge protract the warre.
Zemes perceiuing his brothers subtil drift, and seeing no such revolt as he had hoped for, and
as had before by letters to him benee promised; and waighing with reason his owne weakne-
ces, retired in good time vnto the straits of the mountaine A M A N V S, which deuidenth CILIC-
cia from SYRIA. Here, despairing of all good successe in the enterprise he had taken in hand,
he perswaded the Caramannian king his confederat to giue place vnto the time, and, to referue
himselfe vnto his better fortune : and so breaking vp his armie, with a few of his followers came
downe to the sea coast of CILICIA; where he hired a tall ship to attend in readinesse, that if
any suddaine danger should arise, he might goe aboard, and so saue himselfe by sea. In the mean
time he sent a messenger vnto Dambos, Great Master of the RHODES, certifying him, That for
F as much as he had no place of safetie left amongst his owne people, wherein hee might throwd
himselfe from the furie of his brother, still seeking after his life, hee would vpon his safe conduct
come vnto him into his island of the RHODES. Which his request the Great Master easily
gaunted, deeming the flight of so great a prince from the Turke, to be a thing much profitable
to the Christian commonweale : and thereupon he presently sent forth certaine gallies to fetch
him

him from the troublesome coast of C I C I L I A. But before these gallies were come, *Zemes* was enforced by the sudden access of his enemies, for the auoiding of present danger, to go aboard on that ship which he had proudly before prepared to be in readinesse for such purpose. And hauing put a little from the shore, shot backe againe an arrow with letters made fast vnto it, directed vnto his brother *Baiazet*, containing as followeth:

*Zemes his letters
to his brother
Baiazet.*

Thou knowest (most unkind and cruell brother) that I lie not vnto the Christians, the mortall enemies of the Othoman family, for hatred of thy religion or nation; but enforced therunto by thy iniurious dealing, and dangerous practises which thou incessantly attemptest against me; yea even in my extreame miserie. But this assured hope I carrie with me, that the time will come when as thou the author of so great wrong, or thy children, shall receive the iust guerdon of this thy present rannie against thy brother.

It is reported, that when *Baiazet* had read these letters, he was so troubled in mind, that for certaine daies he gaue himselfe wholly to mourning and heauinesse, and would in no wise be comforted: inso much, that he was brought into the campe by the Bassaes, as a man halfe distraught of his wits, shunning for a season all mens speech and companie.

*Zemes fleeth to
the Rhodians.*

Zemes sailing to the R H O D I E S, was there honourably receiued of the Great Master, and all the rest of the knights of the order: to whom in their publike assembly three daies after, he openly declared the causes of the discord betwix his brother and him: alleading for the colour of his rebellion, That although *Baiazet* were his elder brother, yet that he was borne whilest his father yet liued in priuat estate, vnder subjection and command, long before hee possessed the kingdom, and so no kings sonne: whereas hee himselfe was the first borne of his father, being an emperour, and so not heire of his fathers priuat fortune (as was *Baiazet*) but of his greatest honour and empire; and yet not of such an haucie mind, but that he could haue beene content to haue giuen place vnto his brother, so that he could haue beene contented likewise to haue granted him some small portion of the empire, wherein he might safely haue liued as a poore prince, and his brother: but that such was his pride, as that he would not vouchsafe to suffer him to liue so much as a poore priuat life in anie corner of so large an empire, and was therefore by his vnnaturall and tyranous dealing, enforced to craue aid of the Christian princes. Of whom (for so much as he had alwaies heard much honour) he was in good hope to find succour and reliefe in that his distressed estate: protesting vnto God and the world, that if euer it should be his good fortune by their meanes and helpe to obtaine the empire, he would neuer be vnmindfull of so great a benefit; but to make with them a perpetuall and inuolable peace, and so to rest their fast friend for euer. The Great Master on the other side comforting him with cheerfull speeches, promised to keepe him in safetie from the furie of his brother; and farther, to commend his cause to the other great kings and princes of Christendome.

*The description
of Zemes.*

This exiled prince *Zemes* was about the age of eight and twentie yeares when he came to the R H O D I E S; of stature tall, somewhat corpulent and well limbd, gray cied, but looking something a squint; hooke nosed, and in the middle rising, in such manner as the Persians commend in their kings: of colour browne, spare of speech, and by nature cholericke; a great feeder, so that he seemed rather to deuoure his meat than to eat it; much delighted in swimming, and to lie abroad in the night; pensie and melancholy, which men imputed to his great cares, neuer merrie but in the companie of the graund Master; a religious obseruer of his superstition, from which he could neuer be drawne during the long time he liued in exile; learned, as among the Turks, so that he writ the historie of his fathers life. But leauing him in safe keeping with the Graund Master of the R H O D I E S, let vs againe returne to the course of our historie.

Baiazet hauing now the second time chased away his brother, after he had well quieted that part of his troubled kingdom in A S I A, returned againe to C O N S T A N T I N O P L E, carefully attending when some new motion should be made by his brother, to his farther disquiet. But after he vnderstood that he was with the Great Master of the R H O D I E S, he sent certaine of the Bassaes (amongst whom *Achmetes* the great souldiour is reported to haue beene one) vnto the Great Master, requesting him to deliuer vp *Zemes*, offering for him a wonderfull summe of money. Which dishonourable request, when it could by no meanes be obtained, the same embassadors in the name of their master, concluded a peace verie commodious for the Rhodians: wherein amongst other things it was agreed, That the Great Master should keepe *Zemes* in safe custodie, so that he should no more trouble the Turkish empire: in consideration whereof, and for his honorable

noble vltage, *Baiazet* should yearly pay vnto the Great Master thirtie thousand duckets the first of August, which was afterward accordingly paid.

It fortuned that whilest *Achmetes* the great Bassa (employed in matters abroad) was absent from the court, *Baiazet* discoursing with the other Bassaes his graue counsellors, vpon his late expedition into A S I A against his brother, seemed to be highly offended with the vntrustinesse and doubtfull faith of some of his greatest captaines and souldiours: yet vpon whom he might justly lay the blame, he well knew not, although it seemed by his talke he should somewhat distrust the great captaine *Achmetes*. Hereupon *Isaack* the most auintient Bassa of the court, and of greatest authoritie next vnto *Baiazet* himselfe (whose daughter, a ladie of exceeding beautie, *Achmetes* had long before married: but doubting that she had yeilded her honour to the wanton lust of *Mustapha* the eldest sonne of *Mahomet* the late emperour, had put her from him, and would by no meanes be reconciled; for which cause there was a secret hatred euer after betwix those two great Bassaes) perceiuing the emperours discontented and suspitious humor, and desiring nothing more than the destruction of *Achmetes*; tooke hold vpon this opportunitie, and by all meanes he could deuise, encreased the suspicion of the treason, which had alreadie too much possessed the jealous emperour: sometimes craftily imagining, intelligence to haue passed betwixt *Zemes* and *Achmetes*; and forthwith amplifying his power and authoritie, which (as hee said) was so great with the Ianizaries and souldiours of the court, that they by reason of his often imployments, werewholly at his deuotion; so that he might at his pleasure doe more in *Zemes* his quarrell, than should stand with the safetie of *Baiazet*: a matter to be well considered of, and also carefully preuented. For remedie of which dangers, it was thought necessarie that *Achmetes* at his returne to court, should be taken away and slaine.

*Achmetes his
death contriued.*

Achmetes fearing nothing lesse than that which was contriued against him, came after his wonted manner to the court: and was with the other great Bassaes invited to a solemne supper, which *Baiazet* had commaunded to be prepared, to solace himselfe after his trauels (as it was giuen out) with his chiefe Bassaes. To this royall supper came *Achmetes* with the rest of the bidden guests, mistrusting nothing, and was there sumptuously feasted by *Baiazet*: who to make his guests the merrier, drunke wine plentifully himselfe, causing them also to drinke in like manner, so that they were full of wine: a thing vtterly forbidden by their law, yet daily more and more vied, especially by their great men in their feasts. Supper now ended and the night farre spent, *Baiazet* in token that they were welcome, and stood in his good grace, caused certaine rich robes of pleasing colours to be brought forth, and to be cast vpon euery of his guests one, giuing beside vnto euery one of them a faire guilt boule full of gold. But vpon *Achmetes* was cast a gowne of blacke velvet, which amongst the Turks may well be called the mantle of death; being so sure a token of the emperours heauie indignation, as that it is death for any man once to open his mouth or to intreat for him vpon whom it is by the emperours commandement so cast. *Achmetes* seeing himselfe now vnder the shadow of death, and knowing it but vaine to intreat for mercie; as he was a man of great spirit, brake forth and said: *Oh catchpogli* (which is as much as to say, thou sonne of a whore) sith thou intendedst so much crueltie against me, why didst thou not put it in execution before thou hadst enforced me to drinke this impure and forbidden wine? and so casting his cies vpon the ground sat still. The other Bassaes hauing leaue to depart, giuing thanks to the emperour, and crauing pardon for their excesse, kissed the ground at his feet and so departed: with whom *Achmetes* offered to haue gone out also, but was forthwith commaunded to sit still, for that the emperour had to talke with him in secret. The Bassaes were no sooned to depart, but the terrible executioners of *Baiazes* his wrath stept in, and laid hands vpon *Achmetes* to haue slaine him: when one of the Eunuchs in greatest fauour with the tyrant, standing by, aduised him not to be too hastie in executing of so great a man, so entirely beloued of his best souldiours and men of warre, but rather to stay his execution for a while, to see how the matter would be digested; and in the meane time, by torture to wrest out from him what might be got, to make it in some sort appeare, that he died for his due desert. Hereupon *Baiazet* deferred his execution to a farther time, and caused him there presently to be stript, and carried away to be tortured.

Amongst other gallants of the court which attended the comming out of the great Bassaes whom they followed, was one of *Achmetes* his sonnes, a gentleman of great hope, who misling his father amongst the rest, began presently to mistrust that all went not well: & speedily running from

*Achmetes his
son stirreth up
the Ianizaries to
help his father.*

called of the Turkes KALE, but in antient time ACHILLEIA, which was at length deliuered vnto him by composition. From thence hee went to ACGIRMEN, otherwise called ASPROCASTRON, which after a moneths siege was also deliuered vp by composition: which two strong places so woon, he returned againe to CONSTANTINOPLE.

Many great
princes sue to
the Master of
the Rhodes for
Zemes.

Many great princes desirous of Zemes, laboured by their embassadours to haue obtained him of the Great Master of the RHODES, first Baiazet his brother fearing least hee should at one time or other againe breake forth vpon him, or els set vp by the Christian princes, trouble his estate, offered great summes of mony to haue had him deliuered into his hands; and Charles the French king purposing the conquest of NAPLES (which he in few yeares after performed) and after that to haue inuaded GRACIA, thought Zemes a most fit instrument for the furtherance of those his high designs, and was therefore wonderfull desirous to haue had him. *Matthias* also king of HUNGARIE (a fortunat Warriour against the Turke) perswaded that the hauing of him might be vnto him a great furtherance in the course of his victories, sought by all the meanes he could to haue obtained him. At which time also *Innocentius* the eight of that name, bishop of ROME, no lesse desirous than the rest, to haue in his keeping so great a pledge of peace and warre (the bridle of the Turkes furie, together with the large pension) hee was sure to receiue yearly from Baiazet for the safe custodie of him, so wrought the matter by *Lynnell* bishop of CONCORDIA his cunning legat, that the Great Master fearing on the one side to be constrained by the great power of Baiazet to graunt that he had so often refused, and now so earnestly solicited on the other side by the bishop, caused Zemes to bee deliuered to him at ROME in the yeare 1488: for which doing hee was by the bishop honoured with the honour and title of a Cardinall. So Zemes to the great profit of the bishop (who receiued from Baiazet a yearely pension of fortie thousand duckats) remained in safe custodie at ROME all the time of *Innocentius*, and also of *Alexander* the sixt his successour: vntill that the French king, *Charles* the eight, passing through the heart of ITALIE with a strong armie, against *Alphonfus* king of NAPLES in the yeare 1495, and making his way through the citie of ROME, so terrified the great Bishop, who altogether fauoured and furthered the title of *Alphonfus*, that he was glad to yeeld to such articles and conditions as pleased the king; and amongst the rest to giue in hostage vnto the king his gracelesse sonne *Cesar Borgia Valentinus*, and also to deliuer vnto him Zemes his honourable prisoner, as shall be afterwards in place conuenient at large declared.

In the beginning of Baiazet his raigne, whilst he was busied against his brother Zemes in ASIA, *John Castriot*, the sonne of *Scanderbeg*, aided by the Venetians, after he had fortunately ouerthrowne the Turks in a battell neere vnto CROIA, recouered a great part of EPIRVS out of their possession. At which time also *John Chernouich*, a Christian prince of ALBANIA, casting off the Turkish yoke imposed vpon him by the late emperour *Mahomet*, suddainly tooke vp armes, and by the helpe of the Venetians valiantly expelled his enemies out of that part of ALBANIA: and so troubled Baiazet, that he was glad to suffer him peaceably to enjoy all that hee had by force recouered, and further to content him with a small tribute for the rest.

1486

Baiazet inuaded
Caramania.

Baiazet highly offended with *Abraham* (whom some call *Pyramet*) the king of CARAMANIA, for aiding his brother Zemes against him; in reuenge thereof raised a great armie both in EVROPE and ASIA: & marching alongst ASIA the lesse through the countries of PHRIGIA, MISIA, CARIA, LYDIA, and PAMPHILIA, entered at length into CARAMANIA. But the king of CARAMANIA hearing before of his comming, and knowing himselfe too weak to meet him in field, fortified the strong cities and places of his kingdome, and retired with his armie into the straits of the mountaine TAVRVS, where it parteth CILICIA from SIRIA, wherein he was in more safetie than in any of his strongest holds. Baiazet finding no way to come to him, spent most part of the Summer in spoiling of the open countrey: but perceiving his enemies could not so be drawne into the field, he laied siege vnto the famous citie of TARSVS, being the cheefe citie of the champaigne part of CILICIA (the native place of *S. Paule* the Apostle) and in short time so battered the wals of the citie with his great ordinance, that he had made them faultable. The citizens considering the danger they were in, offered to deliuer vp their citie, their libertie liues and goods referred. Of which their offer Baiazet accepted, and most honourably performed his promise for their safetie: not permitting any of his souldiours to enter the citie, more than such as must needs for the guard of his person, and safe keeping of the citie. And for as much as Winter began now to grow fast on, he dispersed his souldiours into the country

they villages round about, not suffering the countrey people to till or sow their land, or to doe any thing els which might turne to their profit or good; whereby they were enforced to yeeld themselves wholly to his deuotion. The Caramanian king seeing his people daily fall from him, and fearing to be at length forsaken of his souldiours also; in this his distresse obtained aid both of men and money of *Caytheims* the great Sultan of EGYPTE, and so with all the power hee could make, tooke the field with the first of the Spring, fully resolved to trie the fortune of a battell, although in strength and power he knew himselfe much inferiour to his puissant enemy.

Baiazet glad to see his enemy so forward, speedily assembled his armie, and without delay offered him battell: which the Caramanian king refused not. So betwixt them was begun a fierce and terrible fight; which by the skilfull conduct of the leaders, and exceeding courage of the souldiours, was maintained the whole day, with doubtfull victorie and great slaughter on both sides, new supplies still comming on in stead of them which were slaine. The day declining, the Caramanian king (whose fatal destinie had now appointed him vnto his last worke) seeing his wearied souldiours rather ouerlaid with multitude than by force vanquished, to begin to giue ground vnto their enemies; courageously thrust forward with his guard and other valiant souldiours about him, with such furie, that hee brake into the midst of his enemies battaille: where being knowne, hee was forthwith enuironned by the Turkes, and so hardly charged on every side, that hauing his horse slaine vnder him, he was enforced to fight on foot; where after he had with his owne hand slaine diuers of his enemies, hee fell downe dead in the midst of them. His souldiours discouraged with his death, turned their backs and fled, and in flying, were for most part either slaine or taken prisoners. After this victorie, Baiazet speedily ouerran all that large countrey, and without resistance, in short time brought vnder his obeyfance all the countrey of CILICIA.

A long and terrible
battell betwixt
Baiazet and the king of
Caramania.

There was at that time in that part of CILICIA which is called TRACHEA, and lieth towards the sea side, an antient Mahometane prince, who had vnder his command most part of that country, with the famous and populous citie of SCANDELORO, the cheefe place of his resistance. This prince had of long time liued betwixt the Turkish kings and the kings of CARAMANNIA, as neuter, still fearing the greater, but indeed louing neither: and had vntill then chiefly maintained his state by the alliance he and his ancestors continually held with the kings of CYPRVS and the Grand Masters of the RHODES. Against this poore prince, the onely one now left in ASIA the lesse, not subject vnto the Turkish kings, began Baiazet now to turne his forces: purposing before he proceeded any further, to make a full conquest of the lesser ASIA, and so to make all sure behind him. Of which his purpose, the prince hauing knowledge, and wisely way-making his owne small power to withstand so puissant an enemy: offered by his embassadours to deliuer vnto Baiazet his chiefe citie of SCANDELORO, with all the rest of his territorie in CILICIA, vpon condition, that Baiazet should giue vnto him other possessions for it in some other part of ASIA the lesse, to the like value. Which his offer Baiazet accepted, and so became lord of all the sea coast, from the straits of BOSPHORVS vnto the confines of SIRIA.

After he had thus conquered CILICIA, with a great part of the mountaine TAVRVS, hee descended into ARMENIA the lesse, and in short time brought vnder his subiection so much of that country, as also of CAPPADOCIA, as was sometime belonging to the Caramanian kings. When Baiazet had thus slaine the Caramanian king, and subdued that most antient kingdome of the Turkes, which had long and many times mightily contended with the glory and power of the *Othoman* kings; he left *Mustapha* (one of his great Bassaes) at ICONIUM, with his Asian armie to keepe in obedience those new woon countries: and as a triumphant conqueror returned himselfe to CONSTANTINOPLE, where he was of his subjects joyfully receiued.

After that Baiazet had thus enlarged his empire with the kingdome of CARAMANNIA, and he was now become an vnwelcome neighbour vnto the great Sultan of EGYPTE and SIRIA; he began to swell in disdain against that mightie prince, for that he had giuen aid against him, first vnto his brother Zemes, and after that to the Caramanian king in these late waies: of which wrong, purposing to be reuenged, hee shortly after appointed one *Caragofes Bassa* his lieutenant in ASIA, with *Ishender*, another of his great captaines, with a strong armie to inuade SIRIA, the purpose, when they were come to the vttermost parts of CILICIA, the new bounds of Baiazet's empire, were then to passe by the confines of *Aladenles* his kingdome, before they could

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passed the great mountaine TAVRVS to come into SYRIA. This *Aladeules* commanded as king ouer the rude and fierce people which dwelt alongst that great and rough mountaine, and was then in league with the Sultan: he hearing of the approach of the Turkes armie, with a great number of his mountaine people lay in ambush in the straits, whereby the Turkes must needs passe, of purpose to intercept them. *Ishender* marching in the vanguard with a great number of the voluntarie souldiours called *Acaziz*, as the manner of the Turkes is, and fearing nothing lesse than to be set vpon by the mountaine king, before he was aware was come into the middle of his enemies; and was by them so fiercely charged on euery side from their places of aduantage, that he there lost most part of his men, and forsaken of the rest, which sought by flight to saue themselves, he with his two sonnes and others were taken prisoners. *Michael* beg the eldest of the two being fast bound, was slaine by one of *Aladeules* his followers, whose brother he had slaine in that skirmish: his head being cut off, was by the commandement of *Aladeules* carried to his father *Ishender*, the more to greeue him: who disdainfully willed the messenger not to shew it vnto him, but to bid his master eat it if he would: with which answer *Aladeules* was exceedingly moued: neuertheless pitying the old mans miserie, he shortly after set *Iaxis Beg* the yonger brother at libertie; but *Ishender* himselfe he sent prisoner vnto *Caitbeius* the great Sultan at CAIRE, where he remained in prison five yeares after. *Caragofes* the Bassa discouraged with the losse of so great a man, retired with his armie backe againe into CILICIA, and from thence aduertised *Baiazet* what had happened, by whom he was commanded to returne to CONSTANTINOPLE, as a man vnfit for so great an enterprise.

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Achmetes Bassa
discomfited and
taken prisoner
and sent to
CAIRE.

The next Spring following, *Baiazet* constant in his former resolution for the inuasion of SYRIA, sent *Achmetes* another of his Bassas, with a farre greater armie than had *Caragofes*, against the Sultan: who was no sooner come vnto the farther part of CILICIA, but he was there at a place called of the Turkes TZVCVROVA, encountered by the Egyptians and Arabians, and there in a great battaile ouerthrowne; wherein he himselfe fighting most valiantly, lost two of his fingers, and being taken prisoner was sent to CAIRE.

1489

Baiazet with this ouerthrow rather incensed than discouraged, made great preparation the next yeare against the Sultan both by sea and land, such as he had not before at any time made. And when all things were now in readinesse, sent *Alis Bassa* (of some called *Calibeu*) and *Chersogles* his sonne in law, two notable captaines, with a great and puissant armie by land against the Egyptian Sultan: at which time he requested of the Venetians, with whom he was then in league, that he might by their good leaue, as occasion required, refresh his fleet (then readie to put to sea for the inuasion of SYRIA, as he said) in their Island of CYPRVS. Which his request was by the generall consent of the Senat denied, as a thing tending to the danger of their state: yet wisely doubting least *Baiazet* taking that deniall in euill part, should seeke to haue that by force which he could not obtaine by request, they presently sent *Francisco Prinolo*, their Admirall, to sea with thirtie gallies for the defence of that Island. He hearing that one fleet of the Turkes gallies, lately come out of HELISPONTVS, lay houering at the Island of SCIROVS, expecting a farre greater from the coast of IONIA; and carefully considering how secret and suddaine the Turkish designements were, although it was giuen out, that all that great preparation was made against the Sultan: yet to provide that they should not suddainely surpris the Isle, hee speedily sent sundrie companies of souldiours, especially archers out of CRETA, into CYPRVS, for the better defence thereof: but stayed himselfe with his fleet at the Island of NAXOS, that so at hand he might be the readier to withstand whatsoeuer the Turkes intended. But when he vnderstood that all their fleet was met, and now set forward, he hoisted saile, and held his course directly for CYPRVS. In the meane time, the Turkish fleet sayling alongst the coast of LYCIA, PAMPHYLIA, and CILICIA, kept on their course, vntill they came vpon the coast of SYRIA: by which time *Calibeu* and *Chersogles* were come with a mightie armie into CILICIA, neere vnto the mountaine TAVRVS.

Caitbeius the Egyptian Sultan hauing before had certaine intelligence of the great preparation that *Baiazet* had made against him, had before sent *Vsbe*, a most valiant and politicke captaine, with a strong armie of his Mamalukes and other his most expert souldiours into SYRIA to be readie at all times to withstand the Turkes. This worthie cheefestainder vnderstanding of the comming of the Turkes armie, thought it greater policie to carrie the calamities which alwayes wait vpon great armies, into the enemies countrey, than to receiue it into his owne bosome. And there-

therefore although he knew himselfe to be for number farre inferior vnto his enemies, yet supplying that want with the valour courage and assured confidence he had reposed in the applying that with such violence and furie; that the earth seemed to tremble vnder their feet, and a most present destruction threatned vnto them all: Which terrible and cruell fight was maintained all that day with doubtfull victorie and exceeding slaughter on both sides. The policke Generals with new supplies of fresh souldiours, continually relieuing the most distressed parts of their battels: and they likewise as men prodigall of their liues, resolutely offering themselves to all dangers. When this most dreadfull fight had in this sort endured the whole day, and manie thousands of valiant men of late aliue, lay now dead vpon the ground, the approaching night brake off the battell: and both the armies foreweared and weakened (but especially the Turkes) retired to their camps, where they rested that night.

But the Egyptians comming to their campe, found all their carriages with their prouision of victuals and other necessaries quite taken away and gone. Which thing (as some write) the bordering people of the countrey (for most part liuing vpon robbrie) had done in the time of the battell, to please the Turkes: or as some others report, they which had the charge thereof, terrified with the greatnesse of the Turkes army, and doubtfulnessse of the battell, fled away: and taking their way alongst the sea side, fell into the hands of the Turkes which were put on shore out of the gallies, and so were of them spoiled. How soeuer it was (for in so great vncertaintie I dare not asseme) certaine it is, that the Egyptians were sore troubled with the losse of their prouision; fearing that if they should now stay longer in the countrey, they should forthwith be diuident vnto great extremities for want of necessaries. Wherefore, when they had euill rested that night, the next day early in the morning they presented themselves in order of battell before their enemies, brauing them into the field, and daring them to battell. The Turkes disdainning to see anie prouder in field than themselves, after they had in goodly order ranged their battels, set forward with ensignes displayed against their proud enemies. There began a most terrible and bloudie battell, fought with such desperat resolution, as if they had solemnly vowed either to ouercome or die in the place where they stood. A man would haue said, that the former daies furie had bene but a play in comparison of this. Manie valiant souldiours couered with their dead bodies the same ground whereon they liuing stood when they receiued the first encounter of their enemies. Of both those great armies none was seene to giue ground, or once looke back. The Turkes Ianizaries, and the Egyptians Mamalukes, the vndoubted strength of the greatest Mahometane Monarchs (souldiours for their valour much feared, and through the world respected) there buckled together, and standing foot to foot, spent the vttermost of their forces one vpon another: as if they would in that battell haue made it knowne vnto the world, which of them were to be accounted the better souldiours. Whilest victorie stood thus doubtfull, and the day was now farre spent, *Vsbe* (the Egyptian Generall) with fiftene thousand valiant horsemen (whom he had reserved for that purpose) gaue a fresh charge vpon the Turkes squadrons, with such force, that they had much adoe to keepe their order, and began now to giue ground; which was by and by made good againe, by other fresh men speedily brought on by the Bassas. Then became the battell more fierce than before, euery man struing to the vttermost of his power, to sell his life vnto his enemy as deere as he could. In which manner of fight all the rest of the day was spent, vntill that after the going downe of the sunne, the darknesse of the night comming fast on, they were glad for lacke of light to breake off the battell and to retire themselves into their camps, not knowing as yet who had got the better.

The Turkes Bassas taking view of the armie, and finding that of an hundred thousand fighting men which they brought into the field, there was scarce a third part left, and most of them also maimed or hurt; and doubting to be set vpon againe the next morning by their resolute enemies, fled away secretly the same night, leauing behind them for haft, their tents well stored with victuals, and all other things needfull. The Egyptians also hauing lost one halfe of their

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armie,

A long and terrible battell betweene the Turkes and the Mamalukes.

The Turkes flee away by night.

armie (which was at the first seuentie thousand) and wanting their necessarie provision, were retired also the same night into the mountaine TAVRVS; not knowing anie thing of the flight of the Turkes. And some of the souldiours passing quite ouer the mountaine without stay into SYRIA, raised a report all ouer the countrey as they went, That the Sultans armie was overthrowne, and that the Turkes had got the victorie: so vncertaine was the true knowledge of the euent of that battell, euen vnto them that were present therein. The Egyptian lying that night vpon the side of the mountaine, had speedie intelligence from *Aladenles* of the flight of the Turkes: which being also confirmed by his espials to be true, he presently came downe from the mountaine, and entred into the Turkes campe, where he found plentie of victuals and of all other things needfull for the refreshing of his army.

Aladenles the mountaine king, with the people called *Varfacide*; by whose confines the Turkes must needs in their returne passe, robbed and slew manie of them in their disordered flight; and had so stopped the passages, that they were in flying overtaken by the Mamalukes and flaine, with so great a slaughter, that of all that great army of the Turkes few remained alieue to carrie newes home. *Calibeius* and *Chersceogles* the Bassaes, were in that flight both taken prisoners, and afterwards presented to *Caitbeius* the Sultan at CAIRE; with eigheteen ensignes of the Turkes Sanzackes, which are great men amongst them, hauing euerie one of them the regiment and commaund of some one province or other, and are in degree next vnto the Bassaes.

Neither was the fortune of *Baiazet* his naue at sea, better than that of his armie at land: for as it lay at rodevpon the coast of SYRIA at the mouth of the riuier Orontes, which runneth by the famous cite of ANTIOCHIA, his gallies were by tempest and rage of the sea put from their anchors, and in the sight of their enemies swallowed vp of the sea; or else driuen vpon the main, and there with the surges of the sea beaten in peeces. *Baiazet* not a little troubled with these losses both by sea and land, at length with much adoe, by his embassadours concluded a peace with the Sultan, vnto whom he restored all such places as he had before taken from him: for which the Sultan deliuered vnto him, *Calibeius*, *Chersceogles*, *Achmetes*, and *Isbender*, with all the rest of the Turkes prisoners, which he had in great number in his keeping.

Shortly after this peace was concluded betwixt these two great and mightie princes, *Caitbeius* the Sultan died: who of a Circassian slaue, by manie degrees of honour, and by the fauour of the Mamalukes his fellowes, obtained the rich kingdome of EGYPT, which he right worthily gouerned to his immortal praise by the space of two and twentie yeares; commanding at one time the great and rich countrey of EGYPT, with all AFFRIKE as farre as CIRENE, Westward; and IVDIA, with a great part of ARABIA, and all SYRIA, vnto the great and famous riuier Euphrates, Eastward. In the latter end of his raigne, he (ouetcome with the importunitie of his wife *Dulibe* an Arabian borne, a woman of an hautie spirit) joyned his sonne *Mahomethes*, a young man of about foure and twentie yeares old, with him in the fellowship of his kingdome; that so possessed of it, his father yet liuing, hee might the better enjoy it after his death. Contrarie to the custome of the Mamalukes, who of long time had not vsed to haue their king by succession, but by their free election. Who grudging to be thus defrauded of their wonted choise, immediatly after the death of *Caitbeius*, slew *Mahomethes* his sonne; and in a few moneths after, foure mo, who one after another, without their good liking, had aspired vnto the kingdome: neither could they be contented, vntill such time as that they had according to their wonted custome set vp a Sultan of their owne choise.

About the same time that the aforesaid peace was concluded betwixt the two great Mahometane princes, *Baiazet* and *Caitbeius*, *Charles* the French king was making great preparation against *Alphonfus* king of NAPLES, giuing it out, That after he had recovered that kingdome, he would forthwith from thence invade the Turkes dominions in GRÆCIA. Which great attempt the haughtie king was induced to take in hand, by the persuasion of diuers of his nobilitie, but especially by the solicitation of *Lodonius Sfortia* duke of MILLAN: whereby the whole state of ITALIE was in short time after sore shaken, and *Sfortia* himselfe, author of those troubles, at last carried away by the French, miserably ended his dayes as a prisoner in FRANCE. *Alphonfus* the Neapolitane king doubting the greatnesse of the French king his enemy, entred into a confederation with certaine of the states of ITALIE against the French, but especially with *Alexander* the sixt then Bishop of ROME: for the beter assurance whereof, he gaue

his bafe daughter in marriage to *Godfrey Borgia*, the Bishops sonne, and made him prince of CARINIA: his other sonne *Francis* he entertained also in great pay to serue him in his wars. And by his embassadour *Pandonius Camillus*, lately returned out of FRANCE, gaue *Baiazet* to vnderstand what the French king had purposed against them both, requesting him to aid him with six thousand horsemen and as many foot against their common enemy, promising to giue them honourable entertainment during those warres. And to further the matter, *Alexander* the great Bishop sent *George Bucciarde*, a Ligurian, skilfull in the Turkish language, embassadour to *Baiazet*, to declare vnto him with what great preparation, both by sea and land, the young French king (desirous of honour and the enlargement of his kingdome) was about to invade NAPLES; and then, with what great power (after he had dispatched his warres in ITALIE) he purposed to passe ouer into GRÆCIA; and that hee had to that end earnestly travelled with him, to haue *Zemes* his brother deliuered into his hands, whom he desired to vse as a most fit instrument for the troubling of his state and empire, by reason of his many friends: yet that his Holinesse (hauing the French in distrust as a proud and ambitious people, as also carefull for the danger of the cite of ROME, and of the state of ITALIE in generall) had entred into a confederation with *Alphonfus* king of NAPLES, with their vnited forces to withstand that proud nation, both by sea and land; wanting nothing more for the accomplishment thereof, than money: by which onely meanes *Baiazet* might (as hee said) prouide for the safetie of his kingdome in GRÆCIA, if he would put to his helping hand, to furnish them with money for the entertainment of souldiours: for as much as the cite of ROME, and the kingdome of NAPLES, were the surest wals of that side of the Othoman empire; if hee not altogether refusing the charge, would not spare for a little cost to maintaine the warre rather in that fortaine countrey, than to receiue it brought home to his owne dore: concluding, That it were much more commodious and easie with his treasures to repress his enemy in a strange countrey a farre off, than by dint of sword and plaine battell in his owne. A thing by experience well knowne, that they which haue neglected and set at nought remote dangers, for sparing of charge, haue afterwards been enforced with greater danger to receiue the same into their owne bosomes, when as they were become desperate and past remedie. *Baiazet*, who both by his espials and often letters and embassadours from *Alphonfus*, knew all this to be true, gaue great thanks to the bishop by his embassadour, for that he sitting in so high place, did so friendly and in so good time admonish him, both a stranger, and of a contrarie religion, of things of so great consequence: yet for answere, hee willed him to returne againe to his master with one *Dautius* his embassadour, who should carrie with him both money and his other secret resolutions concerning those matters. Amongst other things giuen him in charge, was an Epistle written in Greeke, wherein the barbarous king with great cunning perswaded the bishop to poyson *Zemes* his brother, as a man of a religion altogether contrarie to his: for indeed of him alone for his great vertues *Baiazet* stood in feare and doubt, least hee should by some chance escape out of prison to the troubling of his state. For the performance of this his request, he promised faithfully to pay vnto the bishop two hundred thousand duckats, and neuer after, so long as he liued, to take vp armes against the Christians. Otherwise than had his father *Mahomet* and his grandfather *Amurath* done, who both as deadly enemies vnto the name of the Christians, neuer ceased by continuall warres to worke their woe.

But *George* the bishops embassadour, and *Dautius*, travelling towards ITALIE, and hauing now happily passed the Adriaticke, as they were about to haue landed at ANCONA were boulded by *Jo. Rouereus*, brother to *Julianus* the Cardinall (a man of great account in those quarters) and cleane quit of their treasure and whatsoever else they had aboard. *Rouereus* pretending for the defence of the fact, That the bishop did owe him a great summe of money, due vnto him for his good seruice done in the time of *Innocentius* his predecessour, for which he now paid himselfe. Neither could the bishop, much troubled with that iniurie, euer after recouer any one part thereof, although he threatened vengeance with fire and sword, and also sought for recompence of the Venetians, whom it concerned to saue the Turkes harmelesse in those seas: for why, *Rouereus* bearing himselfe vpon the French, which were now vpon comming, whose faction he followed, kept the money, and set at nought the bishops thundering curses and vaine threats. *Dautius* himselfe, *Baiazets* embassadour, being set on shore, was glad to goe on foot to ANCONA; and so from thence passing vp the riuier Padus, came to *Franciscus Gonzaga*, duke of MANTVA, of whom (for the antient friendship betwixt him and *Baiazet*) hee was courteously entertained

Alphonfus king of Naples, and *Alexander* the Bishop of Rome came aid of *Baiazet* against *Charles* the French king.

Baiazet sendeth *Dautius* his embassadour to *Alexander* bishop of Rome.

Jo. Rouereus robbeth the Turkes embassadours.

and furnished both with money and apparell, and so spoiled returned into GRÆCIA, to carrie G newes vnto his master how he had sped.

When *Baiazet* vnderstood by *Dautius* the euill successe he had in his late journey, he forth with sent *Mustapha* one of the Bassaes of the court, vnto the great Bishop *Alexander*, with like instructions as he had before giuen to *Dautius*; who with better hap arrived in ITALIE, and came to ROME in safetie; where he forgot no part of that was giuen him in charge by his great master. But amongst manie other things, the life of *Zemes* was that he most sought for at the Bishops hands.

1495

At the same time, which was in the yeare 1495, the French king *Charles* the eight of that name, passing through the heart of ITALIE with a strong armie against *Alphonfus* king of NAPLES: and taking his way without leaue through the cite of ROME, so terrified *Alexander* the bishop, who (as we haue before said) altogether fauoured, and as much as in him lay furthered the cause of *Alphonfus*; that he was glad to yeld to all such articles and conditions as it pleased him then to demand: not purposing in himselfe at all the performance of anie of those things, which for feare he had with great solemnitie promised, as the iequell of the matter afterwards declared. Amongst other things, he was enforced to giue vnto the king his gracelesse sonne *Cesar Borgia Valentinus* (then one of the cardinals) in hostage, for the performance of the other of his promises. Which disgrace the craftie old bishop sought to couer, by gracing his sonne with the title of his legate: and with him he was also enforced to deliuer *Zemes* the Turke, *Baiazet* his brother his honourable prisoner; who to the great profit of the bishop and his predecessour, had remained in safe custodie at ROME about the space of seauen yeares. But *Zemes* within three daies after he was deliuered vnto the French, died at CAISTA, being before his deliuerance poisoned (as it was thought) with a powder of wonderfull whitenesse and pleasant tast; whose power was not presently to kill, but by little and little dispersing the force thereof, did in short time bring most assured death: which pleasant poison, *Alexander* the bishop skilfull in that practise (corrupted by *Baiazet* his gold, and enuying so great a good vnto the French) had caused to be cunningly mingled with the sugar wherewith *Zemes* vled to temper the water which he commonly dranke. His dead bodie was not long after sent to *Baiazet*, by *Mustapha* his ambassador, who to the great contentment of his master, had thus continued his death with the bishop. Not long after this dead bodie so farre brought, was by the appointment of *Baiazet*, honourably entered amongst his ancestors at PRYSA. *Cesar Borgia* also the bishops sonne, a little before giuen in hostage vnto the French king, deceiuing his keepers at VELITRAS, returned againe to ROME before the French king was come to NAPLES. This wicked impe come of an euill strain, not worth the remembrance but by way of detestation, (the verie monster of nature, if a man should well consider the course of his whole life) shortly after his escape, enuying at the honour of *Candianus* his brother, who then was Generall ouer the bishop his fathers forces, which were at that time great: when he had one night merily supped with his said brother with their mother *Vannotia*, traiterously caused him to be vnawares murdered in the streets as he was going home, and his dead bodie to be cast into the riuer of Tiber. Then casting off his priestly habit with his Cardinals robes, he tooke vpon him the leading of his fathers armie in his brothers stead, and gaue himselfe wholly to martiall affaires: a vocation best fitting his fierce and bloudie disposition. And with exceeding prodigalitie, wherewith he exhausted his fathers coffers and the treasures of the church, bound fast vnto him desperat ruffians and souldiours (especially Spaniards, his fathers countrey men) such as he knew fittest to serue for the execution of his most horrible deuises. Which manner of his proceedings, although they were such as all good men detested, yet did the old hypocrit his father winke thereat, fearing as it was thought, to be murdered of the viper himselfe, when it should serue for his purpose. Now when he had thus strengthened himselfe, and that he was become a terrour to all the nobilitie of ROME and the seigniories thereabout, he by the deuise and helpe of his father (who desired nothing more than to make him great) first draue the most honourable family of the *Columnij* out of the cite, and afterwards out of LATIUM: and by most execrable treacherie, poisoned or killed the honourable personages of the great houses of the *Vrsini* and *Cætani*; taking vnto himselfe their lands and possessions. With like cruelty he strangled at one time foure noblemen of the *Camertes*: and draue *Guido Felsinus* out of VRBIN. He tooke the cite of PISAVRUM from *Io. Sfortia*, who with much difficultie escaped his bloudie hands: and draue the *Malatestas* out of ARIMINUM. The great ladie *Catherine*

Zemes dieth, poisoned by *Alexander* the bishop of Rome.

The euill life of *Cesar Borgia*.

rine Sfortia he thrust out of FORVM LIVII and FORVM CORNELII, and shamefully led her in triumph through ROME. And neuer satisfied with bloud, which he without measure shed, he tooke the cite of FAVENTIA from *Astor Manfredus*, a young gentleman of rare perfection: whom after the beastly tyrant had most horribly abused against nature, he caused to be cruelly strangled, and his dead bodie to be cast into Tiber. Having thus filled the measure of his iniquitie, and as a fretting canker, hauing either deuoured or driuen into exile most part of the Romane nobilitie; and purposing by the supplantation of his father, to make himselfe lord and soueraigne both of the cite, and of all LATIUM in the pride of his thoughts he was by the hand of the most highest attached and cast downe, and that by such meanes as he least feared: For being with his father at a solemn supper in the Vaticane, of purpose prepared for the destruction of certaine rich Cardinals and some other honourable citizens, they were both poisoned by the fatal error of one of the waiters; who mistaking of a flagon, gaue the poisoned wine to the accursed bishop and his sonne, which was prepared for the guests: whereof the old bishop in few daies after died. But his sonne who had drunke the same more delayed with water, although he died not of long time after, yet presently fell into such an extreame sicknesse, that he was not able to helpe himselfe, or to commaund his desperat followers, whereof he had great store: but lying sicke, in short time saw himselfe of them forsaken; and two of his enemies, *Pius* the Third, and *Iulius* the Second, one after another sitting in his fathers place. Of which two, *Pius* enjoyed that pontificall dignitie but sixteene daies: and *Iulius* succeeding him, caused this *Cesar Borgia* (who of right had deserued a thousand deaths) to bee shut vp in the castle called MOLES ADRIANI, from whence he set him at libertie vpon the deliuerie of certaine strong holds which were yet holden by his garrisons. After he had thus rid himselfe out of *Iulius* the bishops hands, he fled to OSTIA, and so by sea to NAPLES: where he was by the commaundement of *Ferdinand* king of SPAIN, apprehended by *Consalvus* the Great, and transported into SPAIN; for feare least he being of a most troublesome nature, and much resorted vnto by his old fauourits, should raise some new stir in ITALIE. He was no sooner arrived in SPAIN, but he was cast into prison in the castle of MEDINA, where after he had lien three yeares he deceiued his keepers, and with a escape which he had gotten, let himselfe downe from an high tower of the castle: and so escapeing, fled to the king of NAVARRE, whom he afterwards serued in his wars, and was in an hoate skirmish against the kings enemies (wherin he had obtained the victorie) slaine with a small shot. Vnworthy after so manie horrible villanies, to haue ended his daies so honorably. His dead bodie was found stript, and so brought vnto the king vpon a bad beast, as if it had been a dead calfe all naked; which was by his commaundement honourably buried at PAMPILONA.

The death of *Cesar Borgia*.

But to returne againe from whence we haue something too long with this troublesome body gone astray. The French king hauing thus lost both his great hostages, *Zemes* the Turke by death, and the Cardinall *Borgia* by escape, held on his journey towards NAPLES: and with wonderfull successe preuailed as hee went, all places yeelding vnto him without any great resistance. *Alphonfus* seeing himselfe destitute of such aid as he had in vaine requested both of the Turkish emperour and of the Venetians, and now almost beset with his mightie enemy, to whom so manie strong places had in shorter time been deliuered than anie man had before imagined; and withall, considering with himselfe, how that he had lost the hearts of his subjects (the strongest defence of princes) for that most of the nobilitie, and especially the Neapolitans, hated him for his too much severity in punishing the offenders in the late rebellion, wherein the princes of SARNE and SALERNE were chiefe; and the common people were no lesse offended with the grievous and heauie exactions, required of them for the maintenance of these warres, in so much that their murmuring speeches came oftentimes to his owne hearing; as oftentimes it falseth out, That the hatred of the subjects against their princes, which hath for feare of long time bene dissembled during their prosperitie, more frankly and fiercely breaketh out in their declining estate: For these causes, *Alphonfus* fearing to be forsaken of his people, as a man in desperate estate: For these causes, *Alphonfus* fearing to be forsaken of his people, as a man in desperate estate, with abundance of tears openly in the sight of all the Neapolitans, resigned his kingdome of NAPLES vnto his sonne *Ferdinand*, when as he had as yet scarcely reigned one whole yeare after the death of *Ferdinand* his father: and with foure gallies passed ouer to MAZERA a cite of CILICIA. His son *Ferdinand*, a prince of rare perfection and singularly graced with all the vertues of true nobilitie, and thereto deerey beloved of all the people, was to the wonderfull contentment of the Neapolitans with great joy and acclamations saluted king: and so hauing performed

The French king innadeth Naples.

formed all the ceremonies belonging to his coronation, returned presently to his armie. By this time the French king with all his forces was entered farre into the kingdome of NAPLES: and hauing taken by assault certaine cities which trusted too much to their owne strength, strucke such a generall terrour into the minds of the Neapolitanes, that they thought no place now strong enough to abide his batteries, or power sufficient to encounter his forces. *Ferdinand* the young king with his armie had taken the straits of the Forrest of *S. Germane*, thereby to impeach the further passage of the French king. But whilest he was there busied, he was suddenly advertised, that *Fabritius Columna* with a great power of Frenchmen had by the Appenines broken into CAMPANIA, and so was marching towards him: wherefore doubting to bee shut vp betwixt two strong armies of the enemies, he retired speedily to CAPVA, a strong citie situated vpon the riuer Vulturus; purposing there by meanes of that deepe riuer, to stay the French from passing farther. But whilest hee lay there, newes was brought vnto him, That all the citie of NAPLES was in an vpror, and that the citizens were all vp in armes, as men in doubt which way to turne themselves. *Ferdinand* not a little troubled with these bad newes, commended the charge of his armie and the defence of the citie of CAPVA to his cheefe captaines, and hid himselfe in post backe againe to NAPLES.

*Ferdinand de-
parteth from
Capua to pacifie
an vpror at
Naples.*

It is a strange thing to tell, what a suddaine alteration ensued vpon his arriual there: for suddenly all the tumult was appeased, euery man laied downe his armes, and welcommed him with a generall gratulation: for he was a man of a great and an inuincible courage, and of so comely a personage as might easily win the hearts of his subjects; insomuch, that when he earnestly requested them, that they would not traiterously betray him vnto his barbarous & cruell enemies, being their naturall king, or rather their brother borne and brought vp amongst them: they all with one consent answered, That they would spend their liues and goods in his quarrell, so long as he should keepe his armie whole, and defend the citie of CAPVA: But if it should so chanc, that the Aragonians should be ouerthrowne, or els for feare abandon that citie, and the French king, as victor, to approach the citie of NAPLES; he should doe both against reason and equitie, by exacting fidelitie and allegiance of his subjects, apprehended with so just a feare, he should so expose that noble citie with the fruitfull countrey therabout, to bee spoiled and destroyed by a mercilesse and cruell enemy. Whilest *Ferdinand* was thus busied in appeasing and confirming his wauering subjects at NAPLES, the French king had taken diuers cities, and was come before CAPVA. The citizens of CAPVA although they were alwayes well affected to the Aragonian kings: yet seeing the French king as a most violent tempest to beare downe all before him, began now to consult amongst themselves of yeelding vp the citie; whereunto they were the more prickt forward, by the suddaine reuolt of the great capitaine *Triunulius* with his followers, as also by the departure of *Verginius* and *Petilianus*, two great and famous commanders, who seeing themselves forsaken of *Triunulius*, fled with their companies vnto the citie of NOLA. In this discomfiture of king *Ferdinand* his armie, the Frenchmen had entered into the suburbs of the citie: which thing *Gothfredus* and *Gaspar* (two valiant Germane captaines) beholding, gallied with their companies out of the citie, of purpose to abate the pride of the French, & to confirme the doubtfull citizens: These worthie captaines when they had with exceeding valour repulled the French, and thought to haue againe returned into the citie, could not be suffered to enter, but were by the citizens shut out of the gate, in danger to haue had their throats cut by the enemy. In which perplexitie they were glad vpon their knees to entreat the cowardly citizens standing vpon the wals, not in such traiterous manner to betray their friends readie in their defence to bestow their liues: and with much entreating, at length obtained of those heartlesse men, that they might by ten and ten in a companie be receiued in at one gate of the citie, and so put out at another, farthest from the danger of the enemy: in which sort when they had passed through the citie, they tooke the way towards NAPLES: and vpon the way met with the king at AVERSA, vnto whom they declared all that had happened in his absence at CAPVA. Who although he saw his armie dispersed, and all things now desperat, yet went hee on forward, and came to the very gates of CAPVA, and there called vpon diuers of the cheefe men of the citie, requiring to be let in. But when hee saw there was none to giue him answer, and an ensigne of the French king displayed vpon the wall, in token that the citie was become French, hee returned to NAPLES: where he found the gates now shut against him, and all the citizens vp againe in armes, and not willing to receiue any of the fouldiors which came from CAPVA, more than the king himselfe:

for

for flying fame preuenting his returne, had filled euery corner of the citie with report, That all the cheefe captaines of his armie were either gone out to the enemy, or els for safegard of their liues fled: That the whole armie was broken vp, and CAPVA yeelded to the French. Wherefore the Neapolitanes framing their fancies according to the condition of the time; began now also to fawne vpon the good fortune of the French; and to haue king *Ferdinand* in contempt: which hee well perceiving, and fetching a compasse farther off from the citie, came vnto the castle, whereinto he was receiued with his followers by his faithfull captaines therein before left. But proudly foreseeing that he could not there long stay, but that hee should bee besieged by his enemies both by sea and land, he commended the keeping of that peece vnto *Alphonfus D'ana-* NARTIA, a most valiant capitaine; and departed himselfe with twentie gallies well appointed vnto *Æ-* NARTIA, an Island not farre from NAPLES, hauing in it a commodious harbour and a strong castle: where fortune, neuer firme but in miserie, seemed againe to deride the poore remainder of his honor: For comming thither, the capitaine of the castle, vnworthely named *Iustus*, forgetting his dutie towards his soueraigne, of whom he had before receiued many extraordinarie fauours, most traiterously now in his so hard distresse shut the gates of the castle against him at his landing, and vnkindly refused to receiue him. With which v unexpected ingratitude, the poore king was wonderfully perplexed and almost abashed: yet with earnest entreatie and ample commemoration of the benefits and preferments which both his father and himselfe had in times past bestowed vpon him, he preuailed so much with this vnthankfull man, that hee was content to receiue him into the castle, so that he would come but himselfe alone: of which his offer, when no more could be got, the king seemed to accept. So the capitaine hauing opened a port to receiue him in, was in the very entrance thereof suddenly stabd to the heart with a dagger by king *Fer-* A most resolute
dand, and slaine in the midst of his armed fouldiours. Which was done with such a counte-
nance and maiestie, that the warders with their weapons in their hands, dismayed with his look, forthwith at his commaundement opened the gate, and receiued him in with all his followers. Whereby it appeareth, That in the countenance of princes resteth a certaine diuine maiestie, in all fortunes about the common course of nature: which is of power to daunt the hearts of most disloyall traitors in the performance of their vnnaturall treasons. The next day after the departure of king *Ferdinand* from the castle of NAPLES, *Charles* the French king was receiued into the citie with such pompe, triumph, and acclamation of the Neapolitanes, as if they had even then by the benefit of that forraigne king been restored vnto perfect libertie, and deliuered out of some long and hard bondage. Shortly after, the castle of NAPLES, with all the strong places thereabout, were yeelded vnto the French, and embassadours sent from all the princes and people of that kingdome, yeelding themselves into the power of the French king. Then *Ferdinand* seeing all lost and gone, departed from *ÆNARTIA*, where he lay expecting the euent of his hard fortune, and sailed into SICILIA. Thus the house of ARAGON in lesse than fife moneths lost the kingdome of NAPLES, about 63 yeares after that it was first taken from the French by *Alphonfus* the elder, this *Ferdinand* his great grandfather.

The report of the great preparation made by the French for this warre, had long before filled the eares of them which dwelt in any part of the Turks dominions in EVROPE: but when they saw the French ensignes displayed vpon the wals of the castles and strong townes alongst the coast of CALABRIA and SALERNE, such a sudden feare fell vpon the Turkes garrisons alongst the coast of EPIRVS and MACEDONIA on the other side of the Adriaticke, oueragainst that part of ITALIE, that many of them forsooke their charge: the Christians in those places, as also in GRACIA and PELOPONESVS beginning then to lift vp their heads in hope of their deliuerance, and to make the best preparation they could to joyne with the French against the Turkes: but especially the rough and wild people inhabiting the high mountaines called AEROBRYA in the borders of EPIRVS, who presently tooke vp armes, refusing to be any longer tributaries vnto the Turkish emperour.

This prosperous and speedie successe of the French king in the conquest of NAPLES, filled the minds of most of the Christian princes, as also of the Turkish emperour, with a doubtfull expectation, whether his greatnesse would grow: many being of opinion, that he couertly affected the empire of ROMB, and to make himselfe the sole monarch of ITALIE. Which conceit no little troubled both the great Bishop *Alexander*, and *Maximilian* then emperour. *Baiazet* also so feared much, least he should vpon the suddaine turne his forces into EPIRVS or GRACIA, to his

*A most resolute
fact of king
Ferdinand.*

*Charles the
French king re-
ceiued into Na-
ples.*

his no small disquiet. And *Ferdinand*, the aduised king of SPAIN, was no lesse carefull for the safetie of SICILIA. *Lodouicus Sfortia* also (shortly after created duke of MILLAN, the cheefe occasion of the French kings comming into ITALIE, and a great aider of him in those warres) began now to consider better of the matter, and to stand in doubt of the king, whom hee well perceiued to make small reckoning of his word or promise, so that he might thereby enlarge his dominions. And the Venetians, who in all these warres had stood looking on as neuters (in hope that when the Aragonians and French had with long warres, which they vainely imagined, well weakened one another, that they might then at their pleasure share out something for themselves) were now in doubt with the rest of the states of ITALIE to lose some part of their owne territorie: for now there was no prince or state in ITALIE able to oppose themselves against the French, but stood as it were all at his deuotion.

Wherefore the aforesaid princes, namely *Maximilian* the emperour, *Ferdinand* king of SPAIN, *Alexander* Bishop of ROME, the state of VENICE, and *Lotharius* *Sforza* duke of MILLAN, for the more assurance of their estates, by their embassadors speedily sent from one to another, concluded a strong league amongst themselves, whereof the chiefe capitulation was, That if any of these confederates should vpon their owne accord make war vpon any other prince, they should doe it vpon their owne charges : but if any of them should chance to be inuaded by any other, that then every one of these confederates should, of their owne charge send foure thousand horse and ten thousand foot in aid of their confederate so inuaded, vntill the wars were ended : which league was to endure for twentie yeares. The fame of this league was welcome to many other princes, but especially to *Baiazet*, who now feared nothing more than the forces of the French, and therefore had offered vnto the Venetians, to aid them both by sea and land against the French, if their affaires should so require. This league so much pleased other princes, but it troubled the French king more, as of purpose made against him, although it was by the confederates pretended to be made onely for their owne safetie. Wherefore he with all expedition placed his best capitaines with strong garrisons in all the cities and strong holds of the kingdome of NAPLES, and left *Mompensier* his viceroy in the cite of NAPLES, and with the rest of his armie returned towards FRANCE, purposing by the way as he went to terrifie the dissembling Bishop, so if it were possible to draw him from the league, and afterwards to deal with *Sfortia* and the rest as he might. But when he was come neere vnto ROME, the Bishop for feare fled out of the cite to PERVSIVM, intending from thence to haue fled to VENICE, if the French king should haue further pursued him. *Charles* deceived of his purpose, in peaceable manner entered the cite, and there stayed three dayes and so departed vsing violence against none, but against such as were well knowne to be of the Aragonian faction. From ROME he marched to PISA, and so with much paine passing the Appenines, was at the riuer of Tanus, not farre from PARMA, set vpon by *Franciscus Gonzaga* duke of MANTVA, generall of a great armie which the Venetians and *Sfortia* had raised vpon the sudden to haue stopped his passage : in which battaile he was in great danger to haue bene taken or slaine, and there lost his tents, with all the rich spoile gotten in the rich kingdome of NAPLES: yet hauing at length with great slaughter valiantly repulsed his enemies, he afterwards returned in safetie home.

About the same time that this battell was fought at Tarrus, the young king *Ferdinand*; lately driven out of his kingdome by the French king, returned againe out of SICILIA to NAPLES: where he was joyfully receiued of the Neapolitanes, and by the helpe of his friends (but especially of the great *Consalus*, sent in his aid by *Ferdinand* king of SPAIN) in lesse than a yeares space recouered the kingdome of NAPLES againe from the French: and then dying without issue, left the same vnto his vncl *Federicus*: wherein the vncertainetie of worldly honours, the cheefe felicitie of ambitious minds, is well to be noted; when as in that one kingdome the cheefe government was six times changed in lesse than the space of three yeares. For first *Ferdinand* the elder dying, left that kingdome vnto his sonne *Alphonsus*, at such time as the French king was making preparation for these warres: *Alphonsus* despairing of his owne forces, resigned the kingdome to his sonne *Ferdinand*, when he had scarcely raigned fully a yeare: *Ferdinand* in lesse than three moneths was driven quite out of ITALIE by *Charles* the French king: *Charles* possessed of the kingdome, in short time after was againe dispossessed by the same *Ferdinand*: *Ferdinand* hauing with much trouble thrust out the French, died within lesse than a yeare: After whom succeded *Federicus* his vncl, no lesse vnfortunate than the rest. And *Charles* the French

king himselfe liued not long after, but died suddenly as he came from playing at Tennis, being then but seuen and twentie yeares old, leauing the flourishing kingdome of FRANCE, with the troublesome title pretended to the kingdome of NAPLES, vnto Lewis his successeur, who liued with great trouble to conquer the same, and with greater griefe to loofe it againe:

But to retaine againe to the course of our historie, from whence the great occurrents of that time (not altogether impertinent to our purpose) haue a little too faire led vs. *Baiaſet* deliuered of two great feares, first by the death of his brother *Zemes*, and after by the casting out of the French out of *NAPLES*; began now to turne his forces vpon the Christians, and by his lieutenant *Bala-beg*, Sanzacke of *SILISTRA*, inuaded the countiees of *P.ODOLIA* and *R.VSSIA*, being part of the Polonian kingdome, where the Turkes did great harme; and carried away many prisoners. But comming againe the second time, and making such like spoile as before, they stayed so long, that the cold of the Winter (which in those countiees is very extreame) was now come on; and in their returne, as they were about to haue passed through *MOLDAVIA*, they were by *Stephanus*, prince of that countrey, denied both passage and victuals, and forced to take the way along the sea coast: where many of them stragling from the armie, were by the way cut off and slaine by the Moldauians; and the rest, what by the extremitie of the cold, what for want of food, and fouldnesse of the way, perished: so that of that great armie very few returned home. The Turkes histories report, That in this expedition were lost fortie thousand Turkes.

land Turkes. He sent also *Cadames* one of his Bassaes into *ILLIRIA*; who spoiling that countrey, with a part of *CROATIA*, was encountered by nine thousand Croatians and Hungarians neere vnto the riuer *MORAVA*, vnder the leading of countie *Bernard Francopaine*: where after a cruell and bloodie fight, the Christians were put to the worse, and aboute seven thousand of them slaine; the rest saved themselves by flight through the mountaines and woods. Of the Christians that were lost, manie were drowned in *MORAVA*, chusing rather so to end their daies than to fall into the hands of their cruell enemies. This ouerthrow was imputed to the Generall, who would needs giue the Turkes battell in plaine field, although he was carrieftly entreated by countie *To. Torquatus* to haue kept the straits of that countrey, whereby he might haue had great advantage of the enemye. *Torquatus* himselfe hauing lost all his horsemen in that battell, and his horse killed vnder him, fought valiantly on foot; vntill hee was by the multitude of his enemies oppressed and slaine. The Bassa to giue *Balaçet* a sure testimonie of the victorie, caused all the noses of the slaine Christians to be cut off and put vpon strings, and so by wagon sent them as a barbarous present to *CONSTANTINOPLE*. After the death of *Charles* the French king, *Lewes* the twelfth of that name hauing obtained that kingdome, writ himselfe also duke of *MILLAN*, as descended of one of the daughters of *To. Galeatius* first duke of *MILLAN*: in which his supposed right he was fully resolved to make warre vpon *Sfortia* then duke of *MILLAN*. And for his better successe in those warres, sought by all meanes he could, to draw some other of the princes and states of *ITALIE* into the fellowship of that intended warre; but aboute all others the Venetians, as most commodious for his purpose, with whom he made a firme leaguer; and for the aid they were to giue him, couenanted that they should haue for their share, the cite of *CREMONA*, with all the pleasant countrey about *ABDVA*, then part of *Sfortia* his dominion: which was afterwards accordingly performed.

*S*forthe understanding of this compact made against him, and knowing himselfe farre too weak of himselfe to stand against so puissant enemies; attempted first to let *Mussulman* the emperour, with the states of GERMANIE vpon the French king : But that not sorting to his desire, he fought to agree with the king by offering to hold his dukedome of him, by paying him a yeately tribute : After he had thus in vaine proued all the meanes he could deuise to haue appeased the French king, & provided for his own safetie; he by his embassadors sent of purpose, certified *Rais* et of the confederation betwixt the French king and the Venetians; and that their purpose was, after they had oppressed him, and some other of the states of ITALIE, then with their united forces to invade his dominions: and that therefore it were good for him in time to looke vnto it, and to giue aide against those which would in short time become his most dangerous enemies. By this meanes the Duke was in good hope, so to busie the Venetians by bringing the Turke vpon them, as that they should stand the French in small stead. At which time algiue to the embassadors of FLORENCE did what they could to prick forward the Turke to make warres.

A great league
made by divers
Christian princes
against the
French king.

*Ferdinand recovereth his king-
dome of Naples
from the French,
and dieth.*

The death of Charles the French king.

1496

1497

The *Turkes* in-
vaded *Podolia* &
Russia. and in
their returne are
for most parts lost.

1498

warres vpon the Venetians; for the malice they bare against them for protecting them of PISA against the oppression of the Florentines.

Baiazet perswaded by the embassadors, and calling to remembrance the injuries before done him by the Venetians; first in giuing aid to *John Castriot* the sonne of *Scanderbeg*, and *John Chermouich* another prince of EPIRVS (whereby he lost a great part of that countrey, and was also further enforced to yeeld to such conditions as altogether stood not with his honour;) and againe by denying to giue his fleet leaue to put into their harbours in CYPRVS, in the time of his warres against the Sultan of AEOT: all which he was glad then to endure, for feare least that his brother *Zemes* (then liuing) should by their means be set vp against him; promised now to do what these embassadors had requested: glad in his mind that the discord of the Christian princes had presented vnto him so fit an opportunitie of reuenge.

1499

First part of
the Venetian ter-
ritorie spoiled by
the Turkes.

Hereupon he made great preparation both by sea and land against the Venetians, and vpon the sudden caused *Scander Bassa* (his lieutenant in ILLYRIA) with twelue thousand horse to breake into the countrey of FRIVLI, part of the Venetian territorie vpon the frontiers of ITALIE. The Bassa as he had in charge, passing ouer diuers great riuers, at length entred the countrey, burning and destroying all before him as farre as LIQVENTIA, carrying away with him all the poore countrey people prisoners. But when he was come to the banks of TILIAVENTVM, and vnderstood that hee came too late to pleasure the duke of MILLAN (for why, the French with the Venetians had before without resistance driuen him quite out of ITALIE and GERMANIE) he there, with more then barbarous crueltie put foure thousand poore prisoners to the sword: and so hauing filled the countrey with mourning and with bloud, returned from whence he came, loded with the spoile of that rich countrey.

At the same time also, Baiazet put to sea such a fleet as none of his predecessors had before set forth; and with a great armie in person himselfe marched alongst the sea coast of MOREA, in such sort, as that his armie by land and his fleet at sea (as neere as they could) kept euen pace, the one within sight of the other. Neither were the Venetians vnmindfull of themselves, but set forth a strong fleet vnder the charge of *Anthony Grimani* their Admirall; in number farre inferior to the Turkes, but for equiPAGE, strength, skilfull mariners, and all other manner of warlike prouision, much superiour. For which cause the Turkes, although desired and braued by the Venetians, yet durst not at the first ioyne with them in battell; but still crept alongst the coast of MOREA, not daring to put farther off into the sea. In this their course, the Venetians troubled them exceedingly, sometimes making shew as if they would haue constrained them to fight, and otherwhiles giuing them chase, neuer departing far from them; wisely accounting it right good seruice, if they could but keepe that huge fleet from landing in ITALIE, or other places of the Venetian territorie. Most men were in good hope, that if those great fleets should haue joyned in battell, the Venetians should haue had a notable victorie; for that the enemy as afraid, kept so dangerous a course and so neere the maine. The longer they thus failed, the more was the state of VENICE offended with their Admirall, that he contrarie to all expectation delayed to fight, and still suffered the dangerous enemy to approach neerer and neerer their territories: and there were none which had not rather he should haue set all vpon the hazard of one battell, than to protract by delay a long and doubtfull warre. Whilest all mens minds were thus in expectation of some great exploit to be done vpon the enemy, newes came to the cite, That the Turkes fleet had put into the haven SAPIEN in the island SPHRAQA, to water, and was there embayed by the Venetians. This report was of most men joyfully receiued, as if the victorie had been already assured: and so much the more, for that it was vainly supposed, that it would be gained without any great losse. But others which better knew the place, deemed of the matter farre otherwise, saying, That the place, wherein the enemy lay was such, as that he might safely at his pleasure depart thence. Yet for so much as the Turkes fleet was more subject vnto danger in putting out of the harbour than in the wide sea, there was no man but was of opinion, That the Venetian Admirall would set vpon them as they should come forth againe. Whilest men were thus diuining too and fro, and the Venetians attended the coming forth of the enemies fleet, it fortuned that *Andreas Lauredanus*, and *Albanus Armerius* (two valiant gentlemen) but a little before come from CORINTH of purpose to be present at the battell, were the first that began the fight; and with their two nimble ships (after they had changed a few bullets) boarded a tall ship of the Turkes, being of such beautie and burthen that she seemed rather a ca-

Fight at sea be-
tweene the Turke
and the Vene-
tians.

file than a ship, whereof one *Baruch* of SMYRNA (a notable pirat) was captaine: who after a long and cruell fight, perceiuing that he must either yeeld or by force be taken, desperately set fire on his owne ship, by rage whereof both she and the Venetian ships fast graptled vnto her, were all three together burnt downe to the water: manie of the men (to shun the violence of the fire) leapt ouer board into the sea, where some of them were taken vp by other ships, and some perished. Some few others of the Venetian fleet courageously assailed the Turkes at their coming out; and doing great harme, put the Turkes whole fleet in no small feare. But the most part of the Venetian gallies lay looking on a farr off vnto whom the other before in fight with the Turkes, after they had done what they could, retired also. But by that they had done, it appeared plainly that the Venetian Admirall that day let slip out of his hands a most notable victorie, if he as a resolute man had with his whole fleet charged the enemy.

After this fight the Turkes held on their course, still keeping MOREA on the right hand, whom the Venetians still followed: at length the Turkes fleet was come to the entrance of the gulfe of PATRAS, where the Venetians againe faintly setting vpon them, suffered them to recover the gulfe; with no lesse dishonour than they had before let them escape at the port SAPIENTIA. For the Venetians, hauing the aduantage of the place, and better appointed for fight at sea, might easily (as it was supposed) haue gained the victorie, if the commanders (but especially the admirall) had been so forward in the seruice as became men of their place. But manie of the afraid to fight, lay aloofe; so that *Danthes* the Turkes Admirall (who perceiuing himselfe too weake, had purposed to haue run his gallies on shoare, and so to haue fled to the armie at land if he had felt himselfe ouercharged by the Venetian fleet) had now contrarie to his expectation recovered the gulfe he desired, though not without losse of some of his gallies. Within this gulfe standeth the auncient cite of NAVPACTVM (now called LEPANTO) then subject to the Venetians, whither Baiazet was then come by land with his armie; and now by the coming of his fleet into the gulfe, laid hard siege vnto the cite both by sea and land. They of the cite seeing themselves on euerie side beset with their enemies, without any great resistance fell to composition with Baiazet, and so yeelded vnto him the cite, which the Turkes hold at this day.

Lepanto yielded
to the Turke.

Grimani the Venetian Admirall returning to Venice, was for his euill seruice (or rather for that he according to his mild nature had not used severity against such captaines as refused to fight) cast into prison: and although he was a man mightily friended, yet was he by a publike decree banished into one of the Absyrtides, islands vpon the coast of LIBYRIA. From the first foundation of the cite of VENICE was neuer man impugned with more spight, or defended by greater friends: but common hatred preuailling; he was neuerthelessse exiled. Thus Baiazet hauing made a road into the Venetian territorie by *Scander Bassa*, and taken from thence the cite of NAVPACTVM with the countrey thereabout, returned with victorie to CONSTANTINOPE.

The next yeare following, which was the yeare 1500, Baiazet put to sea a greater and stronger fleet than he had the yeare before: and himselfe in person, with a puissant armie of an hundred & fiftie thousand men, entred by the strait of CORINTH into PELLOPONNESVS, and marching through the countrey came and encamped before the strong cite of MATHONE (now called MODON) then vnder the gouernment of the Venetians. At which time his great fleet met him there also by sea, as he had before appointed. When he had thus beset the cite both by sea and land, and with long and continuall batterie made three great and faire breaches in the wals, he gaue vnto the same two terrible assaults, and that with such desperat furie that manie of them which went foremost vnto the breach, ouerthrowne by the presse of them which followed, were trodden to death. Yet neuerthelessse the cite was both times valiantly defended by the citizens and garrison souldiours: so that when he had done what he could, he was glad to retire from the wals, hauing filled the towne ditches with the bodies of his slaine Turkes. The Venetian Admirall *Triusanius* lying at the isle of ZACYNTHVS (but farre too weake to fight with the enemy) in the beginning of the siege sent *Valerius Marcellus* and *Baptista Polanus*, with two gallies full of men and munition in reliefe of the besieged: and now doubting their farther wants, sent to *Maripetrum*, *Alex. Cothius* of CORCYRA, and *Cachuris* of HYDRUNTVM, with three other great gallies, with men, munition, and such other things as he thought needfull for the defence of the cite. These three resolute captaines comming with a full wind, and packing on all their sailes, brake through the Turkes fleet lying in their way, and ran themselves a ground vnder

R r ij

the

1500

Methone beset
ged both by sea
and land by Ba-
iazet.

the wals of the towne: for they of the towne had so barred the hauen for feare of the enemye, that they could not that way possibly get in. The citizens and souldiours joyfull of the coming of this fresh supplie, and withall fearing least the gallies should be fet off againe from them by the enemye, came running by heapes from all parts of the citie towards the sea, to receive this new come aid: which was done with such a confused disorder, that diuers places of the citie towards the land, were left without defendants, as if there had bene no enemye nere. Which the Ianizaries quickly perceiuing, presently entered by those forsaken places with little or no resistance. Then the citizens all too late began to make head: for the Ianizaries already entered, made way for the rest of the armie; which swarming into the citie, slew without pittie all that came in the way, as well Grecians as Venetians. In this slaughter *Antonius Fabius* and *Bardella*, gouernours of the towne, with *Andreas Falco*, bishop of *METHONE*, in his pontificalibus and his myre on his head, were slaine: none escaped the furie, but such as were for their strength referred for seruile labour, or for their beautie, to the victors lust: and of these a thousand bound fast together in long ropes were brought to *Baiazets* pavilion, and there in his sight by his commandement cruelly murdered. The cities of *CORONE* and *PYLVS*, now called *NAVARRINVM* sometime the dwelling place of old *Nestor*, terrified with the taking of *METHONE*, yielded themselves by composition to *Baiazet*. This citie of *CRISSEVM*, now knowne by the name of *Caput S. Galli*, was taken also by *Cherseogles*, *Baiazet* his sonne in law. All these were cities belonging to the Venetians. *NAVPLIVM* was also besieged by *Haly Bassa*, but yet still defended by the Venetians. *Baiazet* hauing new fortified the citie of *METHONE*, and stored it with new inhabitants, left in it a strong garrison, and so with victorie returned to *CONSTANTINOPLE*.

1501

At this time *Trinisanius* the Venetian Admirall died (of greefe of mind as some supposed) in whose place the Senat sent *Benedictus Pisaurius*, a noble and valiant gentleman, who with the Venetian fleet followed the enemye, then departing from the siege of *NAVPLIVM*, pursuing them euen vnto the straits of *Hellepontus*, still cutting off such as stragled or tarried behind the rest of the fleet: by which meanes hee tooke about twentie of their ships and gallies, and in his returne tooke from the Turkes the Island of *Ægina*, and landing in diuers places of the Turkes dominions, left vnto them the wofull remembrance of his being there. Afterwards meeting with *Consulius*, surnamed the Great (sent by *Ferdinand* king of SPAINNE, to aid him against the Turkes) at *ZACYNTHVS*, hee invaded *CEPHALENIA*, which *Trinisanius* his predecessor had in vaine attempted the yeare before, and laied hard siege to the citie, which was for a space valiantly defended by the Turkes: yet at length by the good conduct of *Consulius* it was by force taken, when as *Gisdare* the Gouernour thereof, with his garrison of Turkes, had before fought it out euen to the last man. The citie being taken, all the whole Island yielded forthwith to the Venetians.

Pisaurius hauing taken *CEPHALENIA*, repaired the citie, and leauing a strong garrison for defence of the isle, departed to *CORCYRA*: where hee was aduertised, That the Turkes were tugging forth a great fleet against the next Spring; whereof some part lay in the bay of *AMBRACIA* not farre from *CORCYRA*, some at *EANTE*, and the rest within the straits of *HELLESPONTVS*. Wherefore purposing to do some exploit vpon those gallies which lay in the bay of *AMBRACIA*, to auert the mind of the enemye from perceiuing of that he had secretly with himselfe intended, hee sent the greatest part of his fleet vnto the island of *NERITOS*, who suddenly landing, should put the inhabitants in feare. The capitaines sent about this businesse, cheerefully put in execution what the Admirall had commaunded, and by their sudden landing raised such a tumult, that all the countiees thereabout were filled with the expectation of that which should ensue thereof. The Bay of *AMBRACIA* is so straitened on either side with the mountaines of *EPHYRS*, that the entrance thereof is but halfe a mile ouer: but by and by opening it selfe into a great widenesse, and running vp into the land, maketh a most pleasant and safe harbour for ships and gallies to ride in. *Pisaurius* with a faire wind comming thitherwith eight gallies well appointed, when the Turkes thought him to haue been at *NERITOS*, and entering the strait, rowing farther into the bay, burnt one of the Turkes great gallies, to the terrour of all them that dwell round about the bay, and carried away with him eleuen moe, laded with munition and victuall, through the strait; the Turkes in vaine fretting thereat, and doing what they could with

their great ordinance from shore to haue sunke him in going out of the bay. But hauing done what he came for, he returned with his prey againe to *CORCYRA*. Not long after he also recovered the castle of *PYLVS* in *MOSSA*, which as it was suddenly gotten, so was it as suddenlye lost. For *Camalia*, a notable pyrat of the Turkes, who had been abroad seeking after purchase, putting into that harbour by chance tooke three gallies, there lost by the Admirall for defence of the place; and so terrified the faint hearted capitaine, that hee felts his composition with the pyrat, to yeeld him the castle; so that hee and his souldiours might in safetie depart: which the pyrat granting had the castle deliuered vnto him, which he could not with three greater strength haue possibly won. So was *PYLVS* for the second time in the year yeelded vnto the Turkes, and was both times the death of the cowardly capitaine, which gaue in vnto being both beheaded by the commandement of the Admirall. About the same time *Pisaurius* attempted to haue burnt other of the Turkes gallies lying in the river *Euryas*, vpon the coast of *Macedonia*, but without good successe as before. For the Turkes, made more carefull by the losse they had but a little before receiued at *AMBRACIA*, did now more vigilantly keepe their gallies. So that when *Pisaurius* had in certain small vessels, made of purpose for that purpose, in that river two hundred resolute souldiours to haue gone vnto the coast to haue fired the gallies, they were by the way, after they had entered a good way into the river, encountered by the Turkes, and embred to returne. But before they could get out of the river, the wind blew so contrary to such a stiff gale full in the mouth of the river, that the souldiours ouermastered with the violence of the weather, when they had done what they could, and spent all their strength, were driuen aboord some on the one side of the river, and some on the other, and so fell into the hands of their enemies, of whom it boorded not to graue mercie.

About this time *Baiazet* tooke also the ancient and famous citie of *DARRACHIVM*, now called *DURAZO*; from the Venetians being before ruinous and almost quite abandoned by the inhabitants as a place of danger, and not to be kept, now that the Turke had gon all the country round about it. The Venetians sore pressed with these warres so long maintained against the Turke, had many times prayed aid of other Christian princes, and were well holpen by the Spaniard in the taking of *CEPHALENIA*: and now *Lewes* the French king vpon a good deuotion to that warre, sent the lord *Rahessen* with seven tall ships, and fifteene gallies well appointed out of *PROVINCIA* and *GENOVA*, to aid the Venetians his friends. His fleet departing from *NAPLES*, where they had by the way put in, and passing about *ITALIA*, and so through the Ionian sea, came to *MELLOS*; one of the *CYCLADES*, at which Island *Pisaurius* with his fleet in short time arrived also: from whence they by mutuall consent departed together to invade the Island of *LESBOS*. And being there safely arrived, landed their forces, and layed siege vnto the strong citie of *MYTELLENE*, where by the furie of their artillerie they in short time had made a faire breach in the wall. In the time of this batterie whilest the breach was in making, the *Pisaurius* with part of his fleet sailed to *TENEDOS*, for it was reported, That certaine of the Turkes gallies were then comming for that place out of *Hellepontus*. Which report, as some write, was of purpose giuen out by the French, thereby to withdraw the Venetian Admirall from the siege, that so in the meane time they being in good hope to take the towne in his absence, might themselves carrie away the honour thereof, together with the rich spoile. Others fauouring the French, blame the Venetian Admirall, as if he had of purpose departed, enuying at the honour of the French: which is hard to be beleued in so honourable a personage, and in an action so much concerning the good of his commonweale. Howsoeuer it was, the breach being made, in his absence was by the Frenchmen presently assaulted: although that *Paulus Valdesius* the Venetian vice-Admirall earnestly requested the French Admirall to deferre the assault for a while, and to expect the returne of *Pisaurius*. Which his counsell the French Admirall gaue him the hearing of, but yet went forward with the assault. The Frenchmen after their manner furiously assailing the breach, were valiantly repulsd, by the Turkes: so that in the citie was manfully defended by the Turkes, and the Frenchmen enforced to retire. The French Admirall hauing taken this repulse, commaunded all things to be carried aboard, purposing to haue forsaken the siege, and so to haue departed: when in the meane time the Venetian Admirall returned, and with much adoe persuaded the French to stay. Whereupon the battle was againe begun with greater furie than before, and now the leaders were consulting of a

But for the better vnderstanding of the ground of these troubles, which hapned at this time in the raigne of *Baiazet* by occasion of these two fugitiue Persians; as also of the mortall warres which afterwards ensued betwixt *Hysmael* (commonly called the great Sophi of *PERSIA*) and *Selymus*, *Baiazet* his successor: it shall not be much from our purpose briefly to declare the great mutation which at this time hapned in the Persian kingdome, as well in the state it selfe; as in matters of their superstition. At such time as *Asymbeius Vsun-Cassanes* reigned in *PERSIA*, there was one *Haider Erdebil* (whom *Iouius* calleth by the name of *Harduelles*) a man honorably descended amongst the Persians; who contemning worldly honour, riches, pleasure, and whatsoeuer else belonged vnto delicacie of life (commonly accounted the greatest part of humane felicitie) as meere vanities and trifles, led such a straight and austere kind of life, with such continencie and contempt of the world, as that the vulgar people, for most part giuen to pleasure, wondering at that in him which they could not or would not themselves imitate, began to haue the man in singular admiration for the opinion they had conceived of his vpright life and rare vertues. The fame of this new prophet (for so he was accounted) was growne so great in the Persian kingdome, that people without number resorted out of all parts of *PERSIA* and *ARMENIA* vnto the great citie of *TAVRIS* to see the man. And he the more to seduce the multitude (delighted with nouelties) began to inuay against the common received opinion of the Mahometanes, concerning the true successours of their great prophet; and to reuince the opinion of *Giumi*, surnamed *Sofi*: perswading the people (as if he had been inspired with some diuine inspiration) That none of the professors of the Mahometane religion should inherit the Kingdome of heaven after they were dead, but such as were the followers of *Haly*, the true successour of the great prophet *Mahomet*, and his fellow in writing. Whom he taught them onely to honour as priuie to the mind of the great prophet, and so to receiue his writings as of all others most authentically: rejecting *Eubekin*, *Omer*, and *Osman*, with their writings, as most wicked & accursed men, whom the Turkes had euer, and yet doe with the other Mahometanes, honour and worship as the true successours of their great prophet *Mahomet*, and his sincere interpreters, together with the aforesaid *Haly*, whom the Persians doe onely acknowledge: and therefore in their praiers doe commonly say, *Cursed be Eubekir, Omer, and Osman, and God be fauourable to Haly and well pleased with him*. Whiche their difference about the true successor of their prophet, in whom was no truth, hath been, and yet is, one of the greatest causes of the mortall wars betwene the Turkes and Persians: and not the diuers interpretation of their law (as manie haue written) which among the Turkes and Persians is all one.

The Turkes and Persians differ not about the interpretation of their law, but about the true successor of their great prophet Mahomet.

Haider married Martha the daughter of the great king Vsun-Cassanes.

Vsun-Cassanes moued with the fame and vertues of this new prophet, or rather (as some thought) desirous to win the hearts of the multitude of them that had receiued this new phantastic; gaue him in marriage his daughter *Martha*, begotten of the Christian ladie *Despina* the daughter of *Calo Ioannes* emperor of *TRAPZONDE*. Whiche marriage the Christian emperor made with that Mahometane prince, and he also accepted thereof, thereby to strengthen themselves against the Turkish emperor *Mahomet* the Great; whose power was then become a terrour vnto all his neighbour princes: but to how small purpose this policie serued them both, is before declared in the life of the same *Mahomet*. At the conclusion of this marriage, the emperor had specially couenanted with *Vsun-Cassanes*, that his daughter *Despina* might haue the free exercise of the Christian religion. Whereby it easily came to passe, that this *Martha* her daughter, instructed by her mother, became a Christian also: who now married by her father vnto this precise hypocrite *Haider Erdebil*, in short time bare him a sonne called *Hysmael*, whom she so much as she could trained vp in the principles of the Christian religion. Whereby it came to passe, that afterwards when hee had by rare fortune obtained the kingdome of *PERSIA*, he alwaies during his life had the Christians in good regard, and neuer found fault with their religion.

Haider thus graced with the marriage of the great kings daughter *Martha*, only for his rare vertues and puritie of life, as was commonly supposed; grew now into farre greater credit and estimation of the people than before. So that his doctrine and opinions began to be generally receiued, and the number of his followers so greatly augmented, that *Iacup* succeeding his father *Vsun-Cassanes* but lately dead, began to haue the power and credit of *Haider* his brother in law in suspect; and to distrust least the Persians (who secretly fauoured the remainder of the posteritie of their auncient kings) should assemble together vnder the colour of this new superstition, and

and raise some dangerous rebellion before he were well settled in his seat. For he was not ignorant, that *Asymbeius Vsun-Cassanes* (his father) had but by force and pollicie vsurped the kingdome, hauing killed *Moloonchres* the lawfull king: whereof there arose two factions, some favouring the vsurper, and other some the poore remainder of the discent of their auncient kings of the race of *Tamerlane*. For which causes *Iacup* (as hee was of a suspitious and troublesome nature, and about measure jealous of his state, nothing regarding the neere alliance or reputed liuelynesse of his godly brother in law) caused him, suspecting no such matter, to be secretly murthered: and so hauing stricke off his head, with fire and sword persecuted all the professors of that new doctrine; so to deliuer himselfe for euer of that his vaine and needlesse feare: *Hysmael* the sonne of *Haider* (who was afterwards called the great Sophi of *PERSIA*) being then but a child, as it were by fatall destinie escaped the furie of his cruell vncke *Iacup*, and fled into *HIRCANIA* vnto one *Pyrebales* his fathers friend, who then ruled in a small territorie neere vnto the Caspian sea.

Haider Erdebil secretly murthered.

Amongst many other of the disciples and followers of *Haider* (which in that cruell persecution were glad to flee for safeguard of their liues) the two before named *Chasan Shelife*, and *Schach Culi*, afterwards surnamed *Cuselbas*, in outward shew both of vertue and learning not inferior vnto their master, flying that dangerous tempest and passing ouer the riuer *Euphrates*, came into *ARMENIA* the lesser, and there tooke vp their dwelling at the great mountaine *ANTITAVRVS*: at the foot whereof the broken rockes haue diuers darke and obscure caues, made partly by art, and partly by nature; which place is of the inhabitants called *Tekeli*: whereof diuers historiographers, I know not whether deceiued by the name of the place, or else wittingly transferring the name of the place vnto the man that liued therein, haue called this *Schach Culi* (who of the two proued of greater fame) by the name of *Techellis*, by which name we will also from henceforth call him. A thing heretofore much vsed amongst the religious, and also some of the children of great princes, who oftentimes bare the names of the places where they were borne, or where they most liued. This place is both wholesome and exceeding pleasant, for the varietie of fruits and liuely springs, wherewith the plaines adioyning are continually watered, and the mountains at all times of the yeare garnished.

Here *Shelife* with his companion *Techellis*, hauing separated themselves farre from the company of men, and giuen themselves wholly to a contemplatiue life, for diuers yeares liued most straitly and austerely, contenting themselves with such things as the earth of it selfe afforded them, without seeking for better. These hypocrites were first scene, and afterwards acquainted with the shepherds and herdsmen liuing vpon the mountaines: and in processe of time with the rude husbandmen and countrey people, who wondering at their strait and deuout kind of life, relieved them with all things necessarie. Yea *Baiazet* himselfe hearing of their austere and deuout manner of liuing, sent them yearly six or seauen thousand aspers; as his almes giuen them vpon charitie and deuotion. But afterwards when they began to tell fortunes, and as it were by the way of diuination to prognosticate of things to come; the rurall people held them for more than men, and conceiued of them a firme opinion that they were some diuine prophets. And so were by the countrey people first drawne into the countrey villages, and afterwards as if it had been against their wils, into the cities; where they had in short time filled all the countrey, farre and neere, with the admiration of their fame. But after they began to publish their new phantastical doctrine concerning the true successour of their great prophet *Mahomet*, they waited not their new-fangled followers (as had *Haider* their master before among the Persians) who had them in singular reuerence; persuaded now by them, that they should be condemned for euer, if they did not (as they were by them taught) giue the honour of the true succession of their great prophet, onely to *Haly*, and him onely to reuerence and call vpon next vnto the great prophet himselfe.

When they had thus with their often sermons and blind prophecies seduced the people, and in short time woon great credit amongst the vulgar sort, of themselves too much giuen to noueltie and superstition; they commanded their disciples and followers to weare vpon their Turkish hats a red band or riband, whereby to be knowne from others that were not of their profession. Of which red bands or ribands, they which professed this new superstition, were and yet are ouer all the East part of the world called by the name of *Cuselbassas*, which is to say *Red heads*.

The beginning of the Cuselbassas.

Hysmael

Hyfmaell his behaviour in the time of his exile.

Hyfmaell also living in exile, most earnestly embraced that new superstition which *Haider* his father had before taught in PERSIA, but with farre better fortune and successe. For as soone as he was growne to mans estate, he following his fathers manner of life, and being by nature wonderfull eloquent, comely of person, exceeding wise, and of an invincible courage, was of the rude vulgar people accounted of more like a god than a man: so that he grew to be of great fame and power amongst those barbarous people with whom he liued. And not the base and vulgar sort only, but diuers noblemen also and others of good reputation, once allured with the noveltie of his doctrine, the more to manifest their good will towards the author of their sect; after they had forsaken their old superstition, ceased not (as the manner of men is) to commend him in the highest degree of vertue & honor. And he himselfe as yet but a youth, altogether bending his wit to the setting forth of himselfe, making semblant of more than was indeed in him, obtained, as if it had bene against his will, riches, honour, fame, and authoritie; of all which things, hee as a notable dissembler seemed to make no account or reckoning: neither were there some wanting, which would sweare, that *Haider* his father (as he was an excellent Astronomer) calculating his natiuitie, should say, That he should prooue a great prophet, and the author of true religion; who subduing the greatest part of the East, should become as glorious both in matters of religion and martiall affaires, as was *Mahomet* the Great prophet himselfe. Which report being bruied abroad amongst the vulgar people, greatly encreased his authoritie, and gaue them occasion to talke of wonders. Not long after *Hyfmaell* was first by the admiration or rather assentation of his friends and followers, and afterwards as if it had ben by a generall consent, surnamed *Sophos*: which amongst those people signifieth a Wise man, or the interpreter of the gods. These prosperous beginnings, with the troubled state of the Persian kingdome, encouraged him to take in hand great matters: for his vnckle *Jacup* the Persian king was long before dead, being together with his sonne poysoned by his adulterous wife: which thing he presently perceiving, enforced her to drinke of the same cup; and because he would be sure that he should not escape, with his owne hand stricke off her head, and immediately after died, with his sonne. After whose death great troubles arose about the succession: and diuers great men one after another aspired to the kingdome, which they enjoyed not long. And amongst the rest *Eluan-beg* (whom *Iouius* calleth *Aluantes*) at that time stood in no sure possession of the kingdome, being mightily impugned by his brother *Moratchamus*.

Hyfmaell reuermeth into Armenia, and recouers his inheritance.

Hyfmaell taking hold of this opportunitie, armed diuers of the most able men of his followers, and receiving some small aid from his poore old friend *Pyrchaes*, entered into ARMENIA, and there partly by the fame that ran of him, and partly by the good will of the people, rather than by any force, recouered his fathers inheritance, wherunto the remembrance of his dead father did not a little further him. He encouraged with this good beginning, daily grew stronger and stronger, by the continuall repairing vnto him of such as hauing once received the doctrine of *Haider*, were glad of long for (feare of persecution) to dissemble the same: but now hauing got an head and cheefestaine to cleaue vnto, began openly to shew themselves againe, and in great number to resort vnto him, in hope of the good successe of their religion; not so happily begun by his father.

Sumachia taken by Hyfmaell.

His power thus daily encreasing beyond his expectation, he laied siege vnto SYMACHIA, a citie in the confines of MEDIA, which he tooke by force and sacked: and with the spoile thereof both enriched and armed his souldiours, which before were for most part naked men. Thera king of this citie wonderfully encreased both his fame and courage, as oftentimes it falleth out, That haughtie minds, courageously attempting high exploits, by the good euent of their first attempts make vnto the full of their stately desires. So after this, *Hyfmaell* his thoughts were not so low, as to thinke of the taking of this or that litle citie; but how he might now compass the great citie of TAVRIS, the very seat of the Persian kings, and afterwards the kingdome itselfe. Whereupon reposing no lesse confidence in his owne good fortune, than the valour of his souldiours, he marched with his armie directly to the citie of TAVRIS, and that with such expedition, that he was come before it before any such thing was feared, much lesse provided for. *Eluan* the Persian king was then at TAVRIS, and had but a litle before fought a great battaile with his brother *Moratchamus* for the kingdome: and hauing vanquished him, draue him out of ARMENIA and PERSIA; and afterwards, as it commonly falleth out in the winding vp of ciuile warres, had caused diuers of the cheefe citizens of TAVRIS, which had taken part with his

Hyfmaell commeth to Tauris.

brother against him, to be severely executed, filling the eyes of their friends with the horrible spectacle of their dismembred bodies, and the hearts of most men with sorrow and heavinesse: whereby he had so alienated the minds of the citizens from him, that now upon the approach of *Hyfmaell*, they were all readie to forsake him: of which their disposition *Hyfmaell* was before-hand informed, and vpon the good hope thereof had halted his comming. *Eluan* the Persian king thus ouertaken on the suddaine, had not time to raise such forces as might suffice either to encounter his enemie, or defend the citie; wherefore despairing of his owne strength, and justly fearing the reuolt and furie of the discontented citizens, as a man dismayed, suddainely fled out of the citie. After whose departure the gates were presently set open vnto *Hyfmaell*. For the citizens which in those troublesome times (wherein the two brethren contended for the kingdome) had suffered great calamitie, chose rather in that present danger to receive a conqueror of so great fame as was then *Hyfmaell*, than to their vtter destruction to oppose themselves against him in the quarrell of their cruell king: and the rather, for that they saw a generall securitie and open way to preferment proposed vnto all such as should receiue the reformed religion of this new conquerour.

Hyfmaell entering the citie, slew certaine of the kings guard which were not yet departed, and then vtterly rased the stately tombe wherein his vnckle *Jacup* was after the manner of the Persian kings royally buried. And to mitigate the sorrow hee had so long conceiued of his fathers death, and with reuenge to appease his angrie ghost, he caused the tyrants bornies to be digged vp and scattered abroad, and the memorie of his name to bee quite rased out of all places of the citie.

Hyfmaell taketh the citie of Tauris, and defaceeth the tombe of his vnckle Jacup.

Although *Hyfmaell* was thus possessed of the regall citie of TAVRIS, and had thereby made a way for the obtaining of the whole kingdome; yet hee knew that so long as *Eluan* liued, his conquest was not vnto him assured: and therefore to the vttermost of his power he augmented his armie with new supplies taken vp in that populous citie, whom he furnished with armour and weapons taken out of the kings armourie. In the meane time newes was brought vnto him, that the Persian king before fled into the farthest part of his kingdome, was now comming from SCYRAS with a great armie against him; and that *Moratchamus* his brother, forgetting in this common danger all former quarrels, had raised a great armie about BABYLON in ASSYRIA, in short time to ioyne with his brother.

Hyfmaell neuerthelesse nothing terrified with the report of the great preparation of the two brethren against him, to the intent hee might seeme to undertake this warre by the appointment of God, and vpon a greater assurance than vpon his owne strength, resolved to go against them. And so after he had mustered his armie, and in best manner he could provided all things necessa-
Hyfmaell goeth against the Persian king.
 tie, he set forward from TAVRIS: vying no other perswasion to encourage his souldiours, but that they should as became resolute men, make hast and follow him whom God had giuen them for a cheefestaine and leader, vnto a most assured victorie. The Persian king was at the same time ten dayes journey from TAVRIS, when *Hyfmaell* with incredible celeritie preuenting the fame of his comming, was come to the mountaine NIPHATES, which parteth ARMENIA from ASSYRIA: which mountaine *Eluan* purposing shortly to passe ouer with his populous armie, had sent before his scouts to discover the straight passages, and a multitude of pioneers to make the wayes more commodious for his great armie to passe. Which thing *Hyfmaell* vnderstanding, and politickely considering that it should be much for his aduantage, if hee should first himselfe passe ouer those great mountaines, and so vpon the suddaine set vpon his enemies then lying in securitie, and fearing nothing lesse than such a desperat attempt: vpon that resolution advanced his ensignes vp the mountaines; and hauing with small resistance discomfited them which kept the passages, came downe the same mountaines like a tempest, and furiously assailed the king, then lying in his campe on the other side at the foot of the mountaine: vpon the approach of whom, such a hurly burly was raised in the kings campe, that what for the confused tumult of the souldiours, and fearefull outcries of the multitude of base people which followed the campe, the king could scarcely giue order vnto his captaines what he would haue done, or yet encourage his souldiours, or put them in order of battaile. So that *Hyfmaell* giuing a fierce onfet with his ARMENIAN souldiours, there was suddainely begun a most terrible and bloodie battaile. Neither did that day the fortune of *Hyfmaell* faile him, whose courage and prowesse neuer failed: For assailing the kings battaile of footmen, with three squadrons at once, he had overcome them and put

Eleven the Per-
sian king slaine.

them to flight before that the horsemen could arme themselves and mount their horses, which were for most part vnbridled and vnbridled at his comming. The king, who had nothing either feared or foreseen this so suddaine a mischeefe, but had vainly perswaded himselfe, That the very fame of his comming with so huge an armie, would so terrifie his enemies, as that hee should find none either at TAVRIS, or in all ARMENIA, that durst make resistance; was glad now to run too and fro to encourage his souldiors, to stay his discomfited battailes, yea and to come to handie blowes himselfe. But when neither his capitaines nor souldiors could put in execution his suddaine directions which he was enforced to giue in that imminent danger, being at once overcome with shame and desperation, he resolutely thrust himselfe into the head of his battaile, and there valiantly fighting, was slaine. Whereupon the Persian horsemen, the greatest strength of the kings armie, hauing now no king for whom they should fight, betooke themselves to flight, after whom followed the archers and all the rest of the kings armie.

When as Hyfmaell had with lesse losse than a man would haue thought so great a victorie could haue beene achieved, possessed the enemies tents, hee made no great pursuit after them, for that he thought it more requisite to refresh his souldiors, throughly wearied and almost spent with long trauell and the late fight: wherefore for certaine dayes he reposed himselfe with his armie in those his enemies forsaken tents. Afterwards, when hee had receiued embassadours from diuers places, yielding their cities and townes, and that the fauour of the people generally enclined to him, together with the victorie; he marched with his armie to SCYRAS, where hee was of the citicens, who had before heard of the victorie, joyfully receiued, and his armie relieved with all things he could desire. Hyfmaell there entertained with the greatest honours that the fearefull citicens could possibly attribute vnto him, did oftentimes preach vnto them of the truth and excellencie of his fathers doctrine, and withall gaue out straight proclamations, That he would account all them for his enemies, which did not within the space of thirtie dayes renounce their old superstition, and receiue this new found vertue (as he would haue it.) Wherefore for as much as on the one side were proposed most certaine rewards, by the happie course of his victories; and on the other, was threatened exile and torture to such as should obstinately persist in their opinion; in short time hee drew all the vulgar people to embrace his new doctrine. And afterwards hauing payed his souldiors with the riches of that great citie, he gallantly furnished both his old and new souldiors that wanted armour, with most excellent armour and furniture: for in that citie, one of the greatest and most famous of the East, were many shops full of all kind of armour, which the armourers with wonderfull cunning vsed to make of yron and Steele and the iuice of certaine hearbes, of much more notable temper & beautie than are those which are made with vs in EVROPE; not onely headpeeces, cuirasses, and complete armors, but whole caparisons for horses, curiously made of thin plates of yron and Steele. Departing from SCYRAS, he tooke also the great cities of SAPHA, supposed to haue been the citie in ancient time called SVSA, and SVLTANIA, which for the wonderfull ruines of the huge buildings, is deemed to haue been the ancient and famous citie TIGRANOCERTA. These great matters quickly dispatched, and hauing in euery citie placed gouernours of his owne sect, hee passed ouer the riuer of TIGRIS into MESOPOTAMIA, of purpose to expulse Moratchamus the late kings brother out of BABILON, who was yet in armes, and had intended (as is before said) to haue passed into ARMENIA, to haue joyned his forces with the king his brother: but now terrified with his brothers calamitie (who together with a most puissant armie, and the strength of the Persian kingdom, was in one day fallen from the height of so great a fortune) thought it not best to trie his fortune in the field against so fortunate an enemy, but forthwith to withdraw himselfe into the remotest places of that large kingdom, and from thence to expect some better fortune. For he well knew that he was not able to withstand his victorious enemy, now leading after him a most puissant armie, who not long before had with a small power vanquished & slaine his brother in a great battell. Hyfmaell now by the greatnesse of his fame and forces, and as it were by the fauor of God himselfe, become a terror to all the princes of the East, entered into MESOPOTAMIA after the flight of Moratchamus, & receiued all that great province into his subiection, euery man as it were striving who should first by his speedy submission purchase the fauor of the victorious conqueror. To be breefe, Moratchamus already terrified, and reposing no great hope in himselfe, or his own power, neither deeming it for his safetie to shut himselfe vp within the wals of any strong citie, trusted vp his things of greatest price, and with his wiues and children fled into ARABIA. This

Hyfmaell goeth
against Moratchamus.

This Moratchamus is he whom some historiographers call Mara Beg, and is in the Turkes histories called *Imirsa Beg*, who (as they report) afterwards marrying the daughter of Baiazet, and recovering part of the Persian kingdom, was suddenly murdered by some of his nobilitie, whom he purposed secretly to haue put to death, if they had not prevented the same by murdering of him first. Hyfmaell hauing victoriously subdued a great part of the Persian kingdom, and filled all the East part of the world with the glorie of his name, returned out of ASSYRIA into MEDIA, and tooke in such cities and strong holds as were yet holden by the garrisons of the late Persian king. And afterwards returning into ARMENIA, made wars vpon the Albanians, Iberians, and Scythians, which dwell vpon the borders of the Caspian: For that those nations, in auncient times tributaries vnto the Persian kings, taking the benefit of the long ciuile warres wherewith the kingdom of PERSIA and all the Easterne countries, with the ruine of the kings house, had been of late turmoiled; had neither paid anie tribute by the space of foure yeares, nor sent anie honourable embassage as they were wont, and as was expected, especially in so great a victorie and alteration of the state.

Hyfmaell hauing thus obtained the Persian kingdom, in short time became famous through the world, and was justly accounted amongst the greatest monarchs of that age. But nothing made him more to be spoken of, than the innouation he had made in the Mahometane superstition: for by his deuise and commaundement, a new forme of prayer was brought into their Mahometane temples, farre differing from that which had been of long time before vsed. By reason wherof, *Ebnbekir*, *Homer*, and *Osmán*, the successours of their great prophet *Mahomet*, before had in great regard and reuerence, began now to be contemned, & their writings nothing regarded: and the honour of *Hali* exalted, as the true and onely successour of their great prophet. And because he would haue his subjects and the followers of his doctrine knowne from the Turkes and other Mahometanes, he commaunded that they should all weare some red hat-band, lace, or riband vpon their heads; which they religiously obserue in PERSIA vntill this day: whereof they are of the Turkes called *Cuselbas* or *Redheads*. And in short time hee had so vied the matter, that he was wonderfully both beloued and reuerenced of his subjects: in so much that his sayings were accounted for diuine oracles, and his commaundements for lawes. So that when they would confirme anie thing by solemne oath, they would sweare by the head of Hyfmaell the king: and when they wished well to anie man, they vsually said, *Hyfmaell* grant thee thy desire. Vpon his coine which he made both of siluer and gold, on the one side was written these words, *La illahé illallahú, Muhamedun resúl allahé*: which is to say, *There are no gods but one, and Mahomet is his messenger*. And on the other side, *Ismaill halife lullahé*; which is to say, *Hyfmaell the Vicar of God*.

Whilest Hyfmaell was thus wrestling for the Persian kingdom, *Chasan Chelise* and *Techellis* (whom wee haue a little before declared to haue beene brought out of the mountaines and deserts into the countrey villages, and afterwards into the cities; and to haue filled the countreys of ARMENIA and a great part of the Lesser ASIA with the noueltie of their new doctrine and opinions, first phantastied by one *Ginnet Siech*, and afterward reuiued by *Haider Erdebil* (Hyfmaell his father) hauing gathered a great armie of such as had receiued their doctrine, innuaded the Turkes dominion. For after that *Techellis* (this cold prophet) had with wonderfull felicitie in the presence of manie prognosticated of things to come; and Hyfmaell the Sophi (of late a poore exiled and banished man) was thought to haue growne vnto the highest type of worldly honours, not by mans helpe, but by vprightnesse of life, and the fortunate passage of an vndoubted religion: such a desire of receiuing that new superstition possessed the mindes of the people in generall, that the cities and townes thereabouts were now full of them which in token of their new profession had taken vpon them the wearing of the red hat, the knowne badge of the *Cuselbas*. First they met together at the citie of TASCIA at the foot of the mountain *ATTALIA*, to the number of ten thousand vpon a great Faire day; where they laied hands vpon the chiefe magistrate of the citie and executed him, setting his quarters vpon foure of the highest towers of the citie: and farther perswaded by these new masters of this new superstition, to take vp armes in defence of themselves and of their sincere religion (as they termed it) in case that anie violence should be offered them by the irreligious Turkes; they all swore neuer to forsake their capitaines for anie distress, or yet refuse anie labour or aduenture for the honour of their most holy religion (as they would

Hyfmaell exceedingly beloued and honoured of his subjects.

1508.

Chasan Chelise and Techellis innuaded the Turkes dominions.

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would haue it) in defence whereof, they had already vowed their soules and bodies. These ring-leaders of rebellion, seeing the minds of their franticke followers so well prepared for their purpose, and reposing a great confidence in their valour and resolution; and withall considering that the money which was bountifully brought in vnto them by the countrey people, partly for deuotion, partly for feare, was not sufficient to maintaine so great a multitude; gaue leaue by publicke proclamation to their viruly followers, to forage the countrey round about them, and to liue vpon the spoile of them which would not receiue that new sound doctrine. Whereupon they deuiding themselves into diuers companies, and raunging vp & down the countrey, brought into the campe great abundance of cattell and other such things as the countrey yeelded: and forthwith (their multitude still encreasing) they entered into LYCAONIA, a populous and fruitful countrey, where they refreshed themselves manie daies, roaming vp and downe to the great grievance and terrour of the people: and brought such a feare vpon the whole countrey, that they which dwelt in open dorpes and villages, were glad to flic with their wiues, children, and goods into the strong citie of ICONIUM: for proclamations were in manie places set vp in the names of *Chasan Chelise* and *Techellis*, wherein manie both spirituall and temporall blessings were in most ample manner proposed to all such as should forthwith take part with them, and follow that their new doctrine already established in PERSIA: But vnto such as should obstinately perseuere in their old superstition, after they had once drawne their sword, was threatened utter destruction without hope of pardon or life. So that all the inhabitants thereabouts, terrified with the terrour of this proclamation, some for feare of death, some vpon vnconstancie; some for safegard of their goods and possessions (dearer vnto them then any religion) some other indebted, infamous, in danger of law: beside manie fugitiue seruants daily resorted to these new masters. Not long after, whilst the Turks were making preparation for the suppressing of this dangerous rebellion, certaine troupes of horsemen sent from *Hyfmaell* came in good time to these new prophets: for *Hyfmaell* in fauour and furtherance of that new superstition, had a little before by fit messengers, exhorted them to proceed courageously in their so religious an enterprise, and to joyne martiall force vnto the religion they professed: promising further, not to bee wanting vnto them at their need, but to send them skilfull leaders, and from time to time to furnish them with coine for the maintenance of that warre. All this *Hyfmaell* did openly in despite of *Baiazet*, of small beginnings to sow the seed of greater warre. For he bearing an old grudge against *Baiazet*, for the former warres betwixt the Turkes and the Persians, as also for their disagreement in matters concerning their superstition; and prickt forward with the heat of youth, desired nothing more in the greatnesse of his power, and prosperous successe of his affaires, than to haue occasion to make wars with the Turkish king: For which purpose he sent his embassadours vnto the state of VENICE to joyne with them in league and amitie, in such forme and sort, as they had long time before by *Catarinus Zenus*, *Barbarus* and *Contarenius* their embassadours, concluded with *Vsun-Cassanes* the great Persian king his grandfather. The chiefe things that he requested of the Venetians was, That they would send him out of ITALIE by the way of SYRIA, men skilfull in the casting of great ordinance, and with their fleet to trouble *Baiazet* by sea: promising in the meane time himselfe to fill ASIA the lesse with his army by land, and so to giue a faire occasion vnto them, to recouer by sea all such places, as they had before in the late warres lost vnto the Turkes vpon the coast of PELOPONNESVS and GRÆCIA.

The Venetians hauing with all courtesie entertained the embassadours, gaue them answers, That they would neuer be forgetfull of the ancient league and amitie they had made with the Persian king; the remembrance whereof, was vnto their state a thing most pleasant: and that they were wonderfull glad, that the new king was an enemy vnto the Turke, and had them in such hatred, as to participate vnto them the causes of that warre: and farther to promise vnto them those things, which if his grandfather *Vsun-Cassanes* or his vnckle *Iacup* would haue performed, he should not now haue had need to make warres with the Turkish emperor. But such was the alteration of things and times, that as the Persian kings then liuing at home in peace, thought it not good to stir whilst *Baiazet* was busie in EVROPE; so now their state standing in far worse condition and fortune, could not performe that which they heartily wished, and most of all desired: for that they thought it not good to breake the league which they had not long before made with *Baiazet* the Turkish emperor: especially then, when sundrie warlike nations of EVROPE conspiring together, and diuers mightie kings prouoked with no iniurie, but onely enuy-

ing at their happie estate, made warres vpon them; yet were neuertheless in good hope, that God would stand in their iust defence, and still perseuere their state, which no enemies power had for the space of 700 yeares and more, euer beene able to ouercome. Wherefore they should shew vnto their king, that they would as occasion should serue, and as it should stand with the good of their state, doe their vttermost deuoiure, to make him vnderstand, that nothing was deerer vnto them than the friendship of so great a king: nor anie thing more honourable than by mutuall counsell and combined forces, to assaile the Turke their common enemy.

Shortly after, the embassadours (hauing obtained nothing more than the hope of a league to bee in time concluded, and being honourably rewarded) returned with their galleies to CYPRVS, and so from thence to SYRIA, where they had secret conference with *Petrus Zenus* (the sonne of *Catarinus Zenus*, a man famous for his embassage vnto *Vsun-Cassanes* into PERSIA) gouernour of the Venetian merchants at DAMASCO. Which thing *Baiazet* hauing intelligence of, and of the passage of the Persian embassadours that way, complained grieuouly both by his embassadours and letters vnto *Campson Gaurus* Sultan of Ægypt, that he dealt not as a friend and confederat with him, in suffering those embassadours so to passe through the midst of SYRIA vnto the Christians their common enemies, to stir them vp to warre. Whereupon, all the Venetian merchants which were at TRIPOLES, ALEPPO, DAMASCO, BERYTVS, and ALEXANDRIA, and especially *Zenus* himselfe, were forthwith apprehended by the commandement of the great Sultan, and carried in bonds to CAIR: where they were manie times enforced in chaires to answer vnto such things as were laid to their charge, and after they had by the space of a yeare endured the manifold despights of the proud Mamalukes, hardly obtained to escape with life and libertie.

The two seditious prophets *Chasan* and *Techellis* well strengthened with the aid of the Persians, were now come vnto ICONIUM the most famous citie of LYCAONIA; and wasting all the countrey before them, drew a great multitude of people to receiue their new doctrine. For the repressing of which outrages, *Orchanes* and *Mahometes*, two of *Baiazet* his nephews (who in stead of their fathers *Alem Schach* and *Tzihan Schach*, the sonnes of *Baiazet* before dead, gouerned those countreies) gathered together their forces, and disdaining to suffer such disgrace by such a rabble of rascall people, in the sight of so famous a citie, came into the field to giue them battell. But they in their youthfull heat making too much hast, and joyning battell in a place of disadvantage, were by the rebels ouerthrowne and put to flight. Neither would these ringleaders in that victorie haue forborne to haue assailed ICONIUM, but that they wanted artillerie and engines of war requisite for the besieging of cities.

Corentus also one of the sonnes of *Baiazet*, hauing at the same time leui'd a conuenient army about THYATIRA, SYPIVS, MAGNESIA, and PHOCIA, durst not farther stir or set forward against the rebels, although they lay disperfed about the countrey fast by him. These new prophets with ensignes displayed, marching from countrey to countrey through the heart of the lesse ASIA, entered at length into BYTHINIA, where neere vnto the riuer Sangarius they met with *Carageses Bassa* the Viceroy of ASIA, coming against them with a great army well appointed, which he had a little before raised vpon the bruit of the comming of these rebels; and had also commaunded *Acomathes* (whom the Turkes call *Achmetes*) the eldest sonne of *Baiazet* then liuing, gouernour of the great countreies of CAPADOCIA and PONTVS, to raise his power, and to follow at the backe of the rebels: who if they should hap to be put to the worse, would neither be able to retire, neither to keepe the field, being so shut vp betwixt two great armies. But *Techellis* by his speedie comming, frustrated these designs of the Viceroy: for marmies ching with all possible speed, he was vpon *Carageses* before he was well aware of his comming, and nere vnto the mountaine HORMYVS; as he was then taking vp of mo souldiours, and daily expected the comming of others, as if he had beene going, against some puissant enemy. The Viceroy seeing the rebels approach, although he had before not purposed to haue encountered them before he had raised farre greater forces: thought it not now to stand with his honour to refuse to giue them battell, although his army for most part consisted of the rude countrey peafants, taken vp vpon the sudden out of PAPHLAGONIA, GALATIA, PONTVS, and BYTHINIA, raw souldiours, and for most part vnarmed: as commonly they are which in those countreies are pressed against their wils out of the townes and villages, and are of the Turkes called *Alapi*, who of the Ianizaries are scarcely accounted for men. But his greatest confidence he re-

The battell be-
tweene Carago-
ses and Techellis

posed in the approued valour of his auntient horsemen, by whose meanes he doubted not, in safetie to retire out of the battell, and to saue himselfe if anie thing should fall out otherwise than well; making no great account of the common souldiours more than by them if he could to weaken the force of the rebels: who on the other side (their greatest force consisting of footmen) had no hope to saue themselves by flight, but onely by plaine valour and dint of sword. Which *Techellis* well considering, exhorted his souldiours to remember into what country they were come, and that there was no cities of refuge, no new power, no other gods of defence to flie vnto, if they should not that day play the men: Wherefore let vs courageously (said he) set forward against our enemies, and by victorie defend our liues, together with the truth of our religion, for which we haue vowed both our soules and bodies. He had scarce said thus much, but that his whole army (in token of cheerfulness) gaue a most terrible shout, & without farther stay, set vpon their enemies. The Viceroy had placed his footmen in the maine battell in the middle, and his horsemen in the wings, thereby to haue compassed in his enemies: but *Techellis* had set all his footmen in one great square battell, and his Persian horsemen for a refuge. But the Viceroy his freshwater souldiours, could scarcely abide the sight of *Techellis* his army: for in the front of the battell stood souldiours throughly armed, and all the rest of his army with red haire vpon their heads, as if they had been embred with blood, which wonderfully terrified the Persians cowardly and vnskillfull souldiours: so that hauing endured the fight scarcely halfe an houre, they all turned their backs and fled. The Turkish horsemen which had valiantly assailed the rebels army on both sides, although they had slaine manie with their arrowes and launces, and somewhat disordered the battell, for that the footmen were enforced to leaue their places, and to presse still on forwards against them; yet when *Techellis* his souldiours (hauing overcome the footmen, and diuiding themselves into diuers squadrons) began with their long pikes to kill their horses, and to lay hardly vnto them, they likewise betooke themselves to flight also. Then the Persian horsemen (which all this while had stood still as lookers on) left their standings, and following the chase slew manie of the Turkes in their disordered flight: and following fast on, enclosed the Viceroy as he was staying of his horsemen, and could not for the thicknesse of the dust well discerne his enemies; so that he had bene there taken, if he had not bene speedily rescued by his guard, and so deliuered from that danger: The rest of the Turkes horsemen saved themselves by flight. In this battell scauen thousand of the Turkes footmen were slaine, and all their ensignes taken, with great store of prouision.

Techellis besie-
ging Carago-
ses the Viceroy in
the citie of Cusa-
ta.

After which victorie, *Chafan* and *Techellis* resting their armie one day, marched to the citie of *CYTAIE*, neere vnto the mountaine *HORMINVS*: This citie is situated as it were in the midst of *ASIA* the lesse, and is the seat of the Turkish emperours Viceroy in *ASIA*: as *SOPHIA* in *MACEDONIA* is for his other Viceroy in *EVROPE*: For it was reported, that the country people had for feare of the present warre, conuaid thither the greatest part of their wealth; and the rebels well knew, that the Viceroy himselfe with his chiefe horsemen were fled thither also: Neither doubted they, but that all the armie might be greatly enriched by the wealth of that citie, if they should without delay employ their whole forces for the gaining thereof; their enemies now altogether discouraged with their late ouerthrow. *Techellis* also deeming that enterprise of so much worth as whereon to gage his whole forces, comming before the citie, placed such field pieces as he had before taken in the battell, and his archers in such fit places as might most annoy the defendants; afterwards hee caused scaling ladders to be set vp, and proclamation made through all his campe, That the whole spoile of the citie should be the souldiours, if they could take it; with promise of greater rewards to them that should first recouer the top of the wall. Filled with this hope, the rebellious multitude approached the wall, fearing neither enemies force, multitude of shot, or danger of death; struiuing who should first mount the ladders, and some clambering one in the necke of another, so to get vp by the ruines of the wall. The defendants in the meane time from aboue casting downe vpon them great stones, timber, fire, scalding water, lime, sand, and such like without measure: Wherewith although many were ouerthrown and cruell to death or spoiled, yet others presently stepped vp in their place; neither was anie of them so feene for feare of so present danger, to shrinke backe or be discouraged. For the Viceroy on the one side, and *Techellis* on the other, were both eyewitneses of euery mans valour in that hot seruice: the one prickt forward with doubtfull hope, for feare to be enforced to giue over the assault to be begun; and the other, with the due regard of his honour, life, and state, all subject to that dan-

ger; and therefore in person himselfe performed all the parts of a woorthie cheefetaine and courageous souldior. But at length the defendants wearied with the fierce assault of the enemies, and for most part wounded, *Techellis* continually sending in fresh men, and withdrawing such as were hurt, by plaine force brake into the citie in two places ouer the heapes of the dead bodies: and hauing repulsed the defendants, burst open one of the gates, and thereby brought in his whole armie. Then began a miserable slaughter of the souldiours and poore citizens in euery house and corner of the citie: At which instant, the pallace whether the viceroy had retired himselfe with his familie, was also taken: The viceroy himselfe, with his wiues and children were there also taken prisoners, and the stately pallace built of marble, in a trice consumed with fire.

The rich citie of *CYTAIE*, the seat of the great commander of the Turkish empire in *ASIA*; thus taken by *Techellis*, and his whole armie both beautified and enriched with the spoile thereof: he perswaded himselfe, that it was now no hard matter for him to take the citie of *PARSA* also, the antient seat of the Turkish kings in *BYTHINIA*, and so to endanger the whole state of the Turkes empire in *ASIA*, if he should now without delay carrie the terror of himselfe thither, before the Turkes could in that country make head against him, or the citizens be able in so sudden a feare to make any sufficient prouision for the defence of themselves and their cities; and so in the course of his good fortune to vse the courage and cheerefulness of his souldiours: Wherefore appointing a day when he would set forward, he commaunded all things necessarie to be made readie for the taking of that rich citie, being neither strongly walled neither furnished with any good garrison for the defence thereof.

But whilest hee was making this preparation, a new armie, lately shipt ouer the Hellesponte from *CALLIPOLIS* into *ASIA*, enforced him to change his former determination. For *Baiazet* the sonne of *Alis Bassa* against *Techellis*, out of *EVROPE*, awaked at the name of *Techellis*, and the fame of the new superstition now generally received in *PERSIA*, had long before giuen commaundement to his sonnes, nephewes, and the viceroy of *ASIA*, That they should with all carefullnesse prouide, that that part of his kingdom tooke no harme thereby. But after he saw *Techellis* of a poore hermit become a great capitaine, and backt also with the Persian king, and all his dominions in *ASIA* now in danger of some great alteration, he sent *Alis Bassa* ouer with his European armie. This *Alis* an eunuch, borne in *MACEDONIA* (yet for his courage comparable with the greatest capitaines) had for his many and worthy desert, in the time of the great emperour *Mahomet*, *Baiazet* his father, got vnto himselfe both the honour and name of a most famous cheefetaine. He hauing made choice of the principall horsemen of *EPHROS*, *MACEDONIA*, *SERVIA*, *ILLYRIA*, and *THRACIA*, and joyning vnto them seuen thousand Ianzaries (the most assured hope of the Turkes in all their expeditions) passed ouer from *CALLIPOLIS* into *PHRYGIA*, and vpon the way directed his letters vnto *Achomates* and *Corcutus*, *Baiazet* his sonnes, and to all the other Sanzackes and Gouernours of the Turkes provinces in *ASIA*, That they should with as much speed as they could raise their forces, and meet him in *GALATIA*. But *Techellis* aduertised of his comming, thought it best for him to depart out of *PONTVS*, and to retire to some place of more safetie, least by longer staying he should be enclosed by his enemies, repairing thither wards on euery side; or els vpon some great disadvantage be enforced to joyne battaile: for he saw, that if he stayed neuer so little, he should find no safe passage or place of refuge to retire vnto, hauing left such large and spacious countries, so many enemies cities, so many great riuers, so many discontented people behind him; all which the first fauour of the vulgar sort, and speedie course of his victorie, had a little before laid open vnto him. Wherefore calling together his capitaines and most pertinen of warre to consult vpon the matter, it was generally thought to be a point of meeke madnesse, or els of extreame necessitie, with so small a power of vnskillfull souldiours, without any sufficient strength of horsemen, to joyne battaile with such an enemy as better knew the country than he, and farre exceeded him both for the number and expertnesse of his souldiours. Wherefore *Techellis* trussing vp the rich prey he had before gotten, began now with speed to retire backe againe with his followers through *GALATIA*. But the Bassa hauing intelligence almost euery houre by letters and espials both of the retiring of *Techellis*, and the way hee held, passed ouer the riuer *Sangarius*; and coasting the countrie, came and encamped betwixt the cities of *CYTAIE* and *ANCYRA*, which way it was supposed the enemy would passe. Where when hee had there a while rested his wearied souldiours, and was certainly aduertised, that the rebels had ta-

ken another way; he set forward againe; and after five dayes march in the plaines of GALATIA, ouertooke the straglers of the enemies, who wearied or wounded, were not able to hold way with the armie: all whom the Bassa commaunded to be cruely put to the sword. And *Techellis* to terrifie the great Bassa, or at leastwise with a most horrible spectacle: to stay his pursure, caused *Caragofes* the viceroy, whom hee had carried along with him in chaines, to be cruely empaled by the high way side vpon a great sharpe stake set fast in the ground; and so left him stinking for the Turkes to wonder at. But *Alis Bassa* nothing dismayed with the horrible death of so great a personage, held on his way with more hast than good speed, exhorting his souldiours patiently to endure the painfullnesse of the long march, and to straine themselves to take reuenge of those rebellious theues and robbers, who destroying the countrey before them, spared not so much as the Turkes children and the temples of their religion: and so the day following came into the plaines of ANCYRA. The same day also *Achomates* came vnto the Bassa with ten thousand souldiours. *Alis Bassa* perceiuing that he could not possibly with his whole armie ouertake his enemies marching with greater speed before him, and greeued at the heart to see them escape out of his hands, resolved to proue if hee could with his horsemen ouertake them: where vpon leauing his footmen with *Achomates*, hee himselfe with eight thousand horse following the enemy vpon the spurre, ouertooke the rereward of their armie at the mountaine OLYGA, little from the cite of ANCYRA, vnto whom he gaue an hot skirmish.

The battell betweene *Alis Bassa* and *Techellis*.

Techellis which a little before had taken a fit place for his campe, vpon the rising of the hill, although he saw his men faint with long trauell and the scorching heat of the Sunne, yet quickly perceiuing that he should haue to doe onely with horsemen, and that in a place of aduantage; turning his armie, and orderly placing his souldiours, as the ground and the shortnesse of the time would giue leaue, valiantly receiued the impresion of the Turkes, and with their long pikes and arrowes at the first repulsed them: so that it seemed, they would neither haue giuen ground vnto the bragging horsemen, neither haue done any thing not becomming their former victories, had not *Alis Bassa* sent in a thousand Carbines, who in troups orderly following one another, deliuered their shot as thicke as haile vpon the enemy: with which storme many of them being slaine, and moe wounded, their ranks began to be somewhat disordered: whereupon the other horsemen breaking in, with great slaughter ouerthrew the vauntguard of *Techellis* battaile: in which conflict *Chafan Chelife* himselfe was slaine. *Techellis* alwayes at hand where most need was, euen in the midst of the slaughter of his men, set in order a new battaile of his most ready and best armed souldiours, the onely remedie in so great a distresse; and bringing them on into the front of the battaile, opposed them against the horsemen, now (as they thought) in possession of the victorie: commaunding them by little and little to retire vnto the mountaine, to the intent that they might seeme to doe that by commandement of the generall, which they were like ynough to haue done of themselves for feare; hoping that it would so come to passe, That the Turkes finding the disaduantage of the place, would leaue so hardly to assaile them. But the Bassa encouraged with the first successe of the battaile, exhorted his souldiours to vrge the victorie, now almost as good as gotten, and not to giue the enemy space to recouer the strength of the mountaine, but valiantly to charge them, and with a little short paines that day to end all that warre, to the honour of *Baiazet* their soueraigne, and worthie commendation of themselves in generall. In this sort encouraging them, he with a troupe of his best horsemen (to animate the rest, and to shew his owne valour) brake through the enemies battaile: which thing he in the same heat, with more courage than discretion, attempting to performe the second time, was enclosed by his enemies and slaine: vpon whose fall the fortune of the battaile was in a moment changed. For the Turkes, which erst fought courageously, hauing beaten backe and almost ouerthrowne their enemies, now dismayed with the death of their Generall, began to fight but faintly, and by litle and litle to giue ground, and at last turning about their horses, fled. On the other side, *Techellis* his souldiours, who but a little before had reposed greater hope in the strength of the place and the mountaine, than in their weapons and valour, now encouraged with new hope, and taking heart in the faint charge of their enemies, began to thrust forward, and with a most terrible noise crying victorie, put to flight the Turkes horsemen, before wearied with long trauell, when as they had by the rashnesse of their Generall lost a notable victorie almost already gained. *Techellis* although he knew that the enemy could neither refresh his horses, nor yet with any assurance keepe the field, if he should haue pursued him; yet hauing lost many of his best souldiours, and the

Chafan Chelife slaine.

Alis Bassa slaine.

rest of his armie sore weakened with trauell, fasting and fighting, determined to refresh his wearied followers vpon the mountaine OLYGA. From whence after a few dayes he marched ouer the riuier Halys vnto the cite of TASCIA, his old dwelling place; and so to the cite of CAIENIS, which the riuier Marfya (much spoken of by the Poets) runneth thorow, and is now called by the name of MARAS, but as then the regall seat of the mountaine king *Adadenles*. The Turkes horsemen hauing thus in some small sort rather reuenged the injuries done by the rebels, than obtained any victorie, returned to *Achomates*, who was then coming on with the footmen. Not long after *Baiazet* vnderstanding of the death of *Alis Bassa* his Generall, sent *Iomfesi* *Iomfesi Bassa* *Bassa*, a warlike capitaine, and of great experience (borne in EPYRVS) in his stead. Who as soon as he had receiued the charge of the armie from *Achomates*, marching forthwith into CAPPADOCIA, and keeping the way on the right hand towards the mountaine ANTITAVRVS, came in few dayes vnto the cite of TASCIA, the place of *Techellis* his abode: where burning and destroying the countrey all about, he came and encamped with his armie at the foot of the mountaine. The Bassa had in his armie about fortie thousand horse and foot, well appointed with many field peeces, and plentie of victuals which he brought with him, for feare of want in that bare country. *Techellis* terrified with his coming, hauing of late receiued no aid from *Hyfmaell* the Persian king, and wanting also great artillerie; and besides that, seeing his souldiours greatly both deminished and discouraged with the late battaile at OLYGA; determined not vpon so great disaduantage to meet his enemy in the plaine field, but to keepe the rough mountaine and thicke woods, hoping that if he could be able any time to keepe those strong places, hee should either receiue some aid from *Hyfmaell*, or by the heat of the Turkes leaders take them at some notable aduantage. In the meane time many notable skirmishes passed betwixt the souldiours on both sides: for the Turkes fetching a compasse oftentimes about the mountaines, and seeking for the best passages, by the easie rising of the hills, came to skirmish with their enemies: and *Techellis* his souldiours on the other side, fallying many times out of the woods and abrupt places of the mountaines, valiantly assailed the Turkes. After they had a long time in this sort, as if it had bene in disport, rather proued their forces one vpon another than done any great matter, the Turkes plying into euery corner, at length perceiued two wayes whereby their whole armie with ensignes displayed might without any great difficultie bee brought vnto the top of the mountaine, and so into their enemies strength. The Bassa hauing well viewed and considered the places, caused the Ianizaries at one instant to march vp to the mountaine by one of the aforesaid wayes, and the rest of his armie by the other: who with soft pace climbing vp the steepe mountaines, with their targuets defended themselves as well as they could against their enemies darts and shot. For *Techellis* his souldiours hauing before taken the high mountaines and places of aduantage, cast downe vpon the Turkes great stones and shot without number, as if it had bene out of some strong forts. But the Turkes bending certaine small field peeces against the places which most annoied them, easily draue them from their standings; the harquebusiers still following their ensignes, shrouded close vnder the targuets, and deliueing their deadly shot as showers of raine vpon their enemies. Whose desperat approach *Techellis* perceiuing, caused a retreat to be founded, and with all his armie retired farther off into the high-er mountaines and rougher woods. The night following, perceiuing that by the euill successe of the former skirmish hee had lost a great part of his credit and strength, hee with great silence forsooke the woods, and passing quite ouer the mountaines fled into ARMENIA, then part of the Persian kingdome. Neither did the Turkes perceiue their departure vntill it was light day, and that their scouts entering the thicke woods, and finding the enemies baggage with some wounded souldiours not able to flie, brought newes vnto the Bassa of the enemies departure and of his speedie flight into ARMENIA. Which thing when hee by them which were taken, vnderstood to be certainly true, fretting and chafing like a mad man, that hee had not presently vpon the enemies retreat beset the wood round, hee sent his horsemen forthwith to pursue them: but all in vaine, for *Techellis* was by direct and knowne wayes gone into ARMENIA. Some few straglers not able to make so much hast as the rest, were ouertaken by the Turkes horsemen, and brought backe to the Bassa.

Techellis thus put to flight, *Iomfesi* caused strait inquisition to be made through all the cities of the lesser ASIA, for all such as had professed the Persian religion: and them whom he found to haue borne armes in the late rebellion, hee caused to be put to death with most exquisite torments,

ments, & the rest to be burnt in their foreheads with an hot yron, thereby for euer to be knowne; whom, together with the kinsfolkes and friends of them that were executed, or fled with *Techellus*, he caused to be transported into *EVROPE*, and to be dispersed through *MACEDONIA*, *EPYRS*, and *PHLOPONESVS*: for feare least if *Techellus* now fled into the Persian kingdome, should from thence returne with new forces, they should also againe repaire vnto him, and raise a new rebellion. This was the beginning, course, and ending of one of the most dangerous rebellions that euer troubled the Turkish empire: wherein all, or at leastwise the greatest part of their dominions in *ASIA* might have been easily surprised by the Persian king, if he would thoroughly haue prosecuted the occasion and opportunitie then offered.

The remainder of *Techellus* his followers, flying into *PERSIA*, by the way lighting vpon a Carauan of merchants laden with silkes and other rich merchandise, tooke the spoile thereof: for which outrage comming to *TAVRIS* the captaines were all by the commandement of *Hysmaell* executed, and *Techellus* himselfe to the terror of others burnt aliue.

The next yeare (which was the yeare 1509, the fourteenth day of September) chanced a great and terrible earthquake in the cite of *CONSTANTINOPLE*, and the countiees thereabouts: by the violence whereof, a great part of the wals of that imperiall cite, with manie stately buildings both publike and priuat, were quite ouerthrowne, and thirteene thousand people ouerwhelmed and slaine. The terror whereof was so great, that the people generally forsooke their houses, and lay abroad in the fields: yea *Baiazet* himselfe, then verie aged and sore troubled with the gout, for feare thereof remoued from *CONSTANTINOPLE* to *HADRIANOPE*; but finding himselfe in no more safetie than before, he left the cite and lay abroad in the fields in his tent. This earthquake endured by the space of eightene daies, or (as the Turkes histories report) of a moneth, with verie little intermission; which was then accounted ominous, as portending the miserable calamities which shortly after happened in the *Othoman* family. After this earthquake ensued a great plague, wherewith the cite was grievously visited, and for the most part vnpeopled. But after that the earthquake was ceased, and the mortalitie assuaged; *Baiazet* caused the imperiall cite to be with all speed repaired, and to that purpose gaue out commissions into all parts of his dominion for the taking vp of workmen: so that there were at once in worke eightie thousand workmen, who in most beautifull manner, in the space of foure moneths againe repaired the ruines of that great cite.

Baiazet had by his manie wiues, eight sonnes and six daughters, which liued to be men and women growne, and the sonnes all gouernours in diuers prouinces of his large empire: whom the Turkish histories reckon vp in this order, *Abdullah Zelebi*, *Alem Schach*, *Tahan Schach*, *Achmet*, *Machmut*, *Corcut*, *Selim*, and *Muhamet*. Yet *Antonius Vtrius* a Genoway, who long time liued in *Baiazet* his court, and (as he of himselfe writeth) waited in his chamber at the time of his death, reckoning vp the sons of *Baiazet*, maketh mention but of these six, *Sciemschia*, *Alemscia*, *Achomates*, *Mahometes*, *Selymus*, and *Corcutus*: naming the forenamed by names something differing from the other. *Sciemschia* the eldest, gouernor of *CARAMANIA*, for his towardlinesse most dearly beloued of his father, died of a naturall death before him, and was of him and his subjects greatly lamented. *Alemscia* died in like manner, of whose death as soone as he was aduertised, by mourning letters written in blacke paper with white characters (as their manner of writing is, in certifying of heauie newes) he cast from him his scepter with all other tokens of honour, and caused generall mourning to be made for him in the court, and through all the cite of *CONSTANTINOPLE*, by the space of three daies; during which time all shops were shut vp, all trading forbidden, and no signe of mirth to be seene: and for a certaine space, after the manner of their superstition, caused solemne sacrifices to be made for the health of his soule, and 7000 Aspers to be giuen weekly vnto the poore. His dead bodie was afterward with all princely pompe conuained to *PERVA*, and there with great solemnitie buried. *Tahan* gouernor of *CARIA*, and *Mahomet* gouernor of *CAPHA*, vpon their fathers heauie displeasure, were by his commandement both strangled.

Of his other foure sonnes, *Achmet*, otherwise called *Achomates*; *Machmut* or *Mahomet*, *Corcut* or *Corcutus*, and *Selymus*; the second (namely *Mahometes*) was of greatest hope and expectation, not giuen to sensuality or voluptuous pleasure as *Achomates* his eldest brother, neither altogether bookish as was *Corcutus*, nor yet of so fierce and cruell a disposition as *Selymus*: but of such a liuely spirit, sharpe wit, bountifull disposition, and princely carriage of him-

selfe, that in the judgement of most men, he seemed alreadie worthie of a kingdome. Which immoderat fauour of the people, caused his elder brother *Achomates*, yea and *Baiazet* also himselfe to haue him in no small jealousy, as if he had affected the empire; and was in short time the cause of his vntimely death. Which thing he nothing doubting, hastened (as fatal things are) by such means as hee least feared might haue procured anie such mortall distrust or danger.

Most of *Baiazet* his children were by diuers women, yet *Achomates* and this *Mahometes* were by one and the same mother: for which cause, *Mahometes* tooke greater pleasure in him than in any his other brethren, although it were not answered with like loue againe. *Achomates* was lord and gouernour of *AMASIA*, and this *Mahometes* of *MAGNESIA*; who desirous to see the manner of his brothers life and gouernment, disguised himselfe with two of his familiars and faithfull friends, as if they had been religious men, of that order which the Turkes call *Imailer*. [These men are for most part comely personages, borne of good houses, who in cleanly attire made after an homely fashion, doe at their pleasure wander vp and downe from towne to towne, and countrey to countrey, noting the disposition and manners of the people; whereof as fitteth best their purpose, they make large discourses afterwards to others: they commonly carrie about with them siluer cymbals, whercon they play most cunningly, and thereunto sing pleasant and wanton ditties: for which idle delight, they receiue money of the people, as an almes giuen them of deuotion. These are the common corrupters of youth, and defilers of other mens beds; men altogether giuen to ease and pleasure, and are of the Turkes called, The religious-bremen although giuen to ease and pleasure, and are of the Turkes called, The religious-bremen threaten of Loue: but might of right better be tearmed, *Epicurus* his hogs, than professors of anie religion at all.] *Mahometes* and his two consorts, as men of this profession, trauelled vp and downe the countiees of *PONTVS* and *CAPADOCIA*, where *Achomates* commaunded, and so to the cite of *AMASIA*, receiuing for their merrie glee by the way as they went, the almes and deuotion of the foolish countrey people. And being at the length come to *AMASIA* vpon a solemne holiday, they awaited the comming of *Achomates* to the church: who passing by, staied a while listening attentiuely vnto their pleasant and alluring harmonie; which was for that purpose most curiously and skilfully before deuised, and by them both with their instruments and voices, performed. When they had ended their musicke, and according to the manner of their idle profession expected his deuotion: *Achomates* being a man of a spare hand, commaunds fife Aspers to be giuen them in reward [which is about six pence of our money.] *Mahometes* disguised as if he had before determined; but taking horse, returned with speed to *MAGNESIA*: from whence hee writ taunting letters vnto his brother *Achomates*, scoffing at his good husbandrie (no praise to a prince) and in contempt sent him backe againe his fife Aspers: which thing *Achomates* tooke in so cuill part, as that he was neuer afterwards friends with him. The report of this fact was in short time dispersed throughout all parts of the Turkish empire, diuers men diuersly deeming of his purpose therein.

Not long after *Mahometes* had in this sort plaid with his brother *Achomates*, he attired himselfe with certaine of his trustie followers as if they had beene seafaring men, and with a small bark came to *CONSTANTINOPLE*, and there landing as aduenturers from sea, tooke diligent view both of the imperiall cite and of the cite of *PRA* standing opposite against it, curiously noting how all things were by his fathers appointment ordered and gouerned. It happened whilest he was thus staying at *CONSTANTINOPLE*, that *Baiazet* had appointed a solemne assembly of all his chiefe Bassaes at the court; which *Mahometes* was desirous to haue the sight of, as also of the fashion of his fathers court: but as he with his companions pressed to haue entred in at the court gate, they were by their base apparell taken of the porters to haue beene rude mariners, and so bygate, they were kept out. Wherefore consulting what to doe in that case, he went and presently bought a most beautifull Christian captiue boy, and the next day comming againe to the court with two of his companions (as if they had been aduenturers at sea) requested to be let in, for that they had brought a present for the emperour. So finding means to be admitted vnto the presence of *Baiazet*, one of his consorts (as if he had been a sea captaine) boldly stept forth, and with due reuerence offered the present vnto the emperour; which he thankfully tooke, and in token thereof gaue him his hand to kisse, and commaunded a rich garment wrought with gold to be giuen vnto him, with two other of lesse valour vnto *Mahometes* and his fellow, supposed to be the said captaines followers: who all this while stood a farr off, as if it had beene for reuerence of the empe-

Techellus burnt
at *Tauris*.

1509

A great earth-
quake at *Con-
stantinople*.

The children of
Baiazet.

Mahometes dis-
guised as a seafar-
ing man, com-
ing to *Constan-
tinople*, and so to
the court.

emperor, but in deed for feare to be discovered. As these counterfeit guests were returning from the court in their garments of fauour, they happened to meet with three courtiers which knew *Mahometes*; who dismounting from their horses, had done him honour and due reuerence, as to the sonne of the great emperor, had he not by secret signes forbidden them, as one unwilling to be knowne. When he had thus scene his father, the court, and the imperiall citie, he went againe aboard, and so with speed returned to *MAGNESIA*.

The report of this his doing, had in short time filled both the citie and the court, and was at last brought to *Baiazet* his cares: which raised in his suspicious head manie a troublefome thought, greatly fearing, that in these lye practises lay hidden some secret and desperat conspiracie, dangerous to himselfe and his other children. Wherefore after long discourse had with the three great Bassaes then of his secret counsell, concerning the matter; to rid himselfe of all feare, he resolved in anie case to take him away. And therefore caused them in his name to write vnto *Asmehemadi*, a gallant courtier, and alwaies neere vnto *Mahometes*, to poison him with a secret poison, for that purpose inclosed in those letters sent vnto him: with promise of great rewards and preferments for that his seruice, to be afterwards received from the emperor: Charging him withall, that if he could not effect the matter, he should so conceale it, as that *Mahometes* should haue no distrust thereof; the least suspicion whereof, would tend to his vtter destruction. This *Asmehemadi* for some vnkindnesse bare a secret grudge against *Mahometes*; which *Baiazet* knowing of, made choise of him the rather: And he on the other side, partly to performe the old tyrants commaund, and partly to reuenge his owne priuat; vigilantly awaited all opportunities to bring to effect that he had in charge. At length it fortuneth, that *Mahometes* hauing disported himselfe in his gardens of pleasure, and being thirstie after his exercise, called for drinke: *Asmehemadi* alwaies at hand, in a gilt boule fetcht him such drinke as he desired, whereinto he had secretly couaied the deadly poison sent from *Baiazet*. *Mahometes* hauing drunke thereof, in short time began to feele himselfe euill at ease, and presently sent for his phisitions: who thinking that he had but something distempered himselfe with drinking too much cold drinke in his heat, perceiued not that hee was poisoned, vntill that within six daies after he died. Of whose death *Baiazet* aduertised, could not abstaine from mourning, although he himselfe had bene the onely author thereof: and the more to manifest his heauinesse, commaunded all the court to mourne with him, and prayers to be made in their temples after their superstitious manner, and almes to be giuen to the poore for the health of his soule. His dead bodie was afterwards carried to *PRUSA*, and there honourably buried with his auncestors. *Asmehemadi* the traitour in reward of his vnfaithfulnesse towards his master, was by the commaundement of *Baiazet* cast into prison, and neuer afterwards scene, being there (as it was thought) secretly made away.

Mahometes poisoned by *Asmehemadi*.

Asmehemadi iustly rewarded for his treachery.

Now had *Baiazet* but three sonnes left, *Achomates*, *Selymus*, and *Corcutus*. *Achomates* gouernour of *AMASIA*, was a man both politike and valiant; but much giuen to pleasure and delight: him *Baiazet* and most part of the great men of the court fauoured above the rest of his brethren; except such as were before corrupted by *Selymus*. *Corcutus* for his mild and quiet nature was of most men beloued, but not thought so fit for the gouernment of so great an empire especially by the Ianizaries and souldiours of the court, for that he was (as they thought) altogether drowned in the studie of philosophie, a thing nothing agreeing with their humour. Yet might *Baiazet* seeme to doe him wrong, if he should not according to his promise againe restore him vnto the possession of the empire, which he had almost thirtie yeares before received at his hands; as is before in the beginning of his life declared. But *Selymus* being of a more haughty disposition than to brooke the life of a subject vnder the commaund of either of his brethren, and altogether giuen to marriall affaires; fought by infinit bountie, fained courtesie, subtile pollicie, and by all other meanes good and bad, to aspire vnto the empire. Him therefore the Ianizaries with all the great souldiours of the court, yea and some of the chiefe Bassaes also (corrupted with gifts) wished above the rest, for their lord and soueraigne: desiring rather to liue vnder him which was like to set all the world on a hurle burle, whereby they might increase their honour and wealth, the certaine rewards of their aduentures, than to lead an idle and vnprofitable life (as they termed it) vnder a quiet and peaceable prince.

Whilist men stood thus diuersly affected towards these princes of so great hope, *Baiazet* now farre worne with yeares, and so grievously tormented with the gout that hee was not able

to helpe himselfe: for the quietnesse of his subjects and preuenting of such troubles as might arise by the aspiring of his children after his death, determined whilest he yet liued (for the auoiding of these and other such like mischeefes) to establish the succession in some one of his sonnes; who wholly possessed of the kingdom, might easily repress the pride of the other. And although he had set downe with himselfe, that *Achomates* should be the man, as well in respect of his birthright, as of the especiall affection he bare vnto him; yet to discover the disposition of his subjects, and how they stood affected, it was giuen out in generall tearmes, That hee meant before his death to make it knowne to the world, who should succeed him in the empire, without naming any one of his sonnes; leauing that for euery man to deuine of, according as they were affected: which was not the least cause, that euery one of his sonnes with like ambition began now to make small account of their former preferments, as thinking onely vpon the empire it selfe.

First of all *Selymus*, whom *Baiazet* had made gouernour of the kingdom of *TRAPAZOND*, 1511 rigging vp all the ships he could in *PONTVS*, sayled from *TRAPAZOND* ouer the Euxine (now called the Blacke sea) to the citie of *CAPHA*, called in auncient time *THEODOSIA*, and from thence by land came to *Mahometes* king of the Tartars called *Præopenes*, a mightie prince, whose daughter he had without the good liking of his father before married: and discovering vnto him his entended purpose, besought him by the sacred bonds of the affinitie betwixt them, and not to shrinke from him his louing sonne in law in so fit an oportunitie for his aduancement: and withall shewed vnto him; what great hope of obtaining the empire was proposed vnto him by his most faithfull friends and the souldiours of the court, if hee would but come neerer vnto his father (then about to transerre the empire to some one of his sonnes) and either by faire means to procure his fauour, or by entering with his armie into *THRACIA*, to terrifie him from appointing either of his other brethren for his successour. The Tartar king commending his high deuotion, as a kind father in law with wonderfull celeritie caused great store of shipping to bee made readie in the Ponticke sea, and *Mæotis*, but especially at the ports of *COPA* and *TANA*, vpon the great riuier of *Tanais*, which boundeth *EVROPE* from *ASIA*; and arming fifteen thousand Tartarian horsemen, deliuered them all to *Selymus*, promising forthwith to send him greater aid if he should haue occasion to vse the same. These things being quickly dispatched, *Selymus* passing ouer the riuier *Borysthenes*, and so through *VALACHIA*, came at length to *Danubius*, and with his horsemen passed that famous riuier at the citie of *CHELIA*: His fleet hee commaunded to meet him at the port of the citie of *VARNA*, called in auncient time *DIONYSIOPOLIS*, in the confines of *BVLGARIA* and *THRACIA*: he himselfe still leuying moe men by the way as he went, pretending in shew quite another thing than that he had indeed intended: which the better to couer, he gaue it out as if he had purposed to haue inuaded *HUNGARIE*.

But *Baiazet* a good while before aduertised, that *Selymus* was departed from *TRAPAZOND*, and come ouer into *EVROPE*, maruelling that he had left his charge in *ASIA* (the rebellion of *Tchellis* and the Persian warre yet scarce quieted) and that vpon his owne head hee had entertained forraigne aid to make warre against the most warlike nation of the Hungarians; and farther, that with his armie by land, he had seized vpon the places neere vnto *THRACIA*, and with a strong naue kept the Euxine sea, hee began to suspect, as the truth was, That all this preparatiue was made and entended against himselfe: for the craftie old fire had good prooffe of the vnquiet and troublefome nature of his sonne, especially in that without his knowledge hee durst presume to take a wife from amongst the Tartars, and afterwards with no lesse presumption of himselfe raise an armie both by sea and land: VV hereby he easily perceiued, that he would neuer hold himselfe contented with a small kingdom, so long as hee was in hope by desperat aduerture to gaine a greater. Yet thinking it better with like dissimulation to appeale his violent and fierce nature, than by sharpe reproofe to moue him to farther choller, he sent vnto him embassadours to declare vnto him with what danger the Turkish kings had in former times taken vpon them those Hungarian warres: for example whereof he needed not to goe further than to his grandfather *Mahomet* the Great, who many times to his exceeding losse had made prooffe of the Hungarian forces: wherefore he should doe well to expect some fitter opportunitie, when as he might with better aduise, greater power, and more assured hope of victorie, take those wars in hand. Whereunto *Selymus* answered, That he had left *ASIA*, enforced thereunto by the iniuries of his brother *Achomates*, and was therefore come ouer into *EVROPE*, by dint of sword

Baiazet sendeth embassadours to *Selymus*.

and the helpe of his friends, to win from the enemies of the Mahometane religion a larger and better prouince for that little barren and peaceable one which his father had giuen him, bordering vpon *HIBERIA* and *CHOLCHOS*, bare and needie people, liuing as conies amongst the rockes and mountaines. As for the Hungarians, whom they thought to be a people inuincible, and therefore not to be dealt withall, he was not of that base mind to be daunted with any danger, were it neuer so great: and yet that in his opinion the warre was neither so difficult or dangerous, as was by them pretended; for as much as the ancient prowesse of that warlike nation was now much changed, together with the change of their kings; and their discipline of war not onely much decayed, but almost quite lost, after that *Vladislaus*, farre vnlike in policie and prowesse, had succeeded the renowned *Matthias* in that kingdom. Neither had he (as he said) from his cradle learned to be afraid of death, or of the common chances of warre, as knowing that neither God nor man would bee wanting to him, who with an honourable resolution did aduention vpon vertuous and worthie attempts: and that therefore hee was fully resolved for his owne honour (which his father had in some sort blemished by the immoderate aduancement of his brethren) either to die honourably in the field in battaile against the enemies of the Mahometane religion, or els gloriously to extend the bounds of the Turkish empire: and that he would not (though one of the yongest in the *Othoman* familie) bee accounted inferiour to any of his brethren in vertue and prowesse. Thus was the Hungarian warre neuer by *Selymus* intended, notably by him pretended; and with no lesse dissimulation by *Baiazet* dissuaded. The embassadours, although *Selymus* in all his speeches shewed no token of peace: yet in his fathers name presented vnto him diuers gifts, therby if it might be to appease his fierce and cruell mind. Vnto his old gouernment they adioyned *SAMANDRIA*, which the Hungarians call *SCHENDEROVIA*, a strong cite of *SERVIA* vpon the borders of *HUNGARY*, with many other strong towntes in the same countrey: they gaue him also threescore thousand ducats, besides a thousand garments of cloth and silke: with good store of prouision wherewith to relieue and content the souldiours by him entertained; least that they drawne farre from home in hope of spoile, should take it in euill part if they should be sent away empty handed. *Selymus* in a happie time hauing receiued these gifts, returned the embassadours vnto his father, with more doubtfull answer and vncertaine hope than before: yet changing nothing in himselfe of his former resolution, secret messengers and letters from his friends in the court still whetting him forward (too much already enflamed with desire of souerainetie) perswading him to make halt and to repose his greatest hope in his quick speed; for that they vnderstood, that about the time of his setting forward, his brother *Achomates* was comming with a great power, being sent for out of *CAPADOCIA* by his father.

Presents given
to Selymus by his
father: embassa-
dours.

Baiazet would
appoint his suc-
cessor as he list he
yet liued.

In the meane time *Baiazet*, moued the rather with the feare of *Selymus*, resolved vpon that, whereof he had long before in his mind deeply considered, and now said openly, That he would appoint his successor, who in stead of himselfe, spent with yeares and sickenesse, should bring with him the flower of youth and strength of bodie, fit to gouerne so great an empire. But when these things were propounded vnto the souldiours of the court by the foure great Bassas (who in all things both of peace and warres had next place vnto the emperour himselfe) it was forthwith gainesaid by those martiall men, crying aloud with one voice, That they would know no other emperour but *Baiazet*, vnder whose conduct and good fortune they had now serued above thirtie yeares: and therefore would not suffer him to liue a priuate life in obscuritie, who with so many victories and strong cities taken, had brought the *Othoman* empire vnto that height of renowne and glorie. They said moreover, that there was in him yet strength ynough, if he would but with the reuerend honour of his age retain the maiestie of his place, and the glorie he had gotten with his long and happie raigne, and most famous victories: and that of his children, such a one should vndoubtedly in his due time succeed in the empire, as of right ought: only they wished, that the old emperour might in the meane time liue in health with a long and happie raigne: neither needed he (as they said) to feare that after his death any controuersie should arise amongst his sonnes about the succession; for that the *Othoman* progenie vsed to attaine the imperiall seat, according to the old custome of their auncestours the *Othoman* kings, by right and order onely, and not by corruption or faction. But if hee would needs vpon his owne priuate good liking, or as it were by new adoption proceed to make choice of such a one, as the people and the men of warre (his most loyall and faithfull subjects) could not so well like of, it would be

be an occasion of much more trouble, and happily the meanes to bring in that confusion of the state, which he thought thereby to eschew. For then, beside the dislike of the people, the other brethren would neuer endure so notable an iniurie, or euer be at quiet, vntill they had (as men wrongfully cast off and disinherited) by strong hand and endangering of all, recouered their honour lost by the headstrong will of their aged father.

The souldiours thus before instructed by the friends and fauourites of *Selymus*, who with money and large promises had corrupted their captains and cheefe officers, spake these things frankly to haue deterred the old emperour from his purpose. But he thinking that they had (as he himselfe did) especially affected *Achomates* his eldest sonne; for that they had generally protested, that they would against all iniuries defend his honour vnto whom the empire should of right appertaine: said he would make choise of *Achomates*, if it should stand with their good liking. But the cheefe of the souldiours, who corrupted by *Selymus*, had together fold both their faith and themselves, cunningly commended *Achomates*, and seemed wonderfully to like of him; yet to accept of him for their soueraigne, *Baiazet* yet liuing, they said was not agreeing with the ancient custome of the *Othoman* kings, neither for the behoofe of the men of war, neither yet good for the state of the empire: for as much as neither his brethren *Corcutus* and *Selymus*, neither the souldiours of the court, could with patience endure the least touch of the suspicion of infidelitie; which they must needs doe, if he as a suspicious father should doubt either of the loue or loyalty of his most dutifull sonnes, or of the faith or constancie of his most faithfull seruants, whereof he had made so many trials. Besides that, it seemed vnto them all vnreasonable, that by the odious prejudice of that fact, the souldiours should be defrauded of the rewards vsually graunted vnto them during the time of the vacancie of the empire, arising of the spoile taken from them which are of religion different from the Turks. For it is a custome, that immediately vpon the death of the Turkish emperour, all the Iewes and Christians which liue at *CONSTANTINOPLE*, *PERA*, *HADRIANOPLE*, *THESSALONICA*, and *PRVSA*, especially marchants, exposed vnto the injuries of the Turks, are by the Ianizaries and other souldiours of the court spoiled of all their wares and goods, and become vnto them a prey: neither will they giue their oath of allegiance vnto the new emperour, vntill he haue graunted vnto them all that prey, as a bountie, and haue solemnely sworne by his owne head (the greatest assurance that can by oath be giuen amongst the Turkes) freely to pardon all the offenders, and for euer to forget all the outrages before committed. When *Baiazet* saw his men of war thus generally to oppose themselves against the translation of the empire to *Achomates*, he of purpose to corrupt the minds of them which were already before corrupted, promised to giue them five hundred thousand ducats, if they would stand fauourable to *Achomates* and accept him for their soueraigne: which masse of money his customers and receiuers vnderooke to leuie of the same marchant strangers and Iewes, and to pay it as *Baiazet* had promised. Yet the ouerthwart frowardnesse of these men of warre ouercame the good fortune of *Achomates*, although the reward proposed, were great: For why, they had in their martiall minds conceived farre greater rewards and preferments, if instead of a peaceable and quiet prince, a monstrous tyrant of restless nature (as was *Selymus*) might by their helpe and meanes aspire to the empire. Thus *Baiazet* driuen from his hope, thought it best for the present to dissemble the matter; and concealing his griefe, with patience to put vp that dishonour vntill a fitter opportunitie were offered for the effecting of that he so much desired.

Selymus aduertised from his friends, with what affection and fastnesse the souldiours of the court had in the secret fauour of him openly withstood the earnest desire of *Baiazet* for the ferment of *Achomates*, because he would not longer frustrate the expectation of his fauourites by lingering and delay, or seeme to distrust the readie good will of the men of warre towards him, lest the borders of *HUNGARY*; and with his armie marching through *THRACIA*, encamped at length vpon the rising of an hill not farre from *HADRIANOPLE*, from whence the neighing of his horses might easily be heard, and his tents from the high places of the cite discovered. From thence he sent a messenger vnto his father then lying in the cite, to certifie him, That for as much as he had not of many yeares before seene him, he was now therefore desirous to come vnto his presence to visit him, before hee crossed the seas backe againe by his appointment to *TRAPEZOND*: and the rather, because it might chance that he should neuer see him againe, being now become both aged & diseased: besides that, it much concerned (as he would haue had

Baiazet seeketh
to prefer Achomates to the empire.

Selymus marcheth with his armie towards Hadrianople.

Selymus his dissembling embassage vnto his father.

him to beleue) the quietnesse of his kingdome in Asia, and the vnitie of his children, if the controuersies betwixt him & his brother *Achomates*, which could not safely be committed to messengers, might by themselves be discovered to him their father, as an indifferent hearer and decider of the same. Wherefore he humbly besought him, to appoint him a time and place to giue him audience in, and not to denie him leaue to come and kisse his hands; which thing his ancestors neuer refused to graunt vnto their poore friends, much lesse vnto their children. *Baiazet* who a few dayes before vnderstanding of the comming of *Selymus*, and thoroughly seeing into his deuises, had called vnto him certaine of his Sanzackes or cheefe captaines, with their select companies out of the neere parts of *Græcia*, and had also set strong watch and ward through the citie: fearing least vnder the colour of parley his souldiours attending about his person, corrupted by *Selymus* and his friends (who euen then loded with gifts and promises, were secretly vpon the point of reuolt) should be quite drawne away from him, and so he himselfe at length bee either by open force oppressed, or secret trecherie circumvented, thought it best to cut him off at once from all hope of conference or access vnto his presence. Wherefore feriously blaming him, that he had vpon his owne head brought his armie into another mans prouince, that he in armes required audience, and last of all so insolently abused his fathers lenitie and patience; hee by the same messenger sent him farther word, That he should not presume to approach any neerer vnto him, or expect any thing appertaining to peace: who guarded with forraigne power, had without his fathers leaue entered into armes, and spoyled the countries of his friends: and that therefore he should doe well with all speed to depart out of *Thracia*, yea and out of *Europe* also, and disbanding his forces, againe to retire himselfe vnto his owne charge in *Pontvs*; in which doing he should find greater fauour and kindnesse with him his father, than euer he had before: but if he would needs proceed in the course by him begun, that then he would no more take him for his sonne, but for his enemy; and before it were long, sharply chastise him for his malapert insolencie, little differing from vnnaturall treacherie. The messenger with this answer dismissed, it was not long after but that *Baiazet* was by his espials aduertised, that *Selymus* the night following was risen with his armie, and marched directly towards *Constantinople*: whether he was sent for by his friends, in hope that vpon his approach with his armie, some suddaine tumult and vprore would to his auaille arise in that so great and populous a citie. Whereupon *Baiazet* fearing least in staying at *H Adrianople*, hee might loose the imperiall citie of *Constantinople*, early in the morning by breake of the day departed from *H Adrianople* towards *Constantinople*: vpon whose departure *Selymus* peaceably entered the citie of *H Adrianople*, the citizens fearing, that if they should haue made any resistance, their vnreasonable faithfulness towards *Baiazet* might haue turned to their vtter destruction. *Selymus* after he had a while refreshed his armie with the plentie of that citie, according to his former determination set forward againe, of purpose by long and speedie marches to haue prevented his fathers comming to *Constantinople*. *Baiazet* was yet scarcely come to *Chivrlvs*, or rather *Tzurylv*, an ancient ruinous citie almost vpon the mid way betwixt *H Adrianople* and *Constantinople*, when warning was giuen him of them that followed his armie, that the forerunners of *Selymus* were at hand, cutting off the straglers of his armie, and with hot skirmishing stayed and troubled his reuerward. The aged emperor more moued than terrified with the strangenesse of the matter, because his marching should not seeme as if it were a flight or chase, commaunded his standerd to be set vp, and all his armie to make a stand, of purpose, that if *Selymus* should so fiercely come on to giue him battaile, he might find him in readinesse. The great captaines and noblemen then present with *Baiazet*, whether it were for old acquaintance, or vpon some new inclination of their affection, or els vpon hope of new alliance and preferment, wishing well vnto *Selymus*, and therefore indirectly and cunningly fauouring him, seemed not to like of *Baiazet* his resolution, to be so farre moued (as they said) with the youthfull heat and lightnesse of his sonne, as to seeke reuenge by battaile, whereas the victorie it selfe could yeeld him nothing but sorrow, but the ouerthrow threatened destruction both to himselfe and all them that were with him: the imminent euent whereof seemed to bee so much the more dangerous and fearefull, by how much hee was at that time inferiour vnto his sonne both in warlike prouision and number of men. Wherefore it were good for him (they said) to moderate his anger, and not now in the winding vp of his life to make too much haile by a miserable death in a wofull battaile to staine the whole glorie of his former life. There was (as they would haue per-

Selymus ouertakes his father.

The cheefe men about Baiazet secretly fauour Selymus, and disuade him from giuing him battaile.

suaded him) but one onely course to bee taken full of wholesome policie and safetie, and that was, That he should with such speed as he had begun, march on forward to *Constantinople*; that so *Selymus* excluded out of the citie (his chiefest hope) and then not knowing which way to turne himselfe, should either of his owne accord, or for feare of his fathers greater forces thinke of returne: and so with his rascall followers more honestly perish by the hands of them whose countries he had spoiled, and vpon whom he must of necessitie liue in his retire, than by the sword of his father. The author of this counsell was *Mustapha*, the most auintient Bassa of those which being in greatest authoritie about the emperor are onely of his priuie counsell, and sway all matters of importance concerning either peace or warre: he then vpon an vnthankfull and malicious mind loathing *Baiazet*, as one that had too long reigned, hated him also for certaine priuat displeasures conceiued of the emulation of the other younger Bassas by him promoted: and secretly bare great affection to *Selymus*, both in condition and fauour resembling his grandfather the Great *Mahomet*, by whom he was brought vp himselfe, and him of all the sonnes of *Baiazet* he thought most worthy of the empire. This *Mustapha* was borne in the towne of *Seres* (neere vnto *Amphipolis*) the sonne of a Greeke priest, a man of a litle craftie and subtile wit, alwaies subiect to corruption: which diseases of mind were in him well to haue been discovered by his froward looke and squint eyes, the certaine notes of a nature to bee suspected. Next vnto this *Mustapha* was *Bostanges Bassa*, borne of the honourable familie of *Ducagins* in *Ætholia*, and thereof called *Ducagimogli*: a man for his couetousnesse, ambition, and treacherie, infamous; as the foule and miserable end of his life afterwards declared: Vnto this man *Selymus* had by secret promise betrothed one of his daughters now marriageable, as a reward of his corrupted faith. By which slight, he had also allured *Aga* (or capitaine of the *Janizaries*, and great master of the household) to promise his aid for the obtaining of the empire; whereunto he said he was by destinie called: and by his meanes drew other inferiour captaines secretly to fauour his quarrell, vnto whom hee spared not to promise whatsoeuer might please them. Yea the captaines almost generally either corrupted with reward, or for feare following the inclination of the greater commaunders, of themselves leaned that way. Of all the rest, onely *Cherseogles Bassa* (whom the Turks histories call also *Achmet Herteez-ogli*) a faithfull, constant, and vpright man, free from all double dealing and deceit, a fast and assured friend vnto *Baiazet* his father in law, was of opinion, That the immoderat pride and insolencie of *Selymus*, was euen there by force of arms and strong hand forthwith to be repressed, before he should approach any neerer vnto the imperiall citie, for feare of raising some farther trouble and tumult there than were well to be appealed; which was the thing that *Selymus* his friends most of all desired. Neither was it to be thought (as *Cherseogles* said) that the naked Tartarian hostmen, although they were in number moe, would euer be able to abide the first charge of *Baiazet* his well armed pensioners. As for the *Janizaries*, of whose approoued faith and valour tried in manie dangers, hee had before had good experience: there was no doubt but that they would now to the vttermost of their power, defend the person and honour of their aged and victorious emperor, who had of long time so well of them deserued; and also reuenge his quarrell vpon disobedient *Selymus*, who neither fearing God the iust reuenger of such vngratious dealing, neither the infamie of men, had most vnnaturally lift vp his sword against his father, wickedly to depriue him of life of whom he had receiued life. Wherefore he perswaded him in his owne just quarrell, to go forth vnto his souldiours with cheerfull countenance, and putting them in remembrance of the benefits they had from time to time most bountifullly receiued at his hands, as also of their allegiance and due tie; to make them to vnderstand, that reposing his trust in their fidelitie and valour, hee had resolutely set downe with himselfe, in that place before he went any farther, by their faithful hands to chastise the presumptuous insolencie of his vnnaturall sonne, together with his rebellious followers.

But now that we are fallen into the remembrance of this *Cherseogles*, it shall not be amisse both for the honour of the man, and the great loue he alwaies bare vnto the Christians, to step a litle out of the way, to see the cause why he being a Christian borne, turned Turke. For hee was not (as almost all the rest of the great men about *Baiazet* were) of a child taken from his Christian parents, and so brought vp in the Mahometan religion; but being now a man grown, turned Turke: yet so, as that he neuer in heart forgot either the Christian religion or loue toward the Christians; a thing not common among such renegates. He being the sonne of one

T t ij

Cherse-

Cherseogles Bassa, is the only great man faithfull to Baiazet, perswades him to giue battaile to Selymus

Chersecinus a small prince of *ILLYRIA*, neere vnto the Blacke mountaine; and going to be married vnto a ladie whom he most entirely loued, and vnto whom he was already betrothed, honourably descended of the house of the Despot of *SERVIA*: his intemperat father, with lustfull eye beholding the young ladie of rare feature and incomparable beautie, desired to haue her for himselfe; and regarding more the satisfying of his owne inordinat desire, than his owne honour or the fatherly loue of his sonne, tooke her in marriage himselfe: all his friends labouring in vaine to dissuade him, and with open mouth crying shame of so foule a fact. Wherefore the young man, moued with the indignitie of so great an injurie, and driuen headlong with despair, fled first to the Turkes garrisons which lay not farre off, and from thence to *CONSTANTINOPLE*: where the fortune of the man was to bee wondered at: For being brought before *Baiazet*, who with cheerefull countenance entertained him for that he was honourably descended, and well liked both of the man and of the cause of his reuolt: smiling vpon him said, Be of good cheer noble youth, for thy great courage is worthy of farre greater fortune than thy fathers house can afford thee; now in steed of thy loue wrongfully taken from thee by thy father, the kinde man of a poore exiled prince, thou shalt haue giuen thee in marriage the daughter of a great emperor, of rare and singular perfection. And not long after, abjuring his religion, and changing his name of *Stephen* to *Achomates* and *Chersecogles*, hee married one of *Baiazet* his daughters, a princeesse of great beautie: and desired to haue a place amongst the Basses of greatest honour in the court. Yet still retaining the remembrance of his former profession with a desire to returne thereto againe: insomuch, that he kept in his secret closet the image of the crucifix, which he shewed to *Io. Lasarus* as to his trustie friend, as he himselfe reported. This man at such time as the citie of *MODOON* was taken by the Turkes, and a multitude of poore Christian captiues cruelly put to death in the sight of *Baiazet*, by earnest entreatie saued the Venetian Senators there taken: and afterward by earnest sute deliuered *Andreas Gritti*, being prisoner at *CONSTANTINOPLE* and condemned to die, who not manie yeares after was chosen duke of *VENICE*. He was the chiefe meanes whereby the Venetians to their great good obtained peace of *Baiazet*. He also by his great authoritie and of his owne charge, redeemed innumerable Christians from the seruitude of the Turkes, and set them at libertie. Neither is his kindnesse towards the furtherance of good learning to be forgotten: for at such time as the aforesaid *Io. Lasarus*, the notable and learned Grecian, by the appointment of *Leo* the Tenth sought for the ancient works of famous writers, he procured the Turkish emperours letters patents, that he might freely at his pleasure search all the libraries in *GRACIA*, to the great benefit of good letters. Now *Baiazet* encouraged by this mans perswasion (as is aforesaid) and hearing as hee lay in his pavilion the alarm of the enemy, with the tumult and clamour of his owne souldiours, as if they had been men afraid; and sundrie messengers also at the same time coming vnto him with newes, that *Selymus* with his Tartarian horsemen had almost enclosed the reareward of his armie; and already taken some of his baggage: grinding his teeth for verie madnesse and griefe of mind, with teares trickling downe his hoarie cheekes, got him out of his pavilion in his horse-litter (for hee was at the same time so troubled with the gout, that he was not able to sit on horsebacke) and turning himselfe vnto the pensioners and Ianizaries standing about him, as their manner is, said vnto them:

The speech of
Baiazet to the
Ianizaries and
souldiours of the
court.

Will you (foster children, valiant souldiours, and faithfull keepers of my person, who with great good fortune haue serued me in field above the space of thirtie yeares; and for your faithfull and good service, haue both in time of peace and warre, of me receiued such rewards, as by your owne confession and thanksgiving farre exceeded your owne expectation; and the measure of our treasures) will you I say suffer the innocent father to be butchered by his gracelesse sonne? And your olde emperor tormented with age and diseases, to be cruelly murdered by a companie of wild Tartars, little better than arrant rogues and theues? Shall I be now forsaken in this my heauie olde age and last act of life? and shall I be deliuered vnto mine enemies by them, by them I say, who many yeares ago with great faithfulness and inuincible courage defended mine honour and right against my brother Zemes? and haue manie times since, not onely valiantly defended this empire against most warlike nations, but also most victoriously augmented the same? But I will not so easily beleeeue that which to my no small griefe is brought vnto mine eares, concerning the reuolting of mine armie: neither if I did beleeeue it, am I so fearefull as to be therewith discouraged, or to seeke to make shift for my selfe.

For to what purpose should I thinke of flight? as though I could in anie other place find more faithfulness or surer defence than with you? And concerning your selues, what should be your hope by this so infamous treacherie? If anie of you (for I cannot beleeeue that you are all so mad) without regard of faith, of worldly shame, or the feare of God, haue polluted your minds with the pernicious conceit of so foule a treason; doe you thinke to gaine greater rewards and preferments by your treacherie and villanie, than by your fidelitie and constancie? There be manie which carefull of my person, perswade me to reserue this my sicke and feeble bodie vnto my better fortune, and to commit my selfe to flight: so rather to saue my life with shame and infamie, than to end my daies with honour and glorie: which is so farre from my thought for the apprehension of anie feare to doe, that I will to the contrarie forthwith giue the fierce enemy battell; and in this my last danger make prooffe of all your fidelitie and valour, and of euerie one of your good wils in particular: and so by the conduct of the highest, either defeat the power and breake the strength of this gracelesse man, or else hauing raigned about thirtie yeares an emperor, end my daies together with them which shall vnto the end continue with me in their faithfulness and loyaltie, although I should be most shamefully and dishonourably betrayed and for saken of some of mine owne guard: which thing though lying same would make me beleeeue, yet will I not feare it untill I see the prooffe thereof.

The common sort of the Ianizaries, vnto whom the great commaunders and captaines corrupted by *Selymus*, had not for their leuitie and multitude communicated their purpose of transferring the empire to *Selymus*: began to crie out as if it had been with general consent, That he should not doubt to joyne battell with his enemies, and so to make prooffe of their constant fidelitie and wonted valour. Which was done with such a cheerefulness and desire expressed by great shouts, clapping of hands, and clattering of armour, that it seemed they would play the parts of resolute souldiours, and that as guiltlesse men they tooke it grieuously to be once suspected of treason or infidelitie. Others also who secretly and in heart were well affected to *Selymus*, for fashion sake followed them with like crie: but especially the great commaunders both of the armie and of the emperours court, now changing their affection (whether it were for shame of the fact, or for feare of discouering themselves out of season, is vncertaine.) Wherefore according to the manner of such men, which through their mutabilitie and mischieuous disposition, feare to be conuincid and discouered, add vnto the present a second and new treason or treacherie, to couer the former: so *Mustapha* and *Bostanges* (not daring now to shew themselves for *Selymus*) to make a great shew of their fained loyaltie towards *Baiazet*, departed themselves out of his pavilion, to encourage the souldiours and to martiall the battell.

Baiazet sicke in his chariot, by the aduise of *Chersecogles* the faithfull Bassa, placed his battell in this order: The Sanzakes (which are the gouernors of prouinces) with their horsemen, in number about six thousand, he set in the front of the battell: The Spachi-ogians and Siliphcars, which are the chiefe horsemen of the court (and as it were the emperours pensioners) were placed as two wings on each side of the great squadron of the Ianizaries; in the middest whereof was old *Baiazet* himselfe. Other foure thousand horsemen (seruants to the great men of the court) were left in the reareward, and to guard the baggage. These slaues (for so indeed they are) for their apparel and furniture, yea and valour also, are little inferior to their masters, by whom they are so sumptuously maintained both for strength and ostentation. The battell thus ordered, *Baiazet* commanded the trumpets to sound, and a red ensigne in token of battell to be displayed. On the other side, *Selymus* placing his Tartarian horsemen in both wings, and his Turks in the middest in manner of an halfe moone, for that he in number of horsemen farre exceeded his father, did almost on euerie side enclose him, and so charge him. The Tartars when they were come within an hundred paces of their enemies, casting themselves (after the manner of their fight) into great rings, emptie within in manner of a crowne, and so running round, that they might both backward and forward deliuer their arrowes, cast vpon their enemies whole showers of shot as if it had bene haile, to the great annoyance of the Turkes: when as in the meane time, the other Tartarian archers farther off, shooting their arrowes not right forth, but more vpright towards heaven, which falling directly downe fore gauled the Turkes horses also. But the old souldiours (taught by the example of their captaines) serred close together, and casting their targets ouer their heads, as if it had bene one whole rooffe or penthouse, receiued their arrowes with lesse harme, and halted with as much speed as they could to come to handie blowes. The pensioners

The common sort
of the Ianizaries
faithfull to
Baiazet desire bat-
telle.

The battell be-
twixt Baiazet
and Selymus

also at the same instant brauely charged the middle of *Selymus* his battaile, where his Turkish horsemen stood: and *Atax* (captain of the Ianizaries) drawing out seven hundred readie harquebusiers out of the Squadron of the Ianizaries, with them assailed the hindmost of one of the wings of the Tartars: and the foure thousand seruants left in the reareward, as desirous as the rest to shew their forwardnesse, with great slaughter repulsed the other wing of the Tartars, which came to haue spoiled the Turkes carriages. This fierce battaile betwixt the father and the sonne, with doubtfull euent endured from noone vntill the going downe of the Sunne: *Selymus* in many places still restoring his declining battaile, and fighting himselfe, as for an empire. But after that the Tartars, hardly charged by the harquebusiers, were not able to abide the shot, especially their horses being with the vnwonted noise thereof wonderfully terrified, and so carrying backe their riders whether they would or no, began to flie; the rest of the horsemen could neither by commaundement, threatening, or wounds, be enforced to stay, but turned their backs and fled. The footmen also whom *Selymus* had attired and armed after the manner of the Ianizaries, being forsaken of their owne horsemen, were now by *Baiazet* his horsemen compassed about and almost all slaine.

Selymus his armie thus ouerthrowne, and himselfe hardly beset, was by certaine troupes of his Turkish horsemen which yet stayed with him, deliuered from the present danger; and being wounded, was mounted vpon a fresh horse, and so with all the speed he could fled after the Tartars. But doubting to be pursued and ouertaken by his fathers speedie horsemen, he changed his horse, and tooke another of a wonderfull swiftnesse: and so reseruing himselfe to his future fortune, with a few of his followers fled to Varna, and from thence by sea to CAPHA.

The horse whereon *Selymus* fled, was all eole blacke, called *Carabulo* (that is to say, a Blacke cloud) whom *Selymus* as a good seruitour euer after exempted from all seruice: and had him in such estimation, that couered with cloth of gold, hee was as a spare horse without a rider led after him in all his great expeditions, first into PERSIA, and afterward into EGYPT, where he died at CAIRE, and there to the imitation of *Bucephalus*, Great *Alexanders* horse, had a monument erected for him: wherein *Selymus* shewed himselfe more kinde than to his owne brethren, whom he cruelly murdered, and hardly afforded to some of them so honourable a sepulture.

In this battaile of fortie thousand which *Selymus* brought into the field, escaped not about eight thousand, but they were either slaine or taken prisoners. Of *Baiazet* his armie were lost about seven hundred, and three thousand hurt with Tartarian arrowes: which losse he presently reuenged, with extreame crueltie causing all such as were taken prisoners, to be without mercie put to the sword in his sight; whose heads were laied together by heapes, and their dead bodies as if they had beene towers. Of this notable battaile betwixt the father and the sonne in the year 1511, *CHIVRLVS*, called in antient time *TZVRVLVM*, before an obscure old ruinous citie (or as *Iouius* calleth it, a village) became famous; but much more afterwards by the fatall destinie of *Selymus*: who not many yeares after (stricken with a most loathsome and incurable disease) ended his dayes in the same place with an vntimely and tormenting death, God (as is to be thought) with reuenging hand in the same place taking just punishment for his former disloyaltie towards his aged father, as shall hereafter be in due time and place declared.

Three dayes *Baiazet* lay still in the same place where he had obtained the victorie, vntill such time as all his souldiours were againe returned from the chase of the enemy: after that, hee held on his way to CONSTANTINOPLE, and there bountifully rewarded his souldiours. In the meane time *Achomates* hearing of all the trouble which had happened betwixt his father and his brother *Selymus*, with the euent thereof, came with an armie of twentie thousand from AMASIA, through the countries of GALATIA and BITHYNIA, vnto the citie of SCVTARI, called in antient time CHRISOPOLIS (though some suppose it to haue beene the famous citie of CHALCEDON) which citie is situated vpon the strait of Bosphorus directly against the citie of CONSTANTINOPLE. In this place *Achomates* encamped his armie, neere vnto the sea side, expecting what course his father should take after so great a victorie. For beside the prerogative of his age, and the especiall loue of his father towards him, the generall affection of the vulgar people, with the good opinion he had of himselfe, had already filled his mind with the hope of the empire: wherefore he ceased not night and day to send messengers over that narrow strait to CONSTANTINOPLE, & earnestly to sollicite *Baiazet* his father in so fit an occasion to make

hast to dispatch what he had so long before determined, concerning the resignation of the empire. He also importuned his friends and familiars in best manner he could to commend him to his father, and in most ample sort to extoll his graue purpose for translation of the empire, and to doe the vttermost of their deuoir, that seeing God and good fortune had justly ouerthrowne the rash attempt and force of his brother *Selymus*, he by their good means might the sooner obtaine the empire, whereof he was the vndoubted heire.

Baiazet, who of himselfe and according to his old good liking was altogether desirous of the preferment of *Achomates*, was by their persuasions easily entreated to hasten the performance of that he had before determined for the transferring of the empire. And making no great secret of the matter, commaunded certaine gallies to bee made readie for the transporting of *Achomates* from SCVTARI to CONSTANTINOPLE. But the great Bassaes with the souldiours of the court (the secret fauourits of *Selymus*) vnderstanding the matter, began againe openly to resist and impugne his purposed determination, and to allege the same reasons they had before at HADRIANOPOLE alleged: in fine they said plainly, That they would by no meanes suffer him so farre to disable himselfe as an insufficient man to resigne the empire, who of late had with so valiant and courageous an heart fought for the honour of his crowne and dignitie; and that therefore so long as hee liued, they would acknowledge no other soueraine but *Baiazet*: yet for all that as they meant not thereby to cut off *Achomates* his hope, so neither ought he to distrust the good will of the men of warre; but that he being a man of most approued & known valour, might in due time with their generall good liking enjoy his right, which should then without all question be due vnto him as the eldest sonne of their emperour. They said moreover, that they had in the late battaile against *Selymus* sufficiently declared what minds they were of both towards their emperour and *Achomates*, and what confidence they were to repose in the fidelitie of their souldiours; who to manifest their faithfulness and loyaltie, had not refused to offer themselves vnto the hazard of a most vnequall battaile, yea their liues vnto death it selfe. O foule dissimulation, the couert maske of all mischeefe, vnder which, meere trecherie is here pretended for great loyaltie, the aged emperour too too much flattered, *Achomates* shamefully deluded, and (the man that might not as then without some addition of disgrace bee named) *Selymus*, euen bloodie *Selymus*, secretly sought for about all men to be preferred!

Baiazet by this offwardnesse and insolencie of the souldiours againe disappointed of his purpose, or els (as some thought) delighted with the sweetnesse of soueraignie: for that after the late victorie he seemed (as one growne young againe) neither to feele himselfe old or vnable still to gouern so great an empire; sent word to *Achomates*, how the matter stood, and that he should forthwith depart from SCVTARI to his old charge at AMASIA, from whence he would againe call him at such time as he had with new bountie wooen the minds of the souldiours, and procured the good liking of other the great men in court, whereby so great a matter and not vsuall, might the better and with more securitie be effected.

Achomates thus deceived of his hope and expectation, greuously complaining that he was so mocked of his father, and contemned of the souldiours of the court, began to mix his new requests with words of heat and discontentment, and to inueigh against his father, for making him a byword (as hee termed it) and a laughing stocke vnto the world, after hee had taken the paines to come so faire, and that by his speciall appointment. But if hee proceeded so to doate, and to make so great reckoning of the souldiours of the court, that in respect thereof hee neither regarded his promise, nor that was right and iust, he would himselfe by force of arms take vpon him the defence of his owne honour and right, so light esteemed by his father, and reuenge the disgrace offered vnto him by others.

Whereunto *Baiazet* answered by the Cadelescher (which is a man of greatest place and authority amongst the Turkes in matters concerning their superstition, and therefore of them honoured about others, as the sacred interpreter of their law) that hee did neither well nor wisely without iust cause to fall into so great rage and choller, as by his speech and force to thinke to extort that good which was onely by loue and loyaltie to be gained: whereas all things should be surely kept for him, and the empire vndoubtedly descend vnto him, if by vntimely hast hee did not marre that hope which hee ought by sufferance and patient expectation to cherish: hee might (as the Cadelescher told him) learne by the late example and fortune of his brother *Selymus*, what might be for his owne good and welfare; and that it was a thing of far more danger, despe-

Selymus his armie put to flight.

The estimation *Selymus* had of his horse whereon he escaped from his father.

Baiazet willing to prefer *Achomates* to the empire.

desperately to thrust himself headlong into such an action as hee could not possibly see the end of, than moderating by reason his hot passions, to expect with patience the oportunitie of time, and fitness of occasion, with the alteration of matters, all tending to his good.

Achomates enflamed with anger and griefe of the repulse, all the while the Cadeleſcher was deliuering his fathers meſſage, gaue him many ſharpe taunts, and had much adoe to itay himſelfe from offering of him violence; oftentimes threatening him, that in ſhort time both his father ſhould deereſly buy the changing of his purpoſe, and the ſouldiours of the court their trecherous dealing; and ſo ſending him away with this ſhort anſwere, hee preſently riſe with his armie, and paſſing through *Bythinia*, cruelly ſpoiled the country in his returne to *Asia*. There dayly more and more enflamed with the griefe and the indignitie of the repulſe before received, hee determined to inuade the leſſer *Asia*: that if it ſhould ſo fall out, that hee muſt needs by the force of armes trie his right againſt either of his brethren, he might therein vſe the wealth of that rich prouince. Whereby if it ſhould chance that he ſhould by the praetiſe of any faile of the whole empire, yet he ſhould at the leaſtwiſe be poſſeſſed of the one halfe thereof, and be theredier for all euent, hauing all thoſe great and rich prouinces in his power. Wherefore calling vnto him his two ſonnes, *Amurathes* and *Aladin*, yong princes of great hope, after he had grieuouſly complained of the vnkindneſſe of his father *Baiaſet*, and of the injuries done againſt him by his enemies in the court, he declared vnto them, that there was now no hope left for him to obtaine the empire, except they would forthwith enter into armes with him, and ſo together with him defend both his and their owne right and honour, againſt the mallice and injuries of their enemies: which he ſaid, would be an eaſie matter to doe by ſurpriſing the leſſer *Asia*, if they would courageouſly adventure vpon it; for as much as all *Pisidia*, *Lycaonia*, *Pamphylia*, with the ſea coaſt of *Ionica*, were not as then kept with any armie or nauie: and as for his brother *Corcutus*, there was no great doubt to be made of him, who according to his quiet diſpoſition would bee content either to ſit ſtill, or els in regard of his juſt quarrell take part with him; or if he would needs intermeddle his quiet eſtate with the troubled, and ſo enter into arms, might eaſily be thruſt out of whatſoeuer he poſſeſſed: as for the gouernours of the reſt of the prouinces, he doubted not, but that they would alſo yeeld either to his commaund or fortune. Wherefore hee willed them to plucke vp their hearts as men of courage, and to goe into the countries thereabouts to take vp men, and whatſoeuer els were needfull for the warres. Theſe gallants, of their owne youthfull diſpoſition readie ynough for ſuch a matter, and now encouraged with their fathers perſuaſion, did what they were by him commaunded, and had in ſhort time raiſed a notable armie of voluntarie ſouldiours, of whom the greateſt part were of ſeruite condition. But *Achomates* himſelfe, beſides his old armie which hee had in former time lead againſt the Perſian rebels, leuiſed new forces alſo, and called forth into the field all the able men that were to be found in the cities round about: and ſo running through the prouince, proclaimed himſelfe king of *Asia*, and ſuch as would not forthwith yeeld vnto him, thoſe he and his two ſonnes in diuers places proſecuted with all hoſtilitie: by which meanes many cities, eſpecially ſuch as were but weakely fortified, partly for feare, partly by conſtraint were deliuered out vnto him.

After that, he entered with his armie into **LYCAONIA**, and the borders of **CILICIA**, where by embassadours and often letters he requested *Mahometes* his brothers sonne (who then governed those countries) to aid him in his just quarell against them, who by craftie and sinister persuasions had to his dishonour and disgrace withdrawne his fathers good will from him, and so farre seduced him, as that hee was determined to appoint another successeur in the empire, than him his eldest and first begotten sonne: which their mallice he would (as he said) prevent, & by force of armes recover his right, which his father knowing to be due vnto him, was about to have put him in possession of: whilest he yet liued, had he not by the sinister practise of others bene hindered: for the recouerie whereof, if *Mahometes* would out of his prouince aid him with men and victuall, and so further his just cause, he promised that he should find a farre better vncle than he had found a father; and that his present friendship should in time be most amply and bountifullly requited.

Wherunto *Mahometes* answered, that he could not do what his vncl^e had required, except he were so commanded by his grandfather *Baiazet*, whom alone he acknowledged for his dread so-
ueraign: & that it was not for him to judge, whether he did right or otherwile, That he would not

in his lifetime resigne the empire to his sonne. But this (he said) he was not ignorant of, that he was not to yeeld his obedience to anie other, so long as he liued possessed of the empire: to whom both his father *Taihan Shach* whilest he liued, and himselfe also had giuen their oath of obedience and loyaltie. ¶ Wherefore it were good for him to pacifie himselfe, least in seeking vntimely reuenge of his enemies, he should to the offence of all men wrong his father: and by too much heat and hast ouerthrow both his hope and honour; which of right should be moost great, if he could but in the meane time haue patience, and stay himselfe a while: *Achomates*, who expected nothing lesse than such an answer, but thought that *Mahometes* would either for loue or feare haue presently come vnto him: and now finding his requests to bee with greater grauntie and consideration denied by his nephew, than they were by reason of him demanded; entred with his armie into the borders of his prouince, and with fire and sword began to destroy the countrey before him: ¶ Which *Mahometes* with such power as he had thinking to remedie, was by the way encountered by his vnckle not farre from *LARBANA*; and there ouerthrowne: and taking that citie for reuenge, was there certaine daies besieged by *Achomates*; and at last together with his brother (then but a child) deliuered into his hands, at such time as the citie was by the fearfull citicens by composition yeelded vnto him: *Achomates* hauing taken the citie with his two nephewes, caused *Mahometes* his counsellors, with his foster brother, by whose persuasion it was supposed that he had so answered his vnckle and endangered himselfe, to bee all put to death.

Their proceedings of *Achomates* filled *Baiazet* with griefe and indignation, that he should in
 so great yeares be set vpon by two of his owne fonnies, one after the other. Yet to proue if those
 troubles might without more bloodshed be pacified, he sent his embassadours vnto him to re-
 proue him for his disloialtie; and to command him forthwith to set at libertie his two nephewes;
Mahometes and his brother, and so without more stir to get him againe to *AMBSIA*: which if
 he should refuse to doe, then to denounce vnto him open warre. But he, which by how much
 the more he had after his repulse ambitiously affected the empire, had resolved with himselfe to
 deale so much the more cruelly in his proceedings: hauing received this message from his father,
 caused the chiefe embassador (for that he had in franke speech deliuered his message and denoun-
 ced vnto him wars) to be in his owne presence put to death; and threatned the rest with the like,
 if before the going downe of the sunne they voided not his campe.

This outrage highly offended *Baiazet*, and alienated the minds of manie before well affected to *Achomates* : for that without any reuerence of his father and contrarie to the law of nations, he had violated the embassadours sent to him for peace . Vpon the first brute hereof, the souldiours which then waited at the court gate, in the hearing of *Baiazet* exclaimed, that the infolencie of *Achomates* was not longer to be suffered, but forthwith by force to be repressed ; that by sufferance and delay he would grow from euill to worse ; and that if *Baiazet* should prolong the time, and in fatherly sort seeke by faire means to reclaim him, hee should afterwards in vaine craue the aide of his best souldiours against his rebellious sonne strengthened by his owne long sufferance. *Mustapha* also the chiefe Bassa, with *Bosfanges* and others of great place (who secretly fauoured *Selymus*, and had cunningly caused these things by fit men to be dispersed amongst the souldiours) began at the first to mutter, and as it were to wonder at the strangenesse and hauioues of the fact ; in such flie sort, as if they had condemned the deed done, but not the doer . But afterward, when they saw that *Baiazet* was thoroughly heated, both by his owne angrie disposition and the speech of the souldiours , and vpon the confidence of his former victorie against *Selmus*, now readie to seeke reuenge ; they began then to heape fresh coles vpon the fire, and bitterly to inuay against *Achomates* , as a traitour to his aged father and the state ; and withall highly commended the fidelitie and courage of the Ianizaries and souldiours of the court, who for the safetie and honour of their aged emperour, were most prest and readie to expose themselves, their liues, and whatsoeuer else they had, vnto new dangers .

So was *Achomates* by the craft and subtiltie of these great men, by the anger of his father, and the judgement of the fouldiours, proclaimed traitour; and order taken, that the souldiours of the court with the European horfemen, shoud with all possible speed be sent against him into *ASIA*. But when choise was to be made of some valiant and worthie Generall that might take vpon him so great a charge, which seemed especially to appertaine vnto some one of the great Bassaes: it was strange to see, how they all began to straine courtesie at that presentment, and eue-

Adamates inci-
teb his two sons
Amurat and
Androctake
join with him
against their
grandfather Ea-
te'sh.

1512
Baiaxes sendeth
embassadors to
Achomases.

1- Achornates killed his father's ambassadors.

er, *Achomates* p
of claimed ration

ric one to refuse the place and disable himselfe, saying, That it were a great indignitie, that the emperours armie should be led against his sonne by anie of his seruants: and the souldiours (hauiing their lesson before hand) said plainly, That they durst not, nor would not draw their swords or lift vp their hands against the sonne of the emperour, and heire apparant of the empire, except they were conducted and commaunded by some of the *Othoman* bloud in person present with them: for so had his brother, long before when he rebelled in *CILICIA*, and now of late *Selymus* his rebellious sonne, bene both ouerthrowne and vanquished, euen by the conduct of *Baiazet* himselfe, and not by anie of his seruants. These things all tended to this purpose, that *Selymus* might by indirect meanes be reconciled to his father (whom they secretly favoured, although for feare of displeasure they durst not so much as name him but by way of disgrace) and by this verie meanes to make way for his returne to *CONSTANTINOPLE*, and so consequently, to giue him power to seaze vpon the empire. For it was probably supposed, that neither *Baiazet* himselfe, being verie aged and diseased; neither *Corcutus*, altogether buried in his studie, would vndertake the managing of those wars: so that of the *Othoman* family onely *Selymus* was left to whom that charge might be committed; all the nephewes of *Baiazet* by reason of their tender yeares, as yet vniuers for the same. At these speeches of the Bassaes and the souldiours, *Baiazet* as a man perplexed and in a chafe, flung away into his pallace, excusing himselfe by his great yeares and diseased bodie: but complaining deeply, that *Corcutus* in following the vaine title of learning, with a quiet contented kind of life, had in the meane time neglected other studies and honourable qualities, better befitting his princely birth and calling. As hee was thus reasoning with himselfe, and deuising what course to take; *Mustapha* the old Bassa, who all the time of his raigne had vsed to disburden him of his cares, hauing by way of talke drawne him into a full discourse concerning the proceeding in the intended warre, set vpon him with this craftie and premeditated speech, framed of purpose for his destruction.

The craftie craftie-
tration of the great
E. the Mustapha
to Baiazet, for
the bringing
home of Selymus

Your Maiestie may not (most dread Soueraigne) although by yeares and strength of bodie you were neuer so well able, you may not I say, either transport your armie, or your selfe passe ouer in person into *ASIA*; least whilst you are there, from place to place chasing Achomates, you leaue a far more dangerous enemy behind you in *EUROPE*; who may in your absence seaze vpon *THRACIA*, *GRECE*, *CILICIA*, yea and the imperiall citie it selfe, destitute of sufficient defendants. Doe we not heare, that *Selymus* is raising of new forces about *VARNA*? to expect a new supply of horsemen from the *Tartar* king his father in law? and already as it were hovering ouer our heads? Is he not of greater spirit and courage, than to be daunted or dismayed with the misfortune of one battell? Or if you shall send ouer your old beaten souldiours into *ASIA*, and call *Corcutus* into *EUROPE* with the forces he leuied the last yeare, who in time of your sicknes may withstand the attempts of *Selymus*: will he feare these fresh water souldiours of *ASIA*, or their philosophicall Generall, which feared not the souldiours of your court, the pickt and chosen men of the world, and your selfe a most worthy and victorious emperor? You are deceiued, and (if I may be bold so to say) you thoroughly see not into the doubtfull ends of things, if you thinke not that you must at one time wage warre against two dangerous enemies, euen in the remotest parts of your empire, in *ASIA* and *EUROPE*: For whilst you shall go about to expulse Achomates out of *CAPADOCIA*, *Selymus* neerer at hand, and waiting all opportunitie; will by and by at your backe, raise a most dangerous warre in the verie heart and chiefe strength of your empire. But if you moued with the greatnesse and due consideration of the danger, shall go about to defend *THRACIA*, and for that purpose retaine with you the most approoued and faithfull souldiours of the court, you shall see all *ASIA* on a fire before your face: neither will Achomates make an end of wile and warre, untill such time as he haue drawne the empire of *ASIA* to himselfe. Wherefore if it be not to be imputed to your fault, but to your fate or fortune, that two begotten of your selfe, should by your selfe and the consent of all men be aduised traitours vnto your crowne and dignitie; whereof the one through rashnesse, the other vpon pride and vaine discontentment, hath risen up in armes against you: why doe you not in so doubtfull and perplext a matter, preferre safe and sound aduise before that which masketh vnder the shew of maiestie and honour? and whom you cannot both at one time correct and be reuenged vpon, to set vpon them as occasion shall serue when they are together by the cares betwixt themselves? This is the onely hope of your *Asiaticke*, this is the onely way, if you shall resolve (as the common proverbe saith) to drue out one naille with another, and so to ouercome your enemies. Moderate a while your heat desire of reuenge, and for the present dissemble your griefe;

griefe; graunt vnto one of them pardon, and in shew take him into your grace and fauor, imploy him against the other: so shall you without danger, howsoeuer it fall out, persecute the one whom you loue not, with the hazard of the other whom you trust not: and at your pleasure oppresse him; to whom you shall commit your ensignes and armie; the hands of your faithfull and trustie souldiours being euer at your appointment ready to take reuenge. So shall you with securitie make an end of this warre, exposing vnto the danger him whom you had rather to overcome (as your enemy) by him whom you wish also to perish.

Mustapha had scarce made an end of speaking, but the other Bassaes (as they had before agreed amongst themselves) began where he left, and with all their cunning laboured to persuaade *Baiazet* to call home his sonne *Selymus*, and to make him Generall of his armie against his brother: saying, That he had already endured sufficient punishment for his former disloyaltie, and that therefore it was like that he as a well corrected child would from thenceforth containe himselfe within the compasse of his most dutifull obedience: whereas *Achomates* proud of his birth, hauing of late violated his fathers embassadours, and filled all *ASIA* with rebellion, was not like to bee brought to any reasonable conformitie, vntill hee were by force of armes plucked downe, and so made to know himselfe, in like manner as was his brother *Selymus* of late. *Baiazet* seeing that in resolving of a matter of so great consequence, *Cherseogles Bassa* (his sonne in law, and the onely faithfull counsellour then about him) sat all silent, hanging the head, as a man not of the same opinion with the rest, stood a great while in doubt what to resolve vpon: he could not so easily forget the late injuries done against him by *Selymus*, it was yet fresh in memorie, how that he had out of *ASIA* inuaded *EUROPE*, surprised *HADRIANOPLE*, giuen him battaile, endangered his person with his *Tartarian* horsemen, and that onely by the goodnesse of God he had obtained the victorie: on the other side, his Maiestie contemned, his nephewes imprisoned, his embassadours violated, the cities of *ASIA* ransacked, and all those goodly countreys presently smoking with the fire of rebellion, so filled his old heart with anger and indignation, as that he desired nothing more than to be reuenged. Whilst hee was thus struggling with his owne thoughts, and doubtfull what to doe, the vnfaithfull Bassaes by deepe deceit and treacherie (*Cherseogles* most instantly persuaading the contrarie) ouercame him so farre, as with his owne hand to write letters to *Selymus*, promising him, that forgetting all injuries past, he would vpon the hope of his loyaltie, receiue him into his former grace and fauour, and make him Generall of his armie, if hee would without delay repaire to *CONSTANTINOPLE*, and so passe ouer into *ASIA* against his rebellious brother *Achomates*.

Whilst these things are in doing at *CONSTANTINOPLE*, *Corcutus* aduertised by letters from his friends of the weake estate of his aged father, and by what persuaasions he had bene induced (after *Achomates* was proclaimed traitor) to call vnto him *Selymus*, and to make him Generall of his armie; came downe out of *MAGNESIA* to *PHOCIS*, and there embarking himselfe in his gallics, sailed to *CONSTANTINOPLE*: where being arriued, hee went presently to the court, attended vpon with a great number of his friends and fauourites; and entering into the priue chamber, humbled himselfe before his father, and kissed his hand: and after much talke had betwixt them of diuers weightie matters, is reported to haue spoken vnto him as followeth.

Corcutus com-
eth to Con-
stantinople.

It is now about thirtie yeares past (most reuerend father, and dread Soueraigne) since that I (being chosen and proclaimed emperor by the prerogative of the souldiours of the court, by generall consent of the citizens of this imperiall citie, and by the graue iudgement of the wise and graue Bassaes of the Court) haue cheerefully and willingly, and as I may truly say, with mine owne hand deuoured from my selfe vnto your Maiestie the possession of this most glorious kingdome and empire: which thing what worldly wight would haue done? but either a mad man, or els a most kind and loving sonne? Vnto which so rare an example of a religious and loving heart, I was not by any feare or constraint enforced, but onely by regard and contemplation of your owne sacred person, and the due consideration of my dutie. Neither did it in the course of so many yeares, euer repent me of that my singular kindnesse and dutie done, when as I contenting my selfe with such things as you had vnto me assigned, and with the generall commendation of my well doing, as well as with a kingdome, thought this your great estate and highest type of worldly honour, not to be compared with the quiet contentment of my pleasing studies: when as I accounted it a vaine thing, and not befitting the resolution

solution of a settled and quiet mind, to long after these wordly things, which being had and enjoyed to the full, worke no full contentment in the insatiable desire of man: and that surmounting vertue and the sweet, & most sweet meditation of heavenly things promised vnto my contemplatiue and rauished mind, things of farre more worth and maiestie than all the kingdomes and monarchies of the world. But whilest I was tracing this path, little regarding worldly honour, or the glorie of an empire, and was for pure deuotion and desire of knowledge traueilling into the furthest part of ARABIA, vnto the altar of our most sacred prophet Mahomet, and so to the Indians, as to men of a more exact knowledge and sincere profession; you in the midst of my trauell drew mee out of ÆGYPTE by the long hands of the Egyptian Sultan, backe againe into PARYGIA; commaunding mee, that eschewing the manifold dangers (which in my long trauell I must needs haue fallen into) I should from thenceforth haue more regard of my life and health, and to expect the fruit both of my loyaltie towards you, and of your fatherly loue towards me: as if you had bene then of opinion, that the time would come, when for the euill disposition of some, an innocent man, deuoted vnto the studie of wisdom and learning, might be a stay both to your selfe and the whole Othoman familie. Since which time I haue euer both dutifully obeyed your commaund, and with as much care and integritie as I possibly could, discharged my charge: and in the late Persian warre raised and brought into the field mine armie, wherewith I defended the frontiers of my prouince from the incursions of the Barbarians. But after that they were vanquished, and by your forces driuen out of the lesser ASIA, and that my vnaturall and gracelesse brethren, the one of them in EUROPE, as a most desperat recreant, had in plaine battell assailed the person of your most sacred Maieslie (his reuerend father, sarre spent with age, and then greuously tormented with the gout) of purpose to haue at once deprived you both of your life and empire: and the other in ASIA seeking by like disloyaltie and most horrible treason there to possess himselfe of a kingdom, had besieged and taken prisoners his brothers sonnes your nephewes, young princes of great expectation, your faithfull and louing subiects; and proceeding further, had set all that part of your empire on a broile: I thought my selfe in dutie bound to repaire heither vnto your imperiall Maieslie, for that I saw it came to passe, not without the providence of the most mightie, that I might at such time especially request the iust reward of you my most reuerend and louing father, the most religious obseruer of equitie and iustice: when as you hauing had too great prooffe of the infidelitie of my vnaturall brethren, might most fitly and most commodiously performe that which you vpon great reason might now graunt vnto me your dutifull and obedient sonne, although my former defects had merited no such thing. Wherefore most gracious, I humbly pray and beseech you by all your fatherly loue and affection towards me, and my knowne loialtie towards you, to vouchsafe before the coming of Selymus, to haue regard of mine honour with the state of your empire: for when he shall once in armes breake in, wee will at a trice cut off all hope of pacification, and supported by the men of warre, confound all things at his pleasure: for I heare, that the very guarders of your person, and chiefe commanders of your armies, altered in disposition towards you; doe but expect the good offer of time, when they may willingly salute for their emperor and soueraigne, him, whom your good fortune of late full sore against their wils, ouerthrew in open field. Wherefore that empire whercof I was sometime possessed, and for the rare desert of mine antient loialtie towards you, is of good right due vnto me, restore to me againe whilest you may, and whilest it is yet in your power, in this suddaine and momentarie occasion now presented. For your Maieslie shall in vaine fauour my most iust and vpright claime, after that you (hauing once receiued into the imperiall citie a most desperat and ambitious man) haue for euer lost your libertie, together with your selfe.

Baiazet commaundeth Corcutus, and promiseth to restore him the empire, after that Selymus shall be put into ASIA.

Corcutus with teares standing in his eyes hauing ended his speech, the aged emperor moued with a fatherly affection, and the reasonable persuation of him, his onely loyall and most kind sonne, comforted him vp with good words, and willed him to bee of good cheere; and whichall discouered vnto him the very ground of his resolution, in calling home of Selymus: telling him farther, That he could be well content to resigne vnto him againe the empire, but that it was not in his power so presently to doe, for feare of the souldiours of the court; who had (as he said) of late withstood him in the like motion, and would againe with tooth and naile gainesay it, if he should but giue the least occasion for them to suspect any such matter: but that by the plot now laid, Selymus should vnder the title of honour be drawne out of EUROPE, together with the souldiours of the court, into ASIA against Achomates, both barres vnto his present desire for transferring of the empire; in whose absence it should bee in his power freely to dispose thereof

at his pleasure: which he promised presently to resigne vnto him, so soone as they were once passed ouer into ASIA. Which thing once done, although it were not altogether to their liking, yet feared he not that either the capitaines or souldiours, who had of late so honorably and faithfully defended him against Selymus, should now for his sake dislike of Corcutus, or attempt anie thing not becoming the glorie of their late desert: but rather hoped, that if his two vnaturall and rebellious sons Achomates and Selymus, should once ioine in battell (as it was most like they would) that either the one or both should by the iust judgement of God perish for their so great disobedience, murdered by the hands one of another: Corcutus not much misliking of his fathers purpose, and resting himselfe wholly vpon his fauour, thought it not good farther to argue the matter his father had so well considered of: but taking his leaue returned to his lodging, notwithstanding his hope of obtaining the empire, and so remained many daies: after at CONSTANTINOPLE during which time he sought neither by gifts nor golden promises to procure the loue and good liking of the great Bassaes, or souldiours of the court; for that he as a plaine vpright man, thought it not good by fute and corruption (the great promotores of the vnworthie) to seeke for that at their hands, which was of right due vnto him by his fathers fauour and promise.

In the meane time Selymus his fast friends, aduertising him of the coming of Corcutus to the court, aduised him to make hast, and with all speed possible to come to CONSTANTINOPLE; for that it was to bee feared, least Baiazet being verie aged, and withall easie to be drawne away, might by the persuation of Corcutus be endued to alter, yea and perhaps quite breake off the course before well set for his most readie preferment. Vpon which newes, Selymus attentively waiting vpon nothing more than to haue access vnto his friends in court, and before resolved at his first coming thither, not to spare for anie cost in corrupting the men of warre, and so to possess himselfe of the empire: made now no stay, but with certaine troupes of horsemen commaunding the rest to follow after, came with wonderfull sceleritie to CONSTANTINOPLE. Corcutus with the great Bassaes and courtiers, and most part of the souldiours of the court, going to meet him at the gates of the citie: at his entrance receiued him with a kisse (as is the manner of the Turkes) and brought him through the midst of the citie, all the people running out by heaps to haue a sight of the man; of late in euerie mans mouth for his desperat rebellion, but now welcomed with much thundring shot in token of triumph, and the joyfull acclamation of men, women, and children, and people of all sorts. So that it easily appeared, that all the hatred before conceiued against him, for his late outrage against his father, was now quite forgotten; and that he would in short time before his other brethren aspire vnto the empire.

The next day after Selymus came to the court, and hauing access to his father, fell prostrate before him and kissed his feet, and with the greatest shew of humilitie possible, craued of him pardon for his disloyaltie. O deepe dissembler, and traitor of all others most treacherous! of late in field with sword drawn to haue slaine his aged father, but now prostrate at his feet; and within an houre, mounted perforce into his imperiall seat!

The old emperor smiling vpon this Crocodile, in most kind manner tooke him vp, and courteously said vnto him:

Thy faults sonne Selymus are so much the lesse, for that they haue found speedie repentance. The crueltie wherfore I doe the more willingly grant thee pardon: but from henceforth endeavour thy selfe, that God who hath giuen thee a notable spirit and courage, may also be thought to haue endued thee with Selymus. a good and well disposed mind. There is a martiall matter readie worthy thy hardinesse, wherein thou maiest sufficiently manifest vnto the world thy forwardnesse and courage: there when time serueth let it appeare.

Shortly after was called a counsell for the warres, but especially for the chusing of a General to go against Achomates: the honor of which place, when many would haue giuen to Selymus, he began with great dissimulation to refuse, making as though he would not in any case be preferred before his brother Corcutus, to whom he would (as he said) willingly giue place; both in respect of his years and learned discretion, who could no doubt with greater authoritie and wisdom manage that warre: as for himselfe, now he had obtained his fathers gracious pardon and fauour, he could well content himselfe with any corner of the empire, were it neuer so little.

But Corcutus and his friends, who had reposed all their hope and all their deuises in the departure of Selymus with the souldiours of the court; as if they had with great modestie contented on both sides, againe persuated him, yea and instantly requested him not to refuse that honor,

nour, by generall consent without anie disgrace to his brother, giuen to him as to a worthy chief taine of greater experience in martiall affaires. So *Selymus* with wonderfull cunning deluding *Corcutus* and his fauourits, whilest he seemeth craftily to refuse the thing he most desireth, is by the generall consent of all parts, chosen Generall of the armie to go against his brother *Achomates*. Which was no sooner made knowne vnto the soldiours, especially the *Tamizaries* and other souldiours of the court; but they before instructed, with lowd acclamations saluted him; not for their Generall onely, but for their soueraigne lord and emperour also: and so without farther delay put themselves in armes to defend and make good that they had done, if anie better disposed should seeme to withstand them or dissent from them.

Selymus by the souldiours thus saluted emperour, at first made shew as if he had beene halfe vnwilling to take vpon him the empire; and so began faintly to refuse it, as moued so to doe by the due reuerence and regard of his father, yet liuing. But after a while he suffered himselfe to be entreated: and then commending himselfe and his cause wholly to the men of war, to bind them vnto him the faster, promised beside the particuler fauors he ought them, to bestow a right great and generall larges amongst them: which he afterwards accordingly performed.

After that, he requested the chiefe Bassaes and commanders of the armie there present, to go forthwith vnto his father, and to take such order (seeing it was the mind of the whole army it should be so) that the empire might by his goodwill without farther trouble or tumult, be forthwith transferred vnto him.

Mustapha the great Bassa, in whose wily head all this matter was (to his owne worthy destruction) first hammered; whether it were vpon a new fineness of his owne, or that *Selymus* (as it was giuen out) had threatened to kill him except he would go and shew all the whole proccesse of the matter to his father: comming as a man dismayed to *Baiazet* (who awaked with clamour and tumult of the souldiours was come out of his chamber into the open roomes of his pallace) in few words deliuered vnto him this most vnwelcome message as followeth:

Emperour (said he) *the men of warre haue in their counsell saluted Selymus both their Generall and Emperour: which their choise they require thee to ratifie; being readie presently to breake into the court to kill vs both, if thou shalt refuse forthwith to resigne the empire. They all with one consent request that of thee, which they haue already put into the hand of another. Wherefore it is a thing of farre more danger to seeke to reuer that thou hast already lost than willingly to yeeld that which is already taken from thee, seeing it is not by anie force or pollicie to be regained. They in arms, in surie, and now entred into rebellion, thinke vpon some greater mischiefe.*

Baiazet troubled with feare and choller, and then too late perceiving the treacherie of the Bassaes, and how he had been by them betrayed; pausing a while at the strangeness of the matter, afterwards in furie brake out into these words:

False and forsworne, doe you thus betray me? and with such monstrous villanie requite mine infinite bountie? Why doe you not also as murderers take away my life, which could not endure for a while to expect the dissolution of this my weake and aged bodie? but deposing your iust & lawfull soueraigne, must needs in post haste set up a most wicked and gracelesse man to raigne ouer you. But much good doe it you with your desired emperour, the contemner of God, and murderer of his father: to whom ere it be long, you shall full dearly pay the price of this your perfidious dealing and treacherie against me. And he himselfe beginning his empire of most unnaturall treason, murther, and bloodshed, shall not (I hope) escape the heauie hand of God, the vndoubted and seuerer reuenger of so great impietie and treason.

Mustapha, with *Bostanges* and *Aiax* as false as himselfe, returning backe againe to the souldiours speaking not a word of the sorrow and indignation of *Baiazet*; told them how that he was well content to resigne the empire, and so had appointed *Selymus* (vnto whom both God and the generall consent of the men of warre had already deliuered the empire) to succeed him in the empire. When this their speech was generally reported, they whom *Selymus* had before corrupted, began now to hold vp their heads, and looke big on the matter: and others who before stood doubtfull what to doe seeing now no other remedie, in hast joyned themselves vnto the same faction. Whilest all things were thus disorderly carried by the vnruely souldiours, *Selymus* was by them mounted vpon a couragious horse, and so with all pomp conducted vp and downe most of the faire streetes of the imperiall citie: and with the generall voice and clamour of the people (how soeuer their minds were for most part otherwise affected) saluted emperour. And the

the same day both the great Bassaes and the soldiours in generall, were all solemnly sworne vnto *Selymus*, as their onely lord and emperour.

Corcutus, whether it were for greefe of his hope now lost, or for feare of his life, although *Selymus* had promised to giue him the citie of *MYTILENE*, with the Island of *LESBOS*, secretly embarked himselfe, and so returned to *MACONESSIA*.

Baiazet of late one of the greatest monarchs of the world, but now thus thrust out of his empire by his sonne, detesting both him and the treacherie of his subjects, and ouercome with sorrow and melancholie, determined of himselfe, before hee were thereto enforced by *Selymus*, to forsake *CONSTANTINOPLE*, and to retire himselfe to *DIMOTICA* (a small citie wholely situate in *THRACIA*, not farre from *HADRIANOPL*; where in former time he had for his pleasure bestowed great cost, & now as he thought best fitted his present estate.) Wherefore causing great store of treasure, plate, jewels, and rich furniture to be trussed vp, he with five hundred of his household seruants, full of heauinesse and sorrow, with teares trickling downe his aged cheekes, departed out of the imperiall citie towards *HADRIANOPL*, with purpose from thence to haue gone to *DIMOTICA*. *Selymus* brought him about two miles vpon his way, and so returning againe to *CONSTANTINOPLE*, tooke possession of the pallace.

Baiazet being then about seuentie six yeares old, or as some report full fourescore; and beside his old disease of the gout, fore weakened with heauinesse and greefe of mind, was not able to trauell aboute five or six miles a day, but was constrained by the extremite of his paine and weakenesse, to stay sometimes two or three dayes in a place. Whilest hee was thus trauelling, *Selymus* no lesse carefull of the keeping of his estate, than he had before beene for the obtaining of the same, began now to doubt, That if hee should depart from *CONSTANTINOPLE*, and with all his forces passe ouer into *ASIA* against his brother *Achomates*, *Baiazet* in the meane time might in his absence returne to *CONSTANTINOPLE*, and so againe possesse himselfe both of the citie and the empire. Wherefore to rid himselfe of that feare, he resolved most viper like before his going, to kill his father, and so most vnnaturally to deprive him of life of whom hee had first receiued life: such is the cruell and accursed nature of ambition, that it knoweth neither father, mother, brother, wife, kindred, or friend, no, sometimes not her owne children: the furie whereof was neuer in any one more pregnant, than in this most monstrous and cruell tyrant *Selymus*.

The readiest and most secret way he could deuise for the effecting of this his damnable deuise (which without great impietie could not bee so much as once by him thought vpon) was to worke it by poyson: vpon which resolution hee secretly compacted with *Hamon* a Iew, his fathers cheefe physition, to poyson him; promising him for his reward a pension of ten duckats a day during his life. And for that men are oftentimes with terour and feare, as well as with reuward, enforced to bee the ministers of mischeefe; hee to bee the more sure of this Iew (prone ynough for gaine to doe euill) threatened him with most cruell death, if hee did not both secretly and speedily worke this feat, commanding him so soone as he had done it to return vnto him to *CONSTANTINOPLE*.

The deceitfull Iew moued both with the feare of death, and hope of reuward (two great motives) comming shortly after to *Baiazet*, and finding him very weake, seeming to be very carefull of him, told him, That he would prepare for him a potion, which should both restore to him his health, and also strengthen his weake bodie, if it would please him to take it the next morning his health, and also strengthen his weake bodie, if it would please him to take it the next morning early lying in his bed. *Baiazet* nothing mistrusting his old physition: whom he had so often & so long trusted, said hee would gladly take it. Early the next morning commeth the Iew with the deadly potion in a cup of gold, *Baiazet* yet sleeping, which he set downe in the chaire of estate, and so stood waiting vntill the aged prince should of himselfe awake. But *Baiazet* still sleeping soundly (as oftentimes it chanceth when men sleepe their last) and withall somewhat longer than that the time to take the potion was almost past, and asked him if it were his pleasure then to take it. *Baiazet* doubting no treason, willed him to bring it: whereof when the Iew had taken the sey (hauing before himselfe taken a preseruatiue against that poyson) he gaue it to *Baiazet* to drinke, who cheerefully dranke it vp: the physition commanding them that waited in his bed-chamber, and attended on his person, to keepe him well couered with warme clothes, and not to giue him any thing to drinke vntill hee had well sweate. This cursed Iew hauing thus poysoned

The death of
Baiazet.

Selymus causeth
two of his fathers
pages to bee put
to death for
mourning for
their master.

Hamon the Jew
is rewarded
for his treachery.

the aged prince, to auoid the danger of the fast, and to carrie the first newes thereof to Selymus, secretly conuayed himselfe away, and fled in hast to CONSTANTINOPLE. But Baiazet attained with the force of the poyson, began first to feeble most greuous gripings in his stomacke, the strong paine whereof appeared by his miserable complaining and heauie groning; in the midst of which torments he gaue vp the ghost in the yeare 1512, when he had reigned thirtie yeares. The Turkes report that he died a naturall death: but Antonius Virius, a Genoway, who at that time serued in Baiazet his chamber, and was present at his death, reporteth, That vpon his dead bodie the euident tokens of poyson were to bee scene. His dead bodie, with all his treasures were presently brought backe againe to CONSTANTINOPLE, and deliuered to Selymus, who caused the bodie of his father to be with the greatest solemnitie that might be, buried in a most sumptuous tombe, in a chappell neer vnto the great Mahometane temple, which he had before built for himselfe at CONSTANTINOPLE, which monument there remaineth at this day to bee scene. His seruants were all by Selymus restored to their places which they before held in the Court in the time of their old master, excepting fise of the pages of his chamber, who lamenting the death of their master about the rest, had atired themselues all in mourning apparell: for which cause, they were by the commaundement of Selymus cast in prison; where two of them were put to death, the other three at the sute of Solymán, Selymus his sonne, and of other two Bassas, were saued: but being stript of their rich apparrell, and whatsoever els they had gotten vnder Baiazet, they were enrolled for common souldiours vnder Sullustares Bassa. Of these three this Antonius Virius the Genoway (before spoken of) was one, who after ten yeares miserable captiuitie amongst the Turks, at last escaped, at such time as Selymus was by the Persian discomfited: and with much adoe returning againe into ITALIE, writ the historie of all such things as hee himselfe had there scene, with the calamities of Baiazet his house, and a great part of the tyrannous raigne of Selymus.

Hamon the false Jew (as the same author reporteth) comming to CONSTANTINOPLE, and expecting some great reward for his foule treason, by the commaundement of Selymus had his head presently stricke off: with this exprobaton of his trecherie, That oportunitie seruing, hee would not sticke for reward to doe the like against Selymus himselfe. Of this Baiazet, Iannus Vitalis writeth this Elogium:

Paulus Iou-
us illust. vi-
rorum, Elog.
lib. 4.

*Dum rerum exquiris causas, & dum procul Hunnes
Carmannos, Cilices, Sauromatasq; domas:
Baiazete, domi proles tua te petit armis
Et te per fraudes amouet imperio.
Adjicit inde nouum sceleri scelus, & tibi miscet,
Pocula lethiferis illita graminibus.
Intempestiuos crudelis vipera fetus,
Per sua sic tandem funera, rupta, parit.
Quid tutum est, cui sint ingentia regna tiranno?
Si timeat natos, progeniemq; suam?*

In English thus.

Whilest that thou Baiazethest seekes of things the hidden cause,
And faine wouldst bring the Hunne and Russe vnder thy Turkish laws:
Thy sonne at home steps vp in armes against thy royall crowne,
And by false treason and deceit finds meanes to plucke thee downe.
Whereto he addeth mischeefe more, and straight without delay,
By poyson strong in glittering boule, dorth take thy life away:
The cruell viper so brings forth her foule vntimely brood,
Which eat and gnaw her bellie out, their first and poysoned food.
What things may princes hold for safe, that do great kingdomes sway?
If of their children they must stand in dread and feare alway?

F I N I S .

R. K.

Emperors of Germanie	Frederick the third, Arch- duke of Austria.	1440. 54.
	Maximilian the first.	1494. 25.
Kings	Of England { Edward the fourth.	1460. 22.
	Edward the fifth.	1483. 0.
	Richard the third.	1483. 3.
	Henrie the seuenth.	1485. 24.
	Henrie the eight.	1509. 38.
Of France {	Lewis the eleventh.	1461. 12.
	Charles the eighth.	1483. 14.
	Lewis the twelfth.	1497. 17.
Of Scotland {	James the third.	1460. 29.
	James the fourth.	1489. 35.
Bishops of Rome {	Xystus the IIII.	1471. 13.
	Innocentius the VII.	1484. 8.
	Alexander the VI.	1492. 11.
	Pius the III.	1503. 26 daies.
	Julius the II.	1503. 9.

Christian prin-
ces of the same
time with Ba-
iazet the second.

V u iij



Phil. Lonicer.
Turc. Hist. lib. 1.

*En Selymus, scelere ante alios immanior, omnes:
In patria, & fratrum, dirigit arma necem.
In Persas mouet inde ferox: Memphisitica regna
Destruit: & Syros Æthiopsq; domat.
Hinc in Chisticolas irarum effundere fluctus,
Ipsumq; imo uertere regna parat.
Cum diro victus prostermitur ulcere: Christus
Scilicet est populi portus & aura sui.*

Lo Selymus, in cruelty exceeding others farre,
His father, and his brethren both, destroies with mortall warre.
The Persian fiercely he assailes: and conquers Ægypt's land:
The Sirian, and the Moore likewise, he tam'd with mightie hand.
But purposing in his mad mood, the Christians to confound,
And the memoriall of their name to roote from off the ground;
A loathsome Canker eat him vp, and brought him to his end:
Christ is to his the safest port, when he will them defend.



THE LIFE OF SELYMVS, FIRST OF THAT NAME, THE THIRD AND MOST WARLIKE EMPEROVR OF THE TURKES.



His *Selymus*, by fauour of the great Bassaes and men of war whom he had before corrupted, hauing depriued his father *Baiazet* first of the empire, and shortly after of his life also, and now fully possessed of the empire himselfe; first tooke view of the treasures which the Turkish kings and emperors his auncestors had before of long time heaped vp in great abundance: out of which hee gaue vnto the souldiours of the court two millions of duckets; and for a perpetuall remembrance of his thankfulness towards them augmented their daily wages, allowing vnto euerie horseman four aspers a day, and to euerie footman two, aboue their wonted allowance. By which exceeding bountie, he greatly assured vnto himselfe the minds of the men of warre.

1512

Shortly after he passed ouer with a great armie into ASIA, leauing the gouernment of the imperiall citie of CONSTANTINOPLE vnto his onely sonne *Solyman*: and marching into GALATIA came to the citie of ANGYRA, in hope there to haue oppressed his elder brother *Achomates*. But he vnderstanding before of his comming, withall wisely considering how vnable he was to withstand his forces, fled before into the mountaines of CAPADOCIA vpon the confines of ARMENIA, taking vp men by the way as he went, and praying aid of all sorts of people, yea euen of such as were but of small abilitie themselves, and vnto him meere strangers; that so hee might in best manner he could, provide such strength as might serue him to make head against his brother, and for the recouerie of ASIA.

Selymus hauing spent that sommer without doing anie thing worth the speaking of, and considering that he could not well winter in that cold country neere vnto the great mountaine TAVRVS, by reason of the deepe snowes and extreame cold there vsually falling; and that to go farther was to no purpose, forasmuch as *Achomates* flying from place to place and mountaine to mountaine was not to be surprised, he retired backe againe into BITHYNIA, and sending his European horsemen downe towards the sea coast, and the Ianizaries to CONSTANTINOPLE; re-solued to winter with the rest of his army at PRUSA. At which time being wholly bent against *Achomates* his competitor of the empire, he for certaine yeares continued the league which his father *Baiazet* had before concluded with *Vladislaus* king of HUNGARIE, *Sigismundus* king of POLONIA, and the Venetians. And thinking no care (no not of children) superfluous which might concerne the establishing of his empire, he called vnto him fure of his brothers sons, *Orchanes* the sonne of *Alem Schach*; *Mahometes* the sonne of *Tzihan Schach*; *Orchanes*, Emir of *Musa*, the sonnes of his brother *Mahometes*; all young princes of great hope, of yeares betwixt sixteene and twentie, excepting *Musa* who was not past seauen yeares old: of all these *Mahometes* (whom his vnckle *Achomates* had a little before taken prisoner at LARENDA, as is before declared, and vpon the death of *Baiazet* had againe set him at libertie) being about twentie yeares old, was for rare feature and princely courage accounted the paragon and beautie of the

the *Othoman* family: Which great perfection as it woon vnto him the loue and fauour of the men of warre, and also of all the people in generall: so did it hasten his speedie death; onely *Selymus* his cruell vnckle enuying him life. After he had got these poore innocents into his hands, he sent for diuers of his great doctors and lawyers, demanding of them, Whether it were not better that some five, eight, or ten persons should be taken away, than that the state of the whole empire should with great effusion of blood be rent in sunder, and so by ciuile warres be brought in danger of viter ruine and destruction? Who although they well perceiued whereunto that bloodie question tended, yet for feare of displeasure they all answered, That it were better such a small number should perishe, than that the whole state of the empire should by ciuile warre and discord be brought to confusion; in which generall calamitie those few must also of necessitie perishe with the rest. Vpon colour of this answer and the necessitie pretended, he commaunded these his nephewes before named, to be led by five of his great captaines into the castle of *PRVSA*, where they were all the night following most cruelly strangled. It is reported, that *Mahometes* with a penknife slew one of the bloodie executioners sent into his chamber to kill him; and so wounded the other, as that he fell downe for dead: and that *Selymus* being in a chamber fast by, and almost an eyewitnesse of that was done, presently sent in others, who first bound the poore prince, and afterward strangled him with the rest: whose dead bodies were buried at *PRVSA* amongst their auncestours. The crueltie of this fact wonderfully offended the minds of most men, insomuch that many euen of his martiall men filled with secret indignation, for certaine daies absented themselves from his presence, shunning his sight as if hee had beene some fierce or raging lyon.

1513

Selymus seeketh after the liues of Amurat and Aladin, the sons of Achomates his brother.

Of all the nephewes of old *Baiazer*, onely *Amurat* and *Aladin* (the sons of *Achomates*) yet remained, whom he purposed to surpriſe vpon the sudden, and so to rid himselfe of all feare of his brothers children; hauing then left none of the *Othoman* familie, but them and his two brethren vpon whom to exercise his further crueltie. These two young princes had a little before recouered the cite of *AMASIA*, from whence they were the Sonimer before expelled by their vnckle *Selymus*, at such time as *Achomates* their father was glad to flie into the mountaines of *CAPADOCIA*. *Selymus* fully resolved vpon their destruction, sent *Vfegi* one of his Bassas with five thousand horsemen, who by great iourneys traueilling to *AMASIA*, might vpon the sudden come vpon these two young princes, and take them altogether vntrouided and as then fearing no such danger: which was thought no great matter for the Bassa to doe, forasmuch as he might with his light horsemen easily preuent the fame of his comming; and the cite of *AMASIA* where they lay, was neither well walled, nor as then furnished with any sufficient garrison for defence thereof: beside that, *Achomates* himselfe was at that time absent, busied in taking vp of souldiours vpon the frontiers of *CARAMANNIA*. But *Mustapha* the old Bassa, by whose especiall meanes *Selymus* had obtained the empire (as is before declared in the life of *Baiazer*) being priuie vnto his wicked purpose, and now in mind altogether alienated from him, detesting his most execrable tyrannie, both for the vnworthy death of *Baiazer* his father, and the guilefull bloud of so many young princes his nephewes by him shed without all pitie; and hauing compasſion of the imminent danger whereinto these two brethren were now like also to fall; by secret and speedie messengers gaue them warning of the comming of the Bassa, and of all that was intended against them. Who vpon such knowledge giuen, presently aduertised *Achomates* their father thereof, and laid secret ambush themselves for the intercepting of their enemies. So that within few daies after, the Bassa comming with his horsemen towards *AMASIA*, fell before he was aware into the midst of his enemies: at which time also *Achomates* following him at the heeles, so shut him in with his armie on euery side, that most of his men being slaine, he himselfe with diuers other captaines were taken prisoners and brought to *Achomates*, and by his commaundement committed to safe custodie.

Vfegi Bassa taken prisoner.

Now it fortuned, that some of *Achomates* souldiours scoffing at the prisoners whom they had taken, told them how they had beene deceiued, and how all the matter had beene carried (so hard a thing it is to haue euen the greatest counsels in court kept secret) boasting that they wanted not their friends, euen of such as were most inward with *Selymus*, who secretly fauoured the better cause, and would not long suffer the cruell beast to rage further: All which things *Selymus* his souldiours reported againe after they were rauensomed and returned home. But *Vfegi* the Bassa lying still in prison, and getting certaine knowledge of the whole matter, by secret letters gaue

Selymus

Selymus to vnderstand, that *Mustapha* the great Bassa whom he most of all trusted, had secret intelligence with *Achomates*, and had beene the only cause of the losse of his armie.

Selymus of late enuying at the great honour and authoritie of *Mustapha*, and wishing him dead (whose desert he was not able, or at leastwise not willing to requite) caused him vpon this accusation without farther triall to be secretly strangled in his owne sight, and his dead bodie (as *Mustapha Bassa shamefully murdered*) to be cast out into the street for euery man to gaze vpon. This was the shamefull end of this traiterous Bassa, who had of long time at his pleasure commaunded all things in the Turkish empire, and was for riches, power, and authoritie, next vnto the emperours themselves: but now lieth as a dead dog in the street, no man daring for feare to cast earth vpon him. A rare spectacle of the vncertaintie of worldly felicitie, and a worthy example of disloyaltie. But *Achomates* hearing what had hapned to *Mustapha*, in reuenge thereof in like manner executed *Vfegi Bassa* his prisoner; and according to his curcious nature set all the rest of the prisoners at libertie.

Vfegi Bassa put to death.

Selymus thirsting after nothing more than the guilefull bloud of his brethren and nephewes, vpon whom he had against all right vsurped the kingdome, whereof he neuer thought himselfe sufficiently assured so long as any of them breathed: began with the first of the Spring, to deuise with himselfe how he might first take away his brother *Corcutus*, who then liued at *MAGNESIA*, and hauing cast off all hope of the empire, gaue himselfe wholly to the studie of philosophie, which he (seduced with ambition) had in euill time a little before forsaken; but now retiring himselfe thereto againe, as to his greatest contentment, spent his time in quiet contemplation, not attempting any thing against his cruell brother vsurping the empire. *Selymus* resolved vpon the destruction of this harmlesse prince, suddenly commaunded his captaines to make choise often thousand horsemen to be in readinesse within three daies, giuing it out that hee would make an inroad vpon the sudden into *CAPADOCIA*. In the number of these horsemen *Antonius Marinus* a Genoway, author of this historie (as he reporteth of himselfe) was one.

All things being in readinesse against the appointed time, *Selymus* in person himselfe set forward with his armie from *PRVSA*, still keeping the way on the right hand; so that the souldiours who thought they should haue marched directly into *CAPADOCIA* and so to *AMASIA*, as it was before commonly reported; began now to perceiue by the contrarie course they held, that they were to go for *LYDIA* and *IONIA*. When a valiant souldiour among the rest, who had sometime serued one of the Bassas in *Corcutus* his court, by diuers circumstances gathering the intention of *Selymus*, secretly conuained himselfe out of the armie; and being excellently well mounted, taking the neereſt way, came to *MAGNESIA* and gaue *Corcutus* warning of the comming of his brother. *Corcutus* considering the great danger he was in, richly rewarded the messenger; and leauing his house in such order as it was wont to be, fled with two of his seruants to the sea side, in hope to haue found passage either into *CRETE*, or else to the *RHODES*.

The next day after *Corcutus* was departed, early in the morning came *Selymus* to the castle of *MAGNESIA* before the rising of the sunne, in hope to haue found *Corcutus* yet in his bed: but being deceiued of his expectation, he fell into a great rage, and with cruell torments examined all his brothers seruants & eunuchs, What was become of him and where he had hid himselfe: and with much adoe got it out of them, That he had warning of his comming by a fugitiue souldiour, and was thereupon fled; but whither they knew not. Wherefore *Selymus* staid there six daies, and was thereupon fled; but whither they knew not. Wherefore *Selymus* staid there six daies, during which time he caused diligent search to be made all ouer the countrey, and alongſt the sea coast for to haue apprehended him. But when after much search he could heare no tidings of him, he caused all his brothers treasure and rich furniture to be trussed vp, and to be sent by sea to *CONSTANTINOPLE*. So leauing one of his captaines with a thousand horsemen in garrison at *MAGNESIA*, he returned againe to *PRVSA* with as much speed as he came from thence: verily supposing that his brother was for safegard of his life, by sea fled into *ITALIE*. All this while *Bostanges*, *Selymus* his sonne in law, lying with a fleet of gallies vpon the coast of *IONIA*, had taken from *Corcutus* all hope of escaping by sea: so that he was faine to hide himselfe in a caue neere vnto the sea side not farre from *SMYRNA*, liuing in hope that after a few daies the fleet would depart, and so he should find some opportunitie to escape.

Selymus taketh the spoile of his brother Corcutus

After he had thus a great while in feare most miserably liued with countie crabs, and other like wild fruit (a poore diet for a man of state) and was with extreame necessitie enforced to send his man for reliefe to a poore shepherds cottage therby, he was by a country peasant discouered

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to *Casumes*, who with too much diligence sought after his life: and being by him apprehended, was carried towards the tyrant his brother at *P R V S A*.

Right welcome to *Selymus* was the report of his taking: who as soone as he vnderstood that he was within a daies journey of *P R V S A*, sent one *Kirengen-ogli* (who of his squint looke was called *Chior Zeinall*) to strangle him vpon the way, and to bring his dead bodie to *P R V S A*.

This captaine comming to *Corcutus* in the dead time of the night, and awaking him out of his sleepe, told him his heauie message; how that he was sent from his brother *Selymus* to see him executed, which must as he said presently be done. *Corcutus* exceedingly troubled with these heauie newes, and fetching a deepe sigh, desired the captaine so long to spare his life, vntill hee might write a few short lines vnto his brother *Selymus*. Which poore request being granted, he called for pen and paper, and readily in Turkish verse (for he had spent all his time in studie) reprooued his brother of most horrible crueltie; vpbraiding him, that he had not onely most disloyally thrust his father out of his empire, but also most vnnaturally deprived him of life, of whom he had before receiued the same: and not so content, had most tyrannously slaine his brothers children; and now like an vnmmercifull wretch thirsted after the guiltlesse blood of himselfe, and *Achomates* his brethren. At last concluding his letters with many a bitter curse, he besought God to take of him iust reuenge for so much innocent blood by him most vnnaturally spilt. And when he had thus much written, he requested the captaine, that it might together with his dead bodie be deliuered vnto *Selymus*. So without any farther delay he was according to the tyrants commaund presently strangled. The next day after, when the dead bodie was presented vnto *Selymus*, he vncouered the face thereof to be sure that it was he, and seeing a paper in his hand, tooke it from him: but when he had read it (for all his cruell nature and stony heart) he burst out into teares; protesting, that he was neuer so much grieved or troubled with any mans death as with his: for which cause, he commaunded generall mourning to be made for him in the court, and with princely solemnitie buried his bodie. Three daies after, he caused fiftene of those diligent searchers who first found *Corcutus*, to haue their heads struck off, and their bodies to be flung into the sea, saying, That if he were by any extremitie driuen to flie and hide his head, they would not stick to serue him in like manner as they had done his brother.

Now of all the posteritie of *Baiazet* remained none aliue to trouble the cruel tyrants thoughts but only *Achomates* and his two sons: who vpon the approach of the Spring, set forward with his armie from *A M A S I A*, excited by the often letters of his friends, who assured him that *Selymus* might vpon the sudden be easily oppressed, if hee would with all expedition come to *P R V S A*; forasmuch as the Ianizaries and European horsemen, the vndoubted strength of his armie, were at that time absent, and he himselfe as one hated both of God and man, could not in so sudden and v unexpected danger tell what he were best to doe, or which way to turne himselfe: wherefore they willed him without delay to hasten his comming, and not to expect the milder weather of the Spring, least in the meane time *Selymus* should call together his dispersed forces: God (they said) did oftentimes offer vnto men, both the opportunitie and means to doe great matters, if they had the power to lay hold thereon, and therefore he should do well now by celeritie & courage to seeke to better his euill fortune, which but a little before had bereft him of his fathers kingdom: for if Sommer were once come on, he must either gaine the victorie by plain battell, which would be a hard matter, or else get him packing out of *C A P A D O C I A* and all *A S I A* the lesse.

Achomates, who before had promised vnto himselfe better successe, as well for the great strength he had of his owne, as for the new supply of horsemen he had procured from *Hysmaell* the Persian king; but especially for the hope he had, that *Selymus* generally hated for his late crueltie, should in the time of the battell be forsaken of his owne fouldiours; yeelded to the persuasion of his friends, who with many pleasing words set before his eies glorious things, easie to be spoken, but hard to be effected. Wherefore, when he was come into *G A L A T I A* with somewhat more than fiftene thousand horsemen, hauing for hast left his footmen by easie marches to come after him: *Selymus* aduertised of his comming, by speedie messengers sent for his horsemen to *P R V S A*. In the meane time whiles he is leuying other common fouldiours, and respecting the rest of his forces; fortune, which alwaies fauoured his attempts, did then also auert the danger prepared for him by the vnfaithfulnesse of his followers, and shewed vnto him the open way to victorie. For *Achomates* secret friends which were in *Selymus* his campe, continuing sinne in their good will towards him, did earnestly by letters perswade him (being already set forward,

ward, and now come as farre as *P A P H L A G O N I A*) to make hast, and to come before *Selymus* his forces were come together: for that he had sent for the Ianizaries and European horsemen, and did with all speed and diligence make all the preparation hee could possibly; which for all that would all come too late, if he should vpon the suddaine come vpon him before hee were provided. Which letters being by chance intercepted, gaue *Selymus* certaine knowledge both of his brothers purpose and comming, together with the treason entended against him by his owne seruants: wherefore executing them who had writ those letters, he in their names caused others to the same effect to be written to *Achomates*, perswading him with all speed possible to come still on, and not to stay for his footmen, for that *Selymus* might easily bee oppressed with a few troupes of horsemen, if *Achomates* would with speed but come & shew himselfe vnto his friends and fauourites: who vpon the first signall of battaile would raise a tumult in the armie, and vpon the suddain kill *Selymus*, vnaduisedly going too and fro in the battaile. Which letters so written, *Selymus* caused to be signed with the seales of them whom he had before executed, & found means to haue them cunningly deliuered to *Achomates*, as if they had been sent from his friends: who giuing credit to the same, and presuming much vpon his owne strength, doubted not to leaue his footmen, who followed easily after him, vnder the conduct of *Amurath* his sonne; and came and encamped with his horsemen neere vnto the mountain *H O R M I N I V S*, vpon the bank of the riuer *Parthemius*. *Selymus* also departed from *P R V S A*, and hauing receiued into his armie ten thousand Ianizaries (but a little before come ouer the strait) sent before *Sinan Bassa*, Gemie tenthousand Ianizaries (but a little before come ouer the strait) sent before *Sinan Bassa*, Gemie tenthousand Ianizaries, to know & make prooue of the strength of his enemies. The *Bassa* nerall of his Asian horsemen, to know & make prooue of the strength of his enemies. The *Bassa* not knowing as yet where *Achomates* lay, neither of what force he was, being deceived by the darkenesse of the morning, fell into a place of disaduantage, where he was set vpon by *Achomates*, and hauing lost seuen thousand of his men, was glad with other eight thousand which were left, to flie backe vnto *Selymus*.

For all this losse, was not *Selymus* discomfited, or doubtfull of the victorie, but forthwith marched on forward to the riuer *Elata*, which runneth directly out of the mountaine *H O R M I N I V S* into *P O N T V S*, watering most large fields vpon the right hand, which at this day are called the plaines of the new land. So did *Achomates* also, who although he knew his brother to be every way too strong for him: yet being encouraged with the late victorie, and in hope that in his friends in *Selymus* his armie (whom he vainely supposed to haue bene yet liuing) would in the very battaile doe some notable matter for him, and that victorie would follow his just quarrell; resolved neither to retire backe, neither to expect the comming of the rest of his armie. The riuer was betwixt the two campees, and the number of both armies certainly discovered: yet could not *Achomates* (to whom the open fields offered a safe retreat vnto the rest of his armie) possessed with a fatall madnesse, be perswaded (considering the greatnesse of the danger) in time to provide for the safetie of himselfe and his armie, carried headlong (as it seemed) by incuitable destinie to his fatall destruction, which presently after ensued.

Selymus a little before the going downe of the Sun, with his armie passed ouer the riuer *Elata*, and gaue generall commaundement through all his campe, that euery man against the next day should bee readie for battaile: and in a wood not far off placed a thousand horsemen in ambush, vnder the leading of *Canoglis* his wiues brother, a valiant young gentleman, whom his father had a little before sent from *T A V R I C A* vnto his sonne in law with a chosen companie of Tartarian horsemen: vnto him *Selymus* gaue in charge, that when the battaile was joyned, he should shew himselfe with his horsemen vpon the backe of his enemies, and there to charge them.

As soone as it was day, *Selymus* in a great open field put his armie in order of battaile, placing his horsemen in two wings, so that all his pearemen were in the right wing, and the archers and carbines in the left: in the maine battaile stood the Ianizaries with the rest of the footmen. On the other side *Achomates*, hauing no footmen, deuided his horsemen into two wings also.

Whilest both armies stood thus ranged, expecting but the signall of battaile, a messenger came from *Achomates* to *Selymus*, offering in his masters name, to trie the equitie of their quarrell in plaine combat hand to hand: which if he should refuse, he then tooke both God & the world to witnesse, that *Selymus* was the onely cause of all the guiltlesse blood to be shed in the battaile, and not he: whereunto *Selymus* answered, that he was not to trie his quarrell at the appointment of *Achomates*: and though he could be content so to doe, yet would not his soldiors suffer him so to aduenture his person and their owne safetie: and so with that answer returned the messenger

Treason against
Selymus discovered.

Sinan Bassa discomfited by Achomates.

Selymus with his
armie possesseth
the other wing.

The lamentable
death of Corcutus.

ger backe againe to his master, giuing him for his reward a thousand aspers.

Achomates hauing receiued this answer, without further delay charged the right wing of his brothers armie, who valiantly receiued the first charge: but when they were come to the sword, and that the matter was to be tried by handie blowes, they were not able longer to endure the force of the Persian horsemen; who being well armed both horse and man, had before requested to be placed in the foremost ranks, by whose valour the right wing of *Selymus* his armie was disordered, and not without great losse enforced to retire backe vpon their fellows. Which thing *Selymus* beholding, did what he might by all meanes to encourage them againe, and presently brought on the left wing with their arrowes and pistols, in stead of them that were fled: and at the same time came on with the *Ianizaries* also, who with their shot enforced *Achomates* his horsemen to retire. *Achomates* himselfe carefully attending euery danger, with greater courage than fortune came in with fresh troupes of horsemen, by whose valour the battell before declining was againe renewed, and the victorie made doubtfull: but in the furie of this battell whilst he was bearing all downe before him, and now in great hope of the victorie, *Canoglu* with his Tartarian horsemen rising out of ambush, came behind him, and with great outcries caused their enemies then in the greatest heat of their fight to turne vpon them: at which time also the footmen standing close together assailed them afront, and the horsemen whom the Persians had at first put to flight, now moued with shame, were againe returned into the battaile: so that *Achomates* his small armie was beset, and hardly assailed on euery side. In fine his ensignes being overthrowne, and many of his men slaine, the rest were faine to betake themselves to flight. Where *Achomates* hauing lost the field, and now too late seeking to saue himselfe by flight, fell with his horse into a ditch, which the raine falling the day before, had filled with water and myre: and being there knowne and taken by his enemies, could not obtaine so much fauour at their hands as to bee presently slaine, but was referred to the farther pleasure of his cruell brother. *Selymus* vnderstanding of his taking, sent *Kirengen* (the same squint-eyed captain which had before strangled *Corentus*) who with a bow string strangled him also. His dead bodie was forthwith brought to *Selymus*, and was afterwards by his commaundement in royall manner buried with his ancestors in *PRVSA*.

Now *Amurat*, *Achomates* his sonne, vnderstanding vpon the way by the Persian horsemen (who ferred together, had againe made themselves way through the Turkes armie) of the losse of the field and the taking of his father, returned backe againe to *AMASIA*: and there after good deliberation, resolved with his brother to betake themselves both to flight: he with the Persian horsemen passing ouer the riuer *Euphrates*, fled vnto *Hysmaell* the Persian king: but *Aladin* the younger brother passing ouer the mountaine *AMANVS* in *CILICIA*, fled into *SIRIA*, and so to *Campson Gaurus* the great Sultan of *ÆGYPT*.

After this victorie, *Selymus* hauing in short time and with little trouble brought all the lesser *ASIA* vnder his obedience, and there at his pleasure disposed of all things, determined to haue returned to *CONSTANTINOPLE*: but vnderstanding that the plague was hot there, hee changed his purpose, and passing ouer at *CALLIPOLIS* and so traueilling through *GRECIA*, came to *HADRIANOPLE*, where hee spent all the rest of that Summer, and all the Winter following: and afterward when the mortalitie was ceased, returned to *CONSTANTINOPLE*; where it was found, that an hundred and threescore thousand had there died of the late plague.

Hysmaell the Persian king, whose fame had then filled the world, hearing of the arrivall of *Amurat*, sent for him, and demanded of him the cause of his comming. The distressed young prince, who but of late had lost his father, together with the hope of so great an empire, &c. now glad for safeguard of his life to flee into strange countries, oppressed with sorrow, by his heauie countenance and abundance of teares, more than by words, expressed the cause of his comming: yet in short strained speech, declared vnto him, how that his father, his vncle, with the rest of his cousins, all princes of great honour, had of late beene cruellly murdered by the vnnmercifull tyrant *Selymus*: who with like furie sought also after the life of himselfe and his brother, the poore remainders of the *Othoman* familie, who to saue their liues, were both glad to flee, his brother into *ÆGYPT*, and himselfe to the feet of his imperiall maiestie.

Hysmaell moued with compassion, and deeming it a thing well becomming the greatnesse of his fame, to take the poore exiled prince into his protection and to giue him releefe, willed him to be of good comfort, and promised him aid. And the more to assure him thereof, shortly after

gaue

gaue him one of his owne daughters in marriage. For it was thought, that if *Selymus* for his tyrannie become odious to the world, should by any means miscarie (as with tyrants it commonly falleth out) that then in the *Othoman* familie, sore shaken with his vnnaturall crueltie, none was to be preferred before this poore prince *Amurat*: besides that, it was supposed, that if hee should inuade him with an armie out of *PERSIA*, that vpon the first sight, all the lesser *ASIA*, mourning for the vnworthie death of *Achomates*, would at once reuolt from him, who for his crueltie and shamefull murders had worthely deserued to bee hated together both of God and man.

Wherefore in the beginning of the Spring *Hysmaell* furnished *Amurat* his new sonne in law with ten thousand horsemen, willing him to passe ouer the riuer of *Euphrates* at *ARSENAGA*, and to enter into *CAPADOCIA*, as well to make prooue how the people of that countrey were affected towards him, as of the strength of the enemy: after whom he sent *Vsta-Ogli*, the most famous cheefestaine amongst the Persians, with twentie thousand horsemen more, with charge, That he should still follow *Amurat* within one dayes journey: and he himselfe with a farre greater power stayed behind in *ARMENIA*, doubting to want victuall if he should haue led so great an armie through those vast barren and desolate places, whereby hee must of necessity passe.

Amurat marching through the lesser *ARMENIA*, and entering into the borders of *CAPADOCIA*, had diuers townes yielded vnto him by his friends; some others hee tooke by force, which he either sacked or els quite rased; and brought such a generall feare vpon the inhabitants of the province, that the people submitting themselves vnto him all the way as he went, it was thought he would haue gone directly to *AMASIA*, had not *Chendemus* (an old warlike captain) whom *Selymus* had left for his lieutenant at *ASIA*, with a great armie come to meet him at *SABASTIA*, which at this day is called *SIVAS*. This *Chendemus* had also long before aduertised *Selymus* both of the preparation and comming of the Persians, as soone as hee had learned by his espials that they were passed the riuer *Euphrates*. Vpon which news *Selymus* came presently ouer into *ASIA*, and commaunding all his forces to meet together at *PRVSA*, had with wonderful celeritie leuied thereabout fortie thousand common souldiours. Which so soone as *Amurat* vnderstood, as well by such prisoners as he had taken, as by aduertisement from his friends, although he was very desirous to haue fought with *Chendemus*, yet doubting that if *Selymus* should with his wonted celeritie come against him, he should be entangled in the straits of the mountaine *ANTITAVRVS*, he retired backe againe to *Vsta-Ogli*. But *Selymus* who all that yeare had in his haughtie thoughts been plotting some such notable exploit as were worthie his greatness, standing in doubt whether he should by sea and land inuade *HUNGARIE*, the *RHODES*, or *ITALIE*, at that time sore shaken with ciuile wars: hauing now so fit an occasion giuen him by the Persian (to the great joy of all Christendome) conuerted himselfe wholly vnto the East, and in thirte dayes march came to *ARSENAGA*. Where joyning his armie with *Chendemus*, and in thirte dayes march came to *ARSENAGA*. Where joyning his armie with *Chendemus*, when he vnderstood that his enemies hauing harried the countrey, were againe retired; prickt forward with the greefe of the iniurie, and desite of reuenge, with hope of victorie hee resolved to follow after them foot by foot, and forthwith to enter into *ARMENIA* the greater, the principall province of the Persian kingdom.

But the difficulties of this notable expedition, which were in counsell propounded by them which had best knowledge of those countries, were great and many, all which by his owne good hap and inuincible courage, hee himselfe afterwards overcame: for the souldiours which had in short time already marched by land out of *ILLYRIA*, *EPHRS*, and *MACEDONIA*, into *CAPADOCIA*, must of necessity in this long expedition take vpon them new labours: they were to endure the sharpe and pinching cold of the huge mountaine *TAVRVS*, and by and by after the most vehement and scorching heat in the plaines of *ARMENIA* the lesser, with extreme thirst, hunger, and most desperate want of all things; and well the more, for that the Persians in their retreat spoiling the countrey as they went, had vtterly destroyed all that might serue for the vse of man, of purpose to leaue nothing vnto their enemies, but want of all things, if they should pursue them: besides that, his most expert captaines stood in no small doubt of the pettie princes of *ARMENIA* the lesse, and the mountaine king *Aladenles*, whom they were to leaue be- hind them at their backs, without any great assurance of their friendship, who they well knew would faile them, if any thing should happen otherwise than well to *Selymus*, either in battaile,

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or

Achomates
strangled.

Amurat and
Aladin, the son
of *Achomates*,
flee the one into
PRVSA, and the
other into *Ægypt*.

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Amurat spoileth
Capadocia.

Selymus resol-
ueth to inuade
the Persian.

mountaine **PERIARDO**. This great mountaine, famous by the rising of two great and notable rivers out of it, is for the wonderfull fertilitie of all things, of the barbarous people called **LI PRVS**, which is to say, fruitfull: for Euphrates and Araxis there running out of two diuerse and contrarie marshes, with many armies, water and enrich that champaine and drie country: *Selymus* hauing made so great a journey, and yet not able so much as by report to vnderstand what was become of *Hyfmaell* his great and populous armie, which he knew was but a little before departed out of **CAPADOCIA**: as a man in doubt, and halfe afraid, stayed and encamped his armie at the head of the riuer Euphrates: and from thence sent out his scouts euery way, if happily they could intercept some which might giue him knowledge of his enemies. But the Armenians, whether it were for feare of the comming of the Turks, or that *Hyfmaell* their king had so commaunded, were all before fled out of that part of the countrey whereby *Selymus* was to passe with his armie, and hauing forsaken their houses, had carried away with them, or els by fire destroyed whatsoeuer might serue for the vse of man.

Selymus sendeth out his scouts, who returne with bad news.

The Turkish scouts after they had by the space of two dayes scoured vp and downe the countrey, returned backe againe to *Selymus*, not hauing taken so much as any one mans shewing vnto him; that all things were destroyed before him, and nothing left but wide fields and a most desolate countrey, without any appearance of man or beast: and that they were of opinion, that either their Armenian guides were deceived in the way, or els had of purpose brought them into such desert places, whereas wanting pasture for their horses, and food for men, they must needs together perish with hunger. Which their present feare was greatly encreased by the weak kings whom they had left behind them at their backes; but especially *Aladeules*, who either for shame or feare had a few dayes at the first holpen the Turks with victuals, but after they were further entered into **ARMENIA**, performed nothing of that hee had before most faithfully promised: seeking therein the fauour of *Hyfmaell*, who hee thought would with the same good fortune vanquish the Turks, that he had not long before the greatest part of the East. *Selymus* perplexed in mind, began now to suspect treason, to feare famine, to dread the deserts and forsaken places, and with greefe of mind to call to remembrance all that old *Chendemus* his faithfull counsellour had before most truly told him: for all that, he shewed himselfe vnto his souldiours with cheerefull countenance, as a man nothing dismayed: which his firme constancie seemed to promise vnto their discouraged minds good successe, with speedie victorie. Wherefore calling vnto him his guides, and such as best knew the countrey; and vnderstanding by them, that on the right hand beyond the mountaine **PERIARDO** lay the most fruitfull countrey of all **ARMENIA**, hee with his armie, and compassing the hill toward the North, turned downe toward the riuer Araxes, and about the citie of **COY** passed his armie ouer the riuer, his footmen by little bridges, and his horsemen by foords: for Araxes, vntill it haue receiued such riuers as fall into it out of the marshes of the **PERIARDO**, runneth but with a small streame, and is in some place easie to be passed ouer.

Selymus passeth ouer Araxes.

Selymus had scarcely well got ouer the riuer, and encamped his armie; when *Vsta-Ogli*, who hauing joynd his forces with *Amurath*, lying encamped not farre off; and fearing least the citie of **COY** and the vnprovided citifens should by the sudden comming of the enemy be oppressed, quickly rife with his armie, and set forwards to meet with the Turks: for that citie of all others in that countrey, for fresh fountaines and riuers most pleasant, wherein the Persian kings for the great plentie of all manner of fruit, and wholesomenesse of the aire, leauing **TAVRIS**, were wont to spend most part of the Summer, had then in it many rich citifens and sumptuous buildings; which *Vsta-Ogli* thought good betimes to rescue, and not with dishonour to loose that rich citie, looking as it were vpon it, and leauing it vnto the enemy, to suffer him there to refresh his hunger-starued souldiours with plentie of all things: *Cassinus* an Armenian boine, and present in those warres, did by many probabilities (as *Iouius* writeth) shew vnto him, that this citie of **COY** was in ancient time that most famous citie called **ARTAXATA**, which *Domitius Corbulo* destroyed. Neither did *Hyfmaell* himselfe (although he had but a little before sent the greatest part of his forces against the Coraxeni, who were then risen vp against him in rebellion; as he made no great reckoning of the Turks, or euer thought that they durst haue come so farre into **ARMENIA**) make any delay, but forthwith, as soone as he had heard of the comming of *Selymus*, came also in person himselfe vnto his armie.

By chance *Vsta-Ogli* (who contrarie to all mens expectation had vntill then shunned to fight,

or come in sight of his enemies, of purpose with lesse danger and losse of men, to ouerthrow them afterwards, being sore weakened and almost spent with long trauell and want of victuals) lay then encamped neere the citie, when as the Turkes scouts, vpon the comming of *Hyfmaell*, perceiued by the great rising of the dust, and by the neighing of the Persian horses, that some greater power was at hand. Which so soone as it was noised in the Turkish campe, they began to reioice exceedingly, and to conceiue the first hope both of their safetie and victorie; glad, that now meeting with their enemies, they should either by victorie turne their labour, toile, famine, and extremities wherewith they had of long time stricken, into ease and plentie of all things, or els by honourable death end all their miseries at once: for many of the horsemen, especially of them that came out of **EVR OPE**, whose horses were starued for want of forrage, and the common footmen spent with long trauell, & greuously troubled with the flix (who traueilling in the extreame heat of the Sunne, had for most part liued vpon crabs and other wild fruits, with a bad supping made of meale and vineger, and almost despairing to get the sight of their enemies) began now to die in euery corner.

Hyfmaell as soone as he was come within sight of his enemies, reposing great confidence as well in the valour of his souldiours as in his owne rare fortune, the more to terrifie them, thought it good forthwith to giue them battaile: whereupon he sent an herald vnto *Selymus*, accompanied with certaine skilfull souldiours, which should in best sort they could take view of the number and force of their enemies, of their artillerie, and in what sort they lay encamped: and to tell him, That for as much as hee had no title vnto **ARMENIA**, nor that the Turkes had at any time claimed any interest therein, he could not but maruell, why he had against all right entered with his armie into his dominion: but if hee happily vpon a vaine presumption, to the imitation of *Alexander* of **MACEDON**, should thinke so much of the world his owne as hee could by the sword and his owne fortune win, hee should then make himselfe readie against the next day to make proofe of his owne fortune and the forces of others, not inferiour to his owne.

Whereunto *Selymus* answered, That the fresh remembrance of the manifold injuries done to the Turkes by the Persians, was such, as might giue him just cause to take vp armes: for as much as long agoe both his grandfather *Mahomet* the Great, and his vnckle *Cassimes*, and euen of late his father *Baiazet*, and he himselfe also in his warres against his brother *Achomates*, had receiued great wrong and dishonour from the Persians. All which things, although they were of themselves important, yet he esteemed not of them as sufficient causes of warre, but only sought after his enemy *Amurath*, his brothers sonne, who had of late spoiled **CAPADOCIA**: whom if he would quietly and friendly deliuer vnto him, as the mutuall lawes of amitie and friendship amongst princes for the maintenance and preseruacion of their estates and kingdomes required, then hee would withdraw his forces, and peaceably returne into his kingdom: otherwise, hee threatened with fire and sword to destroy, not the frontiers of **ARMENIA**, but euen the heart of **PERSIA**. And so dismissing the herald, both the armies for that day lay still in their trenches, expecting the dreadfull euent of battaile.

The next day *Selymus* by perswasion of his captaines brought his armie into the open field, and in order of battaile set forward against his enemies, which lay about two miles off, thinking that *Hyfmaell*, a prince of so great name, would without delay accept of battaile: yet what strength the Persian king was of, what number of men he had, what manner of horsemen, how armed, and with what weapons, hee could not certainly learne: for beside that the Persians are by nature ingenious and subtil, the souldiours generally so reuerenced and loued *Hyfmaell* their king, that no one was found to haue gone from him to the Turke; whereas many reuolted from *Selymus* to him, as it was afterwards learned of the Persian captiues.

Selymus, who had at that time fourescore thousand horsemen vnder his ensignes, placed *Cassinus* his lieutenant Generall of **EVR OPE**, with his European horsemen in the right wing; and *Sinan Bassa* with his Asian horsemen in the left: and before them both, the *Acanziz* (which are voluntarie horsemen, the forerunners of the Turkes armie) who in hope of spoyle follow the Turkes warres out of all countries: in the middle battaile hee placed the *Asapi* or common souldiours; which bare and halfe-naked people, as men of little worth or estimation, are commonly thrust into the front of the Turkes battailes, to receiue the first furie of the enemy, and to blunt their swords, more than for any other good seruice: directly behind them he bestowed his great artillerie, guarded with foure thousand horsemen: last of all followed himselfe with his

his chosen pentioners and Ianizaries compassed about with small field-peece and his carriages, as with a double trench: for hee had (as their manner is) so enuironned himselfe round with his saddled cammels, made fast one to another with long chaines, that they stood him in stead of a strong trench, from whence he might speedily relieue any part of his distressed armie; and in case of extremitie, being in the middle of his strength, he might as out of a sure fortresse represse the furious assault of his enemies. Hee also commaunded his footmen in the vauward of his battaile, that vpon the approach of the enemies horsemen they should speedily withdraw themselves aside into two parts, leauing space for the great ordinance which was placed behind them to play in the middle betweene them. On the contrarie part, *Hyfmaell*, who by the Turkes fugitiues vnderstood all the deuises of his enemies, calling vnto him the cheefe commanders of his armie, shewed vnto them, that there was no doubt of the victorie, so that they could shun the furie of the great artillerie: which he assured them would easily be done, if when they saw the Turkish footmen deuide themselves, they would also in like manner withdraw themselves into two parts, and giue place to the furie of the great ordinance: for which purpose hee caused two great ensignes to be displayed, wherunto they should at the time appointed retire, the one for himselfe and those whom he conducted, the other for *Vita-Ogli*, and the rest of his armie.

Hyfmaell (as *Iouius* reporteth) had in his armie about thirtie thousand horsemen, without any footmen, amongst whom were ten thousand men at armes, resolute gentlemen, of great experience, all gallantly mounted vpon courageous barbed horses, and themselves brauely armed both for the shew and the terrour of the enemy; their weapons were a good lance, a sure scimitar, and a horsemans mace: the rest were armed with strong cuirasses and headpeece, and were either archers on horsebacke, or else vsed light horsemens stauces, made of Ash after the Spanish fashion, wherewith they ferued at the halfe staffe. As for gunnes they had none, in which thing onely, and number of men, they were inferior to the Turkes. But such was the inuincible courage and noble minds of the Persians, that condemning the huge multitude of their enemies (who were in number about three hundred thousand) & making no great reckoning of the great artillerie, they doubted not with so few to giue them battaile.

Hyfmaell hauing giuen the signall of battaile, came on with his armie, exhorting his souldiers then to remember the honour they had long before gotten in many battailes, and courageously to follow him their soueraigne, whom they by their worthie seruice and many victories, had made the greatest monarch of the East, telling them, that they should haue now to do but with naked men, whose weapons were but weake stauces and light targuets, and their horses little poore jades, almost dead with hunger, neuer able to abide the first charge of his valiant men at armes.

On the other side, *Selymus* perceiuing the comming of his enemies by the rising of the dust, caused knowledge to be giuen through his armie by his captaines and officers, that the time of battaile which they had so long wished for, was now come; wherein if they would worthily acquite themselves against those their proud enemies, they should to their immortall fame extend the Turkish empire from the Persian sea vnto the mountaine *Caucasus*: but if they cowardly forgetting their ancient prowesse, should faint in the time of the battaile, they were not then to thinke by any meanes to escape by flight backe againe through those great plaines and desolate countries; where they should by the way either shamefully perish, or else to their perpetuall infamie be taken prisoners, and as base slaues, during their liues be enforced to serue the Persian women: for as much as beside the great distance of the place, both the great river *Euphrates*, and the huge mountaine *Taurus*, and the faithlesse king *Adadenles*, who had shut vp all the passages, did cut off all hope from them, if they should be overcome, by any meanes possible to escape backe againe into *Capadocia*.

When *Hyfmaell* was come neere with his armie, and the *Asapi* vpon signe giuen deuiding themselves, made place for the great artillerie to play, as was before appointed; hee also presently deuiding his horsemen, charged the right wing of the Turkes armie, with such force, that after a most terrible fight betwixt the halfe armed Turkes, and the valiant Persian men at armes, *Casim Bassa* the great commander of the European horsemen, with the formost of that wing, being slaine, and many more after them, hee enforced all that wing to retire vnto that place where *Selymus* himselfe with the Ianizaries stood. On the other side, *Vita-Ogli* hauing receiued no little harme by the Turkes great ordinance, because he had not so speedily cleered himselfe and his

followers of that danger, as had *Hyfmaell*; charged the Asian horsemen in the left wing, and there in bloudie battell made great slaughter of the enemy, but not with like good hap as did *Hyfmaell*: for whiles he most courageously in the formost rankes assailed his enemies, he was stricke with a small shot and slaine. With whose fall the Turkes were greatly encouraged, insomuch as that they which but now were glad to giue ground, and had lost the third part of that wing, began a fresh to renew the battell, and valiantly to withstand the Persians; and with their harquebussiers (wherewith the Persian horsemen were wonderfully terrified) draue them headlong vpon the Turkes common footmen. The Persians whether it were forced by necessitie for that they had lost so great a commander, and not well able to gouerne their horses terrified with the thundring shot, or else for that the open side of the footmen presented vnto them greater place of aduantage, setting themselves together brake through the middle of the battell of those Turkish footmen, and bearing them downe before them with a mightie slaughter, came to the great ordinance and there slew the canoniers, who discharging their field peece at all aduentures, in that great medly made a foule slaughter, as well of their owne men as of their enemies. And so without stop (as victorious conquerours) made way through the midst of their enemies; vntill they came to the right wing: where *Hyfmaell* was still hardly charging the European horsemen, who hauing before lost *Casim* their Generall, and being many of them slaine or wounded, were already enforced to retire; but now charged afresh vpon the side, had much adoe to endure the furie of their enemies, but as men in extreame danger, were glad to crie to *Selymus* for helpe.

In this hard distresse, *Selymus* in two places opened his carriages, wherewith he stood as it were entrenched, and presently sent out part of his horsemen. And by and by turning himselfe vnto his Ianizaries, said, *This daies victorie is referred (most worthie souldiours) vnto your valour and labour: wherfore now valiantly set forward, and as fresh and courageous men, assaile your wearied enemies; their horses are all on a water with sweat, and the men themselves faint vnder the weight of their armour.* But yet for all that *Selymus* could say, the Ianizaries were not verie forward, but stood still, as men willing in so great a danger to keepe themselves within the safegard of their munition. Wherefore whilest they at their leisure set forward, the Persians in the midst of the heat of this victorie, compassing in the European horsemen, slew them downe right, *Selymus* looking on and wishing in vaine to helpe them. *Fabritius Carrelius* great master of the *Romanes*, who of all these things had certaine intelligence, writ to *Leo* the Tenth then bishop of *Rome*, that the Ianizaries refused to be commaunded by *Selymus*, and were not by any persuasion or entreatie to be enduced to relieue the distressed European horsemen; but as men distrustful the euent of the battell, chose rather in their strength to expect the successe thereof, than with most manifest danger to expose themselves vnto the violence of the Persian horsemen, which had as a tempest ouerborne the vanguard of the Turkish footmen.

The Persians were now readie on euerie side to haue assailed *Selymus* in his greatest strength: when *Sinan Bassa*, although the wing he led was sore rent and weakned, yet following the Persians through the midst of the heaps of the slaine footmen, came in, in good time for *Selymus*; and with certaine fresh troups which had escaped the furie of *Vita-ogli*, restored the battell before almost lost: but especially by the inuincible courage of *Alus-beg* and *Mahomet* his brother, disceded of the honourable familie of the *Molcozzij*, which for nobilitie amongst the Turkes is accounted next vnto the *Othomans*; both of them for courage resembling their warlike father *Molcozzius*, famous for that wofull expedition he made into *F.R.IV.L.I* against the Venetians in the raigne of *Baiazet*. *Selymus* also not yet discouraged but still in hope, commaunded all the great ordinance wherewith he was enuironed, which he had referred as his last refuge, to be discharged: by the violence whereof, such slaughter was made, as well of his owne men as of his enemies, mingled together, that what for dust, what for smoake, and thundring of the artillerie, hauing on both sides almost lost the vse of sight and hearing; and their horses being so terrified with the thundring report of the great ordinance, that they were not now to be ruled, the battell was broken off, the victorie yet doubtfull. The Turkish histories to expresse the terrour of this day, number it amongst their dismall daies, tearing it *The onely day of Doome*.

Hyfmaell in this furious battell, hauing receiued a wound vnder his left shoulder with a small shot; by persuation of his friends withdrew himselfe to haue his wound searched: which thing vndoubtedly was the safegard both of *Selymus* and his army. For the Persians by and by follow-

Hyfmaell with thirtie thousand Persians giveth battell to Selymus with three hundred thousand Turkes.

The great and mortall battell between Selymus and Hyfmaell.

The terrour of the battell between Selymus and Hyfmaell.

ing their king, left the victorie now in all mens opinion almost gotten. But after that *Hyssmaell* perceived the wound was not deepe, for that the strength of his armour had so broken the force of the shot, that it pierced not farre into his bodie, he was about to haue charged the Turks afresh: but vnderstanding of the death of *Vsta-ogli*, in whom for his singular experience in martiall affaires, he had reposed his greatest confidence; and his capitaines also perswading him not to make so light reckoning of his wound, the griefe whereof he yet felt not, being warme, but to haue regard to his owne health: he in seemly order softly marched away in such sort, that his departure had no resemblance of flight. And passing by the citie of *TAVRIS*, willed the chiefe of the citizens to open the gates of the citie to *Selymus* (if he should come thither) and to receiue his garrisons, rather than by vaine constancie to fall into vtter destruction: and so marched himselfe into the confines of *MEDIA*.

But the Turkes entangled with many difficulties, hauing no hearts for feare, nor strength for wearinesse to pursue their enemies; yet comming to the Persian tents, tooke them without resistance: where beside the rich paulions wrought with needle worke of silke and gold, and much other pretious furniture, many noble ladies and gentlewomen were found, which after the manner of the Persians had followed their husbands in those warres; whom *Selymus* caused to be all freely set at libertie vntouched, excepting one of the wiues of *Hyssmaell* whom he detained and gaue her in marriage to one of his Bassaes. Some which were present at this battell, reported that amongst the heaps of them which were slaine, were found the dead bodies of diuers Persian women, which being armed, and following their husbands, died with them in the battell; whom *Selymus* caused to be honestly buried.

This was that notable battell fought in the *CALDEAN* fields neere vnto the citie of *COR*, betwixt these two great princes, the seauenth day of August in the yeare of our Lord 1514. In which battell *Selymus* lost about thirtie thousand men, amongst whom was *Casan Bassa* his great lieutenant in *EYROR*, seauen Sanzackes, in which were the two *Malcoo* *Zian* brethren, who labouring the one to rescue the other were both togither slaine. Beside his common footmen of whom he made least reckoning, he lost most part of his Illirian, Macedonian, Scutian, Epirot, Thessalian, and Thracian horsemen, the vndoubted flower and strength of his army, which were in that mortall battell almost all slaine, or grievously wounded.

Selymus for all this great losse, by the confession of his enemies hauing gotten the victorie, and receiuing embassadours from *COR* and the cities thereabout, and the great citie of *TAVRIS* promising to relieue him with whatsoever he needed, and to doe what else he should command: marched directly to *TAVRIS*, desiring both to see and possesse himselfe of that citie, as one of the chiefe pallaces of the Persian kings. This citie is two daies journey distant from *COR* where the battell was fought, and is probably supposed to be the famous citie called in ancient time *ECBATHANA*, about an hundred and fiftie miles distant from the *Caspian* sea. The citizens were readie at the comming of the Turkes, and brought them great store of victuals out of the gates of the citie, where *Selymus* had lodged his armie in the suburbs, thinking it no safetie to lodge within that great and populous citie; contenting himselfe to haue the gates thereof deliuered vnto him, which he kept with strong guard. Some report that *Selymus* durst not trust the Persians, and therefore neuer went into the citie but disguised in the habit of a common souldier. Yet some others say, that he did with great magnificence banquet in the stately pallace of the Persian king, and there had great discourse with them of *TAVRIS* concerning his late victorie. But whilest he thus staid at *TAVRIS*, and with himselfe purposed to spend that winter in *ARMENIA*; he called together his great capitaines and commanders of his armie, to know how they liked thereof: who fearing his displeasure, wholly referred themselves to his owne resolution. Onely *Mussapha* his chiefe Bassa chanced to say, That it were good that the minds of the Ianizaries and the other souldiours of the court should therein be knowne. Which his speech, *Selymus* tooke in such euill part, that he presently commanded him out of his sight, and deprived him of his greatest honour: and the more to disgrace him, sent one of his jesters after him, who in great scorne and derision comming behind him, cut off part of his tulipant that hung downe as the fashion was. But the Ianizaries vnderstanding the matter, and much offended with the indignitie offered vnto the great Bassa whom they deereley loued, rose vp altogether in armes, and told *Selymus* flatly, That they would not in any case winter so far from home in the enemies countrey: and therefore that it were best for him betime to consider of the matter, for that they

were resolutely set downe to forsake him if he would needs stay, and not with speed returne. *Selymus* much troubled with this insolencie of the Ianizaries, and hearing dayly, that *Hyssmaell* with new supplies out of *IBERIA*, *ALBANIA*, and *PARTHIA*, was comming vpon him with greater power than before; and considering withall, with what difficultie and danger hee had escaped in the late battaile, preferred rather by his good fortune and force of his great artillery, than the valour and prowess of his souldiours; and withall suspecting the multitude and strength of the *Taurians*, of whose fidelitie he could make no reckoning; he changed his former determination, and resolved to returne againe into *CAPADOCIA*: whereupon hauing contrarie to his promise exacted a great masse of money from them of *TAVRIS*, hee departed thence, carrying away with him three thousand families, the best artificers in that citie, especially such as were skillfull in making of armour and weapons, and so with speed retired towards the riuer *Euphrates*, a longer way than that whereby he came: fearing to returne againe by the head of *Araxis* and the mountaine *PERIABES*, for meeting the Iberian and Albanian horsemen, who were reported to be then comming against him.

Hyssmaell vnderstanding of his departure, followed after with as much speed as he could, leaving behind him for hast his carriages and such of his souldiours as were not able to endure so long and speedie a march: yet for all his hast (for so much as *Selymus* was gone a great way before him) he could not ouertake any part of his armie, vntill he was come to the great riuer *Euphrates*; where *Selymus* staying two dayes, and hauing made diuers little boats, was passing ouer his footmen: which because they were not sufficient for the speedie transportation of so great a multitude, many for hast swam ouer the riuer vpon bladders, and some aduentured to get ouer vpon the broken peeces of their carriages, which they had for that purpose burst in sunder. *Selymus* himselfe got ouer to the farther banke in a little boat, hauing before caused all his horsemen with their horses at once to take the riuer, of purpose to breake the violence of the streame, whereby his footmen and cammels with their burdens got ouer with lesse danger, and some of his field peeces were also with lesse difficultie transported. Yet for all the speed he could make, the Georgian horsemen, the forerunners of *Hyssmaell* his armie, being come within sight before the Turkes were all got ouer, raised such a feare and a stirre all alongst that side of the riuer, that two thousand of the Turkes were in their hastie passage there drowned, diuers field peeces left sticking in the mud, and much of their baggage carried away with the force of the riuer. The Georgians contenting themselves with such things as were left, pursued them no further: for the wheeles of the Turkes carriages entangled together with the violence of the streame, had staid a great part of the Turkish trash, floating in the riuer: and much more was in diuers places driuen vpon the shore, all which the Georgian horsemen easily drew out. *Hyssmaell* in the meane time rejoycing at nothing more; than that hauing chased away his enemies, hee had also recouered much of the great ordinance whereby he had before receiued so great hurt.

Selymus by speedie flight thus got out of the hands of the Persians, found his passing much more dangerous at the mountaine *ANTITAVRVS*, than he had before thought of: For *Aladeules* the mountaine king hauing now his fortune in contempt, and diligently waiting for his prey, had with his savage people before taken all the straight passages of that mountaine country; who euery night in the euish manner assailed the Turkes, as they with their weake and weakie companies passed through those rough and broken wayes: and robbing their carriages, presently fled into their haunts and places of refuge in the thicke woods and rockie mountains. *Aladeules* himselfe in the meane time, by whose fraud all this was done, euery day exusing himselfe, as if it had beene done against his will, by the rude mountaine people enured to such desperate robberies, whom neuerthelesse he said he would in short time severely chastise so soon as he could find the authors thereof. In the meane while, for fashion sake sending a little spare provision for certaine dayes, did euery night rob and spoile the Turkes by his souldiours, as they could take them in places of aduantage: Against which mischeefes *Selymus* could neither by policie, neither his souldiours by industrie prouide any sufficient remedie. Wherefore dissembling the injuries he dayly receiued, purposing to be thereof in time reuenged, together with the foule and trecherous dealing of that faithlesse king; holding on his way, he with much adoe came at length to *TRABZOND*, and from thence to *AMASIA*, where he spent that Winter in repairing his sore weakened armie, purposing with the first of the Spring to make warre vpon *Aladeules* and the mountaine people, who in his returne had done him so great harme and injurie.

Selymus in passing the riuer *Euphrates*, receiued great losse.

In

The Persian tents taken by the Turkes.

The Ianizaries in mutinie against *Selymus*.

In this sort *Iouius*, one of the great historiographers of that time, reporteth the aforesaid wars betwixt *Hyfmaell* and *Selymus*, whose credit in that matter other writers haue since for most part followed. Howbeit, *Jo. Ant. Menauinus*, a Genoway, who serued in these warres, doth in his booke concerning the Turkish affaires, dedicated to the French king, much otherwise report the same: which to satisfie the desirous reader, I haue thought good here in few words to set down, as it is by himselfe reported.

The former historie as it is reported by *Jo. Ant. Menauinus* a Genoway, presents as the doing thereof.

Selymus (saith he) with his armie in number about three hundred thousand men, being come to the riuer *Euphrates*, found the bridge broken downe by his nephew *Amurat*, and his enemies encamped in conuenient place on the farther side of the riuer, with their forces greatly increased by new supplies lately sent from the Persian king: so that there was then in the Persian armie about ninetie thousand men horse and foot, the horsemen for most part furnished with two horses apeece for seruice: and though *Selymus* did what hee might, to know whether the Persian king were in person himselfe in the campe, or els (which hee most feared) was raising of greater forces in *PERSIA*, yet could he by no meanes learne the truth of that he desired. Wherefore repairst againe the broken bridge, he first sent ouer his two great lieutenants of *GRÆCIA* and *NATOLIA*, who passing ouer the riuer, encamped themselves as they thought conuenient. The next morning, about two houres before the rising of the Sunne, *Amurat* suddenly assailed the great commander of *GRÆCIA*, *Casan Bassa*, in his trenches, and by plaine force discomfited the Turkes, and by good fortune tooke from them their tents: whereupon such a terrour and feare came vpon the other great commander of *NATOLIA*, that his souldiours thrusting themselves for feare into the riuer, swam ouer with great danger, and againe joyined themselves with the rest of the armie. *Selymus* troubled with the great losse thus receiued, caused all his great artillerie to be placed all alongst the hithermost banke of the riuer *Euphrates*; and because the enemy should not perceiue the same, raunged certaine companies of his souldiours before the ordinance, as if they should presently haue passed the riuer: who vpon signall giuen, should forthwith withdraw themselves and giue place to the great ordinance bent vpon the enemy. But when fire was giuen to these great pieces, many of them being overcharged, burst in sunder, and slew diuers of the Turkes: many also of their horses and mules being neere vnto the riuers side, and terrified with the thundering shot, leapt into the riuer, and were there drowned together with their riders. The Persians also hauing receiued great losse, retired farther off for feare of the great artillerie. So *Selymus* without resistance passing ouer the riuer, marched forthwith toward the enemy: whom the Persians as men nothing dismayed, notably encountred. The battell was of long time doubtfull, and much blood shed on both sides: and if the approach of the night had not broken off that mortall fight, the Persian armie rather overcharged with the multitude of the enemy, than vanquished by valour, had vndoubtedly receiued a great ouerthrow; but through the benefit of the night, they without further losse escaped the pursute of the Turkes. Vpon this victorie, *Selymus* left his carriages and baggage with his footmen; and taking with him only his horsemen, set forward, with intention to haue vpon the suddaine surprised the regall citie of *TAVRIS*, before the fame of the late fought battaile could be carried thither: the Persians in the meane time being no lesse carefull of their affaires. The day before, ten thousand fresh horsemen well appointed, which had not yet bene in the battaile, were comming to *Hyfmaell*: thefe he craftely laied in the Turkes way, commanding them vpon the approach of the enemy to flie, as if it had bene for feare. *Selymus* in the morning hauing descried these horsemen at hand, supposing them to be such of his enemies as being overtaken with the night were not able to follow the rest of his armie, exhorted his souldiours courageously to pursue their discouraged enemies.

The Persians seeing the Turkes, of purpose betooke themselves to flight; and they suspecting no deceit, followed fast after them, vntill that about mid day being wearie of the pursute; and comming to a little riuer which was in their way, they there stayed to refresh themselves: and after they had taken a short repast, againe pursued the Persians, still leauing behind them such as were not able so fast to follow, prick forward with hope, that before night they should surpris and ranke the rich citie of *TAVRIS*. The Turkish horsemen thus drawne farre from the footmen, the Persian horsemen left in ambush, in the meane time set vpon the Turkes footmen, lying (as they supposed) in great securitie, and with a great slaughter ouerthrew them: at which time they also tooke all *Selymus* his treasure and great artillerie. Which ouerthrow was by

speedie

speedie posts, about two a clocke in the night made knowne to *Selymus* (who now in his mind already conceived the sacking of *TAVRIS*) and withall, that the fierce enemy was following him at the heeles. *Selymus* wonderfully abashed with this vnexpected newes and the losse of his footmen, forthwith began to retire: which the ten thousand Persians which had before of purpose fled, perceiuing, now turning themselves vpon the retiring Turkes, charged them hardly: so *Selymus* enclosed both before and behind by his enemies, receiued a great ouerthrow. And the Turkes thus hardly beset and almost despairing of their liues, and hauing lost their ensignes, brake out sideuaies betwixt their enemies and fled. *Selymus* seeing all desperat and forlorne, betooke himselfe to flight also with the rest: and passing the riuer *Euphrates*, brake downe the bridge which he had but a little before repaired, for feare the Persians should further pursue him; and with much trouble and no lesse danger comming at length to *AMASIA*, assembled thither the reliques of his discomfited armie. Such of the Turkes as remained behind, and were not able in flight to keepe way with the rest, were all slaine by the Persians.

The Genoway authour thus concludeth his historie, That the Persian king did not more rejoyce at this victorie, than did he himselfe for the ouerthrow of the Turkes; hoping in that their so great confusion, to free himselfe of his long and miserable thraldome, and to find a way vnto his native country and parents: as afterwards he did, for flying first to *TRAPZONDA* and there taking passage into *EVROPE*, he came to *HADRIANOPE*, from whence he travelled by land on foot to *SALONICA*, & there chancing vpon certain ships of Christian merchants which had brought corne thither, he was by them transported into the island of *CHIOS*; from whence he joyfully returned to *GENVA* his native countrey, after he had amongst the Turkes endured ten yeares captiuitie: most part wherof he liued as a page in old *Baialet* his priue chamber, and the rest as a souldiour of the court in the reigne of *Selymus*; and therefore well acquainted with the fashion of the Turkes court, and manners of that barbarous nation.

Now shall it not (as I hope) be much from our purpose, here with *Iouius* a little to digresse, in comparing these two great princes *Hyfmaell* and *Selymus* together; who in that time had filled the world with the glorie of their fame: that wearied with bloudie broiles, and the wonderfull chances of warre, we may a little repose our selues with matter of a milder vaine, neither vnpleasant nor vnprofitable.

These two mightie princes, as they were for royall descent, strength of bodie, courage of mind, riches, and power, equall, and had thereby obtained like fame and renoume: so in conditions and qualities of mind, and martiall discipline, they much differed. First of all (beside the mutuall hatred of the one nation against the other, deliuered as it were by succession from their grandfatheres and fathers) these two princes, and so likewise their subjects also, were at great odds about an idle question of their vaine superstition, the one preferring and honoring *Eubekir*, *Homaris*, and *Ottoman*, as the most true and rightfull successours of their great prophet *Mahomet*: the other with no lesse deuotion honouring *Haly*, and detesting the three former; differing otherwise in few or no points of their most fond superstition: yet did they vnder the colour and zeale of their religion (as they would haue it) both pretend just causes of warre, although their euill dissembled ambitious desires, plainly declared vnto the world, that they both shor at one and the same mark, viz. By confirming their power and strength to extend the bounds of their great empires. For *Hyfmaell* of purpose affected the same and glorie of *Darius* and *Xerxes*, the antique Persian kings; who hauing subdued *ASIA*, with great boldnesse passed ouer into *EVROPE*: and *Selymus*, the greatnesse of *Alexander* of *Macedon*, who subuerted the Persian empire. Which their aspiring thoughts, masking vnder the vail of zeale towards their religion, seemed not altogether vaine; fortune with like indifferencie immoderately fauouring their bold ambitious and endlesse desires. But in *Hyfmaell* appeared such a wonderfull deuotion and grauitie, that his haute thoughts were with the reuerend maiestie therof couered: whereas in *Selymus*, his inhumane crueltie did blot and obscure all his other princely vertues: for he with reward and punishment retained the maiestie of his empire, but with greater fame of seueritie than bountie. Because it was expedient in the exact discipline of that seruile gouernment, wherof the greatest strength of the *Othoman* empire consisteth, to vse all rigor and seueritie: Otherwise then it stood with the state of *Hyfmaell*, who leuied alwaies his armies of his nobilitie and men free borne, with whom temperat iustice, ciuile courtesie, and popular clemencie, are of greatest force, to win their fidelitie, faith, and loyalty: for that there is no man well born, which feareth not more the

blemish

Hyfmaell and Selymus compared togither.

Hyfmaell maiestie.

Selymus tyrannicall.

Hyfmaell countess.

Selymus Churche.

blemish of infamie than the heauineffe of punishment : so that it was not to be manuell'd, if *Hyfmaell* by such honourable vertues did mightily defend the glorie of his maiestie and renewme. Vnto these his rare vertues, was also joynd a comelinesse of face (the fairest gift of nature) well becoming so great a monarch : for he was well coloured, quicke eyed, yellow bearded, and that which amongst the Persians is accounted the signe of auncient nobilitie, hooked nosed; and was withall exceeding eloquent : By which good gifts, he wonderfully wooon vnto himselfe both the eyes and hearts of such as beheld him. But in *Selymus* his sterne countenance, his fierce and piercing eies, his Tartar-like pale colour, his long mustachoes on his vpper lip, like bristles, fild back to his necke, with his beard cut close to his chin, did so expresse his martiall disposition and inextinguishable nature, that he seemed to the beholders, to haue nothing in him but mischief and cruelty. Which diuersitie of countenances was also accompanied with no lesse diuersitie of affections, and so consequently with farre vnlike manner of gouernment. For *Hyfmaell* was of nature courteous and affable, easie to be seene and spoken withall, doing nothing that becomed his regal function, but in the sight of all men : His manner was to dine openly in the companie of his nobilitie, delighting much in hauking and hunting, accompanied with his noble men, and the embassadours of forraigne princes : He would oftentimes run, leape, and proue masteries with his chiefe courtiers, being himselfe a most excellent horseman and cunning archer : In his exercises he was so popular, that he would not sticke openly to bare himselfe and swim in his princely bathes : His wiues, the beautifull daughters of his nobilitie or neighbour princes, ladies of great chastitie, he neither loathed nor diuorced; after the auncient manner of the Persian kings, who alwaies vsed most tenderly to loue and cherish their wiues, doing them all the honour possible in court, as partakers of all their fortune; and carried them, their children, nurses, and richest furniture into their farthest warres, to their great trouble and charge, by the presence of so deepe pledges the more to encourage their minds in time of battell. Whereas *Selymus* contrariwise did all things in secret, eating his meat alone without any company, attended vpon with his pages and eunuches onely, and satisfying natures want with some one simple dish of meat : Hee seldome went abroad but to the church, vpon the friday the Turkes chiefe Saboth; and thence beset with his pensioners and other souldiours of the court, that although he vsed to ride alone mounted vpon some couragious horse, yet was it a hard matter by face to know him amongst so many armed men, who with great pride and insolencie kept backe the beholders : He was seldome seene abroad in the citie, chusing rather for his recreation to passe ouer in his gallic into *ASIA*, and there amongst the sea coast to take the ayre : His wiues he would not suffer to come to court, neither vsed their companie but for procreation sake, and that (as was thought) without any great good countenance or familiaritie; for that he being not greatly giuen to women, but more delighted with vnnaturall pleasure, thought a mans bodie and mind to be not a little weakened with the allurements of women; wherefore hee seldome resorted to the cloister of choise paragons in the midst of *CONSTANTINOPLE*, shut in on euerie side with high and blind walls. Those daintie pieces, either taken from their Christian parents, or by chance surpris'd by pirats, are there most curiously kept by auncient matrons and old eunuches, by whom they are with all diligence instructed in the principles of the Mahometane law, and to read the Arabian tongue, and withall, cunningly and comely to sing, play, daunce, and sow : But *Selymus* of all others vsed seldome to see these allurements, as a man not greatly delighted with women, or desirous of many (and oftentimes vnfortunat) children; hauing but one sonne (*Solyman*) by the daughter of *Muhamet* a Tartar king, who afterwards by the sufferance of God, proued a great plague to the Christian common weale. Such spare time as he had from his serious and weightie affaires, hee vsed to spend in walking in his gardens with some of his Bassaes or other great courtiers; and in beholding & noting the noble mens children there sporting themselves, would discourse and consult of many things of great importance. Some houres he would spend in the bathes, and in reading the histories of his auncellors and other forraigne princes: imitating therein his grandfather *Mahomet* the Great, who caus'd almost all the histories of the famous princes of the world to be translated into the Turkish language, and their liuely counterfeits to be with cunning hand drawn, that by their worthy examples he might be the more enflamed to extend his fame and glorie. He would many times scoffe at the great businesse of his father *Baiaſet*, who (as he said) was so drowned in the studie of *Auerrois* (determining nothing certainly of the nature of the foule) and the motions of the heauens, that he desired rather the name of a sharpe

disputer

disputer amongst the idle professors of Philosophie, than of a renowned cheefetaine amongst his valiant souldiours and men of warre.

One of the Persian embassadours finding him pleasantly disposed, demaunded of him why he did not weare his beard long, as his father *Baiaſet* and other great princes of that age had done, thereby to seeme vnto their subjects of greater maiestie: to whom he answered, That hee liked not to carrie about with him such an vnneccessarie handfull, whereby his Bassaes might at their pleasure lead him vp and downe the court, as they had done his father: Noting thereby, that *Baiaſet* whilest he yet liued, had bene too much ouerruled by the Bassaes; which he could by no meanes endure, following no mans aduise but his owne in whatsoever he tooke in hand.

But to come vnto the Persians themselves, they in their warres had great disadvantage of the Turkes: for as they were strong in horsemen, so were they destitute of expert trained footmen, by whose onely meanes the Turkes haue achieued their greatest victories, and performed their greatest warres. Beside this, it was a great want in the Persians, that they had not the vse of guns, against whose furie no sufficient resistance can bee made, or force of man opposed: as appeared by the lamentable example of *Vsun-Cassanes* at *ARSENOL*, and now of *Hyfmaell* in the Caldean fields; whose victorious armies of horsemen were in both places put to the worse by the terror and violence of the Turkes artillerie. For the naked Turkish horseman is not to be compared with the Persian man at armes; who comes into the field armed with a strong cuirass, a sure headpeece, and a good targuet; whereas the Turkish European horsemen, altogether naked, vse onely a square or crooked buckler, wherewith they doe scarcely couer themselves: and the Asian horsemen, bucklers made of soft reeds, wound round, and couered with some kind of silke.

The Persian horsemen also, wearing their pouldrons and gauntlets, and bearing stauces of good ash, armed at both ends, fight with them as occasion serueth at the halfe staffe, after the manner of the Numidians, and with doubling and redoubling their often thrusts from on high, doe easily wound or kill the vnarmed Turkes, with their horses: whereas the Turkish horsemen, after the manner of the Gracians, couching their stauces in their rests, doe at the first course most commonly breake the same, being made of light and brittle firs, and so presently come to their sci-mitars, or horsemens maces, being in all other things farre inferior to the Persian man at armes.

As for the Turkish archers on horsebacke, they are in no respect to be compared with the Persians; who well mounted and surely armed, and vsing both greater and stronger bowes, shoot more deadly arrowes, and so make small account of the Turkes. So that all things well considered, the Persian armie, deuoted to their king as well for the great and firme opinion conceiued of his high courage and diuine spirit, as for that they were to him by faith obliged; although it was in number farre inferior, yet had it bene of the Turkes inuincible, if it had not bene ouerwhelmed by the cruell, cowardly, and murdering artillerie and wonderfull multitude of men. The

cause why *Hyfmaell* out of so many great and large prouinces then vnder his obeisance (able in ancient times with their multitude to couer the face of the earth, and to drinke the riuets drie) brought now so small an armie against the Turkish emperour, breaking into the heart of *ARMENIA*, was for that *Hyfmaell* to win the hearts of the people by bountie, had remitted a great part of his customes and tributes, so as then stood best with his policie, hauing but lately aspired vnto the kingdom, and thrust downe his neere kinsmen, the posteritie of *Vsun-Cassan* and *Isacup*, the rightfull inheritours thereof: so that his cofers being empirie, and wanting money, the finewe of warre he was not able to raise so great an armie as otherwise he might out of those populous kingdoms and countries, yeelding plentifully all things necessarie for the vse of man. Whereas with *Selymus* it was farre otherwise: whose horsemen, footmen, captaines, canoniers, both at sea and land, officers of peace and warres, receiued their dayly wages, and monthly payes in ready money, of his treasurers and paymasters: for defraying of which charge hee neuer wanted die money, his yearly tributes and reuenues still exceeding all his charges by a *stantinople*: and his yearly tributes and reuenues still exceeding all his charges by a fourth part. The strength of the Persian king consisted in three kind of souldiours: the first were they which were accounted souldiours of the court: the second such as were by custome and dutie bound to serue him in his warres: and the third such as were sent vnto him from the princes his neighbours and confederates. Those which were accounted souldiours of his court, had their certaine stipends, and were altogether maintained of the kings charge; of whom according to the old custome of the Persian kings, they at certaine times receiue armour, horses, apparrell, tents,

The Persians better horsed than the Turkes.

The cause why Hyfmaell came with so small an armie against Selymus.

expectation made strong resistance; and valiantly withstood his forces: he drew certaine companies of harquebusiers out of his owne squadrons, and sent them to rebuke their fellows: and at the same instant commanded the Janizaries for all the danger to mount the hill. When the mountaine people terrified with the strangeness of the shot, and not able to abide the force thereof, by and by turned their backs, and by knowne waies fled into their fire haunts in the mountains and woods fast by. Yet the greatest slaughter fell amongst these footmen, who which they saw the horsemen put to flight, and the Janizaries coming up the hills against them, did with much difficultie, by steepe and broken waies, clamber vp the high mountaines: as oftentimes it falleth out, that both the strength of mens legs, and other their wonted forces, faile them most when surprised and overcome, with sudden feare they desire to run and die fastest. The Turkes hauing them in chase, had the killing of them vntill the going downe of the Sunne. The horsemen with the king, vpon their swift horses, well acquainted with those rockes and rough waies, with little losse retired themselves into the further and stronger places of the mountaines.

Aladenles after this discomfiture, finding himselfe in all things farre inferior to his enemy, thought it best by protracting the warre, to wearie him out: wherefore as the Turkes pursued him, and burnt the poore countrey cottages standing in their way, he still fled from mountaine to mountaine, neuer offering battell or shewing himselfe, but in places of great aduantage. And therefore *Selymus* fearing least in that barren rough and vnknowne countrey, he should either want vitaille or by some other meanes be entraped, if he should still with his whole armie follow after his strong enemies: vpon the seauenth day left off to pursue them any farther. And encamping himselfe in the most conuenient place of that countrey, sent *Sinan Bassa* with his light horsemen, who carrying with them certaine daies victuals, should still at the heeles follow the enemy, and with all speed and pollicie possible, hunt after the king himselfe. *Selymus* in the meane time curiously enquiring of the countrey captiues after the strength of *Aladenles*, and what meanes hee had to maintaine the warre: found, that he had taken with him his best men both horse and foot; and had commanded the countrey people to forsake the villages, of purpose to leaue all desolat to the enemy: and hauing surely entrenched himselfe vpon a certaine strong rocke (whither he had before conuaid great store of prouision) was resolved not to giue battell vnto his enemies, vntill he had drawne them into the impregnable straits of the mountaines, where their huge multitude should little auaille them, but to increase their owne losse. An other cause there was also (as they said) for that he feared to be betrayed by *Alis Beg* his kinsman, Generall of his horsemen; who first fled in the late battell: whose vnfaithfulness and hatred might seeme to proceed of a just ground, for that *Aladenles* had in former time treacherously murdered his father, vpon a jealous suspicion of his aspiring to the kingdom.

Selymus vnderstanding all this, caused the captiues to haue their irons struck off, and in stead of their giues lading them with gifts and promises, sent them to *Alis Beg* with secret letters and rewards, to persuaide him in so fit a time to reuenge his fathers death; which thing if he would performe by some notable exploit vpon *Aladenles*, he should both purchase vnto himselfe great credit with *Selymus*, and also the kingdom. These homely messengers according as was giuen them in charge, hauing imparted the matter to *Sinan Bassa*, within few daies had so wrought, that *Alis Beg* (whom the desire of a kingdom together with *Selymus* his rewards prickt forward to seeke reuenge) was easily drawne to joyne hands with *Selymus*. And when he could no other way hurt *Aladenles*, who mistrusting all things, warily looked vnto himselfe; he found the means to go ouer to *Sinan Bassa*, carrying after him a great part of *Aladenles* his best horsemen: by whose meanes the rest also which remained being with rewards corrupted, one companie after another came at last all ouer vnto the Bassa. *Aladenles* circumvented with this vnexpected treachery, which neuer before thought it possible that his men should all so suddenly haue forsaken him and reuolued vnto the Turkes; was now glad to repose all his hope in secret flight. But *Sinan Bassa* and *Alis Beg*, hardly pursuing him as he fled thorough the mountaines, hiding himselfe in rockes and the thicke woods, at last drew him out of a caue, being betrayed by the countrey peasants. *Aladenles* being brought to *Selymus*, was within a few daies after put to death, and his head in great derision afterwards carried about through all *ASIA* the lesse: and afterward by way of barbarous ostentation, sent by *Selymus* to the Senat of *VENICE*, as a loathsome testimonie of his victorie. *Aladenles* thus dead, *Selymus* reduced all his kingdom into the forme of a prouince, which he deuided into three parts; and after the manner of the Turkish government, appointed

Aladenles fled
into the mount-
aines.

Aladenles slain
and brought to
Selymus, & put
to death.

pointed to euerie part a Sanzacke: yet so, that *Alis Beg* should be chiefe ouer the rest, with such soueraignie as that he wanted nothing of a king but the name only. And for the better gouernment of all things in that new gained kingdom, he left *Sinan Bassa* there all the rest of that summer; with commandement, that after he had set all things in good order, he should winter at *ICONIUM*: and he himselfe with a small traine returned to *CONSTANTINOPLE*, for he had heard, that whilst he was busied in his wars against *Hysmaell* and *Aladenles* in *ARMENIA*, that the Hungarians had made diuers incursions into *SERVIA*, and spoiled that countrey. Wherefore for feare of losing *SAMANDRIA* (which standing neere to *Danubius*, for the conuenient situation thereof is reputed the bulwarke of *SERVIA* and *THRACIA*) he sent *Iousses Bassa* their gouernour of *BOSNA* with eight thousand horsemen, who passing the riuier *Sauis* entered into *CROATIA* as farre as *CEBINUM*; and at the same time transported an other armie ouer *Danubius* into *HUNGARIE*, to the intent that the Hungarians at one instant beset with double danger, should be enforced to feare their owne state; and withall to shew vnto the world, of what strength and power the *Othoman* emperours were. Deeming it to concerne much, both for the present, and the time to come, to the daunting of the Christians; if hee should by his happie attempts make it knowne, that he could at once easily and readily maintaine so many and so puissant armies, and wage so great warres in diuers parts of the world, and so farre distant one from an other.

In the end of the yeare, when he had thus with double inuasion repressed the Hungarians, he spent the Winter following at *HADRIANOPLE* & *CONSTANTINOPLE*, in making of greater preparation for warre than euer he had before from the beginning of his raigne. For he was aduertised, that the great monaches of the North his neighbours, namely *Maximilian* the emperour, *Vladislaus* king of *HUNGARIE*, and *Sigismundus* king of *POLONIA*, with the princes of *GERMANIE*, had combined themselves together to make warre vpon him. But after he had learned by his sure intelligencers (whom he had with great charge sent into all parts of *EUROPE*, diligently to obserue what was done in the courts of those great princes) that all the great meetings of the Christian princes proued nothing but glorious words and sumptuous banquets; he being rid of that vaine feare (God so appointing) turned himselfe and all those his wonderfull preparations againe toward the East, to the great quiet of Christendome in generall.

Yet least happily in the absence of himselfe and of his armies, the Christian princes might take occasion to inuade his dominions, he strengthened the frontiers of his empire with most strong garrisons: and left his sonne *Solyman* (who afterward proued the great scourge of Christianity) at *HADRIANOPLE* with a strong power, and *Pyrrhus Bassa* his tutor (a man of great stendome) at *CONSTANTINOPLE*. This great Bassa was of *CILICIA*, a native Turke borne, which was a thing accounted strange, forasmuch as the great Bassas were alwaies chosen of the Christian blood. After that, he sent *Cherseogles* (whom of all others he most trusted) with his armie into *BYTHINIA*, and made *Zafferus* an eunuch Admirall of his nauie; which he had but a little before built, and with a wonderfull labor and charge rigged forth. Then staying a few daies at *CONSTANTINOPLE* to see the young souldiours, but then chosen Janizaries; he departed thence and went to his old armie, lying with *Sinan Bassa* at *ICONIUM*, purposing to haue againe inuaded the Persian.

When he was come thither, he vnderstood that *Campson Gaurus* Sultan of *ÆGYPT* (with a great armie leuied in *ÆGYPT* and *IVDBA*) was come into *SYRIA*, giuing it out that he would aid the Persian king his confederat, and with all hostilitie enter into *CILICIA*, if *Selymus* should further proceed to inuade *Hysmaell* the Sophi his friend and allie. *Selymus* perplexed with these newes, and fearing that if he should once passe ouer the riuier *Euphrates*, *Campson* lying so neere in readinesse, should forthwith breake in at his backe into *ASIA* by the mountaine *AMANS*, and so endanger that part of his dominion; staied at *ICONIUM*, and sent his embassadours with great presents to *Campson* to pacifie him, if it might be. The chiefe men in this embassage were the Cadelecher, a man of great account amongst the Turks, and of them exceedingly reuerenced for the opinion they had of his great Mahometane superstition, who afterwards wrote the Commentaries of this warre; and *Iachus* a great captaine. The scope of whose embassage was, to entreat *Campson*, that he would not hinder or disturbe *Selymus* from making warre vpon the Persian king; who had so often and so forceably inuaded his dominions in *ASIA*; and by bringing in a new forme of superstition, had corrupted and altered the most certaine grounds of the

Selymus inuaded
the Hungarians.

1516

Selymus goes to
Iconium.

Mahometane religion. And if they found him resolutely set downe and not to be by any conditions remoued, then with all possible diligence to learne his strength and farther designes, so farre as by any means they could, and with all speed to make their returne.

The cause moouing Campson to fall out with Selymus.

But *Campson* now farre spent with age, and liuing in the height of worldly blisse, although he knew it fitter for him at those yeares to giue himselfe ease and quietnesse, than to thrust himselfe into warres and other princes quarrels; yet thought this expedition to be for many causes both good and necessarie. First, he deadly hated the man for his inhumane crueltie, and therefore could neuer be perswaded to renew the league with him which he had in former time made with his father *Baiazet*: Besides that, he desired to abate and repress his audacious insolencie, grown already by his prosperous successie beyond the bounds of reason: for *Selymus* hauing taken *TAVRIS*, ouerthrowne the Persians, and slaine *Aladeules*; began now to seeme terrible to all the princes that bordered vpon him; and there were many which said he was another *Alexander*, who whilst other princes fate still as men a sleepe, did in the meane time plot in his victorious mind, the monarchie of the whole world. But aboue all things, the feare of the losse of *SYRIA*, and consequently the losse of all his kingdome (the quickest motiue for stirring vp of the suspicious minds of the greatest princes) most enforced *Campson* to take in hand this warre: For as much as the goodly kingdomes of *EGYPT*, *IVDEA*, and *SYRIA*, oppressed with the intolerable gouernment of the proud Mamalukes, and therefore lesse faithfull to the Egyptian kings, were in danger to reuolt to the Turkes, if the Persians should by any mischance or fortune of warre be of the Turkes vanquished. For which cause *Campson* in the beginning of this warre, solicited by the Persian embassadours, had made a firme league and confederation with *Hysmal*: and also moued with the miserie of the wofull young prince *Aladin* the sonne of *Achomates*, was in mind perswaded, that the cruell Turkish tyrant might by his and the Persian kings forces, easily be thrust out of his empire in *ASIA* and *EVROPE*. For *Aladin*, who after the death of *Achomates* his father fled to *Campson* the Sultan of *EGYPT* (as is before declared) had liued three yeares as a forlorne and distressed prince in the Egyptian court, and by all meanes he could deuise incited the Mamalukes to reuenge the injuries and crueltie of his vnckle *Selymus*. The eldest sonne also of the late king *Aladeules*, a goodly young prince, hauing at once lost his father, his kingdome, and whatsoeuer he held else, was in good time fled to the Egyptian king; and had so filled the minds of all men with the indignation and detestation of *Selymus* his exceeding crueltie, that the princes of the Mamalukes of their owne accord came to *Campson*, humbly beseeching him to take vpon him so just a warre: and if by reason of his great yeares hee should thinke himselfe vnable to endure the trauell thereof, it would then please him yet to giue them leaue of themselves to take the matter in hand, for the repressing of the insolencie of that great and wicked tyrant.

The Order of the Mamalukes.

These Mamalukes farre excelled the Turkes, not onely in strength of bodie, skilfull riding, and goodly armour, but also in courage and wealth. Beside that, they had not forgotten with what small power they had vnder the leading of *Caitbeius* their great Sultan, ouerthrowne the Turkes great armies in *CILICIA*, first at *ADENA*, and afterward at *TARSVS*, where they tooke prisoners, *Mestes Palcologus* the great Bassa, and *Cherscogles*, *Baiazet* his sonne in law: by which victorie they grew into such a proud and vaine conceit of themselves, as if they had bene the onely souldiours of the world, able of themselves to vanquish and overcome whomsoever they should set vpon. These so valiant souldiours, were for the most part of the poore people called in auncient time *Getae*, *Zinchi*, and *Bastarne*, borne neere vnto the Euxine sea and the fens of *Maotis*, especially on that side where the riuer *Corax* falleth into the Euxine: which countie is of later time called *CIRCASSIA*, of the people called *CERCITAE* neere vnto *CHOLCHIS*. These miserably and wretched people, the Valachians, Podolians, Polonians, Roxolanes and Tartars dwelling by *TAVRICA* (puld from their mothers breasts, or by other violent means surprised) sold vnto merchants; who culling out the best for strength of bodie, or aptnesse of wit, conuained them by sea to *ALEXANDRIA*, from whence they were continually sent to the great Sultan of *EGYPT*: and by his appointment were at *CAIRE* (after the old manner of that people) deliuered to masters of fence and such other teachers, who carefully instructed them, being shut vp in their schooles, in all manner of feats of actiuitie: where after they were become able to bend a strong bow, and taught cunningly to shoot, leape, run, vault, ride, and skilfully to vse all manner of weapons, they were then taken into pay, and receiued into the number of the kings

kings horsemen or Mamalukes: and such of them as proued cowardly or vnapt, were made slaues vnto the rest. So that they seeing all honour, credit, and preferment, laied vp in martiall prowesse, did with all diligence and courage employ themselves to militarie affaires: and therein so well profited, that oftentimes they which at the first were but bate and base slaues, of the meanest of the Mamalukes, by many degrees of seruice rise at length to the highest degrees of honour. All these Mamalukes were the children of Christian parents, from the time of their captiuitie instructed in the Mahometane superstition: for no man borne of a Mahometane father, or of a Jew, could be admitted into the number of the Mamaluke horsemen: which was so straightly obserued, that the honour of a Mamaluke horseman neuer descended vnto the sons of the Mamalukes, yet might they by law inherit their fathers lands, possessions, and goods: by which reason the sonnes of the Sultans themselves neuer succeeded their fathers in the kingdome. Hereby also it came to passe, that many Christians of loose life, or condemned for their notorious offences, flying thither, and abjuring the Christian religion, and suffering themselves to be circumcised, being men meet for the warres, grew by degrees to great honour: as did *Tangarihardinus* the sonne of a Spanish mariner, who by his forwardnesse and industrie grew into such credit and authoritie with *Campson* the great Sultan, that almost all things were done by his aduice and counsell; and was diuers times by him employed in most honorable seruice, being sent embassadour both to *Baiazet* the Turkish emperour, and to the state of *VENICE*, about matters of great importance. Yet his impietie escaped not the hand of God, for at length by the enuie of the court he was brought into disgrace, thrust out of his place, and cast into prison, where he loaded with cold yron, most miserably died. Neither was it to be marvelled if the Mamalukes were growne to that excesse of wealth, for as much as the Egyptians and Syrians being miserably by them oppressed, were not suffered to haue the vse either of horse or armour, neither admitted to any matters of counsell; but being impouerished and brought low with heauie impositions and dayly injuries of the Mamalukes, gaue themselves wholly to the trade of marchandise, husbandrie, and other mechanicall occupations: ouer whom the Mamalukes had power and commaund, as imperious masters ouer their seruants, and would with greater insolencie than is to be beleecued abuse the poore countrey people, beating and spoiling them at their pleasure, and not so contented, rauishing their wiues and daughters without redresse. The Egyptians (a people in auncient time much renowned for their valour and prowesse) were by these masterfull slaues kept in this miserable thraldome and slaueerie about the space of three hundred yeares. For after the declination of the Romane empire, that rich countrey falling into the gouernment of the Constantinopolitane emperours, the Egyptians soone wearie of the proud and auaritious foueraignerie of the Greekes, called in the Saracens, by whose helpe they expelled the Greekes, and after chose the Generall of the Saracens for their king, after whose name the Egyptian kings were of long time called Caliphes, as they had of auncient time bene called by the names of *Pharao* and *Ptolomey*.

The impious gouernment of the Mamalukes in Egypt, Iudea, and Syria.

The last of these Caliphes reigned at such time as the Christians vnder the leading of *Godfrey* and *Bohemund*, passing as conquerours through *ASIA* and *SYRIA*, erected the kingdome of *HIERSALEM*. Hee being inuaded by *Americus* sixt king of *HIERSALEM*, and finding himselfe too weake, prayed aid of the Sultan of *SYRIA*, who sent him *Sarraco*, a valiant captain, with a strong power to aid him: but *Sarraco* no lesse vnfaithfull than courageous, treacherously slew the Caliphe, in whose aid he came, and tooke vpon himselfe the kingdome. After *Sarraco* succeeded *Saladine* his brothers sonne, who vterly extinguished the name and authoritie of the Caliphes in *EGYPT*, whom *Sarraco* had yet left as high priests. This *Saladine* oftentimes vanquished the Christian armies in *SYRIA* and *IVDEA*, and at length quite ouerthrew the kingdome of *HIERSALEM*, as is in the former part of this historie to be seene. *Saladine* dying, left the kingdome of *EGYPT* to his brother, whose posteritie successiueley reigned of long time there, vntill the time of *Melechfala*. This *Melechfala* (last of the free borne kings, and of the posteritie of *Saladine*) had great and mortall warres with the Christians, wherein hauing lost most of his best souldiours, and reposing no great confidence in the Egyptians, thought good to strengthen himselfe with a new kind of souldiours, meere slaues bought for money. For at that time the Tartars breaking into *ARMENIA* and *CAPADOCIA*, and ouerrunning the people called *COMANI* joyning vpon *CAPADOCIA*, made generall spoile of that people, as of prisoners taken by law of armes. Of this base people, *Melechfala* for a little money bought a great multitude, which

The beginning
of the Govern-
ment of the Ma-
malukes in A-
gypt.

which he transported into *ÆGIPTE*, and furnished them with armes: by whose prowesse he not onely defended the frontiers of his kingdome, but also besieged *Lewes* the French king in his trenches not farre from *DAMIATA*, called in auncient time *Heliopolis*, or *Pelusi*, and shortly after in plaine battaile tooke him prisoner, as is long before declared. But in the pride of this victorie, *Melech Sala* was by the conspiracie of these his new souldiours slaine: in whose place they set vp one *Turqueminus*, a desperat fellow of their owne companie, honouring him with the title of the great Sultan of *ÆGIPTE*. *Turqueminus* of a base slaue now become a great monarch (after the manner of men) forgetting his old companions which had so highly promoted him: and hauing them in great disdain, was by one of them (called *Clotho*) suddenly slaine; for which fact he was by those base souldiours, his companions, chosen Sultan in his place: who for the short time of his raigne did much for the confirming of that seruile monarchie: yet was he at length slaine also by *Bandocader*; sometimes one of his fellow seruants, who also succeeded him in the kingdome. After him in long order succeeded many valiant men of the same seruile state & condition, whom for breuitie I wittingly passe ouer. Amongst the rest, *Caitbeius* (of whom we haue before spoken in the life of *Baiazer*) was for wealth and marriall prowesse most famous; who according to the manner of his predecessours, did with greater bountie and care maintaine that seruile government, than any of them who had before him reigned in *ÆGIPTE*: and was for his notable government and noble acts justly accounted amongst the greatest princes of that age. After whose death great troubles arose in that seruile monarchie about the succession. Whereby the Mamelukes drawne into diuers factions, some seeking to prefer one, and some another, had in foure yeares space with ciuile warres sore weakened their estate, and slaine diuers of their greatest princes which had aspired vnto that kingdome. For appeasing of which mischeefes, tending to the vtter ruine of their kingdome, the great courtiers and cheefe men amongst the Mamelukes with one consent offered the kingdome to *Campson Gaurus* (or as the Turkes call him) *Canfaues Gauris*, of whom wee now speake, a man of great integritie and courage, and altogether free from ambition. He, terrified with the dreadfull example of so many kings whom hee had seene in short time miserably slaine by the ambitious aspiring of other proud competitors: when he was sore against his will hoist vp vpon the shoulders of the nobilitie and cheefe souldiours, and so carried into the court, as their manner was, began earnestly to refuse the kingdome and to withstand their choice, excusing himselfe as vnfit for so high a place; and with teares standing in his eyes, besought the other great lords his friends, that they would forbear to thrust him, well contented with his priuat life, into that glorious place subject to so many dangers: and the rather, for that he neither had money to giue bountifullly vnto the souldiours of the court, as other the *Ægyptian* Sultans had accustomed; neither held that sufficiency and authoritie as was requisite for repressing of such violent and seditious tumults as were too ripe in that troublesome time and confusion of all things.

The nobilitie on the other side perswaded him, That he would not vpon a foolish obstinacie or vaine modestie refuse the offer of his present good fortune, but courageously to take vpon him the government of the state, now sore shaken with ciuile discord, together with the regall dignitie, which was with the generall good liking of all men so frankly offered vnto him. At last they all by solemne oath promised vnto him, That they would with all their power, policie, and wealth, maintaine and defend the maiestie of his state; and that the men of war should not demand their wonted largesse, before the same might by his receiuers and treasurers be raised of his customes and other reuenues of the crowne. By which perswasions *Campson* encouraged, suffered himselfe to be saluted Sultan, and so rooke vpon him the government. Afterwards, when he had giuen vnto the men of warre ten millions of duckats, by the name of a largesse, and by his moderat government had caused men generally to haue his prowesse and wisdom in admiration; he did with such policie and dexteritie reforme the shaken state of that kingdome, before rent in sunder by ciuile warres, taking away by payson and other secret deuices some few, the cheefe authors of sedition, that for the space of sixteen yeares neither tumult nor noise of warre was at any time heard of in all *SYRIA* or *ÆGIPTE*. Worthie vndoubtedly the name of a most excellent and fortunat prince, if when he had by singular wisdom and policie established the generall peace and prosperitie of his kingdome, he could haue there contented himselfe to haue liued in quiet, and in the winding vp of his life, not rashly haue thrust himselfe into the dangerous quarrels of other princes.

The moderat
and happy go-
uernment of
Campson.

The

The *Cadeisicher* and *Iachis* (*Selymus* his embassadours) departing from *Iconium*, came in few daies to *Campson* the great Sultan, who then lay encamped neere vnto the riuer *ORONTES*, at this day called *Farear*. These embassadours entertained by *Campson* with greater bountie than courtiesse, and shortly after their comming hauing audience in his pailions: did with most temperat and calme speech deliuer their embassage. To whom *Campson* answered, That it was the auncient custome of the *Ægyptian* Sultans (forasmuch as they held the chiefe place in their religion) with all care and industrie to keepe the other Mahometane kings and people in peace and concord amongst themselves; whereof hee for his part had bene alwaies most desirous: and was for no other purpose come with his armie into his prouince of *SYRIA*, than to perswade *Selymus* to peace. Who if he would needs wilfully proceed in his intended warres against *Hysmaell* the Persian king, his friend and confederat, he would then doe what should stand with his honour and place, and not longer suffer all to go to wracke, for the vaine pleasure and furie of one insolent and ambitious man. He said also, That he had of long time before seene into *Selymus* his insatiable, fierce and troublesome disposition; who hauing most vnaturally procured the death of his good father the old emperour *Baiazer*, and slaine his brethren, princes of great valour; seauen of his nephewes, princes of no small hope; with many other of his best friends and faithfull counsellors; could make no end of his ambitious tyrannie. Wherefore they should tell *Selymus*, that one and all the conditions of peace should be, if he would from thenceforth desist from inuading of *Hysmaell*, and restore to *Adadeules* his sonne, his fathers kingdome, which had of long bene vnder the defence and protection of the *Ægyptian* Sultans, as of right and reason he ought to doe: he should in so doing beside his fauour and friendship which might greatly stand him in steed, reape greater fame and glorie by an assured and honourable peace, than by doubtfull and dangerous warre.

The embassadours, although they knew right well that *Selymus* would not for aty threats giue ouer his enterprise or lay downe armes; yet to the intent they might the sooner be dispatched, and so in time aduertise *Selymus* of the Sultans sudden comming, seemed wonderfully to like of his motion for peace, and to giue good hope by their reasonable perswasions to induce *Selymus* to like thereof: Forasmuch as they were of his secret counsell, and men able to doe much with him; whereby they trusted (as they would haue had the Sultan to beleue) it would easily be brought to passe, that those sparkes might be quenched, which all things standing vpright had not as yet kindled the fire of warre. So they being by *Campson* rewarded, and hauing leaue to depart, travelling day and night, returned to *Selymus*, who was then come to *CASAREA*.

Campson also removing from *ORONTES*, came into *COMAGENA* vnto the famous citie of *ALEPPO*, which citie is probably supposed to haue been built of the ruines of the auncient citie *HIERAPOLIS*, by *Alepius* the emperor *Iulianus* his lieutenant; who in that prouince did many notable matters, & called that new built citie after his own name. It is situate neere vnto the riuer *Singa*, which rising out of the mountaine *PIRIVS*, with many turnings and windings runneth thorough *Comagena*, and being but a small riuer, falleth at length into the citie *Euphrates*. This citie *Hyalon* king of the Tartars tooke and burnt, at such time as the Christian princes of the West made warre with the *Ægyptian* kings, for the kingdomes of *SYRIA* and *IERUSALEM*. Which calamitie notwithstanding, it was againe repeopled, and is at this day a famous citie, for the commodious situation thereof much frequented with merchants from the furthest parts of the world: It is scarce fife daies journey from *TRIPOLIS* and *BERTVS* the great ports of *SYRIA*, and is also neere vnto the Turkes and Persians: so that the riches of the East are thither commodiously conuaid out of Turkie, ouer the mountaine *AMANVS* which parteth *CILICIA* from *SYRIA*: and so likewise out of *PERSIA* and *MESOPOTAMIA* ouer the riuer *Euphrates*, where the citie *BYRTA* of late time bounded the kingdome of the *Ægyptian* Sultans, from the Persian.

Selymus vnderstanding by his embassadours (who had diligently noted all things in the Sultans campe) both of the comming, and of the number of his enemies; and also enformed of the Sultans proud answere, who had so peremptorily prescribed vnto him such vnreasonable conditions as pleased himselfe: thought good to alter his purpose, and now to conuert his forces another way than he had before determined. For that to enter farther into *ARMENIA*, leauing so puissant an enemy as *Campson* at his backe, seemed a thing too full of danger: and to giue ouer the

Campson his an-
swer to the em-
bassadours of *Selymus*.

Selymus conuer-
teth his forces
from the Persi-
ans against
Campson.

the enterprife he had with so great care and charge vnderaken, at the appointment and pleasure of another man, stood neither with his honour or state. Wherefore in a matter so doubtfull he resolved vpon a notable and necessitie point, well fitting the greatnesse of his mind. He made shew as if he would haue gone directly against the Persian, as he had before determined; and that the more certaine report of this his purpose might be carried to *Campson*, he sent before part of his armie with his carriages to the citie *Svassia*, in old time called *Svasta* (it standeth in the frontiers of the Persian kingdome, where the great river *Euphrates* pent vp with the rocks of the mountaine *Tavrus*, breaketh againe violently forth into *Mesopotamia*; but turning himselfe vpon the right hand, purposed to passe the mountaine *Tavrus*, and breaking suddenly into *Comagena* to come vpon the Sultan before he were well aware of his coming. Wherefore calling vnto him his trustie Ianizaries, with the other souldiours of the court, hee openly with cheerefull countenance declared vnto them what he had resolved to doe, with the reasons of the alteration of his former determination: perswading them, that the victorie would easily be achieved, if they as courageous souldiours would with all celeritie (before the *Mamelukes* could perceiue they were returned) get vp to the top of the mountaines, and recouer those difficult passages; not fearing the vaine names and titles of the *Mamelukes*. For why (said he) the strength of those horsemen is long since decayed and gone: the old *Mamelukes*, who in the time of *Caitbeius* were of some fame and reputation, are all dead. You shall in battell meet but with a sort of gallant horsebreakers rather than souldiours, which can cunningly mannage their horses in sport, to the pleasure of the beholders, but know not how to encounter the enimie, or to endure to be wounded: who as carpet knights offeminate with long peace, and corrupted with excesse and delicacie of their great cities, neuer saw their foes entrenched, or armed enemies, neither euer heard the sound of a trumpet but at plaies or shewes. Wherefore you are to make but small account of them, being furnished with no store of ordinance or strength of footmen. But as the reuerend interpreters of our sacred lawes and religion, haue orderly performed all their obseruances, doe diuine vnto vs all happiness: so you as men full of hope, set forward cheerfully vnto most assured victorie over your proud enemies. For God no doubt fauoureth the quarrell of men iustly prouoked, and offereth means of victorie to such as take vp iust and necessarie armes. Yet to overcome the enimie, and to enioy the victorie in deed, wholly consisteth in the courage and valour of them, which deeme nothing better or more honourable than to spend their liues for the honour of their prince and countrey. Here the Ianizaries shaking their weapons, forthwith cried out with cheerefull voice, That he should lead and conduct them whither soeuer he would: saying, That they were readie as courageous men, to overcome all the difficulties of those hard passages, and patiently to endure all the labours and dangers incident to that warre.

Selymus, by the mountaine people hauing found out the easiest passages, resolved to passe ouer the mountaine with his armie in three places: and so appointing three great companies of the common souldiours and countrey people, for the opening of the straight passages; he commaunded the rough and vncuen waies to bee made plaine and smooth, for the transporting of his ordinance, and the broken passages to be cast euen, that so his baggage and carriages might the better passe: and the more to encourage his souldiours to take paines, he promised present reward to all such as in transporting of his ordinance, should take any extraordinarie pains. Whereby it came to passe, that the same being of the smaller sort bearing bullet of no great height, was in short time by the cheerefull labour of his souldiours, drawne ouer those great hills and dales: so that in fise daies all his armie with his baggage and carriages were got ouer the mountaine *Tavrus*, and come into the plaines of *Comagena*. For that mountaine where it taketh the name of *Amans*, which is almost in the middle where the river *Euphrates* parteth the mountaine *Tavrus*, and the bay *Issicus*, is neither exceeding high, or yet impassable: for as it cometh neerer the sea, it is not so rough as elsewhere, but is in many places inhabited and tilled by the mountaine *Cilicians*, a fierce kind of people accustomed to labour and toile, who are now called *Caramannians*, which is to say, the inhabitants of the blacke mountaines; for that the burnt rocks of the mountaine seeme a farre off to be blacke.

Alibeg which betraied *Aladeules*, whom *Selymus* had a little before sent for, as soon as the armie was come downe into the frontiers of the enemies country, with a strong power of his light hortemen, speedily ouertan all that countrey which is at the foot of *Amans* and *Tavrus*: therby to vnderstand of the countrey people and such as they could take prisoners, where *Camp-*

*Selymus encour-
ageth his sould-
iours to go a-
gainst the Ma-
malkes.*

son lay with his armie; and also by keeping the passages to doe what possibly might be done, that *Selymus* his coming might not be knowne to the enimie.

But *Campson*, who with no lesse vanitie than pride had fondly flattered himselfe, onely by the authoritie & greatnesse of his name to haue terrified *Selymus*, and ouerruled him at his pleasure; could not be perswaded that he was come ouer the mountaine *Amans*, vntill certaine newes was brought him; that he was encamped with a most puissant armie within two daies march of him. With which v unexpected newes being sore troubled, and in the midst of that danger to seeke counsell, as one which began rightly to consider of his owne strength, and the strength of his enimie; began then to doubt what were best for him to doe, and in great perplexitie sometime hoped well, and by and by was as a man halfe discouraged and dismayed. And now become exceeding carefull both of his honour and himselfe, he began to doubt, whether it were better for him to giue place to so great a danger, and shunning battell to retire with his armie into places of more safetie; or els courageously to abide the coming of his enemies, and to hazard the fortune of a battell, although it were vpon great disadvantage: Forasmuch as he reputed it farre more honourable after the example of his predecessors from whom he had receiued that great kingdome (both gotten and kept by martiall prowesse) to die with honour in the field; than by shamefull and vntoonted flight, either to blemish their militarie glorie continued aboue the space of 300 yeares, or for loue of a small remainder of life, being now 77 yeares old, to seeme willing to referue vnto obloquie and shame his last daies, deprived of all honour and reputation.

There were amongst his chiefe taines many, which preferred wholesome counsell before that which was in shew more glorious: but aboue all others one *Iamburd*, surnamed *Gazelles*, (sometimes the follower of great *Caitbeius*) a valiant man of great honour, for his long experience in martiall affaires, and at that time gouernor of *Apamia*. He, as he was of opinion, That to fight with the Turkes armie, consisting for most part of expert soldiours, with so small a power, were a thing of desperat danger; so was he also, that it were good speedily to retire, and to chuse the citie of *Damasco*, as the fittest place for those warres: for as much as the Turkes armie could make no halt after them, by reason of their footmen and carriages, so that they might at ease and with safetie retire; and there calling together all the *Mamelukes* which were in garrison in *Idba* and *Eoir*, and entertaining the *Arabians* their neighbours, to protract the warre vntill Winter, when as they might easily distresse the enimie for want of victuall. And that it was not to be feared, that *Alep*, if it were furnished but with a reasonable garrison, could by and by be taken of the enimie, who had but small field peeces not fit for batterie. Beside that, in short time aide would come from the Persians out of *Mesopotamia*; yea and *Hysmaell* himselfe hearing of the Turkes expedition into *Syria*, was like ynough to breake into *Asia* the lesse: neither would the Christians refuse to furnish them with great artillerie from the Islands of the *Rhodes* and *Cyprus* against that common enimie, if they were thereto in time requested. All which things being laied together, hee said the Sultan might afterward vpon each hand, goe into the field, if he should thinke it so much to concerne his honour, to giue his enemies battaile. But for as much as the greatest warres, which at the first had most violent and most furious motions, by the politicke enemies delay did most commonly in time grow calme, hee should not therefore make too much hast to aduenture the fortune of battaile: for that the errors of warre, which many times chanced through the oversight or rashnesse of the chiefe taines, might well of good men be lamented and detested, but hardly or neuer recouered or amended. *Gazelles* his graue and considerat speech had much moyed both the Sultan and others: yet the cheerefulness of the souldiours, and foolish hardinesse of the *Mamelukes* did so fill *Campson* with cares, that he could not hearken to so good and wholesome counsell: for as soone as they heard certainly of the coming of the Turkes, they began to leape and daunce, and to reioyce among themselves, that the time was come wherein they might make prooffe of their valour, and winne themselves honour. For now (as they said) was come that time they had long wished for, where in they would by notable slaughter of their enemies, aduance the honour and maiestie of *Campson* their Sultan far aboue the fame of *Caitbeius*. And some euen of the chiefe men about *Campson*, vpon flatterie and vaine ostentation, alledging how honourably and with what small labour they had before ouerthrowne the Turkes great armie at *Tarsus*, perswaded him, that the victorie would easily and without any great danger be gotten. But especially *Cayrebeius* gouernor of

*The wholesome
counsell of Ga-
zelles for pro-
tracting the
warre.*

of ALEPPO and of the prouince of COMAGENA (who after his warre ended, was in reward of his foule treason by *Selymus* vnworthily preferred to the greatest honours of EGYPT) extolling with glorious words the faithfulness, courage and valour of the Mamalukes, and extenuating the strength and power of the enemy, forced his wits to the uttermost to ouerthrow the wholesome counsell of *Gazelles*.

A secret grudge
betweene Camp-
son and Cayer-
beius gouernour
of Comagena.

For this *Cayerbeius* for all his faire face bare a grudge in heart against *Campson*, because he had some few yeares before poysoned his brother, whom he had in ialousie, being a man next to himselfe of greatest power, wealth, and authoritie amongst the Mamalukes, and withall of an aspiring mind. Whereupon *Cayerbeius* afterwards thinking it good to looke to himselfe, and doubting the like practise to be intended against himselfe; being, as the manner of that kingdome was, summoned to a parliament at CAIR, fained himselfe sicke, and would not come: where with *Campson* was not a little offended, yet for a time he thought it best to dissemble the matter and to await some fitter oportunitie for the taking away of that proud man, so forgetfull of his dutie, and bearing himselfe against his soueraigne, as if he had been an absolute king in his owne prouince. This he thought might most couertly be brought to passe, if he should vpon the occasion of the present warre (as it then fell out) or els vnder the colour of going in person himselfe to the riuier Euphrates, come to ALEPPO: for it was the manner of the antient Egyptian Sultans, not to account themselves worthie of the name of a Sultan or great Generall, before they had as *Catbeius* had of late done, encamped their armie vpon the side of the riuier Euphrates at the citie BYRTA (which standing vpon the banke of the riuier, retaineth at this day both the antient name and fame) and there with solempne pompe had in the sight of the armie forced their horses into the riuier to drinke: giuing to vnderstand by that ceremonie, the greatnesse of their empire, and that they were readie by force of armes to proue, that all those countries were theirs which lay alongst the riuier Euphrates, from the mountaine TAVRVS vnto the deserts of ARABIA. But the consideration of this war letted that hee did not at his first comming oppresse him, because he deemed it to stand best with his present affaires: and not yet knowing the purpose of *Selymus*, to expect the motions of the Turkes and Persians, and to deferre the execution of his wrath against *Cayerbeius*, vntill the end of the warre: for feare least the other Mamalukes, dismayed with the hainousnesse of the suddaine fact, should either reuolt from him, or els raise some mutinie or rebellion in that populous citie. For *Cayerbeius* had by his courtisie and bountie many strong companies in the armie fast bound vnto him: and beside that, was of greatest credit and authoritie with them of ALEPPO, hauing in his keeping a strong citadell, built vpon the rising of an hill in the midst of the citie, which he kept with a strong and sure garrison.

But whiles *Campson* doth thus slowly and considerately purpose his destruction, many of the Sultans secret friends, to him more officious than faithfull, secretly aduised *Cayerbeius* to beware of the Sultan, and by some good meanes in time to prouide for his owne safetie. He vnderstanding of the danger, and thinking all delay deadly, sent secret messengers vnto *Selymus*, discovering vnto him the cause of his greefe, and promising as occasion should serue to come ouer vnto him, and to deliuer into his power the castle with the hearts of the citizens, and all the strength of his owne horsemen; thereby to prouide for his owne safetie, to reuenge his brothers death, and to further his victorie against *Campson*: and for performance of promises on both sides, required secret hostages to be giuen. By the same messengers he also aduertised him, what strength the Sultan was of, perswading him in any case to make hast to giue him battaile, before hee had gathered any greater power. *Selymus* nothing doubted to condescend to all that the traitor had requested, promising of himselfe farre greater things than ever he had required: assuring himselfe of the victorie, if his enemy should lose so much of his strength by the reuolt of so great a commander.

Campson enforced by the generall consent of his souldiours, and the violence of his inevitable destinie, then at hand, rejecting the good and faithfull counsell of *Gazelles*, at such time as *Selymus* was reported to be at hand; resolved according to the counsell of the traitour *Cayerbeius*, to dare him battell. He lay conveniently encamped vpon the riuier Singa, almost ten miles from the citie, in such sort as that his souldiours might vse the benefit of the riuier, and removed from the houses and pleasures of the citie, might yet neuertheless be easily releued with the store and plenty thereof.

The Mamalukes were scarce in number twelue thousand, but every one of them, according

The Mamalukes notable
souldiours.

as he was of greater place or calling, so had he attending vpon him more seruants, well furnished with horse and armour. A goodly and inuincible armie, if the battaile might haue been tried by true valour. The Mamalukes wearing their beards long and rough, with graue and sterne countenance, hauing strong and able bodies, vsed such cunning in all their fights and battailes, that after they had giuen the first charge with their launces, they would by and by with wonderfull aduirtise vse their bowes and arrowes, casting their targuets behind them; and forthwith the horsemans mace or crooked scimitar, as the manner of the battaile or place required. Their horses were strong and courageous, in making and swiftnesse much like vnto the Spanish Iennets; and that which is of many hardly beleueed, so docible, that at certaine signes or speeches of the rider, they would with their teeth reach him vp from the ground a launce, an arrow, or such like thing; and as if they had knowne the enemy, run vpon him with open mouth, and lash at him with their heeles, and had by nature and custome learned, not to be afraid of any thing. These courageous horses were commonly furnished with siluer bridles, guilt trapping, rich saddles, their neckes and breasts armed with plates of yron: the horseman himselfe was commonly content with a coat of maile or a breastplate of yron. The cheefe and wealthiest of them vsed headpieces; the rest a linnen couering of the head, curiously foulded into many wreathes, wherewith they thought themselves safe ynough against any handie strokes: the common souldiours vsed thrummed caps, but so thicke, as that no sword could pierce them.

Campson of all his armie made fise battailes: The first was committed to *Cayerbeius*, because it was in his owne prouince where the battaile was to be fought. The second was led by *Sybeius*, who for his wonderfull aduirtise was of them called *Baluan*, which in their language signifieth a tumbler, or one that sheweth feats of aduirtise; he was gouernour of DAMASCO, a man of singular faith and valour. These two great commanders were appointed at once to charge both the wings of the Turkes armie. After them followed *Gazelles* with the third battaile, to second either the one or the other of the two formost, as need should require. *Campson* himselfe led the fourth, all glittering in guilt armour, behind the rest almost a mile and a halfe. The last was left for defence of the campe.

The order of
Campson battell

But *Selymus* according to his wonted manner so ordered his battaile, that his Asian horsemen were in the right wing, his European horsemen in the left, his Ianizaries and artilerie in the maine battaile: before whom, in the middle betweene the two wings he had placed his most valiant and gallant pentioners, amongst whom, contrarie to his wonted custome, he chose to serue that day.

The order of Se-
lymus his battell.

Cayerbeius as soone as he was come neere the enemy (in token of his braue courage) gaue a hote charge vpon the European horsemen; and by and by, as if hee would haue compassed in that wing, wheeled a great way about behind them: where chauncing vpon a great companie of scullions, drudges, and other base people that followed the campe, with an infinit number of cammels and carriages, hee made there a great stirre, with little slaughter, that as a valiant and cunning traitour he might in the selfesame time satisfie the expectation of his valour and of his treason together. In the other wing, the gouernour of DAMASCO to enter vpon the open side of the enemy, forbearing to charge him affront, and turning about his troups on the left hand, entred ouerthwart their ranks: where the Mamalukes fought with such furie, that hauing made great slaughter of the Asian horsemen, they brake in amongst them, as if it had bene a raging flood, bearing all downe before them, vntill they came to the ensignes in the midst of that wing: neither could *Mustapha* the Beglerbeg (who was by birth an Hungarian, and *Selymus* his brother in law) neither the Imbrahor-Bassa (or master of the house) although they did what they might to withstand him, after the first were ouerthrowne, stay the rest, but that they would needs turne their backs and fle. So *Sybeius* as a valiant conquerour hauing cut in two peeces the right wing of the enemies battaile, and thrusting in betwixt the battaile of the footmen and the backs of the pentioners, brought a great terrour and feare vpon the whole maine battaile. The matter was now brought to extreame danger: for *Selymus* by the breaking in of *Sybeius* was almost cut off from his footmen, in whom he had reposed his greatest confidence. And now the Ianizaries were hardly charged by *Gazelles*, who following the fortune of *Sybeius* had set vpon the head of the enemies battaile. The Asian horsemen also being put to the worse, and cut in peeces, found no meanes how to restore againe their disordered battaile.

In this extremitie *Sinan Bassa* in good time came in with his horsemen: by his comming, for that

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that he had bene but lightly charged by *Cayerbeius* the traitour, and had brought with him many fresh troupes of horsemen, the furie of the Mamalukes was repressed, the Turkes againe encouraged, and the victorie shortly after wrung out of the Mamalukes hands; the great artillerie being by the commaundement of *Selymus* at the same time discharged amongst them, by the terrible thundring whereof, the Mamalukes horses somewhat troubled, could not so well as before be ruled: neither could the men themselves, although they were of wonderfull courage, much preuaile, being on euery side oppressed with the multitude of their enemies. Yet in that distresse being nothing dismayed, although they were by *Cayerbeius* and their good fortune forsaken, they were not to seeke either of courage or direction; but setting themselves close together, they brake through the midst of their enemies, with great slaughter of the European horsemen, and hurt of the pensioners; and so with speed fled towards the campe and citie. After whom followed *Sinan Bassa* with the readiest and freshest troupes of his horsemen: for *Selymus*, (who that day in the extreame heat, for his wonderfull paines, courage, and direction, seemed undoubtedly greater than himselfe) riding vp and downe, called earnestly vpon his souldiours to venge the victorie, and with all speed to pursue their flying enemies.

The death of
Campson.

Campson had now (his destinie so leading him) set forward, of purpose to come to the reliefe of his men sent before; or if the Turkes should be overcome, to be partaker of the victorie: when vpon the way, he vnderstood by them that fled, that *Cayerbeius* was revolted, his armie overthrowne, and the terrour so great, as that the flight of his souldiours was not now possibly to be staied: beside that to augment the feare, it was reported, that the multitude of his enemies, and force of their artillerie was so great, that they were not then, to bee encountered. With which heauie newes, the proud old man, who in the perpetuall course of his good fortune had neuer tasted of euill hap, was readie for sorrow and griefe of mind to haue sunk downe to the ground. And forthwith, his owne men, and the enemy pursuing them, comming vpon him, who in their headlong course without regard ouerthrew whomsoeuer they met, euery man making shift for himselfe without respect of others harmes: he being a corpulent man of great yeares, and beside the heauinesse of his armour troubled also with a rupture, overcome with heat and griefe of mind, fainted in that great presse; and so falling downe, was without regard troden to death, after he had with great maiestie governed the kingdomes of *Egypt*, *Libya*, and *Syria* many yeares. The valiant Tetrarchs of *Damasco* and *Tripolis*, whilst others fled for life, either to the campe or to the citie of *Aleppo*, labouring in the hindermost of their flying troupes to repress the force of their pursuing enemies, were both fighting honourably, slaine. *Selymus* erecting a few tents in the same field wherein the battell was fought, & keeping most part of his armie in armes, slept not all that night, but stood fast as a man not yet assured of his victorie or good fortune; fearing least men of so great valour as were the Mamalukes, should in the couert of the night returne and set vpon him in his campe: for hee knew right well, that they were overcome and put to flight, rather by the treacherie of *Cayerbeius* and furie of his great ordinance, than by the valour of his souldiours. But *Gazelles* and the other Mamalukes, after they certainly vnderstood of the death of *Campson*, hauing giuen their horses a short bait, departed in hast from *Aleppo* to *Damasco*. The next day, *Selymus* remouing with his armie, took the rich tents of his enemies full of all princely store, which he gaue vnto his souldiours for a prey: and marching from thence to *Aleppo*, had the citie peaceably deliuered vnto him by *Cayerbeius*, where he fauourably tooke the citizens into his protection; and the more to win their hearts, granted vnto them greater priuiledges than they had in former time enjoyed.

Aleppo deli-
uered to Selymus
by Cayerbeius
the traitor.

In this battell were slaine not aboute a thousand Mamalukes, but of their seruants and followers a greater number; mo being slaine in the flight than in the fight, when as their horses fainting for heat, and dying vnder them for thirst, many of them were enforced to betake themselves to their feet, and so were easily slaine of euery base horseman. For a great number of goodly horses died there, which being foggie fat, and delicatly brought vp in cold stables, could not endure the vehemencie of the heat and that vnacquainted trauell: for that day all things were burnt with the scorching heat of the Sunne.

This famous battell was fought the seauenth of August, in the yeare, of our Lord 1516, the verie same day (which is strange to tell) whereon but two yeares before, he had obtained the victorie against *Hyssmaell* the great Sophi in the *Calderan* fields. *Selymus* lost in this battell three thousand horsemen: whereby it may easily be gathered, that he had there receiued a notable

ble ouerthrow of his horsemen; if *Sinan Bassa* in the left wing, which by the treason of *Cayerbeius* escaped with small losse, had also happened vpon his *Sybeius*, as the other Generall did.

The dead bodie of *Campson* found two daies after without any wound appearing therupon, was by the commaundement of *Selymus* laied forth in open place for all men to behold; that such as beleued him yet to liue, and to be gone to repaire his armie at *Cairo*, might be out of all hope of his returne; and others that were alreadye reholted, might thereby be the more confirmed, as now out of all feare of him. Not long after, when the dead bodie began to putrefie and grow noisome, and to conuince the same of his escape; had lien openly to the view of all men by the space of three daies, it was without any funerall pompe or solemnitie simply buried in the most auncient temple of *Aleppo*. Of the rising and fall of this great man, *Ianus Vilius* hath written this elogium or epitaph.

The dead bodie
of Campson laied
out for all men
to view.

CAMPSON GAVRVS Sultan of Ægypt.



Paulus Loui-
us h. 4. Elog.
vriorum, li-
b. 1.

Fortuna cæca, & surda, verè dicitur,
Et mente vana prædita.
Ad alta tollis scæmina in thmo conditos,
Vt mox cadant profundius.

Z z ij

Alorosa

Selymus the first,

*Morosa tu mortalium appetentium
Votum, omne fulmine ocyus
Fugas, deinde te nihilpetentibus
Benignitate prodigis.
Campson ut ille Gaurius, nil ambiens,
Nil te proterua flagitans,
Inuitus imperator ora Ægyptia
Tumultuosa militum
Ex fece plebis factus insolentia,
Supra volabat nubila,
Inter receptus altiora sydera
Mox excidens altissimus,
Absumptus armis hinc & hinc rebellibus,
Grauis senectæ pondere
Fit ludus atrox impotentis aleæ
Tuæq; peruicaciæ,
Anisti & cum vita, opes quas maximo
Cum regno habebat maximas.*

In English thus.

Fortune, well cal'd both deafe, and blind,
And thereto fond with all,
Thou setst the beggar vp aloft,
To worke his greater fall.
Thou peeuish dame, more sudden than
The thunder clap from hie,
Rejects the suites of greedie wights,
Which to thee call and crie.
And lauishly consumes thy selfe,
And whatsoe' else thou hast,
On such as craue nothing of thee,
Nor wish nor to be grac't:
As *Campson Gaurus* seeking nought,
Ne crauing ought of thee:
Against his will by fouldiours rage,
was rais'd from base degree.
And soaring vp above the clouds,
Made king of Ægypt land,
Receiu'd amongst the highest starrs,
Did there in glorie stand.
But forthwith falling thence, oppress
With rebels, warre, and age:
Became the scoone of thine ouerthwart
Most fierce and fickle rage.
And so with life, together lost
A world of wealth also:
Which with his stately kingdome great,
He greatest did forgoe.

*Selymus com-
meth to Da-
masco.*

Selymus having receiued the citie of *ALEPPO* into his obeisance, sent *Ionuses Bassa* before him with a great part of his light horsemen, to pursue his flying enemies to *DAMASCO*, whither he himselfe in few daies after came also with the rest of his armie, when he vnderstood that his enemies were departed thence and fled to *CAIRE*. They of *DAMASCO*, thinking it not to stand with their good to stay the course of his victorie, and with their liues to hazard the

third Emperour of the Turkes.

the great wealth of that rich citie; without delay presently opened vnto him the gates at his coming. By whose example other cities alongt the sea coast moued, especially *TRIPOLIS*, *BARYTUS*, *SYDON*, and *POTLEMAIS*, sending their embassadors, and receiuing in the Turkes gar-risons, yeelded themselves in like manner.

Not long after *Selymus* held a great counsell in his campe, which then lay vnder the wals of *DAMASCO*: for he would not bring his fouldiours into the citie for troubling the quiet and populous state thereof, together with the great trade of merchandise, which at that time was with wonderfull securitie kept there by merchants of diuers countries, comming from far, euen from the remotest parts of the world. And in the campe such was the militarie discipline of that most seuerie commaunder, that the fouldiours (knowing the victorie to giue them no whit the more libertie) suffered the fruitfull orchards and gardens of the citisens, in the most plentiful time of Autumne, to rest in safetie vntouched, without any keeper. By which seuerie and strait goiernment he so politikelly prouided against all wants, that his campe was in all parts furnished with plenty of all things necessarie, and that at prices reasonable. There taking vnto him men skilfull in the lawes and customes of the countrey, and calling before him the embassadors of all the cities of the countrey; he heard and decided the greatest controuerfies of the Syrians, appointed gouernours ouer the prouinces and cities, tooke view of the tributes and customes, and abrogated many customes and tributes due vnto the old Sultans, which seemed either vnreasonable or grieuous to the people; thereby to gaine the fame of a iust and bountifull conqueror.

*Noble disci-
pline in Selymus
his armie.*

When he had thus set all things in order in *SYRIA*, and sufficiently rested and refreshed his armie, and especially his horses which with long and continuall trauell were growne maigre and leane: he of nothing more desirous than of the conquest of *ÆGYPT*, and the vtter subuersion of the Sultans state and Mamalukes gouernment; sent before *Sinan Bassa* into *IVDBA* with fiftene thousand horsemen, and a strong regiment of harquebusiers selected out of the Ianizaries and other fouldiours, to trie the passage of that countrey, and to open the way for him to *GAZA*: which was thought would be vnto him verie troublesome, by reason of the wilde Arabians roaming vp and downe that countrey. The citie of *GAZA* standeth neere the sea towards *ÆGYPT*, not farre from the sandie desarts, whereby men with much difficultie and dangerous trauell passe out of *SYRIA* and so to *CAIRE*.

In the meane time, the Mamalukes who vnder the conduct of *Gazelles* were come to *CAIRE*, with all the rest of their order which were thither assembled from all parts of the kingdome, entering into counsell together (as it often falleth out in time of danger and distresse) without all contention or enuie, chose *Tomombeius* (of the Turkes called *Tuman-bai*) a Circassian borne, to be their king. He was then the great Diadare, and by his office next in honour and power vnto the Sultan; whose prowesse & pollicie was such, that he only in the opinion of all the Mamalukes was thought able and sufficient to stay and vphold the afflicted and declining state of their kingdome. He by their generall consent and good liking promoted to the state of the great Sultan, thinking (as truth was) his owne majestic, and the remainder of the Mamalukes hopes, to bee wholly reposed in armes and the fortune of battell: began with great carefulnesse and singular indutrie to prouide armour, weapons, and horses from all places; hee also caused great store of ordinance to be cast, and mustered great companies of such of his slaues as seemed meet for the warres: beside that, he entertained for pay many of the Moores and Arabians his neighbours. He also for great reward hired men skilfull of the countries, to go through the desarts of the Palmyrens into *MESOPOTAMIA*, and so to *Hysmaell* the Persian king with letters: earnestly requesting him to invade the Turkes dominions in *ASIA* the lesse, or with all speed to breake into *COMAGENA*, being by the departure of the enemy left bare and destitute of sufficient gar-risons: and farther to aduertise him, That *Selymus* who then lay in the borders of *IVDBA*, might easily be enclosed with their two armies, and so be vanquished, or for want of victuals distressed: and the rather, for that there was no fleet of the Turkes vpon that coast; able from sea to relieue their armie by land, or yet to transport them thence in case they should by chance of warre be distressed, and so thinke to returne. In which doing, he should both relieue the Egyptian Sultan his friend and confederat, for his sake brought into so great danger; and also without any great trouble or perill notably reuenge himselfe of so many shamefull injuries as he had before receiued from that his most capital enemy. Whilest *Tomombeius* doth these things, *Sinan Bassa* the forerunner of *Selymus*, hauing easily repulsd diuers companies of the wild Arabians, who in

*Tomombeius by
the generall con-
sent of the Ma-
malukes, chosen
Sultan of Æ-
gypt.*

Gaza yielded to
Sinan.

manner of theeves and robbers lay vpon the passages, had now opened the way and was come to GAZA: where the citizens, although they were in heart faithfull vnto the Mamalukes, yet for that to shut their gates against the Bassa, &c to stand vpon their guard without a sufficient garison, seemed a matter both perillous and vnreasonable, forthwith yeelded their citie vpon reasonable composition: and with the plentie thereof relieved the Turkes Bassa, giuing him great (but disguised) thanks, that by his means and the good fortune of *Selymus*, they were deliuered from the cruell bondage of the Mamalukes: promising for the remembrance of so great a benefite, for euer to remaine his faithfull seruants. *Sinan* commending their readie good will, required of them all such things as he wanted, or had occasion to vse, which they seemed willingly to deliuer: and so lodged his armie neere vnto the wals of the citie, within the defence of the gardens, purposing in that place to expect the comming of *Selymus*.

In the meane time (as he was a man of great experience, and most skillfull in martiall affaires) he fought by all meanes to get knowledge of that desert and vnpeopled countrey, not inhabited for lacke of water; and especially of the nature of the great sands whereby *Selymus* was with his armie to passe; he also wooon by rewards the inhabitants of the countrey thereabout, by large offers to procure vnto him the fauour of the cheefetaines and leaders of the Arabians, neere vnto those places, and also to espie what the Mamalukes did at CAIRE, and wherein they reposed their cheefe confidence, and forthwith to giue him knowledge thereof.

On the other side, the citizens of GAZA, in heart enemies vnto the Turkes, as dayly feeling the grieuances of the present armie, aduertised *Tomombeius* of the comming of *Sinan Bassa*: and that that part of the Turkes armie might easily bee oppressed before the comming of *Selymus*, if a strong power of Mamalukes were sent thither vnder the conduct of skillfull leaders: promising, that if the Mamalukes would at an appointed time vpon the sudden in the night set vpon the sleepe Turkes, they would at the same instant fallie out of the citie vpon the campe, and there with fire and sword doe what harme they could for the ouerthrow of the enemy.

Of this deuise, *Tomombeius* and the Mamalukes liked well, and so without delay sent *Gazelles* with six thousand chosen horsemen, and a great number of the Arabians to performe the exploit vpon *Sinan*: for *Gazelles*, in that his wholesome counsell had been by *Campson* &c others rejected (who being straight way desirous of battell, had rashly cast themselves and the whole state into so great calamitie) and afterwards in the greatest danger of the battell hauing performed all the parts of a politicke and valiant cheefetaine, was growne into such credit, that all men held a great opinion both of his valour and direction.

Sinan aduertised
of the comming
of *Gazelles*, ga-
ue his rely to
meet him.

But he was scarcely well set forth, when aduertisement was giuen vnto *Sinan* by his Syrian intelligencers, That the Mamalukes with the Arabians were comming through the sandie deserts vpon the sudden to oppress him; and that they would be with him before two dayes were expired, for as much as they had set forward vpon the spurre without any carriages or baggage to let them. Which ouerture in good time giuen, as it was the safegard of *Sinans* armie, so was it of greatest importance and moment for the obtaining of the full conquest of AEGIPT afterward. But *Sinan Bassa*, although he knew nothing of the trecherie of them of GAZA; yet as a man of a prouident and subtil witt, suspecting that such a thing might happen, because he would not at once haue to do with a double enemy, resolved to go and meet the Mamalukes vpon the way, and to giue them battell. Wherefore with great silence dislodging his armie betwixt ten and twelue a clocke in the night, he set forward and marched out of sight of the citie, about fifteene miles toward AEGIPT. There was neere vnto that place a little low village, wherein trauellours vsed commonly to lodge, for the commodiousnesse of a liuely and plenteous spring which there riseth: there by chance both *Sinan Bassa* had purposed to stay, and *Gazelles* in like manner had also determined to rest a few houres to refresh his armie, that he might by night, after he had well refreshed his horses, come vnlooked for vpon his enemies at GAZA; when newes was brought to both the Generals almost at one instant, by the forerunners of both the armies, That the enemy was at hand.

Gazelles not a little troubled with that vnexpected newes, for that he perceiued himselfe disappointed of his purpose; and vnable to fight with his enemy in plaine battaile, especially his horses being sore wearied with trauell, was enforced vpon the suddaine for the safegard of himselfe and of his followers, to resolve vpon a new resolution: yet nothing discouraged, with cheerefull countenance and liuely speech exhorted his souldiours, to make themselves readie for battaile,

battaile, and that which they could not by policie bring to passe, they should now by plain force performe. *Sinan* on the other side hauing somewhat sooner set his men in order of battell than had *Gazelles*, for as much as hee had before at good leisure taken order what hee would haue done, if it should come to the point of battell: with constant looke and long persuasions full of hope, encouraged his souldiours to fight. But the conclusion of all his speech was, That they should play the men, and not once thinke of flight, for as much as all places about them would be shut vp and become impassable, if they obtained not the victorie: and that about all things they should persuade themselves, that no one of them could that day perish, but such as the immortal God had by the ineuitable law of fatall destinie appointed to die: and that with like hazard valiant men found life in the midst of their enemies weapons, that cowards by immutable destinie found death in their safest flight.

The Bassa had placed his harquebusers in the wings of his battell, which were raunged of a great length in thin ranks, thereby to vse their peeeces at more libertie, and with more ease to enclose the enemy: in the middle were placed the horsemen, to receiue the first charge of the Mamalukes. *Gazelles* approaching the enemy, sent before the troupes of the Arabian light horsemen to trouble the wings of the enemies battell, and with a square battell of his Mamalukes charged the middle battell of the Turkes. The battell was a great while most terrible, and the victorie doubtfull: for although the Turkes in number farre exceeded, yet were they not able to endure the armed and courageous Mamalukes, but were glad to giue ground; and quite disordered by the breaking in of the Mamalukes, as men discouraged, began to looke about them which way they might flie: when by the commaundement of *Sinan*, the harquebusers, who with the first volley of their shot had repulsed the Arabians, wheeling about, enclosed all the enemies battell. By which means both men and horse were a farre off flaine, with the multitude of the deadly shot: where true valour helped not them, so on euery side enclosed. For where any troupe of the Mamalukes pressed forward vpon the Turkes, they quickly retired, and in all places of the battell as much as they could shunned to encounter their enemies with their horsemen, labouring onely to gale them with shot. *Gazelles* seeing his horses spent with extreame wearinesse, and that he was not to expect any further helpe, his Arabians now beginning to fall from him; and also considering that many of his most valiant souldiours were either flaine or wounded, and hauing also himselfe receiued a great wound in his necke; he with the rest of his armie made way through the midst of his enemies, and hauing lost diuers of his ensignes, fled backe againe to CAIRE through the same sandie deserts whereby he came. In this battell was lost the gouernour of ALEXANDRIA, and *Orchamus* gouernour of CAIRE (both men of great account amongst the Mamalukes) and beside them a great number of Arabians, with a thousand or more of the Mamaluke horsemen. Neither got *Sinan* a joyfull or vnbloudie victorie, hauing lost about two thousand of his best horsemen, and amongst them certaine commanders, men of great marke.

The Turkes wearie of this battell, which had endured from noone till night, and many of their horses fainting vnder them, were not able to pursue their enemies, and therefore encamped themselves in the same place where the battell was fought, neere vnto the fountaine. The day following they at leisure gathered the spoile, and cutting off the heads of their enemies, which were easily knowne by their long and rough beards, fastened them vp vpon the Date trees growing thereby, as well in witnesse of their worthie labour, as by that strange and horrible spectacle to feed the eyes of their fierce emperor, who was shortly after to passe that way, and so to manifest vnto him the victorie of that day.

In the meane time, they of GAZA vpon the rising of the Sunne, perceiuing the Turkes campe left empty, as men not able longer to dissemble their couert trecherie; and vainly supposing that *Sinan Bassa* vpon some knowledge of the comming of the Mamalukes, had for feare retired backe into places of more safetie, suddenly set vpon such as were left in the campe, which were for most part sicke and weake men (yet in number many) whom they most cruelly slew: & presently after set vpon two thousand of the Turkes horsemen, sent from *Selymus* to *Sinan*, which by chance were come thither the same day, enquiring with great carelesse what was become of the Bassa and his armie; and spoiling them of their carriages, put them to flight. Who after that discomfiture, supposing the Bassa (whom they had thought to haue found at GAZA, tarrying for the comming of *Selymus*) by some mishap or policie of the enemy to haue been lost with all

all his armie, and therefore fearefully retiring, were vpon the way miserably slaine by the Arabians: neither had any one of them escaped, if they had not met with *Iuleb* the gouernour of *Achaia* at the citie of *Rama*: for he was also sent from *Selymus* to *Sinan Bassa* with a strong companie of Gracian horsemen, by whose comming the furie of the Arabians was well repressed. Yet these pilfering people still calling forth to the prey more and more of their leaders which dwelt in the mountaines adjoyning, and being growne to a great armie, ouertooke the Turkes at a village called *Caraseara*, where they enforced them to fight in a place of great disadvantage. For the Arabians hauing before taken certaine straits, which closed in the passage at the further end of a large valley, shewed themselves at once, before, behind, and on both sides of the Turkes: their weapons were bow and arrowes, and long speares armed at both ends, which they nimble handled, after the manner of the Moores. These weapons they most skillfully vsed vpon their swift horses, and both in their charge and retreat wounded their enemies deadely. So that the Turkes in number few, and for their horsemenes staues inferior to their enemies, durst not offer to charge them; but keeping close together, hardly defended themselves, still making way as they might: and had vndoubtedly beene brought into extreame danger to haue beene utterly lost, had not *Iuleb* with foure peeces of artillerie which he brought with him for his defence, drawne them which kept the straits from their high places, and so opening the way, with all speed brought thorow his men: which straits once passed, and comming into the open fields, he with more safetie marched forward, skirmishing a farre off with the enemy with his arches and harquebusiers, and discharging his field peeces where he saw the greatest and thickest troupes of those wild people.

On the other part, the Arabians disperedly houering about them in troupes, were still in the taile of the armie, and such as were wounded or weake and could not follow the rest, they slew; and sought by all meanes to hinder their journey, not suffering them (circumuented with so many dangers) either to refresh themselves, or to take any rest. This was vnto the Turkes a most dismal day, for many of them tormented with thirst, and weakened with wounds and extreame labour, gaue vp the ghost; and now no helpe remained in this desperate estate, being still beset and hardly laied to with the multitude of those fierce and desperat enemies: when suddainely a great number of other Turkes came to them in the mid way vnlooked for, being now in despaire and euen at the last cast. For *Selymus* hauing left the *Imbrahor-Bassa* with a strong armie vpon the borders of *Persia*, for the defence of *Syria* and *Asia*, and hauing sent for new supplies of souldiours to *Constantinople*, which should with a great fleet be transported into *Syria*, had now remoued from *Damasco*: and the better to prouide for victuals and forrage, which began now to grow scant in that wasted countrey, euery day sent before great troupes and companies of his armie, as it were at certaine appointed times.

So *Iuleb* deliuered of the present danger by the comming in of these fresh souldiours, met with *Selymus* the next day, and in order told him all that had happened vnto him and his first troupes at *Gaza* and *Rama*, and all the way after: and also what they supposed by conjectures to haue chanced to *Sinan Bassa* with his armie, for the manifold wyles of so dangerous enemies. With which newes *Selymus* became exceeding melancholie: and thereupon thought it not good to goe any further, before he perfectly knew how all stood with *Sinan*, in whose fortune he had reposed all the hope of his good successe in that so great an enterprize. But whilest hee was in this dumpe, suddenly came the Syrian spies, who declaring vnto him all that *Sinan Bassa* had done, conuerted that melancholie passion into no lesse joy and gladnesse: for he saw that by that victorie, *Egipt* was laid open vnto him, and his desires as good as halfe accomplished in lesse time than euer he expected.

The next day after, he remoued with his armie to *Rama*, and by the way as he went (to the terror of others) burnt the dwellings together with the wiues and children of those Arabians, who but a little before had done so much harme to his men in their passage. And from thence sending before his footmen to *Sinan Bassa* at *Gaza*, hee himselfe with his horsemen turned out of the way vpon the left hand to *Hierusalem*, to visit that most antient and famous citie, so much renowned both for the antiquitie thereof, and the fame of the religion of the Iewes. That vnpeopled and desolate citie lay then defaced with the huge ruines of the old sacred and stately buildings; not inhabited by the Iewes, the antient inhabitants thereof (who for their inexpiable guilt, as men exiled out of the world, haue neither country or resting place) but for most part by

a few poore Christians, who to the great shame and scorne of the Christian name, paid yearly a wonderfull tribute vnto the Sultan of *Egipt* for the possession of the sacred sepulchre: when as the Christian princes flourishing at that time with glorie, power and wealth, could not by any motive of immortall glorie or fame, be incited to reuenge so great an iniurie; but deeming it (as should seeme) better agreeing with their state, to spend their time in idle vanities or mortall warone against an other, than in the quartrell of the most true and Christian religion.

Selymus hauing reuerently worshipped the auntient monuments of the old prophets, and done especiall sacrifice vnto his great prophet *Mahomet*; gaue vnto the Christian priests keepers of the place (as vnto good and deuout men) money to maintaine them for six moneths: and staying at *Hierusalem* but one night, marched in foure daies to the rest of his army at *Gaza*. Where by the way, he had continuall skirmishes both day and night with the Arabians: for they according to their wonted manner, were desperately at hand in euerie place; and where the straightnesse of the waies enforced the Turkes to extenuat their rankes, there would they be ready to skirmish with them, and suddenly vnlooked for come to handie blowes: and when they came into the vallies, they tumbled downe the mountaines vpon them great stones which they had for that purpose before prouided. At which time the Turkes harquebusiers in whom they had greatest confidence, serued them to little purpose: for the weather was so tempestuous and extreame moist with continuall raine, that the powder in their flasks became wet and vnseruicable, and hardly could they keepe fire in their matches. Yet by the valiantnesse of the Ianizaries the matter was so vfed, that neere vnto the person of the emperour no great harme was done by those naked robbers: for climbing vp the hills with pikes in their hands, they driue them from their standings, and enforced them to abandon the straights and high places.

But *Sinan Bassa* who after his victorie returning to *Gaza*, had put to death the authors of the late reuolt, confiscated their goods, and exacted of the people in generall a great sum of money, as the iust punishment of their false treacherie: hearing now of the comming of *Selymus*, went to meet him with his victorious souldiours, furnished with the spoiles of their enemies. Vvhom *Selymus* most honourably receiued, and gaue generally to the captaines, and particularly to the most valiant of the common souldiours, garments of silke, with a great sum of money in reward of their good seruice.

After that, he staid but foure daies at *Gaza*, for that he thought it not good to giue any long time of breathing vnto his discouraged enemies, now twise ouerthrowne, or to suffer the new Sultan (not yet well settled in his kingdome) to grow stronger by new preparations and supplies raised in the most populous and plentifull countrey of *Egipt*. Vvhich to let, although it required great hast in setting forward, and serued as spurs vnto him naturally hasting to glorie and renowne; yet was his armie to be refreshed after so long and painfull trauell, and great provision to be made for the carriage of water vpon camels all the way through the drie solitarie and sandie deserts. For betweene *Gaza* and *Caire* lie vast vnpeopled and barren sands, which moued by the wind, rise vp in billowes in manner of a wrought sea so troublesome, that oftentimes it is not possible to see for dust: and the light sands in many places gauled deepe with the wind, wonderfully troubleth the wearie passengers. But such a sudden calme ensued the great raine which fell but a few daies before, that *Selymus* vnto his great good fortune wanted nothing that he could wish, for the happie conducting of his armie: for the ayre was become so calme, that there was no blast of wind to raise the sand to trouble their sight; and withall such plentie of water was found almost in euerie place by reason of the abundant raine, which being not yet sunke farre into the sand, afforded them water in such plentie if they digged but two foot deepe, that the souldiours commonly thought it needlesse to carrie any bottle of water for feare of thirst. Yet for all that, the wild Arabians failed not in all that passage, on euerie side to houer about the Turkes armie (as haukes ouer their prey), and suffered none of them to straggle out of order, or stay behind the armie, but they were straightway snatcht vp and slaine. Against whom *Selymus* provided an easie remedie, by placing his field peeces in diuers parts of his armie, which by the direction of the leaders (as euerie man happened to be neere vnto the danger) were forthwith discharged vpon the roaming enemy. And in the rearward of his armie were placed strong companies of harquebusiers, for defence of the weake and feeble souldiours, who could but softly follow the armie, and were therefore most subject to danger.

By this meanes *Selymus* with some small losse receiued from the Arabians, in eight daies march

Selymus doubting Sinan Bassa to haue beene left, becometh melancholie.

Newes of Sinan Bassa's victorie comforteth Selymus.

1517
Sinan Bassa goeth to meet Selymus as he was coming to Gaza.

*Tomombeius se-
eks to entrap
the Turkes.*

march drew neere to CAIRE, *Sinan Bassa* going before him, who with his European souldiours still kept one daies journey before. There is a village about six miles distant from the cite of CAIRE called MATHAREA, famous for the plenty of most excellent baulme: which liquor of all others most fragrant and souveraigne, distilled out of low trees there planted, whose vntermost rind the people cut with yuorie knives to giue the liquor passage: which baulme, for the notable vertues thereof, being not elsewhere to be had, mens diseases and wanton desires haue made of a wonderfull price. Into that place neere vnto a village called RHODANTA, had *Tomombeius* conuaid all his new and old prouision of artillerie; and had drawne deepe ditches ouerthwart all the field, and crosse the high way, which he had closely couered ouer with weake hurdles and earth, as if it had beene firme ground. And he with his Mamalukes (in number about twelue thousand) and a great multitude of Arabian horsemen lay in places conuenient, of purpose that when the Turkish battels should approach, they should first feeble the force of his great ordinance before they came within the shot of their arrowes, and forthwith vpon great aduantage, with all his forces suddenly to set vpon them disordered and entrapped. All which things were so cunningly and so politickely dispatched and done, that there was none in the Sultans armie which doubted of the good successe of that day: and a great mischiefe had vndoubtedly befallen the Turkes, had not fortune which fauoured *Selymus* and frowned vpon *Tomombeius* (or more truly to say, the fatal period of that kingdome so requiring) by the false treacherie of a few, frustrated the great endeavors of the Mamalukes.

There was in the Sultans armie amongst the souldiours of the court, southe Epiriote Mamalukes, who grieued to see *Tomombeius* contrarie to their desires; preferred vnto the kingdome by others of a contrarie faction: whether it were vpon a malicious disposition, or vpon hope of reward and better entertainment; or for that in so great a declination of their kingdome, they thought it good to seeke for new friends of more assurance, fled secretly to *Sinan Bassa*, as to a most famous captaine and one of their owne nation. For this great commander *Sinan*, *Selymus* his right hand, was borne in a poore countrey village of EPIRVS, in the mountaine countrey of AMERACIA, whom a wonderfull mischance preferred to that height of credit and wealth: for it is reported, that a sow kept in the house wherein he was borne, bit off his genitories, being then but a child, as he lay by chance sleeping in the shadow; and being made of greater esteeme by that mishap, was by them which tooke vp delicat minions for the Turkish emperour, brought to CONSTANTINOPLE, and presented to the great emperour *Mahomet*; *Selymus* his grandchilder: where fortune by the fatal direction of his good hap, advanced him to his appointed honours, whom he had long before dismembred. By these fugitiue Mamalukes, *Selymus* and *Sinan* were instructed of all the deuises of the enemy, and especially what stratagems *Tomombeius* had with great cunning and pollicie deuised: whereinto they must needs fall, if they should go directly on, and not forsake the hie way. Wherefore guided by the same fugitiues, they fetched a great compasse on the left hand, and by an vnused way, before it was day hauing escaped the front of their enemies campe, with all the dangers prepared for them; they came and shewed themselves at their backs in order of battell, with their great artillerie readie bent, because they were desirous without delay to joyne battell.

Tomombeius now too late perceiving that his plot was discovered by the treason of some of his owne people, although he was therewith about measure grieued; for that all which he had with so great industrie and the labour of so many men brought to passe, was through spightfull fortune made frustrat, and in a moment brought to nought: yet for all that (as he was a man of an inuincible courage) presently entred into his wonted and deepe deuises, and calling vnto him his chiefe commanders, quickly told them what he would haue done. Now in this short moment of time, he was to doe many things at once; the signall was to be giuen for the souldiours to mount their horses, and to make themselves readie; the order of his campe was to be changed; his battell to be ordered; his souldiours to be encouraged; and all his great ordinance, as the case required, quite contrarie way to be turned: all which things, as they could but hardly and troublefomely by one commander be directed, so were they hastily and disorderedly at once done by many. But about all other things, the great concourse of people for turning and remouing the great artillerie most troubled the well ordering of the rest: for many of them were huge yron pieces of great waight, made fast in stocks of wood, with rings and yron clasps, after the old and rude manner of ship ordinance; which for their exceeding & ponderous waight, could

*The coming of
Selymus by an
unexpected way,
which great
confusion in To-
mombeius campe.*

could not be out of their places remoued, but by the strength of many horses, and the great labour of men, with leauers and roubles put vnder them: and such as were mounted vpon carriages, when they were drawne through all parts of the campe, with the great clamor of the disordered and hastie people, some drawing, some thrusting forward the same, with their tumultuous stirre and doings, wonderfully troubled the other souldiours as they were mounting to horse and repairing toward their ensignes. But two things maruellously helped these difficulties, the souldiours cheerefulness, and constancie; which was such as passeth credit: For they did not vpon any apprehension of feare faile either in hope or courage, as oftentimes it happeneth in suddaine accidents, wherein euen the old approved souldiours doe many times faile of their wonted valor. And although they were twice ouercome in battell, yet still they were of greater spirit & confidence, as men destitute neither of courage or skill, but onely of fortune.

Wherefore *Tomombeius* hauing with much adoe ordered his battell, and his souldiours with great cheerefulness desiring the signall to be giuen, commaunded all the multitude of his Arabians to compasse in the wings of the enemies battell behind, and so to skirmish with them: that so (if it were possible) the Turkes horsemen might with the danger of the doubtfull fight with such an vncertaine enemy, be disordered before he set forward to charge them with his troupes: and withall commaunded his great ordinance (which was now turned vpon the enemy) to be presently discharged. So did the Turkes likewise, discharging at once from a conuenient distance both their greater and smaller ordinance, and speedily recharging them, brought them within an arrow shot; so that for a good space they lay beating the one the other on both sides with their great artillerie onely: in which manner of fight the Egyptian canoniers were almost all slaine, and many of their fieldpieces broken by force of the enemies shot. For *Selymus* had in his campe many excellent and skilfull canoniers, whom he had with great entertainment allured out of ITALIE and GERMANIE: and especially of those refuge Iewes, which by the zeale of king *Ferdinand* being driuen out of SPAIN, afterwards to the shame of the Christians, dispersed those rare and deadly deuices through the East. The chiefe of these canoniers was one *Iacobus de Regio Lepidi*, a cunning engineer, who but a little before ouercome by the Turkes rewards, abjuring the Christian religion, resolted vnto the Mahometane superstition.

*Christian cano-
niers serue the
Turkes against
the Egyptians.*

But after that the Mamalukes had brought the matter to battell on both sides, they gaue out a most hideous and dreadfull crie, and with exceeding furie assailed the Turkes in three places: for *Selymus* still keeping his wonted order, approached his enemies with his battell in forme of an halfe Moone. *Mustapha Bassa* had the leading of the Asian horsemen in the right wing: and *Ionas Bassa* of the Europeans in the left: he himselfe stood in the maine battell with the squadron of his trustie Ianizaries, and great store of artillerie: but *Sinan* the Eunuch Bassa, generall of the field, led after him a great number of most valiant horsemen, drawne out of euery troupe to be readie against all the vncertaine euents that might happen in the battell; vnto whom hee joyned five hundred harquebusiers, Ianizaries, men of wonderfull courage and actiuitie, selected out of *Selymus* his owne Squadron, to relieue such part of the armie as should chance to be most pressed by the enemy.

*The order of Se-
lymus his armie.
Sinan Bassa Ge-
nerall of the field*

So almost at one time, whilest *Tomombeius* stood in the maine battell against *Selymus*, and the wings of the Mamalukes with equall battell encountered the wings of the Turkes, and the Arabians also valiantly charging them in the reerward as they had in charge, foure sharpe battels were at once made in diuers places. It is reported by some that were present in that battell, that what for the clamour and crie of souldiours, what for the noise of drums and trumpets and such like instruments of warre, what for the thundering of ordinance, clattering of armour, and rising of the dust, all mens minds were so confounded and abashed, that running on headlong as men furious and desperat, when neither their speeches could be heard, their tokens knowne, their ensignes seene, or captaines vnderstood, mistaking one another in that hurly burly, they slew many of their friends in steed of their enemies: for neuer battels met together with greater hatred, neither did euer two great kings with lesse care of their persons and safetie more resolutely or desperately make shew of their strength and courage. For both of them with like danger both of themselves and of their armies, seeing plainly that they had put both their liues and kingdomes to the hazard of a battell, promised vnto themselves no other hope of safetie, but what they should obtaine by victorie. *Gazelles* desirous both of honour and of reuenge, to requite the European horsemen with like slaughter as he had before receiued from them not far from GAZA, with

with wonderfull furie assailed *Ionufes Bassa*, and at the first encounter brake his first ranks, and overthrew certain of his guidons: at which time the Arabians pressing couragiously in at their backs, enforced those victorious troupes, which in all battels had hitherto carried away the prize (the very flower of *THRACIA*, *THESSALIA*, *EPHYRS*, *MACEDONIA*, and *GRECIA*) to flee and shew their backs, which neuer enemy had before that time seene. At which time *Sinan Bassa* carefully attending every accident, came speedily in with his most valiant troupes of fresh men vpon the side of the enemy, and restored againe the battell, now declining and foulely disordered. But whiles *Sinan*, who in this his last worthie labour had interrupted the manifest victorie of *Gazelles*, was with an inuincible courage valiantly fighting in the head of his battell, he was by the comming in of the courageous captain *Bidon* with his Mamalukes, overcharged and slaine. His most valiant followers also labouring to rescue and carrie away his dead bodie, were by *Gazelles* vnfolding his troupes (that standing thin, they might at more libertie vse their swords, in which manner of fight the Mamalukes farre excelled the Turks) for most part slaine, and the rest put to flight: and that chosen companie of five hundred of the most valiant Janizaries, now destitute of their horsemen, when they had most courageously done what was possible for men to doe, being compassed rotund with the Mamaluke horsemen, were all in a trice cut in peeces and troden vnderfoot. Thus resteth this Eunuch Bassa in the bed of fame, who liuing, had the leading of this most warlike emperour *Selymus* his greatest armies in his most dangerous warres.

Sinan Bassa with most of his followers slaine by *Bidon*.

Mustapha with his Asian souldiers, overthrew the left wing of the *Sultans* army.

Mustapha in the other wing of the Turks battell comming on courageously with his Asian horsemen, did sore presse the left wing of the Egyptians (whereof *Heylmis* the Diadare, and *Gaspal*, two valiant capitaines had the leading) who but a little before had receiued great harme by the great ordinance which was discharged out of the midst of *Selymus* his battell ouerthwart the field: VVhich *Mustapha* perceiuing, and desiring to blot out the old infamie hee had before receiued, did fiercely presse vpon them, so disordered, and with his whole troupes overthrew their broken ranks; and glittering in his bright armour, with a loud voice encouraged his Asian souldiers, exhorting them that day with valiant prowesse or honourable death, to recouer their ancient honour of late lost in the fields of *ALIPPUS*.

At the same time also *Tomombeius* breaking through the middle battell of the Turks horsemen, was entred into the Squadron of the footmen, with his crooked scimitar giuing many a deadly wound, himselfe being a valiant big made man, and of great strength. The Arabians had also in a ring enclosed the vttermost parts of the Turks armie, and in many places enforced them to turne their battell vpon them, being sore charged with a doubtfull fight both before and behind: when *Selymus* set forward with his battell of footmen, and his Squadron of Janizaries, his last and most assured refuge in that his hard distresse, whose inuincible force, neither the courageous barbed horses, nor their victorious riders were able to abide: for part of them with their harquebusers, and the rest with their pikes, had so strongly set the front of their battell, that nothing was able to stand wherefoeuer that firme battell, linked together as if it had been but one whole entire bodie, swayed. Yet was this cruell battell continued with diuers fortune on both sides, from foure of the clocke vntill the going downe of the Sunne; neither was there any part of their armies, which had not with diuers successe and change of fortune, endured the fume of that battell: for both the victors and the vanquished being enraged with an implacable hatred one against another, fought desperately as men prodigall of their liues: The Mamalukes disdain- ing to haue the victorie wrong out of their hands by them whom they had in so many places discomfited, and the Turks taking it in no lesse scorn, that they, whom but of late they had overcome and vanquished in two great battels, should now the third time make so strong resistance. So that on both sides their fainting hands and bodies both wearied and weakened with wounds, supported only with anger and obstinacie of mind, seemed yet sufficient to haue maintained that bloudie battell vntill the next day, if the darkenesse of the night now comming on, had not made an end of that dayes slaughter.

Tomombeius vndoubtedly vanquished, and fearing to be vtterly ouerthrowne, first caused a retreat to be sounded, that his Mamalukes which were indeed not able to withstand the Janizaries, might not seeme to be put to flight, but rather as men commaunded, to retire. VVhich hee thought to concerne much both for the encouraging of his souldiers, and for the keeping of his owne credit and estimation with his subjects. For now the selfe same fortune which had decreed

his first hopes, seemed vnto him (as it fareth with men in distresse, yet still hoping for better) to promise him more prosperous successe, if he were not discouraged: but reseruing such remainders of his forces as were left, he should againe courageously renew the warre.

The battell thus broken off by the approach of the night, the Turkes as victors enjoying the tents and great artilerie of their enemies, pursued the Mamalukes vntill midnight, who held on their way to *CAIRE*, in manner as if they had fled. This great battell was fought vpon a Thursday the foure and twentieth day of Januarie, in the year 1517. The Diadare was taken in the flight mortally wounded, and with him the valiant capitaine *Bidon*, hauing in the battell one of his legs broken in the knee with a faultshion shot, wherewith his horse was also slaine vnder him. *Selymus* commaunded them both the next day to bee slaine, either for that their wounds were supposed to be incurable, or els for that it was his pleasure, with the death of those two honorable personages to appease the angry ghost of *Sinan Bassa*, whose death he wonderfully lamented.

Selymus caused the Diadare and the valiant captain *Bidon* to be slaine.

The Turkes although they still preuailed, yet was their armie greatly impaired euen in their prosperous successe and fortunat battels: the fourth part of their armie was consumed with sickness and the sword; and that dayes labour had tyred a great number of their horses, beside the long journey they had before endured: For which causes *Selymus* was enforced to slacke somewhat of his accustomed haile: for as yet he had no experience of the disposition of the Egyptians which dwelt at *CAIRE*; neither could he vnderstand by any certaine report, where *Tomombeius* staid, or vpon what resolution he rested. VVhich things not thoroughly known, he thought it not good to commit himselfe and his armie into that most populous and spacious citie: but staying foure dayes at the village of *MATHARRA* and *RHODANIA*, carefully provided for his wounded souldiers, and caused the bodies of such as were slaine to be buried; but the dead cat-kasses of his enemies he left to the birds of the aire and beasts of the field. And afterward removing his campe thence, that he might more commodiously water, he came into the plaines betwene old *CAIRE* and *BVLACH*.

In the meane while *Tomombeius* nothing discouraged with so many mishaps, gathering together the Mamalukes from all places, encamped his armie commodiously betwene the new citie of *CAIRE* and the riuer *Nylus*, hee also armed eight thousand *Ethyopian* slaues (which kind of men he had not before vsed, for the remembrance of their old rebellion,) beside that hee opening the old armourie, put armes into the hands of Mamalukes sonnes, and Moores (his vassalles) into the hands of the Iewes and Arabians also, and courageously prepared for a greater and more mortall warre than before. But for as much as there were many difficulties in the managing thereof, hauing almost lost all his great artilerie, with many of his most valiant horsemen slaine in the former battels; he in his troubled mind did so cast the doubtfull hopes of his last deuice, which cruell necessitie wrung from him, that for as much as he had by manly force nothing preuailed in open field, he would now altogether vse policie: as hee which of late hauing vnfavourably made prooue of his strength, his forces yet all whole, thought it not good againe to aduenture the fortune of a battell: neither was hee in hope if he should so doe, to be able with his small power and desperat supplies to protract the warre vntill the heat of Summer, as he desired. VVherefore he resolved by night to assaile the Turkes campe, and if possibly he could, to set it on fire. For which his deuice hee seemed to haue two reasons: whereof the one consisted in the speedie execution, that he might desperately attempt to doe some notable exploit in the night, before the enemy should perceite the weakenesse of his power, which was not great, and scambled vpon the sudden; as also before hee himselfe should grow into contempt with the naturall Egyptians, who desiring nothing more than to cast off the serile yoke of the Mamaluke gouernment, with wauering minds expected but some fit occasion to rebell: the other was, that by the benefit of the night hee might auoid the danger of the great ordinance; which in sudden accidents, and especially in the darkness of the night, serueth to little or no purpose; in which kind of strength he had before to his great losse learned, that his enemies were farre too good for him. But these his reasonable policies, when all things were in readinesse to haue put the same in execution, were in like manner as the first overthrowne by the treason of such as secretly revolted from him to the enemy.

The purpose of *Tomombeius* discovered to *Selymus*.

For *Selymus* vnderstanding the whole plot, by certain Mamalukes, (which hauing the kings euill fortune in contempt, as it commonly falleth out with men in miserie, daily forooke him) commaunded his armie to be alwaies in readinesse, and making great fires in diuers places of his campe,

campe, kept most carefull and vigilant watch. By which his diligence it came fitly to passe, that the night following *Tomombeius* approaching his campe, was repulsed, with no small losse of his first troupes which vnadvisedly were gone on too far: and had no doubt that night thereby receiued his last ouerthrow, but that he wisely misdoubting the vnwonted light of the fires shining in all parts of the campe, in time called backe his halting troupes, which were themselves with more hast than good speed marching into the verie mouth of the Turks great artillerie, bent of purpose vpon them.

Tomombeius disappointed of his purpose, by perswasion of his chieftaines retired to *CAIRB*: for the Mamalukes still put to the worke in plaine field, thought it best to proceed in another manner; perswading him, with the whole strength of his armie to man all the conuenient places of that great citie, otherwise exposed to the enemies pleasure, and so to keepe the Turkes from courting. For they as men brought to this extremitie, that they must now fight for their dwellings, liues, wiues, and children: thought it more honourable and better agreeing with their ancient glorie, so to doe in their fight, and in the entrance of their houses, than elsewhere farther off. Wherefore the Mamalukes comming home to *CAIRB*, furnished all their families and the roofes of their houses with all manner of weapons: euerie one of them now humbly requesting the Egyptians their neighbours, to take vp armes against the Turkes their ancient and mortal enemies, and not to suffer themselves to be cowardly slaine, their goods spoiled, and their wiues and children carried away into most miserable captiuitie; forasmuch as the merclesse and greedie enemy, if he should once get the victorie, would no whit spare them; although they should as neuters stand looking on, and helpe neither partie: for victorie (as they said) alwaies full of insolent pride, would know no friend but such as with resolute hand did their vttermost deuoir in time of danger, for the obtaining thereof.

The Egyptians
directly opposed
to the Ma-
malukes.

There were many of the wealthiest of the Egyptians, who as they thought the change of the state would be hurtfull to their trades and wealth, so were they teadie in all they could to helpe the Mamalukes their old lords: So on the other side there were many of the middle sort of the citicens, and a farre greater multitude of the basest sort of the vulgar people, who hauing little or nothing to lose, liued in hope now to make a gaine of other mens losses; and withall, remembring what miserie and slauerie they had endured about the space of three hundred years, vnder the proud gouernment of the Mamalukes, kept themselves close in their houses, expecting the last euent of warres; and secretly reioycing in their hearts, that the time was come (God so appointing) wherein their outrageous and cruell masters should be iustly and worthily punished for their oppression and hard dealing; and that which gladdened them the more, that the reuenge should be taken by the hazard of other mens liues, with which wished spectacle they well hoped shortly to fill their desirous eies.

Tomombeius with much labour and greater care, fortified all the gates and entrances of the citie, appointed vnto euerie street a particular captaine, in euerie publike place encouraged the people, omitting nothing that could possibly be done or deuised; and that which in so great a calamitie and danger was of all other things the hardest, with cheerfull countenance and vndaunted courage, made shew of greatest hope. The Mamalukes also, beside the necessitie (which in cases of extremitie is of power to encourage and make desperat the faint hearted coward) prouoked with emulation, straued amongst themselves who should best performe all the duties of worthie captaines and fouldiours: for euerie one of them according to his conceit and deuise, caused deepe ditches, or great timber logs to be cast ouerthwart the streets; some in covert trenches set vp sharpe stakes, whereupon the enemy falling vnawares might be gaged; other some according to their store, furnished the windowes and fronts of their houses in the greatest and most open streets, with harquebusiers: all which things with many mo were done with such celeritie, that none of the best or most honourable of the Mamalukes refused to handle a spade or a mattocke, or to put his hand to any other base labour; so that nothing could be sooner deuised, but it was forthwith performed.

The description
of the great citie
of Cair.

This great and auncient citie of *CAIRB* was not compassed with any wals, yet were there diuers gates and entrances which led into it: whereof one broad straight street came directly from the East gate vnto the castle and middle of the citie; the rest were so narrow and crooked, that by them no great artillerie could possibly be brought, or fouldiours enter without great danger. Into this place especially, had *Tomombeius* conuained his chiefest strength: for that he knew his enemies

enemies must of necessitie come in that way for the largenesse of the streets; the other parts of the citie he kept with lesse garrisons. But the innermost part where the castle stood, was kept with a verie great and strong garrison of most valiant soldiours: that whiche soeuer the clamour of the enemy or danger of the battell should call, they might speedily from thence come with reliefe. For why, that citie of all others the greatest, could not with so small power as *Tomombeius* then had, be in euerie place and entrance sufficiently defended: for within the circuit of *MEMPHIS* (now called *CAIRB*) are contained three great cities, which joyned one to another with stragling bridges, make one citie; whereof the greatest and most populous, is at this day called New *CAIRB*. It lieth in length six miles, alongst the riuer Nilus, from which it is equally distant a mile: the breadth thereof, exceedeth not a mile and a quarter. In the midst thereof is a castle standing vpon a little rising ground, somewhat higher than the rest of the citie; more notable for the greatnesse and beautie thereof, than for the manner of the fortification: for in it were many princely gardens, a faire street with many large galleries, diuers faire tilt-yards and courts, with stately chambers opening euerie way: the vter part thereof was garnished round about with towers, fortresses, and beautifull battlements; from whence all parts of the citie, the riuer Nilus running by, and the high Pyramides were most pleasantly to be seene. Not far from this princely pallace, is a lake made by the hand of man, the water wherein deriued from the riuer Nilus, is on euerie side enclosed with most stately buildings: and is a place of wonderfull pleasure, when as a man standing at a window may take both fish and foule, whereof there is in the lake great store. Another lake there is farre greater and fairer than this, in forme of a triangle, in the vttermost part of this New citie of *CAIRB* toward *BVLACH*: it is filled at the rising of Nilus by a great fluce made of stone with yron floudgates; and being joyned to the great riuer by a broad channell, is able to beare small boats and barges: wherein gentlemen for their disport vsed to solace themselves both by day and night in courting their mistresses. The houses were all gallantly built affront all about the lake, with porches garnished with open galleries, and paved with smooth marble euen to the brim of the lake: there the citicens in their more prosperous times vsed to row vp and down in boats, and with pleasant musick to delight the listening eares of the hearers. On the East side of this lake stood a most sumptuous and stately pallace, the late worke of queene *Dulcibe* wife of the great Sultan *Cairbetus*, for manner of the building and inward beautie farre exceeding the other proud buildings of this pleasant place: for the wals glittered with red marble, and pargeting of diuers colours, yea all the house was paved with checker and tesseled worke; the windowes and gates were made of alabaster, white marble, and much other spotted marble; the posts and wickets of massie yuorie, checkered with glistering blacke ebony; so curiously wrought in winding knots, as might easilier stay than satisfie the eies of the wondering beholder: neither was the furniture in it inferiour to the magnificence of the building, but such as might fitly answer both a princes state, and a womans quaint desire. All which things shortly after (*Selymus* hauing obtained the victorie) carried to *CONSTANTINOPLE*; not sparing the verie wals, but plucking them downe, so to take out the curious stones whole. Beside the goodly buildings about that lake, in euerie place of New *CAIRB* was to be seene the faire houses of the chiefe Mamalukes; more commended for their commodiousnesse, than for the manner of their building. The rest of the buildings of the citie was but low, replenished with the common sort of base people: There are yet extant in diuers places of the citie, three churches of the Christians; whereof one is holden in greater reuerence than the rest, for the same of a low vault in the ground, where it is reported the virgin *Marie* flying the furie of *Herod*, to haue reposed her selfe with her child *Christ Iesus* the Saviour of the world: another dedicated to the virgin *Barbara*; and the third to *S. George*, which amongst those nations are of great fame. Vnto the citie of New *CAIRB*, the citie of *BVLACH* is joyned almost with continuall buildings: It is of an high and stately building, lying close vnto the riuer Nilus; and was in some time frequented by the Mamalukes and other noble men, that they might at their pleasure from their high places behold the inundation of that famous riuer: There land all the ships which come vp the riuer; yet the great meeting of the merchants is at New *CAIRB*. On the other side of the riuer ouer against *BVLACH*, are many cottages made of hurdles and leaues of date trees; the dwellings of poore fishermen and watermen. A little about *BVLACH* is old *CAIRB*, which is also joyned vnto the new citie with continuall buildings; yet distant from it about two miles and an halfe, and standeth also fast by the riuer of Nilus. Over against it in the midst

middest of the riuer is an island, notable for the pleasantnesse of the gardens and banqueting houses therein: In it is an antient temple, famous for the loue of king *Pharaos* daughter, and the daughter of *Moses* (a most antient historie, yet euerie where there still fresh in memorie.) But most part of the buildings of old CAIRE, are now growne into gardens and rude ruines. It is supposed by many probable coniectures, that there sometime stood the antient cite of MEMPHIS. Vpon the banke of the riuer, the late Sultan *Campson* built a sumptuous tower, ouertopping the castle in new CAIRE, to conuay water thither out of Nilus; which being by many wheelles and ingenious deuises forced into the top thereof, and there receiued into great cisterns, was from thence by pipes of stone and lead, conuayed into all places of the kings great pallace at new CAIRE. About fise miles distant from old CAIRE on AFRICK side, stand the Pyramides, monuments of the barbarous Egyptian kings vanitie; whose proud names and titles Time hath worne out of those huge and wonderfull buildings, of purpose made for the vaine eternising of their fame and endlesse wealth: so that of them it may now well be said,

*Miramur perijisse homines? monumenta fatiscunt:
Interitus saxis nominibusq; venit.*

What wonder we that men doe die: the stately tombes doe weare:
The verie stones consume to naught, with titles they did beare.

Within them are the sepulchers of the old Egyptian kings, deuised into chappels, garnished with stone of great price curiously wrought. Yet are those places loathsome of smell, and for darknesse thereof, dreadfull to behold: for as men go downe to come into them by a narrow way, almost swarmed vp with rubbidge, their lights are oftentimes put out with the dampe of the earth, and swarms of veremise flying about their eares. Some hauing got to the tops of the report, that the watch tower of ALEXANDRIA, and the mouths of the riuer Nilus where it falleth into the sea, is from thence well to be seene: and that for the great height of them, a man cannot shoot an arrow so high as the middest of the lower tower whereon the spire standeth. Of these outrageous buildings, are written many strange and almost incredible things, as that an hundred thousand men should be occupied continually by the space of twentie yeares, in building of one of them: during which time, the charges for roots, garlike and onions only, amounted to 1600 talents of siluer. These wonderfull Pyramides only excepted, nothing is in the three cities more to be wondered at than the multitude of the people, who in number almost incredible go vp and downe euerie street: but for most part ragged and torne, for that they which held any wealth, durst not make any shew thereof for feare of the Mamalukes. The common people did then generally liue with mutton, hens, and rife, whereof the countrey yeeldeth plentie: neither had they as yet the knowledge of the curious but vnwholsome forced dishes, and prouocations of gluttonie, which other nations had to their great cost and hurt inuented. But againe to our purpose.

When *Selymus* vnderstood assuredly that *Tomombeius* was retired into CAIRE, and that the Mamalukes hauing thither assembled all their strength, were resolved there to proue the vndermost of their fortune: he with his armie drew neerer vnto the cite, exhorting his souldiours to set downe themselves that day for cuer to vanquish and subdue their enemies, whom they had so many times before ouerthrowne; and now a little to force themselves for the gaining of the rewards due to their former labours and victories: which (as he said) would be so many and so great, as they had not the full thereof before in their immoderate desires imagined. Telling them moreover, that there was but a few good souldiours left with the desolat Sultan, who already wounded and terrified, and not able longer to keepe the field, had made choice to end their daies in the sight and armes of their wiues and children. Beside that, he made them beleue, that he was voluntarily sent for by the Egyptians, deadly enemies vnto the verie name of the Mamalukes, whose vtter destruction they earnestly expected: and had therefore promised him for the rooting vp of that wicked and cruell kind of men, to assaile them as occasion serued out of their houses, and so to further his victorie: yet neuerthelesse he said, That the accomplishment of the whole matter, and to make a full conquest, consisted in the subduing of those weake remainders of the vanquished and scattered armie; for as much as they were not to be accounted as men quite

quite overcome, which did yet liue in hope, with weapons in their hands, possesse of the chiefe citie and seat of their empire. Wherefore that they should thinke, that in the fortune of that day, rested the good or bad estate and condition of all their liues, honours and fortunes. Assuring them, that it would be a matter but of small labour and trauell to bring it to a wished end, if they would in that new kind of fight (as they had alwaies valiantly in other battels vnder his conduct), but resolve with themselves that they would overcome.

This his speech much enflamed the minds of his souldiours, but the hope of so great a prey much more: so that being in good order and readie, they expected, but the issue of the assault. When *Selymus* entering by the gate called *Basula*, did at one instant thrust in his horsemen at diuers places of the great citie; but his Janizaries he brought in by the greatest and largest street. At the first entrance of the citie, horsemen encountered with horsemen, and made a bloudie fight in the narrow streets and lanes: but the footmen placing their euastings & falcons before them, and suddenly discharging them where they saw the thickest troups of their enemies, cleared the street directly before them. But when they came to the barricades and trenches, and were by force to remoue the timber logs and other like things lying crosse the streets, and so to passe the trenches, the Mamalukes on the other side valiantly withstanding them, they fought with such force and obstinacie on both parts, that in the memotie of man, was neuer a more fierce or cruell battell scene. For both the Mamalukes and the Turkes in that fight, shewed the vttermost of their strength and power; not ignorant that in that as in the last, they were to fight not for honour onely, but euen for their liues and empire: when as greatest rewards, or else extreame miserie, were by dallying fortune on both sides propounded both to the vanquished and vanquisher. At these barricades the Turkes receiued great losse, as also at the trenches: for they vnauidely running on, the hindermost still bearing forward the foremost, tumbled by heapes one vpon another into the covert trenches, and were there miserably empailed vpon the sharpe stakes, for that purpose before set vp by the Mamalukes. The women also and children, with manly courage threw downe stones and tiles, and such other things from the tops of their houses, and out at their windowes vpon the Turkes: and they on the other side as they could espie them, sought them off from those high places with their hatquebuties, or else violently brake into the houses from whence they were assailed, & there fought with diuers successe. But most part of the Egyptians, diligently obseruing the fortune both of the one and of the other (accounting them both for enemies) with diuers affection assailed sometimes the Turkes, and sometime the Mamalukes, seeking still notably to helpe that part whom they saw for the time to haue the better. Many cruell and most terrible encounters were at once made in diuers places of the citie: for as they crossed from street to street, sometime the one, and sometime the other hapned vpon new troups of enemies: and they which as victors pursued their enemies a front, were by others following them at the heeles, slaine downeright; so that in the victorie no man could assure himselfe of safetie. The lanes and streets (a most horrible thing to behold) did so flow with the bloud of them which lay by heapes slaine, that the dust which at the first rife wonderfull thicke, was quite laid as with a plentiful shower of raine: the ayre was darkened with the smoke of shot, and showers of arrowes: and such was the clamour of the people and souldiours, the clattering of armour, and report of the artillerie, that the earth seemed to tremble, and the houses to fall downe.

This dreadfull and doubtfull battell endured two whole daies & nights without intermission: yet so, that the Mamalukes in number few, and vnable to endure so long labour and watching, retired themselves farthier into the citie. The third day, beset with the greatest dangers that could be, as to lose themselves with all that they had (which commonly enforceth mens courages in their last attempts) they renewed the battell with such resolution, that they constrained the Turkes to retire a great way, and for last to leaue behind them certaine of their field pieces. With which repulse it is reported, that *Selymus* despairing of victorie, commaunded to set fire vpon the houses; moued thereunto with just displeasure against the Egyptians, for that *Tonuses Basa*, now his greatest man of warre, had euen then before his face receiued a dangerous wound in his head, by a stone cast out at a window.

Now were the houses pittifully burning, and the Egyptians weeping and wailing cried for mercie: The Turkes themselves fought but faintly, expecting the sound of the retreat: when

news was suddenly brought by many at once, that the enemies in the other side of the river, were by *Mustapha Bassa* enforced to retire, and afterward had betaken themselves to flight, as to their last refuge. For *Mustapha* by the ouerture of the Egyptians and fugitive Mamelukes, was directed to a faire broad street, where the Mamelukes had left their horses readie saddled & bridled, that if the worst should chaunce, they might thither retire, and taking horse, speed themselves to such places of refuge as they had before thought vpon. All these horses, referred by the Mamelukes as their last refuge, *Mustapha* tooke away, hauing before put to flight the garrison which kept them, which was but weake, consisting for most part of horseboies and muletours, as sufficient in such a place of the citie as was least to be suspected or feared.

This accident (as it oftentimes falleth out in great and v unexpected mischances) did not a little daunt the courage of the Mamelukes: who now seeing themselves hardly beset, and that their full battell by no other hope or helpe maintained, but onely by courage; being in their owne judgement overcome, betooke themselves to flight. Most part of them hasting to the riuier of *Nilus* with *Tomombeius* (who in that battell had all in vaine proued the vitermost of his promise and policie) being transported ouer the riuier in boats, fled into the countrey of *Sagasta*: others of them hid themselves in the houses of the Egyptians, and in the loathsome corners of the citie. A thousand five hundred of the better sort of the Mamelukes fled vnto the greatest temple of their vaine prophēt: where after they had a great while valiantly defended themselves as out of a strong castle, because they would not yeeld themselves but vpon honourable conditions, at last overcome with thirst, wearinesse, and wounds; together with the furie of the great artillerie, they yeilded themselves to the pleasure of the conquerour: part of whom the furious souldiers slew in the porch of the same temple, and the rest within a few dayes after were cast downe the riuier to *ALEXANDRIA*, there to be afterwards murdered.

Selymus hauing thus gained the victorie, forthwith sent part of his armie to quench the fire then raging, and caused proclamation to be made through all the citie, That all the Mamelukes which would yeeld themselves within twelue houres, should be taken to mercie; but vnto such as yeilded not within the appointed time, should remaine no hope of life. Vnto the Egyptians also that should reueale the hidden Mamelukes, he proposed rewards: but vnto such as should conceale them, he threatened to empale them vpon stakes, and hauing sold their wiues & children to burne their houses: vpon which proclamation, many of the Mamelukes before crept into corners, came forth and yeilded themselves, and were forthwith cast into yrons. All which were shortly after, contrarie to his promise, most dishonourably murdered in prison, because (as it was giuen out) they sought meane to haue escaped. Many of the Egyptians which would not breake the bonds of faith and fidelitie with the Mamelukes their old lords, being appeached by their malicious neighbours, most constantly died for their friends, for whose sake they had vowed themselves to death.

With this victorie the Turkes growing insolent, ranackt euery place of the citie, drew out the Mamelukes that had hid themselves, and slew them, rifled the houses of the Egyptians, as well friends as foes, and left nothing shut vp or in secret. And some there were, which at one time in the same house ragged with couetousnesse, crueltie, and lust: euery man sitting his owne humour, whereunto he was by nature or custome enclined: for that in time and place of so great libertie, most men, but especially the common souldior, flattereth himselfe to the full, making conscience of nothing, but measuring all thing according to his insolent and disordered appetite. The same day that *Selymus* tooke *CAIRE*, *Gazelles* (who but a little before by the commandement of *Tomombeius* was gone to *THEBAIS*, to assemble the Arabians and to entertaine new supplies) came to *CAIRE*; but finding all lost, and seeing no possibilitie either by force or policie to preuaile, and therefore thinking it not good againe to proue the fortune of warre, which had so often with contrarie course frustrated the endeouours both of himselfe and his partakers; he came to *Selymus*, vpon his faith before giuen for the safetie of himselfe & his followers (which were three Arabian captaines, and a number of good horsemen) and being admitted to his presence, in the midst of his greatest captaines boldly spake vnto him as followeth.

If fortune, whom by thy great valour thou hast woon to be thy friend, had not enuied our felicitie, thou shouldest not haue (most noble *Selymus*, at this time, after that all things haue giuen place vnto thy valour) matter whereby thou mightest excell others in worthinesse of mind also. Whilest

Gazelles his speech to *Selymus*.

we were in armes against thee for our liues and kingdom, our wealth and state yet standing whole; we alwaies as men proudly presuming vpon their owne vaine strength, made little account of thee or the name of the Turkes; yea to say the truth, we hated thee as became enemies: But now that we haue to the vitermost of our power made proofe of thy force, and haue in all battels bene put to the worse; admiring both thy wonderfull and diuine prowesse, and most prosperous vittories, not giuen thee without the providence of the immortall God, we humbly come vnto thee by thy goodnesse to better our hard and aduerser fortune: that thou by sparing and pardoning thy vanquished and yeelding enemies (by which onely vertue men come neere vnto the gods) maiest extend thy name and fame aboue the bounds of the rest of thine immortall glorie. We haue faithfully serued *Tomombeius*, so long as he held the strength and maiestie, yea but the name of a king, or liued in any countenance: but seeing he is (his destinie so requiring) driven out of his countrey, and wandereth the desert, with vncertaine report whether he liue or not; we come vnto thee, rather as men of him forsaken, than such as haue forsaken their princes: readie to shew vnto thee our loyalty and valour in our better condition and state: if we may by thy goodnesse, changing our hard fortune, liue and serue vnder thy worthie conduct.

Selymus, for that he right well knew *Gazelles* both for his vertue and valour, (wherewith valiant men win credit euen with their greatest enemies) and also desiring to joyne in league and friendship with the Arabians. (or rather *Alarbes*) whom he knew of all others to be most to be feared, receiued them all courteously: appointing vnto euery one of them an honourable pension, and perswading them to forget their old estate, willed them to looke for farre greater things of his bountie. Not long after, when as the Moores and wild Arabians, with certain Mamelukes that were fled to the citie of *ACHASTIA*, made incursions into the countrey about *CAIRE*, and oftentimes did cut off the Turkes which went any thing farre from the citie to seeke abroad for forrage, he sent *Gazelles* with part of his armie to repress them: who hauing quickly woon and sackt *ACHASTIA*, and slaine most part of those aduenturers, to his owne great praise, and the wonderfull contentation of *Selymus*, honourably returned in lesse time than was expected.

In the meane time, *Tomombeius* in the countrey of *SAGASTA* (which is on the other side of *Nilus* towards *CYRENAICA*) miserably beset with so many mischeefes, began to make head againe. There were come vnto him a strong companie of Mamelukes from *ALEXANDRIA*, which he had by letters sent for out of the garrison of that citie, and many others had followed him in his flight from *CAIRE*. And there were not wanting many great men amongst the Arabians and Moores (the inhabitants of that countrey) which promised him their helpe and furtherance. Beside that, many of the Egyptians, whose houses and families were become a prey, and bootie vnto the insolent Turkes, promised him, That if he would by night come to *CAIRE*, they would raise such a tumult in the citie, as should easily worke the confusion of the Turkes; for as much as they all hauing endured most horrible indignities and villanies, could no longer abide those most insolent men to rage and raigne ouer them. They sent him word also, that the Turkes huge armie was now brought to a contemptible number, most part of them being slaine in the battell at *CAIRE*: and the rest being for the greatest part brought to extreame weaknesse with wounds and sicknesse. For which causes, as *Tomombeius* his forces encreased dayly, so hope also, which neuer failed the poore vanquished and distressed king, began now also to reuiue in his inuincible heart, aboue the condition of his miserable estate. So that fawning fortune, which euen then most cruelly & despitfully went about vtterly to supplant him (of all other distressed princes most miserable) seemed but then first to change her frowning countenance, and to promise vnto him more happie and prosperous successe.

Whilest *Tomombeius* was making this preparation, one *Abuchomar*, an Egyptian, for authority and wealth the greatest man by farre in all the countrey of *SAGASTA*, whether it were to avert the miserie of the present warre out of his countrey; or els by the pleasure of his reuolt to gaine the good liking of *Selymus*, vpon whom all things seemed to fawne, came and certified him both of *Tomombeius* his strength, & of the new practises of the citizens of *CAIRE*. Whereupon *Selymus* caused strong watch and ward to be kept in all places of that great citie: and such citizens as hee suspected to fauour *Tomombeius*, hee shut vp into the castle; which being before abandoned by *Tomombeius*, was then together with the citie in his possession: and placed all along the riuier boats furnished with men and artillerie, to keepe and defend the farther banke

Abuchomar discovereth to *Selymus* the power of *Tomombeius*, and the treachery of them of *CAIRE*.

of Nilus, and to impeach *Tomombeius* his passage ouer. Yet considering with himselfe, with how great danger he had so many times fought with those desperat enemies, and what a difficultie it would be to intercept *Tomombeius* (protracting the warre in those vast and vnkowne countries, and still preparing greater forces, without whom he could nothing assure himselfe of all his former victories), to proue if he might be wonn by clemencie and bountie, he resolved to send embassadours vnto him, to perswade him to lay downe armes, and after so many ouerthrowes, at length to acknowledge the fortune of the victor: and withall to promise him vpon the faith of a prince, That if he would come in and submit himselfe, he should of the clemencie and bountie of the conqueror vpon conditions reasonable repofesse that his late kingdome which he should neuer be able by force to regaine: But if he would needs desperately proceed to make head againe, forgetting this offered grace, together with his owne disability, he should afterwards when the matter was againe tried by battell, by his owne just desert neuer more find at the hands of his angrie enemy any regard of his princely state or dignitie.

The causes moving Selymus to send embassadours to Tomombeius.

For *Selymus* seeing himselfe by the course of his victories drawne into a farre country; and not without cause fearing with so small a power as hee had left, to bee oppressed in that so great and populous a citie, euen with the very multitude, men of doubtfull faith; thought it better by some honourable composition to assure himselfe of some great part of that he had woon, than by going on to thrust himselfe with his armie into new dangers, with the hazard of all. Besides that, he was certainly aduertised, That the Mamalukes before fled into diuers countries, were in euery place leuying new supplies of horsemen; and that the fleet which was gone into the Arabian gulf against the Portugales, was dayly expected at the port *Svazzia*, wherein were three thousand Mamalukes, vnder the leading of *Amyraces* and *Ray Salomon*, two expert capitaines, with great store of good brasse ordinance: by which good helpe *Tomombeius* stood in faire possibilitie to recouer his former losses, and to returne againe to *CAIRE*, whether he was by his secret friends most earnestly inuited. But aboue all things, the care he had of the Persians most induced him to thinke of peace: for feare, that if the Bassa, whom he had left at the mountaine *TAVVS*, should not be able to withstand the forces of the Persian king, he should so be excluded out of *ASIA* the lesser, and *SYRIA* also, before his fleet could stie from *CONSTANTINOPLE* attune with new supplies of men and victuall at *ALEXANDRIA*.

Selymus his misfortune: slain by the Mamalukes.

Wherefore hee sent certaine of the most reuerend of his Turkish religious, and with them some of the most honourable Egyptians, embassadours to *Tomombeius*: who passing ouer Nilus into the country *SEGESTA*, were without further hearing, with more than barbarous cruelty, slaine by certaine Mamalukes which chaunced vpon them: thinking thereby to gratifie *Tomombeius*, as yet not knowing of any such matter, & to manifest their affection towards him, as also that they were not desirous of any peace with the Turkes.

This proud and insolent fact vtterly brake *Selymus* his patience, and shortly after made an end of that mortall warre, together with the honour of the Mamalukes. For he being a man of an hot and cruell nature, euen when we was nothing at all moued, could by no meanes brooke that his enemies, so often vanquished and put to flight, should so lightly reject his offers vnto them as the case stood, both honourable and profitable: and that worse was, violate his embassadours against the law of nations, most religiously kept euen amongst the most barbarous and savage people. Wherefore prouoked by so great an iniurie, he carefully provided all things necessary for his expedition into *SEGESTA* against *Tomombeius*. And because it stood not with his honour (as heooke it) nor with the good of the present seruice, to passe the riuer by boats, he gathering together all the small vessels and lighters he could possibly, made thereof a large and strong bridge ouer Nilus.

Tomombeius understanding by his espials and from his friends at *CAIRE* of the preparations of *Selymus*, and of the bridge he had made; fearing also the reuolt of the country people, whom he probably suspected to be alienated from him by the reuolt of *Abuchomar*, a man of so great power and authoritie amongst them; determined once againe to proue the fortune of battell, which had so often deceiued his expectation. For hee justly measuring his owne strength, and finding himselfe in all things inferiour to his mightie enemy, well saw, that hee was neither able to protract the warres, neither in open field to abide his comming with all his forces; and to stie further into the deserts, was as he deemed it, nothing els but to make shipwracke of that small remainder that was left of his honour and credit. Wherefore by the aduice of his best capitaines

(which

(which was the last endeour both of himselfe and of the Mamalukes) he departed betime out of the province of *SEGESTA* with foure thousand Mamalukes, and twice as many Moores and Arabians, and trauelled day and night without intermission to come to the riuer Nilus. By that desperat attempt to deceite the Turkes, suspecting no such thing from their vanquished and weak enemy: as also by celeritie to prevent the fame of his comming; hoping so by his suddaine and vnexpected approach to ouerthrow that part of the Turkes armie which should first passe the riuer, before they could possibly be relieved from the other side. Neither was hee deceiued in the computation of the time, which hee hauing betwixt cast, with the manner of his trauell, fell out so truly, that he came to the place he desired, euen at such time as the Asian horsemen were come ouer the bridge, as he had before guessed. The harbengers and pages of *Selymus* his chamber, which were gone something further than the rest, to make choice of the most commodious place for the erecting of the emperours pavilion, by the rising of the dust first perceived the comming of the enemy. And *Mustapha* the great Bassa aduertised thereof, suddainly raised an alarm: which so vnexpected a matter brought a great feare both on them which were already passed ouer, and also on them that were on the further side of the riuer.

Tomombeius presently assailing his enemies, as yet but putting themselves in order, and repairing to their ensignes, at the first onser slew such as made resistance, and the rest hee discomfited and put to flight. Neither was *Mustapha* the great commander (although he did what possibly he could, by his owne example to haue encouraged them) able either by his owne inuincible courage, or other persuation, after his first ranks were ouerthrowne, to repaire his disordered battell, or stay the flight of his men: for in that so hot and suddaine a skirmish all was full of tumult, slaughter, doubtfulness, and feare: and all amongst the banke of the riuer, both aboue and beneath the bridge, were to be seene fearefull companies of the Turkes, ruthfully looking vpon the riuer, and crying vnto their fellowes on the other side for helpe. Many forced by the furious enemy, tooke the riuer, and there perished: others struing at the end of the bridge to returne that way, and ouerborne by their fellowes: others continually sent from the further side, or els amazed with feare, fell into the riuer, and there drowned. The bridge was so broad, that foure horsemen abreast might easily passe ouer at once, and so great numbers of them in short space be conueyed ouer. But when that great ordinance (the Turkes cheefe strength) was also to be transported, fewer troups of horsemen were sent ouer, than either the greatnesse of the present danger or suddennesse of the seruice required. Neither did their great artillerie as then stand them in any stead, for that it could neither so speedily be conueyed ouer, nor without great hurt be discharged from the hither banke to the further, by reason of their owne men standing betwene them and the enemy.

In the meane time *Selymus*, who in the beginning of the skirmish came downe to the riuers side, filled a great number of boats and other small vessels with his Ianizaries with their harquebuses, and withall hastened his horsemen ouer the bridge to relieue their fellowes distressed on the further side: in which boats the nimble watermen vsed such diligence in landing of some, and presently in fetching ouer of others, that in short time they had transported diuers bands of those most readie and valiant souldiours: whose comming wonderfully comforted the Asian souldiours; euen now at the last cast, and readie to haue giuen ouer. *Canoglu* also, the Tartar kings sonne and *Selymus* his brother in law, encouraging his horsemen to take the riuer, with losse of some few of his men recouered the further side, to the great admiration of the beholders: which in that action was not so much to be maruelled at, as they which by troups with their horses had oftentimes swam ouer the great riuers Tanais and Volga, no lesse dangerous than was the riuer Nilus.

Tomombeius at the same time, for that he saw speedie victorie to consist in one thing especially, setting his troups close together, strained himselfe with might and maine to haue gained the head of the bridge, that by plucking away some few of the first boats, he might shut in his enemies already come ouer; and by cutting the cables wherby the boats were fastened to the banke, all the bridge with the Turkes vpon it, might be borne away with the force and violence of that great riuer: whereupon rose a most cruell and deadly fight; for the resolute Mamalukes in the front of their battell fought valiantly: and *Mustapha* well considering the danger, had drawne vnto that place both his ensignes and his best souldiours: so that there was fought such a fight, as a matter of so great consequence required: The Mamalukes plainly seeing, that if they could obtaine

Tomombeius distressed the Turkes in passing the bridge made ouer Nilus.

obtaine the place, they should shortly after with little adoe, ouerthrow all the former victories of their enemies. And the Turks no lesse ignorant, that except they kept the bridge whole, they were all but lost men that were already come ouer; and that the rest of the armie together with their emperour so farre from home, and in the midst of his enemies, must of necessitie shortly after run the same fortune. But *Mustapha* well relieved by the Ianizaries and the European horsemen, which were now come ouer in great number, not onely received the enemies charge, but pressing vpon them, gained ground, and by little and little enforced them to retire: This is that *Mustapha* the Hungarian, and *Baia* his sonne in law, which for his owne glorie and perpetuall fame, built that notable, stately, and sumptuous stone (bridge of the spoiles of this victorie) ouer the riuer *Siremon*, which at this day men passing ouer into *Thracia* wonder at, as at a worke becomming the greatnesse of the Roman empire.

Tomombeius, to giue a time of breathing to his Mamalukes, who their horses for wearinesse now fainting vnder the, were not able longer to shew their wonted courage; & desirous by them againe to proue the vttermost fortune of the battell, exhorted the Moores and Arabians a while to charge the enemy, which thing they after the manner of their fight valiantly performed. And shortly after, the Mamalukes hauing a little breathed themselves and their horses, came in afresh and renewed the battell; with such furie, that *Selymus* doubting the victorie (although he was by his most faithfull counsellors perswaded to the contrarie) yet doubted not to adueneure the bridge, and in person himselfe to go and relieue his distressed souldiours: who by his coming in, encouraged, and in the sight of their emperour desiring euery man for his part by some notable seruice to deserue both credit and preferment, repressed the furie of the enemy; who in short time after, by the coming on of certaine fresh companies of Ianizaries, were notably repulsed, and so at length put to flight: whom the horsemen which were not in the battell, pursued all the fields ouer. At length also the Tartarians (who carried away with the force of the streame, were somewhat long before they could recouer the farther bank and come to their enemies) were now come in also, and with their swift horses following the chase, augmented the slaughter.

But *Selymus* about all things desirous of *Tomombeius*, presently commaunded *Mustapha* the great Bassa, *Gazelles*, and *Cayerbeius*, with certaine fresh troupes of light horsemen, to pursue him at the heeles, and if it were possible not to suffer him to escape: for so long as he liued, he could not assure himselfe of any thing he had yet gotten. These vigilant captaines not vnmindfull of their charge, following fast after him, ouertooke him the next day at the sluice of a great deepe fen, where he had a little rested himselfe and his followers, being then about to cutt off a wodden bridge, so to haue hindered the enemies pursuit. Some of his followers being there slaine, and some taken, he was againe enforced to flie. The third day when he had almost lost all his men, and was come with some few into the territorie of the *Secussane* prince: these great captaines still eagerly pursuing him; and denouncing vnto the poore country people which dwelt in villages thereabout, all extremities and tortures, if they did not with most diligent watch and ward so keepe the passages of those marshes, as that he should not possibly escape; he was so beset on euery side, that for safeguard of his life he was glad to hide himselfe all alone in a foule deepe marsh: VV here shortly after he the poore Sultan was by the diligent search of the country peasants found out, hidden amongst the flags and bulrushes, standing in the water up to the shoulders, who deliuered him miserably bound vnto the Turks. Shortly after hee with certaine captaines and other of his cheefe friends taken in that flight, was brought to *Cia* *Selymus* before resolved to put him to death, and the rather for the injuries done to his souldiours, would not suffer him to come into his presence; but commaunded him to be tortured, so to haue caused him to haue revealed the great treasures of *Campson* his predecessor, which were thought to haue been by him hidden: in which most horrible and exquisite tortments, it is reported, that hee with great constancie and sterne countenance vttered nothing but certaine deepe sighes and groanes, ouercomming with patience the tyrannie of the proud conqueror, who after that commaunded him in bale and ragged apparell, with his hands bound behind him as a theefe or murderer condemned to die, to be set vpon a foule leane cammell, and so to be carried in derision through all the publicke and notable places of the Citie, that the Egyptians might see him whom they but a little before had adored for their king, by change of fortune cast into extreame miserie, by most shamefull death to end both his life and empire together. VVhen they had thus despightfully led him as it were in triumph, and brought him to the cheefe gate of the

citie called *BASVELA*, they there openly strangled him with a rope: and that he might be the better seene, and become more contemptible to all that passed that way, they hanged him vp by the necke vpon an yron hooke in an arch of the same gate, and so left him to the worlds wonder. *Palestinus* propounding him as a mirror both of the better and worse fortune, for all men to looke vpon, aptly describeth both his happinesse and miserie in these few verses following:

TOMOMBEIUS, THE LAST Sultan of Ægypt.



Pales. Iou-
as illu. vi.
rorum, Elog.
lib. 4.

Non fuit in toto, rex aequè oriente beatus:
Nec magis in toto rex oriente miser.
Quam dolor Ægypti, olim Tomombeius, auro
Ingenti, atq; armis, & ditione potens.
Captus ab hoste fero, miserum simul atq; beatum,
Exemplo potis est, commonuisse suo.
Quid rides temere? quid fies? vis te cohibere?
Et natum posthac te meminisse hominem?
Mi trabeam induto, gemmis auroq; corona
Cingebat, fulgens & diadema caput.

Selymus the first,

*Atque quondam ornabant pretiosa monilia collum,
Nunc, fractam vultu respice fune gulam.*

In English thus.

In all the East a king more blest was no where to be found,
Nor in the East one more accurst liv'd not vpon the ground,
Than *Tomombeius*, *ÆGYPT*s grecke, sometime for store of gold,
Of power great for martiall force, and kingdomes he did hold.
But taken by his cruell foe, may good example be
Both to the happie and distrest, of mans vncertainetie.
Why doest thou fondly laugh? why doest thou vainely crie?
Canst thou from henceforth stay thy selfe? and thinke th'art borne to die?
My garments were the royall robes, I wore the crowne of gold,
With richest stones most richly set, most glorious to behold:
My necke adorn'd with richest gems which I did sometimes weare:
But now trust vp in shamefull rope, behold me hanging here.

*The Egyptians
in doubt of their
estate bewaile
the death of
Tomombeius.*

This miserie befell *Tomombeius* the 13 of Aprill, in the yeare 1517, vpon the Monday in Easter weeke. There were many which shed teares to behold that so cruell and lamentable a spectacle, who by their wofull countenance and pitifull lamentation seemed to detest that foule and vnworthie death of their late Sultan; notwithstanding that the *Janizaries* reprimed them therefore, and threatened them with death, who like giddie brained fooles (as they termed them) enured to the flauerie of the *Mamalukes*, joyfully and thankfully accepted not of their deliuerance: for the *Ægyptians* were as yet vncertaine of their estate, and therefore as men in suspence (not without cause) stood in doubt what should become of themselves; fearing least the *Turkes*, a warlike nation, and a terrour to all the princes of *EVROPE* and *ASIA*, nothing more courteous than the *Mamalukes*, should with no lesse insolencie rage and tyrannize ouer them, vnder their warlike and cruell emperour. Besides that, the wofull sight of *Tomombeius* hanging in the gate, as the vnworthie scorne of fortune, wonderfully wounded their hearts: for why, it was yet fresh in their remembrance, that he with the good liking of all men, and generall fauour of the nobilitie, with good fame rise by all the degrees of honour both in field and court, vnto the height of regall dignitie; and therefore greued the more to see him, by inuitable destiny cast downe headlong, so shamefully to end his life and empire together. A notable spectacle vndoubtedly amongst the rarest examples of worldly fragilitie both to the happie and vnfaynthe one, not to be too proud, or too much to flatter themselves in their greatest blisse, and the other, to learne thereby with patience to endure the heauie and vnworthie changes and changes of this wretched and miserable world. And so much the more did *Tomombeius* so hanging moue men to compasion, for that the maiestie of his tall and strong bodie, and reuerend countenance, with his long and hoarie beard, well agreed with his imperiall dignitie and martiall disposition. The same fortune with *Tomombeius* ran also diuers of the princes of the *Mamalukes*, with some others of the common sort also.

Tomombeius thus taken out of the way, and all the *Mamalukes* almost slaine, and no power of the enemy to be heard of in all *ÆGYPT* to renew the warre: *Selymus* deuiding his forces, sent them forth with his captaines, to take in the countries and prouinces of *ÆGYPT* lying further off. They of *ALEXANDRIA* after the battell of *CAIRE* hauing thrust out the garrison, and easily surpris'd the castle of *PHARVS* (which the weake defendants chose rather vpon hope of present reward to deliuer, than with doubtfull cunct to defend) yielded themselves many dayes before vnto the *Turkes*. *DAMIATA* also, called in auncient time *PELVSIUM*, opened their gates, and submitted themselves to the victors. There was no citie betwixt the riuer of *Nilus* and the borders of *IVDBA* and *ARABIA*, which yielded not to the obedience of *Selymus*. The kings also of *AFRICKA* bordering vpon *CYRENAICA*, tributaries or confederats of the *Ægyptian* Sultans, sent their embassadours with presents to *Selymus*.

There remained now none but the wild *Arabians* (a people neuer to be tamed) and especially they of *AFRICKA*, who hauing lost many of their friends and kinsmen in aiding *Tomombeius*, would

third Emperour of the Turks.

would not (as it was thought) submit themselves vnto the Turkish obedience. This wandering kind of people, liuing for most part by theft, had filled the countries from *Euphrates*, where it runneth by the *Palmyrens*, with all the inner parts of *ÆGYPT* and *AFRICKA* vnto the *Atlantick* sea, with huge multitudes of men: and being deuided into many companies vnder diuers leaders, haue no certaine dwelling places, but liue an hard and flegall kind of life in tents and waggons, after the manner of the *Tatars*: their greatest wealth is a good seruiceable horse, with a lance, or a bundell of darts: they were alway at discord & variance amongst themselves, by reason whereof, they could neuer agree for the expulsiue of the *Mamalukes*, who otherwise had not been able to haue stood against them, if they should haue joynd their forces together. So that the late *Ægyptian* Sultans seemed to hold their state and empire amongst so populous a nation, rather by their discord than their owne strength. Wherefore *Selymus* hauing now by fit men vpon his faith bene giuen allured many of their cheefest and greatest commanders to *CAIRE*, honourably both entertained and rewarded them. By whose example others moued, came also in dayly: and hauing receiued their rewards, gaue the oath of their allegiance to *Selymus*. Others which could by no faire promises or words be wooen, being cunningly intercepted by other captaines, and deliuered to *Selymus*, endured the paines of their vaine obstinacie and mallice. The other remote nations toward *ÆTHIOPIA*, as they had in former time rather acknowledged the friendship than the command of the *Ægyptian* Sultans, so now induced with the fame of the victorie, easily joynd in like amitie with the *Turke*.

About the same time *Selymus* sent certaine troupes of horsemen to *SVBZIA*, a port of the red sea (of old called *ARSINOE*) about three dayes journey from *CAIRE*: in which port *Campson* the great Sultan (a little before the coming of the *Turks*) had with infinit charge and foure yeares trauell built a strong fleet against the *Portingals*, who by their conquests in *INDIA* had taken away all the rich trade of the *Indian* marchandise into the gulfes of *ARABIA*, to the great hinderance of the *Ægyptian* kings customes: ouer which fleet (a little before the beginning of the Turkish warres) *Campson* had appointed one *Amyrases* and *Ray Salomon* Generals, with a strong power of *Mamalukes* and great store of ordinance, against the *Portingals*. These valiant captaines hauing yet done nothing in the seruice they were appointed vnto, as they lay at *GIDDA* (the port of the famous citie of *Mecha*, wherein is the temple of their great prophet *Mohomet*) vnderstanding of the death of *Campson*, & of the coming of *Selymus* into *ÆGYPT*, fell at variance betwixt themselves one of them being willing to continue his obedience towards the new Sultan, and the other no lesse desirous to follow the good fortune of the victor. Whereupon a mutinie arising among the souldiours, *Amyrases*, who fauoured *Tomombeius*, was enforced to flie to *Mecha*. But shortly after, *Ray Salomon* requiring to haue him, and threatening all hostilitie except he were forthwith deliuered, he was apprehended by them of *Mecha*, fearing to haue *GIDDA* their port spoiled, and so sent backe againe to the fleet. *Ray Salomon*, that he might be Admirall alone, his associat being taken out of the way, and by some notable fact to insinuate himselfe into the fauour of the conquerour, caused *Amyrases* in the night to be cast ouer board: and giuing to the souldiours two moneths pay, and swearing them to the obedience of *Selymus*, in few dayes sayling came backe againe to *ARSINOE*, where leauing the fleet, hee came directly himselfe to *Selymus* at *CAIRE*, of whom he was gratioously receiued. After that, all the princes which were before tributaries or confederats to the late Sultans of *ÆGYPT*, euen vnto the confines of *DAUID* the most mightie king of *ETHIOPIA* (whom some call *Presbiter John*) without delay entred into the like subiection or confederation with the *Turkes*.

ÆGYPT, with all the prouinces thereunto belonging, thus brought into subiection, *Selymus* about the beginning of Iuly sayled downe the riuer of *Nilus* to *ALEXANDRIA* (*Cortug-Ogli*, of this Cortug-Ogli see more here) there to take view of a famous pyrat of *HALICARNASSVS*, sitting at the helme of his gallie) there to take view of his fleet, but lately come from *CONSTANTINOPLE* with new supplies both of men and victuals, sent from *Pyrrhus Bassa* and his sonne *Solyman*: which after he had well surueyed, and diligently viewed the wals of the citie, and of the castle of *PHAROS*, hee returned againe to *CAIRE*. In the meane time, the *Mamalukes* in durance at *ALEXANDRIA*, were by his commaundement murdered euery mothers sonne, in the entrance of the prison. At which time also about fife hundred families of the noblest and richest of the *Ægyptians* were commaunded to remoue from *CAIRE* to *CONSTANTINOPLE*, and a great number of women and children, of the race of the *Mamalukes*, were transported thither also in ships hired for that purpose.

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Intro

Selymus cunningly reduced the Arabians to his obedience.

Of this Cortug-Ogli see more here the life of Solyman.

Into this fleet beside the kings treasures and riches, he conveyed all the publicke and priuie ornaments of that most rich and famous citie; with such a couetous and greedie desire of poyle, that the very marble stones, commended either for the excellencie of the workmanship, or beautie of the stone, were violently rent out of the maine walls, to his great reproch and infamie. Lying at CAIRE, he with great pleasure beheld the rising of the riuer Nilus, which had then overflowed the countrey next vnto it; and that with such a desire, that he most curiously enquired of the old countrey men the measure and nature of the riuer: for by the diuersitie of the rising thereof (which they by certaine markes and measures well find out) they prognosticate sometime abundant plentie, sometime extreame dearth, and sometime reasonable store: when as the violent riuer moderately or furiously breaking out, somewhat so drowneth the greatest part of the countrey, that all the seed season it lieth vnder water, and at another time floweth so sparingly, that in many places it scarce layeth the dust, thereby foreshewing an vndoubted death: so that the Egyptians then assure themselves of plentie, when as Nilus keeping a meane, pleasantly refresheth neither to the highest or lowest markes of his inundation.

The Mameluke kingdom, together with the name of the Mamelukes, thus ouerthrowne, and the conquest of AEGIPT so happily atchieued: Selymus resolved to make his retourne into SYRIA, and the rather, for that it was reported, That *Hysmaell* the Persian king was comming with his armie into MESOPOTAMIA, & so like ynough to breake into COMAGENA. Wherefore hauing as he thought good, disposed of all things, he left a strong garrison of his best souldiours in CAIRE, and appointed *Cayerbeius* that notable traitour, his deputie and great commander ouer all that great and new gotten kingdom of AEGIPT, now conuerted into the forme of a province, as it remaineth at this day. Which honourable preferment so vnworthely bestowed, exceedingly both greued and troubled *Ionuses* the great Bassa, before enflamed with the hope and iust desire thereof: For now that *Sinan Bassa* was dead, he puffed vp with the estimation of his owne worth and valour, and proud of the wound hee had of late receiued in the presence of Selymus at the entring of CAIRE, and to the vttermost of his power suffering no man to grow neere him in credit and estimation; thought himselfe the onely man now left, to whom of all others, that especiall and honourable charge should in the judgement of Selymus and of the whole armie of right be committed. Neither wanted he the generall good liking of the men of warre, for immediately after he was recouered of his wound, when he in the most magnificent house of the Diadare at CAIRE (which he in the victorie had rather of himselfe usurped, than by the gift of Selymus obtained) dayly kept princely cheare for all commers (no small meanes to gaine the loue of the common souldiours) and gaue frankly to them all, to some horses, to some beautifull slaues, to some money, plate, jewels, rich garments, faire armour, and such like; he vpon vnto himselfe such fauour and credit, that whensoever he should (as the manner was) goe to the castle vnto the emperor, he was brought thither with a great and goodly traine of his fauourites and followers, as the man in all mens judgement designed to the gouernment of that great and rich kingdom. All which things highly offended the mind of Selymus, who as he was apt to suspect, and cruell where he feared, so did he also (in secret) enuie great vertues, accompanied with too much honour and power.

Ionuses seeing *Cayerbeius* the traitour thus vnworthely promoted, overcome with greed and indignation (who as a man of a proud and haughtie mind, tooke it as done to his owne disgrace) yet colouring his inward discontentment by counterfeiting himselfe sicke, for certaine dayes came not abroad; neuertheless still more and more tormented both with the iniurie (as hee tooke it) done to himselfe, and the vnworthie preferment of the traitour, he could not so well containe himselfe, but that in his choler some words fell from him, whereby his discontentment was perceiued. It happened, that *Cayerbeius* comming of courtesie to visit him, and in the heat of the day familiarly calling for drinke (which was water and sugar, after the manner of the Egyptians) immediately after he had drunke, felt such grieuous and vnwonted gripings and tormentings in his stomacke and bellie, that many supposed him to haue bene poysoned by the Bassa: yet was he by the power and vertue of a more soueraine and effectually remedie preferred. Which report, whether it were true or no, was vncertaine: but certaine it is, that it ranke further into the mind of Selymus, than any man would haue thought. He had now also a little before heard, that many of those rich Egyptian families, which he had before commanded to be remooued to CONSTANTINOPLE, had for great summes of money obtained of *Ionuses* (who

(who had the whole ordering of that matter) that they might quietly and in safetie remaine still in their owne countrey. Of which his couert dealing, great probabilitie was alledged by such as repined at his honour, and secretly accused him, That those princelike and excessiue charges and expences, which he was not able possibly to maintaine of his ordinatie pension, were roially supported with the embefeled poyle and reuenues of that new gotten kingdom. Which malicious suggestions, as they tended to the lightening of his credit, so also another crime (whether it were of fraudulent dealing or negligence, or other further respect, is vncertaine) comming in the necke of the other, wrought his vtter disgrace, and final confusion: For Selymus after the manner of great princes (who more seuerely to punish the former offences, notably dissembling their present anger, expect but the occasion of some new crime) with vigilant eye waiting vpon his words and deeds, prosecuted him with a mortall and deadly hatred, with a full purpose to destroy him.

A few daies before it was certainly reported that Selymus would againe retorne into SYRIA, the souldiours appointed to be left in garrison at CAIRE, alleaging the great distance of the place, and the greater dangers they were to expect, with the labours by them already endured, requested the bountie of their most fortunate emperor, that they might haue their wages augmented. Which thing Selymus (neuer spare handed to his men of warre) easily granted, commanding *Ionuses* the stately Bassa, that the summe they required, might be added to their accustomed wages, and so entered into his accounts for the warres. But he carried headlong with discontentment, made neither the treasurers nor paymasters acquainted with any such matter as Selymus had before commanded: of purpose, that the garrison souldiours deuiued of their greater wages promised them by the emperor, might euen at the first begin to hate and contemne *Cayerbeius*, as author of so great an iniurie; that so the state of CAIRE, and of that new gotten kingdom, disquieted by the mutinie of the garrison souldiours, Selymus enforced to change his former purpose, should in stead of that strange gouernor (hated of the Egyptians for his late treason, and not beloued of the garrison souldiours, because he was to them a stranger) of necessitie send some of his owne Bassas, a Turke, for the better stay and assurance of that wauering and mightie province. But all these things (as commonly wicked purposes haue their foule euents) fell out in fine farre otherwise than he had in his troubled mind before conceived. For Selymus being departed out of AEGIPT, and now on his way almost as farre as HIERUSALEM, the garrison souldiours at CAIRE, the pay day being now come, and receiuing no more but their old accustomed wages, moued with that euill dealing (as contrarie to the emperours promise and their generall expectation) began with more furie and rage than euer *Ionuses* had before imagined, openly and insolently to insult and threaten the treasurer and paymasters, and with open mouth to rail vpon *Cayerbeius* their gouernour. With which so insolent and opprobrious speeches hee affronted (as one not yet acquainted with the fashions of the Turkish garrisons) together with the paymasters, in best manner they could excused themselves vnto the souldiours, requesting them not to thinke so hardly of them who were altogether innocent in the matter, and with patience to vnderstand the truth of the cause; wherein if they should on their part find any fraudulent, or euill dealing, they craued no fauour, either refused any punishment. Thus *Cayerbeius* and the paymasters seeking by all meanes to auoid both the suspicion and the present danger: and the mutinous souldiours no lesse hating to find out by whom they were so abused, and to be thereof reuenged, it was at last with much adoe agreed, That trustie messengers should forthwith be sent to Selymus, who was not yet gone out of IVDIA, to vnderstand of him the truth of the matter.

These speedie messengers hauing with wonderfull celeritie dispatched their journey, ouer tooke Selymus with his armie a little from LARISA in IVDIA: and admitted to his presence, orderly declared vnto him both the complaints of the souldiours, and the carefulnesse of *Cayerbeius* and the paymasters to excuse the matter, together with the danger they were in, with all the other accidents whatsoever which had happened since the time of his departure from CAIRE. Which complaint so incensed the mind of Selymus with new passions of anger and choller, being already fore alienated with former displeasures, that hee without further delay commanded *Ionuses* Bassa to be brought before him to answer the matter: who although hee were inwardly stricken with the guilt of his owne conscience, and surprised with a deadly feare, which appeared in his colour as pale as ashes, seeing in the angle face and countenance of his

Cayerbeius the traitour made gouernour of CAIRE & Egypt.

Ionuses traitour at the preferment of *Cayerbeius*.

Selymus commanded the wages of his souldiours to be left in garrison at CAIRE to be augmented.

Selymus called for *Ionuses* Bassa to answer the matter.

The answer of
Ionuses Bassa.

soveraigne the most certaine tokens of his heauie displeasure: yet as he was a man of a great spirit, answered boldly, That he had forbidden the souldiors wages to be augmented, contrarie to his maiesties command, not vpon any euill meaning to haue inuerted that money to his owne vse, neither thereby to haue drawne any man of purpose into disgrace, as was by some his malicious enemies suggested; but vpon great reason, thereby to prouide for his maiesties cofers, wonderfully emptied with those late warres: beside that, the constant report of new troubles like to arise out of PERSIA, gaue good occasion for him to spare vnnecessarie charges: Whereas on the other side, as he said, the garrison souldiors were already enriched with the plentiful spoiles of ÆGYPTE, and in a most goodly citie possessed the sumptuous houses and lands of the Mamalukes, feeding vpon the goods of the Egyptians, and had already receiued both greater pay and more bountifull rewards from him, than euer any souldiors had from any his predecessours the Othoman kings: in which case, if they were not past all modestie, they might well enough take it in good part, if they were something restrained in their vnreasonable requests. He alledged moreover, that great princes which retaineth their souldiours in reasonable pay in time of peace and warre, ought sometime for warlike discipline, to require of them a moderation of their desires; least whilest they all strue with greedinesse for their priuat gaine, there want money afterwards in the common treasure to maintaine a greater and more necessarie charge, wars stilling vpon wars; seeing that no commander were he neuer so valiant or fortunat, euer did any great matter in wars, if he wanted coine, the most proper instrument and verie sinues of warre, answering vnto his other most heroicall parts and sufficiencie. But as he was yet thus speaking, Selymus full of wrath and indignation interrupted him, for if he should haue suffered him in longer discourse to haue recounted his former deserts and worthy seruice done, as well in the time of his father Baiazet, as of late euen in his owne presence, he was like enough to haue had of them that were able to doe most with him, intercessors for him: and so without farther delay, caused him

The death of Ionuses the great Bassa.

euen there in his owne presence to be executed; saying moreover, That others which would arrogantly presume to prescribe vnto their soveraignes what they had to doe, should for euer after by the example of that most insolent seruant, be admonished of their due and condition. It is reported, that the souldiours in despite of Selymus wonderfully lamented the vnworthie death of this so worthie a man: For he, beside his notable and rare valour, so many times to his great honor in sundrie battels approued, had by the dexteritie of his Gracian wit, comelinesse of personage, militaire eloquence, and gallant maner of liuing, so woon the loue and fauor of all men, that there was few or none in all the armie which did not acknowledge himselfe some way indebted and beholden vnto him; and did therefore condemne the emperours crueltie. They then began to tell how Mustapha surnamed Caloger, a man of wonderfull credit and authoritie both with Baiazet and himselfe, was in the heat of his furie slaine without hearing: And that in like manner of rage, old Chendemus a man of greatest honour and integritie of life, and of all the chieftaines which came out of the great emperour Mahomet his nurserie, the most skilfull, had been for his graue and wholsome counsell onely without cause murdered: Neither was then Bostanges his sonne in law forgotten: neither Cherseogles (the one most honorable for the great place he held in court and the marriage of Baiazet his daughter, and the other a man of no lesse marke being his great Admirall, and bearing himselfe high vpon his infinit wealth, but more vpon his wife one of the daughters of Selymus) both which two noble gentlemen about two years before had their heads slucke off, no man well knowing wherefore, and their dead bodies cast out at the court gate to the terror of the beholders, as a miserable spectacle of their owne miserie and the emperours crueltie. Yea the remembrance of his old tyrannic (renewed as it were with this late outrage) presented afresh vnto all mens eyes the reuerend old emperour Baiazet his father, with his two brethren, Acomates and Corcutus, by right both called vnto the empire before himselfe; with many other young princes of the blood, of great hope and expectation, who as all men knew, perished through the vnnaturall and execrable crueltie, of this most mercilesse man. So that men generally did both feare him and hate him. For as much as he without all feare of God or regard of worldly shame, accounted no practise wicked, or deuile detestable, that might serue for the better establishing of his kingdome; and had set downe in his mind, (long before corrupted with ambition and tyrannic) That it was farre better for the assurance of his estate, to be feared of all than beloued of many: and therefore spared no mans life, of whom he had but the least suspicion. Howbeit that the seueritie by him vsed against this so great a man

and so gracious with the people, may in some sort be excused, as justly moued thereunto by the presumptuous and malicious dealing of the proud Bassa vnderhand, contrarie to the charge giuen him by his lord, to the perill of those his great but late conquests both in ÆGYPTE and SYRIA.

This great Bassa, whilest he yet liued and flourished in the court, in nothing so much offended the minds of the people (who generally both loued and honoured him) as by the crueltie by him shewed vpon the person of the faire ladie Manto his best beloued wife. VVho being a Greek borne, and adorned with all the good gifts of nature, wherunto her laudly conditions were also answerable, was by Zebalia her first husband (a man of great honour) carried with him into the wars, as his greatest treasure and chiefe delight. But he slaine, and she by misfortune falling into the hands of the Turks (her enemies) remained so prisoner with them for a time; vntill that this great Bassa Ionuses shortly after (seeing her amongst the other captiues there taken, so farre to exceed the rest as doth the Sunne the lesser stars) surprised with her incomparable beautie, became of her amorous: and in too curious viewing of the captiue ladie, was by her himselfe taken prisoner. VVhere finding her outward perfections graced with no lesse inward vertues, and her honourable mind answerable vnto her rare feature, tooke her vnto his wife; honouring her farre aboue all the rest of his wiues and concubines: and she againe in all dutifull loyaltie seeking to please him, for a space liued in all worldly felicitie and blisse, not much inferior vnto one of the great Sultaneses. But long lasteth not the sommer fruit of wanton loue, blasted most times in the blossome, and rotten before it be well gathered: For in short time, the Bassa more amorous of her person than secured in her vertues, and after the manner of sensuall men still fearing least that which so much pleased himselfe, gaue no lesse contentment to others also; began to haue therein distrust, although he saw no great cause why, more than his owne conceit, not grounded vpon any her euill demeanor, but vpon the excess of his owne liking. Which mad humour (hardly to be euer purged) of it selfe still more and more in him encreasing, he became so stoward and imperious, that nothing he could say or doe could now so please or content him, but that he still thought some one or other, although he wist not who, to be therein partakers with him. So fearfull was the jealous man of his owne conceits. Yet could he not chuse but loue those great perfections, whereat he could not enough wonder; although he found no contentment therein, tormenting still both himselfe and her whom he so deely loued with his owne passionat distrust: vntill at length, the faire ladie grieued to see her selfe thus without cause to be suspected, & wearied with the insolent pride of her peeuish husband, together with his imperious commands; determined secretly to depart from him, and so to returne againe into her own country. VVhich her purpose she discovered vnto one of her eunuchs, to whom she had also deliuered certaine letters to be by him conuaid vnto such of her friends, as whose helpe she was to vse in her intended flight: which letters the false eunuch opened, and so for the more manifesting of the matter deliuered them vnto the Bassa his master. VVho therewith enraged, and calling her vnto him, forthwith in his furie, with a dagger stabd her to the heart and slew her: so together with the death of his loue, hauing cured his tormenting jealousy. The liuely counterfeits of these two so notable personages thus vnworthily slaine, the one by the imperious command of his soveraigne, and the other by the cruell hand of her husband, thou maist in the pages following behold, as they are by Bosfordus expressed.

Ionuses Bassa
jealous of his
faire wife Manto.

The faire ladie
Manto cruelly
slaine by her
jealous husband.



*Rejce Sultani titulos, Nilotica Memphis
Quos confert: eris hic inuidiosus honos.
Regna Tomombeo, Campson, cum rege reliquit:
Virtutis Selymus dicit id esse sue.*

Rejce the Sultans titles, which proud *Memphis* doth thee show:
From such great honours ostentimes doth greatest danger grow.
That *Campson* with king *Tomombey* lost both their state and fame:
Vnto thy valour, *Selymus* doth yet ascribe the same.



*Formam si spectes, nihil est formosius ista:
Pectoris & casti gratia rara fuit.
Sed dum dissimile vixit male iuncta marito:
Infelix misera morte perempta iacet.*

RICH. KNOLLEVS.

If feature braue thou dost respect, thou canst none fairer see,
Nor in whose chaste and constant brest could greater graces lie.
But whilst mismatche the liu'd to mourne, enthrald to jealous braine,
Vnhappie she, with cruell hand was by her husband slaine.

But leauing this great *Bassa* with faire *Manto* vnto their rest, his course thus run, to returne againe vnto *Selymus*; who now come into *SYRIA*, was by letters from the *Himbracor-Bassa* or master of his horse (whom he had left vpon the frontiers of his kingdome to attend the motions of the Persians) aduertised, That the Persian preparations which had raised such a hoat rumour of wats in the beginning of Winter, was growne cold in the heat of Sommer: and that he had scene in all the time of his aboad in those quarters, none but certaine stragling companies, making shew as if some greater power had beene comming, which had many times made sudden roads into the counrey, with whom he had sundrie times prosperously encountred: and that

it was generally reported by such prisoners as he had taken, and by his owne espials also, that *Hyfmaell*, troubled with the Hyrcanians and Tartars, had converted the greatest part of his forces against those nations: so that *VVinter* now drawing fast on, and deepe snowes already fallen vpon the mountaine *TAVRVS*, he could notwithstanding he would that yeare looke after *ASIA* the lesse, or *SYRIA*. There were that reported, that the Tartars which dwell betwene the two riuers *Tanais* and *Volga*, were by *Selymus* his procurement, and money, set a worke to keepe *Hyfmaell* busied, by invading the Iberians and Albanians, which were vnder his protection: which thing he wrought by the meanes of *Mahomet* his father in law, the *Bosphorane* king, who being of the same language and nation, by rewards easily induced the needie captaines of the Tartars his friends and confederats, to take vp armes against their neighbours.

The causes why
Hyfmaell invaded
did not *Selymus*,
wholly busied in
the Egyptian
warres.

Many men marvelled that *Hyfmaell* the Persian king neglected so faire an opportunitie, where by he might (as most men thought) haue thrust *Selymus* quite out of *ASIA* and *SYRIA*, whilst he was thus busied in *EGYPT*, yea and easily haue destroyed him, shut vp with all his power, especially at such time as the Aegyptian Sultans *Campson* and *Tomombeius*, made so great resistance. But they which could better judge of the matter, saw that *Hyfmaell* was not of so great power and strength abroad, as at home: for his armie for most part consisted of gentlemen, or such as were by custome bound to serue him in his defensie warres, voluntarie men, and such as serued without pay. These as they were the most valiant horsemen of the East, so did they with singular valour worthely defend the kingdome of *PERSIA*, and also as occasion required, make warre with their neare neighbours: but if any longer expedition were to be taken in hand, that they could by no means away withall, accounting it a grievous thing to depart from their wives, vnto whom they are so addicted that oftentimes they carrie them with them into the wars; and being a wanton and fine kind of people, are not able without wages to draw after them, according to their accustomed manner, so many carriages and horses as might serue both for their necessarie and wanton vses. With which difficultie the great king *Vsun-Cassanes*, *Hyfmaell* his grandfather by the mothers side, was much troubled in his warres against *Mahomet* the Great: but was now much harder for *Hyfmaell* to doe, for that hee hauing obtained his grandfathers kingdome by the meere good will of the people, easing them forthwith of their heauie impositions, alwayes thought the loue of his subjects (which is easily gotten with bountie and justice) the surest riches of his kingdome; and that to commaund onely ouer the bodies and goods of his people, their hearts altogether alienated and lost by most heauie and grievous exactions, seemed not the part of a gracious and naturall prince, but of an outrageous and momentarie tyrant. Whereas *Selymus* on the contrarie part, who had by force, mischeefe, and most detestable practices stept vp into his fathers seat, had after the maner of the *Othoman* kings, reposed his greatest and most assured strength in a seruile and mercenarie kind of men, whom he might for pay as his owne creatures, at his pleasure draw farre from home, and as he best liked lead them from place to place, and countrey to countrey, for the enlarging of his empire and eternising of his name: and therefore according to the qualitie of his people, deemed true and readie power to consist onely in money, and the seueritie of his owne commaund; whereby he had leatened with most happie successe, in short time to obscure all the victories of the former *Othoman* kings, with the greatest of his owne.

1518

All the *Winter* following *Selymus* stayed with his armie in *SYRIA*, spending the time in visiting the ports and cities of that prouince, and setting of things in order, for the better assurance thereof. But vpon the approach of the Spring, when he certainly vnderstood, that by the procurement of *Leo* the tenth, then bishop of *ROME*, the Christian princes were entered into consultation to make warre vpon him, and that supplications with great solemnitie were made for that purpose, and honourable embassadours sent into all prouinces to stirre vp the greatest kings of Christendome against him, he (leaving *Gazelles* his lieutenant in *SYRIA*), by great journeys returned to *CONSTANTINOPLE*: from thence as at hand to behold the deuises and motions of the Christian princes his enemies. In the meane time, fearing no alteration to arise in the prouinces of *SYRIA* and *EGYPT*, for as much as he well saw, that *Cayerbeius* and *Gazelles*, his lieutenants, being at deadly hatred betwixt themselves (as well for old grudges, as for the late treason of *Cayerbeius*, the great cause of the ruine of the *Mamelukes* kingdome) would neuer agree in one against him, but rather with a certaine emulation strue betwixt themselves with diligence, faithfulness, and moderation, who should deserue best in well gouerning the prouinces by him committed

committed to their charge; as indeed they did during the short time of his raigne.

Selymus being arrived at *CONSTANTINOPLE*, and purposing from thenceforth to turne all his forces vpon the Christians, caused wonderfull preparation to bee made for his warres, but especially at sea: whereby it was thought, that hee would either haue attempted the strong Island of the *RHODES* (a great moat in his eye) or els some part of *ITALIA*. But as hee was hatching this mischeefe, or some other of no lesse importance, and in the meane time delighted himselfe with visiting the cities of *GRACIA* and *THRACE*, and folloaced himselfe in the pleasant countrey about *HADRIANOPLE*, he was suddenly attached with the hand of God, and stricken in the reynes of his backe with a canker: which melancholie and deuouring maladic continuing all cure, did by little and little so eat and corrupt his bodie, as that he before so much honoured, became now loathsome and odious both to himselfe and others.

As he lay thus languishing, his incurable disease still encreasing, leaning his head in the lap of *Pyrrhus* the Bassa, whom of all others he most loued, said: *O Pyrrhus, I see I must shortly die without remedie.* Whereupon the graue Bassa tooke occasion to discourse with him of many matters: and amongst others, that it would please him to giue order for the well bestowing of the great wealth taken from the Persian marchants in diuers places of his empire: persuading him to bestow the same vpon some notable hospitall for releefe of the poore. To whom *Selymus* replied, *Wouldst thou Pyrrhus, that I should bestow other mens goods, wrongfully taken from them, vpon workes of charitie and deuotion, for mine owne vaine glorie and praise? assuredly I will neuer doe it: nay, rather see they bee againe restored vnto the right owners.* Which was forthwith done accordingly: to the great shame of many Christians, who minding nothing lesse than restitution, but making *ex rapina holocaustum*, do out of a world of euill gotten goods cull out some small fragments, to build some poore hospitall, or mend some blind way: a poore testimonie of their hate charitie.

Selymus lying thus sicke to death, and rotting about the ground in his tent, as he was vpon the way going to *HADRIANOPLE*, sent before *Pyrrhus* and *Achmetes*, two of his greatest Bassas, to prouide for the solemnising of the great feast, which the Turkes call *Bairam* (and is as it were their Easter) purposing to come after himselfe at leisure, as his weake bodie would giue him leaue: and kept with him onely *Ferhates*, the third of his greatest Bassas and priue counsellours. But such was the furie of his foule disease, continually attainting him with intolerable paines, that shortly after the departure of the other two Bassas, he breathed out his cruel ghost, in the moneth of September, in the yeare 1520: nere vnto the citie *CHIVRA*, in the selfesame place where he had sometime most vnaturally assayed his aged father *Baidet*, with purpose to haue slaine him, had not the fortune of the old emperour in a great battell preuailed both against his force and the treason of his own people. Thus intending the mischeefe he could not performe, cut off by a loathsome and vntimely death, hee to the great joy of all Christendom ended his dayes, when hee had liued six and fortie yeares, and thereof reigned eight: which time of his raigne was nothing els but a most horrible and dreadfull time of bloudshed. His dead bodie was afterwards solemnly by his sonne *Solyman* buried in a new temple at *CONSTANTINOPLE*, which he to the imitation of his father and grandfather had for that purpose before built. Vpon his tombe is engrauen in the Greeke, Turkish, and Sclauonian tongues, this short Epitaph.

1519

Selymus purposing to invade the Christians, was stricken in the reynes of his backe with a canker.

1520

The death of
Selymus.

The iust iudgement of God.

*Hic maximus adsum Selym, qui orbem domui.
Non bella relinquo, sed pergo inquirere.
Non vlla me fortuna potuit euertere:
Licet ossa iacent, animus bella querit.*

In English thus.

Lo here I lie great *Selymus*, which held the world in feare:
The world I leaue, but not the wars, which I seeke though not here.
No fortunes force, or victors hand, could wake from me the spoiles:
And though my bones lie buried here, my ghost seekes bloudie boiles.

Phi. Lonicerus
Torcez Historie,
Tomo primo, lib. primo.

He

it was generally reported by such prisoners as he had taken, and by his owne espials also, that *Hyfmaell*, troubled with the Hyrcanians and Tartars, had converted the greatest part of his forces against those nations: so that *Winter* now drawing fast on, and deepe snowes already fallen vpon the mountaine *TAVRVS*, he could nortough he would that yeare looke after *ASIA* the lesse, or *SYRIA*. There were that reported, that the Tartars which dwell betwene the two riuers *Tanais* and *Volga*, were by *Selymus* his procurement, and money, set a worke to keepe *Hyfmaell* busied, by inuading the Iberians and Albanians, which were vnder his protection: which thing he wrought by the meanes of *Mahomet* his father in law, the Bosphorane king, who being of the same language and nation, by rewards easily induced the needie captaines of the Tartars his friends and confederats, to take vp armes against their neighbours.

The causes why
Hyfmaell inuaded
did not *Selymus*,
wholly busied in
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Many men marvelled that *Hyfmaell* the Persian king neglected so faire an oportunitie, where by he might (as most men thought) haue thrust *Selymus* quite out of *ASIA* and *SYRIA*, whilst he was thus busied in *Egypt*, yea and easily haue destroyed him, shut vp with all his power, especially at such time as the Egyptian Sultans *Campion* and *Tomombeius*, made so great resistance. But they which could better judge of the matter, saw that *Hyfmaell* was not of so great power and strength abroad, as at home: for his armie for most part consisted of gentlemen, or such as were by custome bound to serue him in his defense warres, voluntarie men, and such as serued without pay. These as they were the most valiant horsemen of the East, so did they with singular valour worthely defend the kingdome of *PERIA*, and also as occasion required, make warre with their neare neighbours: but if any longer expedition were to be taken in hand, that they could by no means away withall, accounting it a grieuous thing to depart from their wives, into whom they are so addicted that oftentimes they carrie them with them into the wars; and being a wanton and fine kind of people, are not able without wages to draw after them, according to their accustomed manner, so many carriages and horses as might serue both for their necessaries and wanton vses. With which difficultie the great king *Vsun-Cassanes*, *Hyfmaell* his grandfather by the mothers side, was much troubled in his warres against *Mahomet* the Great: but was now much harder for *Hyfmaell* to doe, for that hee hauing obtained his grandfathers kingdome by the meere good will of the people, easing them forthwith of their heauie impositions, alwayes thought the loue of his subjects (which is easily gotten with bountie and justice) the surest riches of his kingdome; and that to commaund onely ouer the bodies and goods of his people, their hearts altogether alienated and lost by most heauie and grieuous exactions, seemed not the part of a gracious and naturall prince, but of an outrageous and momentarie tyrant. Whereto *Selymus* on the contrarie part, who had by force, mischeefe, and most detestable practices stept vp into his fathers seat, had after the maner of the *Othoman* kings, reposed his greatest and most assured strength in a seruile and mercenarie kind of men, whom he might for pay as his owne creatures, at his pleasure draw farre from home, and as he best liked lead them from place to place, and country to country, for the enlarging of his empire and eternising of his name: and therefore according to the qualitie of his people, deemed true and readie power to consist onely in money, and the feueritie of his owne commaund; wherby he had learned with most happie successe, in short time to obscure all the victories of the former *Othoman* kings, with the greatnesse of his owne.

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Non bella relinquo, sed pergo inquirere.
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Selymus purposing to inuade the Christians in the reynes of his backe with a canker.

1520

The death of
Selymus.

The iust iudgements of God.

Phi. Lonicerus
Turcice Historie,
Tom. primo,
lib. primo.

Selymus before
his death comen-
deth the tuition
of his sonne So-
lyman to Pyr-
rhys Basile.

He vsed commonly to say, That nothing was sweeter than to raigne without feare or suspition of his kindred. A little before his death he commended his sonne *Solyman* to *Pyrrhys Basile*, straightly charging him, that after his death he should leaue the Persian, and turne his forces altogether vpon the Christians. And the more to incense him to the effusion of bloud, he left him the liuely counterfeite of himselfe hanging at his bed side, with fundrie bloudie precepts breathing forth his cruell and vnmercifull disposition.



Tabulæ Epigraphæ.

*Soldanus Selymus Othomannus, Rex Regum, Dominus omnium Dominorum,
Princeps omnium Principum, filius & Nepos Dei. S. S. S.*

*Ad dextram, versus Græca lingua ad scripti
in hunc sensum.*

*Tutus ut imperij princeps sibi sceptrâ capeſſat,
Anxia ne dubio corda pauore premar.
Ne putet eſſe nefas cognatum haurire cruorem:
Et nec fraternâ, conſtabilire domum.
Iura, fides, pietas, regni dum nemo ſuperſit
Æmulus, haud turbent religione animum.
Hæc ratio eſt, quæ ſola queat regale tueri
Nomen, & expertem te ſinit eſſe metus.*

*Ad Siniftram lingua
Sclauonica.*

*Te ſemel aduerſus peccantem, mitis haberi
Ne ſtudeas, pœna vindice tutus eris.
Protinus enſe reſcindendum, putreſcere ſi quid
Incipiet, clemens rex male ſceptra gerit.
Ad veniam facilis, peccanti porigit anſam
Quæ ſe ſuſtentans, ad noua dampna ruat.*

*Ad Calcem tabulæ lingua
Turcica.*

*Qui non ipſe ſua princeps hæſtilia dextra,
Agmen in aduerſum Marte fauente iacet.
Sed reſugit ſeuus caput obieſſare periculis
Dum grauiâ impauido, prælia corde ſubit:
Iſte ſciat vanis belli ſeſe artibus uti:
Et votis nunquam fata fauere ſuis.
Nulle ſibi ſperet, ſuſcepti commoda belli,
Hoſiles acies quiſquis adire timet.*

The Inſcription of the Table.

*Sultan Selymus Othoman King of Kings, Lord of all Lords, Prince
of all Princes, the ſonne and nephew of God.*

*On the right hand of the Table were written Greeke
verſes to this ſence.*

The prince that ſafely ſeekes to raigne, and hold his ſtate in quiet reſt,
Muſt neuer ſuffer troubled care to harbour in his princely breſt:
Nor thinke it ſinne to ſpill the bloud of his moſt neere and deareſt kin,
Nor of his brother, ſo thereby aſſured ſafetie he may win.
Law, faith, deuotion, and ſuch like, to breake them all he muſt not ſpare,
Nor conſcience make of any thing, to rid him from aſpiring care.
This is the way and onely meane that may proteſt a princes ſtate,
And ſet him ſafe without all feare, whileſt none may liue whom he doth hate.

The bloudie and
tyrannicall pre-
cepts left by Se-
lymus to his ſon
Solyman, which
he afterwards
moſt aſſuredly
kept, as it to be
ſcene in his liſt
following.

*On the left hand of the Table was written in the
Sclauonian tongue.*

Of him that ſeekes to worke thy woe, deſerue not to be counted kind:
But take him for thy mortall foe, and plague him with reuenging mind.
The rotten lym is cut away for feare of doing further harme:
The gentle prince doth beare ſmall ſway, if no abuſe can make him warme.
Forbearance makes men more offend, and to preſume of further grace,
It doth but ſtrength to rebels lend, to thruſt their ſoueraigne out of place.

*At the lower end of the ſame Table was written
in Turkiſh verſe.*

What prince in perſon dareth not in open field to meet his foe,
And there with vnappauled heart, his deadly darts himſelfe to throw:
But hides his head for feare of harme, and ſhuns the danger of the field,
When martiall minds with courage bold withſtand their foes with ſpeare and ſhield:
Let him well know, how that in vaine he beareth armes but for a ſhow,
And that the honour of the field will neuer ſuch a coward know.
Ne let him hope to gaine the ſpoyle by any warres he takes in hand,
That feareth with courageous mind his enemies forces to withſtand.

FINIS.

Selymus before
his death com-
mendeth the tuition
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lyman to Pyr-
rhui Bassa.

He vsed commonly to say, That nothing was sweeter than to raigne without feare or suspi-
tion of his kindred. A little before his death he commended his sonne *Solyman* to *Pyrrhui Bassa*,
straightly charging him, that after his death he should leaue the Persian, and turne his forces al-
together vpon the Christians. And the more to incense him to the effusion of bloud, he left him
the liuely counterfeite of himselfe hanging at his bed side, with sundrie bloudie precepts breathing
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in hunc sensum.*

*Tutus ut imperij princeps sibi sceptrum capebat,
Anxia ne dubio corda pauore premit.
Ne putet esse nefas cognatum haurire cruorem:
Et nece fraterna, constabillire domum.
Iura, fides, pietas, regni dum nemo super sit
Emulus, haud turbent religione animum.
Hac ratio est, quæ sola queat regale tueri
Nomen, & expertem te sinis esse metus.*

*Ad Sinistram lingua
Sclauonica.*

*Te semel aduersus peccantem, mitis haberi
Ne studeas, pæna vindice tutus eris.
Protinus ense rescindendum, putrescere si quid
Incipiet, clemens rex male sceptrum gerit.
Ad veniam facilius peccanti porigit ansam
Quæ se sustentans, ad noua damna ruat.*

*Ad Calcem tabulæ lingua
Turcica.*

*Qui non ipse sua princeps hastilia dextra,
Agmen in aduersum Marte fauente iacet.
Sed refugit seuis caput obiectare periculis
Dum grauius impauido, prælia corde subit:
Iste sciat vanis bellis se artibus uti:
Et votis nunquam fata favere suis.
Nullo sibi speret, suscepti commoda belli,
Hostiles acies quisquam adire times.*

The Inscription of the Table.

*Sultan Selymus Othoman King of Kings, Lord of all Lords, Prince
of all Princes, the sonne and nephew of God.*

*On the right hand of the Table were written Greeke
verses to this sence.*

The prince that safely seekes to raigne, and hold his state in quiet rest,
Must neuer suffer troubled care to harbour in his princely brest:
Nor thinke it sinne to spill the bloud of his most neere and dearest kin,
Nor of his brother, so thereby assured safetie he may win.
Law, faith, deuotion, and such like, to breake them all he must not spare,
Nor conscience make of any thing, to rid him from aspiring care.
This is the way and onely meane that may protect a princes state,
And set him safe without all feare; whilst none may liue whom he doth hate.

The bloudie and
sramicall pre-
cepts left by Se-
lymus to his son
Solyman, which
he afterwards
most assuredly
kept, as is to be
seen in his list
following.

*On the left hand of the Table was written in the
Sclauonian tongue.*

Of him that seekes to worke thy woe, deserue not to be counted kind:
But take him for thy mortall foe, and plague him with reuenging mind.
The rotten lym is cut away for feare of doing further harme:
The gentle prince doth beare small sway, if no abuse can make him warme.
Forbearance makes men more offend, and to presume of further gtace,
It doth but strength to rebels lend, to thrust their soueraigne out of place.

*At the lower end of the same Table was written
in Turkish verse.*

What prince in person dareth not in open field to meet his foe,
And there with vnappauled heart, his deadly darts himselfe to throw:
But hides his head for feare of harme, and shuns the danger of the field,
When martiall minds with courage bold withstand their foes with speare and shield:
Let him well know, how that in vaine he beareth armes but for a show,
And that the honour of the field will neuer such a coward know.
Ne let him hope to gaine the spoyle by any warres he takes in hand,
That feareth with courageous mind his enemies forces to withstand.

FINIS.

Christian princes of the same time with Selymus the first.

Emperors of Germanie	Maximilian the first.	1494. 25.
	Charles the fifth.	1559. 39.
Kings	Of England { Henry the eighth.	1509. 38.
	Of Fraunce { Lewis the twelfth.	1497. 17.
	Francis the first.	1514. 32.
	Of Scotland { James the fourth.	1489. 25.
	James the fifth.	1513. 32.
Bishops of Rome	Julius the II.	1503. 9.
	Leo the X.	1513. 8.





Phil. Lonic.
Hist. Turc. lib. 1.

*Imperij Soliman patrij moderatur habenas,
Regnaq; Christiadam cladibus usq; metit.
Antiquam capit ille Rhodon, Naxumq; Parumq;
Tyrrheni infestat Littora curua maris.
Pannonios multo populatur milite fines,
Et cingit muros clara Vienna tuos.
Incluta Sigethi dum mania concutit armis,
Cogitur, hinc Stygiam nudus adire domum.*

His fathers empire *Solyman* doth rule with mightie power,
And Christian kingdomes ceaseth not with slaughter to deuour.
The antient RHODES, with NAXOS Isle, and PAROS he did take,
And on the coasts of ITALIE did wofull hauocke make:
Faure HUNGARIE with armies great he often did annoy,
And with a world of men had thought VIENNA to destroy.
But whilest to SIGETH he laied siege, in hope the same to haue,
Cut off by death in his great pride, went naked to his graue.



THE LIFE OF SOLYMAN, THE FOVRTH AND MOST MAGNIFI- CENT EMPEROVR OF THE TURKES.



He death of *Selymus* was with all carefulnesse concealed by *Ferbates* the onely Bassa then present, for feare least the Ianizaries and souldiours of the court getting knowledge thereof, should after their wonted manner in the time of the vacancie of the empire, spoile the merchants and strangers in places where they lay in garrison, and especially in the imperiall citie: and not so contented after their accustomed insolencie prescribe vnto the greatest Bassaes at their pleasure. For preuenting whereof, *Ferbates* dispatched a trustie messenger with letters in post to *Solyman* the onely sonne of *Selymus*, then lying at MAGNÉSIA, certifying him of the death of his father; and that he should deferue well of his peaceable subjects by hastening his comming to CONSTANTINOPLE, whilest

all things were yet in good order, in time to repress with his presence the feared disordered proceedings of his men of warre.

Solyman hauing to his great content perused the Bassaes letters, as one desirous enough of the empire; yet considering the cruell disposition of his father (who vpon a meere jealous conceit of his aspiring mind, and for certaine words by him let fall in dislike of his fathers extreame dealing, had practised most vnnaturally to haue taken him away by poison: which danger he escaped onely by the carefulnesse of his mother, who misdoubting the worst, caused the poisoned rich shirt sent to him from his father to be first worne by one of his chamber, whereof he in short time after died) and also that the letters were signed onely by *Ferbates*, and the newes not seconded from any of the other Bassaes: fearing some hidden & secret plot of his father tending to his destruction, durst not aduenture to remoue from his charge, but returned the messenger as one to whom he gaue little or no credit. Ten daies thus spent, and the death of *Selymus* nothing as yet suspected; *Ferbates* vnderstanding by his messenger the warinesse of *Solyman*, and that he expected more assured aduertisement, sent presently vnto the other great Bassaes *Pyrrhus* and *Mustapha* at HADRIANOPLÉ, that they should without delay repaire vnto the court: vnto whom at their comming he declared the death of the emperor. Which after they had seene to be true, they by an other secret and speedie messenger aduertised *Solyman* againe thereof, firing those letters with all their hands and seales: whereby *Solyman* now assured of his fathers death, presently put himselfe vpon the way, and by long and painfull journies in few daies came to SEVTARIVM, called in auncient time CRISOPOLIS, ouer against CONSTANTINOPLE. Where he was met with the Aga or capitaine of the Ianizaries, and by him transported in a gallic ouer that straight passage to CONSTANTINOPLE; where at his landing the Ianizaries by the appointment of their capitaine were readie to receiue him, knowing as yet nothing of the death of *Selymus*, vntill that *Solyman* being now in the midst of them, the capitaine with a loud voice said vnto them, Behold your emperor. Whereupon they all with great acclamation cried out, Long liue the great emperor *Solyman*: which consent of the men of warre, is vnto the Turkish emperours the greatest assurance of their estate. And so with much triumph he was by them brought

uous and cruell nature, but of great experience in sea matters. Who presented to Solyman by *Mustapha* and *Ferhates*, two of the greatest Bassaes, going before him, after due reverence done, and commaunded to deliuer his opinion, spake vnto Solyman as followeth :

Cortug-Ogli the
pirat persuadeth
Solyman to be-
siege the Rhodes.

The greatnesse of your deserts (most mightie and puissant emperor) maketh me (being by you so commaunded) at this time frankly to speake what I thinke may be for the glorie and honour both of your maiestie and empire. I daily heare the pitifull lamentation of the miserable people of *MYTLENE*, *EVBCA*, *PELOPONESVS*, *ACHAIA*, *CARIA*, *LYCIA*, and all alongst the sea coast of *SYRIA* and *EGYPT*, bewailing the spoils of their countries, the ransacking of their cities, the taking away of their cattell and people, with other infinit and incredible calamities, which they daily suffer of the crossed Rhodian pirats, no man withstanding them: many a time haue these wretched people holden up their hands to me for helpe, most instantly requesting me to be a meane for them to your imperiall Maiestie, whereby they might be protected from the iniurie, rapine, and slaughter of these cruell rousers. Wherefore in their behalfe I beseech your sacred Maiestie, by the most reuerend name of the holy prophet Mahomet, and by your owne most heriticall disposition to deliuer your afflicted subiects from these their most cruell enemies, and at length to set them free from the furie, captiuitie, and feare of these pyrates more greivous vnto them than death it selfe: and consider with your selfe, that this iniurie and insolencie tendeth not so much to the hurt of your poore subiects and oppressed people in priuat, as to the dishonour and disgrace of your imperiall name and dignitie, which if any other Christian king or prince should offer, your Maiestie I know would not suffer vnrerenged, and will you then suffer these robbers, cut-throats, base people gathered out of all the corners of Christendome, to wast your countries, spoile your cities, murder your people, and trouble all your seas? for who can passe by sea to *TRIPOLIS*, *DAMASCO*, *ALEXANDRIA*, *CAIRE*, *CHALCIDE*, *LESBOS*, *CHIOS*, nay vnto this your imperiall citie of *CONSTANTINOPLE*, without most certain and manifest danger of these rousers? What haue we heard euerie Spring this manie yeares, but that the Rhodians had taken some one or other of your ports, led away your people into miserable captiuitie, and carried away with them the rich spoiles of your countries? And that which is of all other things most dishonourable, this they doe vnder your nose, and in your sight, in the midst of heart of your empire. Pardon me I beseech your most mightie emperor, if I too plainly speake what I thinke: For whatsoeuer I say, I say it to no other end, but that you should now at length doe that which should manie yeares agoe haue been done. We your most loiall subiects may not nor ought not, for the encrease of our Mahometane religion, and for the enlarging of your empire and honour, to refuse to aduenture our goods, our bodies, our liues to all hazard and danger without exception. If you likewise be caried with loue of glorie and renoune, or rauished with the desire of neuer dying fame; in what way can you more easily gaine the same, or better employ vs your seruants, than in vanquishing and subduing the Rhodians, the reputed bulwarke of Christendome, which onely keepeth vs from their countries? But some will perhaps say, your auncestors haue in former times vnfornately attempted that citie: so did they also *BELGRADE* in *HUNGARIE*: yet hath your happie fortune to your immortal fame brought the same vnder your subiection, being far more strongly fortified than it was in times past: and doe you then despaire of the Rhodians? Cast off such vaine and needlesse misdoubt, the Turkish empire hath alwaies growne by aduentures and honourable attempts: therefore make hast to besiege it both by sea and land. If your subiects mourning vnder the heauie burthen of the Christian captiuitie, built it with their owne hands for the Christians, cannot they now at libertie, desirous of reuenge, and fitted with oportunitie, with like hands destroy the same? If it please you to vouchsafe but to looke into the matter (most dread Soueraigne) you shall see that there is a diuine occasion by the procurement of our great prophet Mahomet presented vnto your most sacred Maiestie, now that the Christians of the West are at discord and mortall warre amongst themselves. Your Maiestie is not ignorant, that in managing of warres, the oportunitie of time is especially to be followed: and that when occasion serueth, all remission and delay is to be carefully avoided: the changes of times are most tickle, and if you suffer your good hap now to passe ouer, you shall perhaps in vaine afterwards pursue the same when it is fled and gone.

Solyman by nature an ambitious young prince, prickt forward thus also by the persuasions of Cortug-Ogli and others, seeking their further credit and preferment by firing his ambitious humour: but most of all by the instigation of the Bassa *Mustapha*, resolved to goe in person him-

selfe against the Rhodians. And first to make some prooffe of what spirit and courage *Villerius* the new chosen Great Master was of, in whose sufficiency the greatest part of the defence of the citie was supposed to consist: to him by way of a little cold friendship, he sent a messenger with this short letter thus directed.

Solyman by the grace of God, King of Kings, Lord of Lords, greatest Emperour of *CONSTANTINOPLE* and *TRABZOND*, most mightie king of *PERSIA*, *ARABIA*, *SIRIA*, and *EGYPT*, lord of *ASIA* and *EUROPE*, prince of *Mecha* and *ALEPPO*, ruler of *HIRVSATM*, and Master of the *Vritetfall* sea: to the reuerend Father *Philippus Villerius Lilladamus*, Great Master of the Rhodians, and Legat of *ASIA*, greeting.

I am glad of thy comming and new promotion, which I wish thou maiest long and happily enioy, for that I hope thou wilt in honour and fidelitie exceed all them which haue before thee ruled in the Rhodians: from whom as my auncestors haue withdrawne their hand, so I after their example ioine with thee in amitie and friendship. Joy thou therefore my friend, and in my behalfe reioice of my glorie and triumph also: for this last Summer passing ouer *Danubius* with ensignes displayed, I there expected the Hungarian king, who I thought would haue giuen me battell, I tooke from him by strong hand *BELGRADE*, the strongest citie of his kingdome, with other strong holds thereabouts: and hauing with fire and sword destroyed much people, and carried away many moe into captiuitie, as a triumphant conquerour, breaking up mine armie, am returned to my imperiall citie of *CONSTANTINOPLE*, from whence farewell.

The Great Master hauing read these letters, and well considered of the fame, perceiued forthwith Solymans meaning, and that peace was offered him in words and shew, but war in deed and meaning. Which because he was readie by force to repulse, he rewarded the Turks messenger, and sent backe with him another of his owne, a priuat person. For the Rhodians did feldome vouchsafe to send any honourable embassadours to the Turkish emperours (with whom they for most part liued in hostilitie) either the Turks to them. By this messenger he answered Solymans letters with other of like vaine, as followeth.

Philippus Villerius Lilladamus, Great Master of the Rhodians, to the Turke.

I right well vnderstand your letters which your messenger brought vnto me. The friendship you write of, is as pleasing to me as displeasing to Cortug-Ogli your seruant, who went about to haue intercepted me vpon the suddaine, as I came out of *FRANCB*: but failing of his purpose, stealing by night into the Rhodian sea, he attempted to haue robbed certaine merchants ships bound from *IOPPE* to *VENICE*: but sending my fleet out of my haue, I staied his furie, constrained the pirat to flie and for hast to leaue behind him the prizes he had before taken from the marchants of *CRETE*. Farewell from the Rhodians.

By this answere Solyman perceiued, that he was well met withall in his owne finenesse, and that he should not so easily carrie the Rhodians, as he had before done *BELGRADE*. Yet being fully in himselfe resolved to trie his fortune therein, hee called vnto him certaine of the cheefe commanders of his warres, to whom he opened his whole determination in this sort.

Although I doubt not worthe chieftaines, but that you are of the same mind now that you haue been alwaies of, in the inuading of other nations: yet I haue thought it good in matters tending to the common glorie and good of vs all, to vse your generall aduice and counsell. Since the time that my father left this world, we haue made warre with diuers nations and people: The Sirians by nature constant, and prone to rebellion, we haue by force reduced to their former obedience: The Sophis, that mightie king, nephew vnto the great king *Vsun-Cassanes* by his daughter the sister of king *Iacup*, in heart and deed our mortall enemie, not contented with the kingdome of *ASSIRIA*, *MEDIA*, *ARMENIA* the greater, *PERSIA*, and *MESOPOTAMIA*, we haue by our forces shut up within the compasse of his owne dominions: The last yeare running through *HUNGARIE*, both on this side and beyond *Danubius*, we tooke *BELGRADE* the strongest fortresse of that kingdome: and whatsoeuer els we attempted, we subdued. Yet for all that (to speake plainly of my selfe) my mind greater

in conceit than mine empire, and the blond of Othoman, findeth no contentment in these victories. For whatsoever you have yet done, although it be great, yet I deeme it all but little, in regard of your worth: my desire carrieth me further. This haue I alwaies above all things most earnestly desired, to set upon the RHODES, and utterly to root out all the strength and forces, yea the very name of those Rhodian souldiours. And haue not you also no lesse than my selfe desired the same? How often haue I heard you crying out, The RHODES, The RHODES? I haue expected the time, that being discharged of other warres I might here employ my whole strength and power. That we so long deferred, is now come: there was neuer greater oportunitie of good successe offered, a great part of the wals of the citie of the RHODES now lying even with the ground; which cannot in short time be repaired, especially in their want of coine. Beside this, the garrison in the castle is but small, and their aid from FRANCE farre off, which will either come too late when the citie is lost, or that which I rather beleue, neuer. For neither will the French king (being at mortall warres with the Germane emperor, and lord of ITALIE) suffer his storehouses to be disurnished, or his ports bared of the necessary defence of his shipping; neither doe you beleue that the Spaniards (distressed at home with famine, warre, and ciuile discention) will easily come hither out of SICILIA and CAMPANIA with supplies of men and victuall. But you may perhaps thinke, that great danger is to be feared from the Venetian fleet, and the Isle of CRETE, which I assure you is not so: for I know (although I will not now manifest the same) how I haue prevented that mischeefe. Wherefore our courageous souldiours (borne to the subduing of all Christendome, much more of the RHODES) with cheerefull hearts follow me your Soueraigne against these your most perfidious and cruell enemies. How long I pray you will you suffer that shame and disgrace to sticke upon the Othoman familie, and generally upon all the name of the Turkes, which these Rhodians cast upon us the last time they were besieged? which was not so much done by their valour, as by the vnfortunat counsell of my great grandfather Mahomet, calling home Mesithes Paleologus his Generall in that warre, for one vnluckie assault. But admit that their valour gained them the victorie, will you therefore alwaies suffer these piraticall excursions upon our maine and Islands? the ransacking of our cities and countries? the carrying away of your cattell and richest substance? the captiuitie and slaughter of your wines and children? the slauerie of your nearest friends and kinsmen? So helpe me great Mahomet, it shall not so bee: I vow, in despite of Christ and Iohn, in short time to set up mine ensignes with the Moone in the middle of the market place of the RHODES. Neither doe I seeke any thing unto my selfe, more than the honour of the enterprise; the profit I giue unto you my fellow souldiours, their coine, plate, iewels (which is reported to be great) their riches and wealth is all yours, to carrie home with you unto your wines and children. Wherefore let us now with all our forces and courage set forward to the besieging of the RHODES.

Solymans purpose thus made knowne, and the same with one accord of all his captaines well liked: Pirrhus the eldest Bassa and of greatest authoritie, who at the first dissuaded the warre, standing vp in the middest of the rest, said:

I cannot but much admire the great wisdom and rare vertues of our young emperor, who so wisely and aduisedly hath declared all the deepe counsels of a worthie cheefetaine in taking of warre in hand. Blessed be Mahomet, thrice and foure times blessed is this empire, blessed is our estate, and blessed are we with such a prince, which carrieth with him in his warres not onely men and habiliments of warre, but most deepe wisdom and policie. Which wholsome manner of proceeding, if we had alwaies before our eyes, and would follow, we should in short time bring under our subiection not the RHODES onely, but all the kingdomes of the Christians. Yet beside that which our emperor hath most carefully and considerately deuised, mine age and experience would exhort you, by gifts, promises, rewards, and all other meanes whatsoever, to corrupt if it were possible the very cheefe and principal citizens of the RHODES, thereby to enter into their most secret denices and counsels: which how it may be wrought, I will in few words giue you to understand. I as a man indifferent, desirous of peace and quietnesse, will by messengers and letters induce the Great Master to send some honourable embassage to our dread Soueraigne, which if I can once bring him unto, then let me alone with the rest.

This counsell of the old Fox pleased all the hearers well, but about others the emperor himselfe, who gaue him in charge with all diligence and speed, to proue what he could doe: the other captaines he commaunded to prepare the greatest forces they could, both for land and sea service.

Solyman makes preparation against the Rhodians.

service. Which preparation was so great both at CONSTANTINOPLE and other places, that it could not long be kept so secret, but that newes thereof was brought to the RHODES the fourth day of Februarie: which newes daily increasing and still confirmed by more certaine reports, Villerius the Great master for more certaine intelligence, sent a Christian of EPIDAVRVS, who could perfectly speake the Turkish language, as a spie to CONSTANTINOPLE; who by secret letters from thence gaue him knowledge, that the Turkes were preparing a great fleet, and raising a mightie armie, aduertising him also of a wonderfull proportion of artillerie prepared for batterie; but against whom was not commonly knowne, some deeming it to be for the invasion of ITALIE, some for the RHODES, others supposing it to be for CIPRVS or CORCIRA: which diuersitie of conjectures, made many (whose conceits auerted from themselves the fortune of that warre) to be more carelesse and secure. But whilest euery man was of opinion, that it was made against any man rather than himselfe; certaine aduertisement was giuen to the Rhodians from diuers places by letters from their friends and confederats, That the Turkes did with extraordinary diligence keepe straight watch and ward in all their ports therabouts along the sea coast, otherwise than they were before accustomed: which seemed to prognosticate some farther matter than the defence of their frontiers. Villerius careful of his charge, as the mark whereat the enemy aimed, provided with all possible diligence great store of victuall, armour, weapons, shot, powder, and whatsoever els necessary for the defence of the citie.

Villerius prepares to make resistance against the Turke.

The new wals of the citie, and AVERGNE fortresse, by Basilus engineer to the emperor Charles the fifth (a worke begun in the time of Fabritius Carettus late Graund master, but not yet finished) was now with all diligent labour set vpon, euery man putting his helping hand vnto so necessary a worke. Whilest these things are with so great endeuour and labour a doing, a messenger came from CONSTANTINOPLE, sent from the old Bassa Pyrrhus, a sharpe witted and cunning fellow; who with much filed speech in most ample manner doing his message, by the way, painted forth the great towardlinesse and courteous nature of the Turkish emperor Solyman, with the great commendation of Pyrrhus Bassa his master: deliuering from both of them letters vnto the Great master of this purport.

Solyman by the grace of God King of Kings, Lord of Lords, &c. to the reuerend father Philippus Villerius Liladamus, Great master of the RHODES and legat of ASIA, greeting.

I am certainly enformed that my letters are deliuered unto thee; which for that thou understoost Solymans letter deist them aright, I cannot expresse how much it pleased me. Trust to it, that I am not contented to Villerius. With the victorie I got at BELGRADE; I hope for another, nay I assure my selfe thereof, which I will not hide from thee, whom I am alwaies mindfull of. Farewell from CONSTANTINOPLE.

Pyrrhus great counsellor to the mightie emperor Solyman, to Philippus Villerius Liladamus, Great master of the RHODES and legat of ASIA, greeting.

Your letters, greater in meaning than character, I haue deliuered unto our most mightie emperor: but the bearer thereof I would not suffer to come to his presence, least he should be too much offended with so base a messenger. Vnto whom from henceforth send men of worth, commendable for their yeares and discretion, with whom his Maestie may (if he so please) conferre and conclude of the matters concerning the common good: which thing if you shall doe, it shall neither repent you of the doing thereof, nor me of my counsell. The messenger I send, bringeth letters unto you also from our great emperor; to whose diuine excellencie how you are to answer, you are already admonished. Farewell from CONSTANTINOPLE.

These letters being openly read, drew the minds of the Rhodians diuersly. Such as altogether wished for peace, measuring others after their owne plaine meaning and integritie, commended the counsell of Pyrrhus, saying, That he being an old man of great experience, was not so desirous of our quiet, as of the quiet of his prince and countrey: and therefore wished by wisdom to order that which the young prince sought for by war, fearing the vncertaintie of mans fragillitie,

Pyrrhus Bassa his letters to Villerius.

fragilitie, the common chance of warre, the violence of fortune, which hath oftentimes in a moment with a handfull of men ouerthrowne most mightie kings with their strong armies. The persuasion of these men tooke such effect, that one of the knights of the order called *Raymund March*, a Spaniard, a noble gentleman of great courage and verie eloquent, skilfull also in the Turkish tongue, and then master maister, was appointed to haue beene sent embassadour vnto the Turkish emperor. Many there were of a contrarie opinion, which suspecting fraud and deceit, said it were good to beware of the enemies counsell: asking, to what end this embassage were? for should we proclaime warre (say they) against the most mightie tyrant, not yet our professed enemy, who writeth all peace? or should we intreat for peace, no warre as yet proclaimed? that he which as yet is afraid himselfe, may now vnderstand that he is of vs feared. Besides that, with what securitie, with what face can our embassadours go, vnrequested of the Turkish emperor, without his safe conduct thorow those countries which we daily burne and spoile? But they shall shew *Pyrrhus* the great Bassaes letters forsooth, his protection, his credit and authoritie shall defend them from all iniurie and wrong; as though the seruant should prescribe lawes vnto his master, and such a seruant as is most like vnto his master (that is) cruell, false of faith, a hater of all Christians, but especially of vs Rhodians: whom the mercilesse tyrant hauing in his power, with his nauie and armie in readinesse, shall with cruell torture enforce to discover vnto him our prouision, the secrets of our citie and Order. This opinion of the wilest sort, was greatly confirmed by the too much curiositie of the messenger which was sent, who with all diligence enquired of the state and situation of the citie, of the number and strength of the Order. Wherefore in conclusion he was sent backe againe, accompanied but with one priuat souldiour to carrie the Great masters letters vnto the Turkish tyrant: the tenure whereof was thus.

Philippus Villerius Great master of the Rhodes, vnto the Turke greeting.

Villerius his answer to Solyman's letters.

That you are mindfull of me, grieve me nothing: and I am also mindfull of you. You repaire your victorie in HUNGARIE, wherewith not being contented you hope for another: naie you promise and assure your selfe thereof, before you haue attempted the warre. Beware you deceiue not your selfe; mens expectations neuer deceiue them more than in warres. Farewell from the RHODES.

The other letters written to *Pyrrhus*, were to this effect.

Philippus Villerius *Liladapus* Great master of the Rhodes, to *Pyrrhus* the Bassa.

Villerius his answer to Pyrrhus the Bassa his letters.

I haue aduisedly considered thy letters, with the behaviour and disposition of thy messenger. As I contemne not thy counsell, so will I not follow the same, whilst my men of warre doe spoile the countries and ports of thy lord, and master; which I beare withall, by reason of the iniuries they haue sustained of the Turkish pirats. But I will call them home, and will send embassadours vnto thy great lord: so that thou before send me safe conduct vnder thy masters great seale, for their safe coming and returne. Farewell from the RHODES.

Villerius aduertised of the coming of the Turkish fleet.

But these letters were neuer deliuered vnto the great Turke, or the Bassa: for as soone as the Turkish messenger was come ouer into the maine, he presently tooke horse, which was therein readinesse for him, and posted towards CONSTANTINOPLE with as much speed as he could, leauing the Christian messenger his companion behind him; who returning backe againe to the RHODES, and telling what he had heard and seene, gaue them all great occasion to dispaire of peace: whereupon *Villerius* sent into CRET to hire certaine companies of Cretensian archers. In the meane time aduertisement was given vnto the Great master by letters from the island of NAXOS, That the Turkes were ready to put their fleet to sea with the first appearance of the new Moone: which thing they most superstitiously obserue in the beginning of all their great actions. The same newes was brought also by certaine merchants of the island of PARNOS, who came to the RHODES with a great ship laded with corne from EVBA; vnder the colour of the sale whereof, they (by the commaundement of the Turkes, to whom they were tributaries)

ries) diligently noted all that was done in the citie, shortly to be besieged. The Great master with no lesse diligence, sent diuers of his small galleies amongst the islands and amongst the maine, to learne what might be of the enemies doings. *Ioannes Lupus* one of the knights of the order, and captaine of one of these galleies, meeting with a great ship of the Turkes laded with corne, tooke her and brought her home to the RHODES. But *Alphonsus* captaine of another of the galleies, lying in harbour in one of the islands, and suffering his men to straggle too farre into the land, was set vpon by a Turkish pirat and taken.

About the same time the Turkes by often fires made vpon the maine in the night season, gaue signe vnto the Rhodians, that they were desirous to haue some parley with them; as their manner was. Whereupon one *Meniston* a French man, one of the knights, by commaundement of the rest of the order, was sent with a gallee well appointed to the maine to see what the matter might be; and with him was joyined *Iacobus Xaycus* paymaster for the galleies, that he might of the inhabitants of the place, and his friends there dwelling, diligently enquire of all things concerning the intended warre: for this *Xaycus*, besides that he was a skilfull sea man and one that knew the coast well, had also good experience in ciuile affairs; and was wonderfully beloued and made of by the Turkish merchants, whose language hee had perfectly leatned. Drawing neere the shoare, he found the Turkish merchants making merrie vpon the maine, with their carpers, cooten wooll, and such like merchandise about them as they vsed to exchange with the Rhodian merchants for woollen cloathes: vnto these merchants he gaue due salutations, gaging his faith for their safetie, and they likewise to him. But being requested to come ashore to make merrie vntill one of his familiar and old acquaintance might be sent for, who as they said was not farre off; he answered, that he could not so doe, except they would first deliuer a pledge for him a shipboord. The perfidious Turkes laughing as it were at his needlesse feare, willingly sent their merchandise, and a pledge aboard the galleies. *Xaycus* then going ashore, and embracing the Turkish merchants which met him: vpon a signe giuen, was forthwith beset on euerie side and taken prisoner, and by post horses conuaid with all speed to CONSTANTINOPLE; where he was with most exquisite torments that could be deuised for any man to endure, enforced to confess whatsoeuer his cruell enemies could desire. After *Xaycus* was by treacherie thus lost, then began their proud vntowardnesse to be highly commended, which were the occasion, that the decree made for sending embassadours vnto the Turke, was againe reuoked. The hostage giuen for *Xaycus*, being brought to the RHODES and examined, was found to be a simple country fellow whom the Turkes had of purpose well apparelled to deceiue the Rhodians: who frankly and plainly according to his simple knowledge, answered to all things that were of him demaunded; as that the Turkes were making great preparation for sea vpon the coasts of CARIA and LYCIA, and had taken vp many souldiours in the countries thereabouts to send vnto the frontiers of his dominions towards SYRIA, for defence of the same against the Persians. All which was true: For *Solyman* to put the Rhodians out of all suspicion of inuasion (whom hee knew carefully to obserue his doings) sent those souldiours whom he had leuiued in the countries neere vnto the RHODES, farre away against the Persian, as if he had meant nothing against the RHODES, and so vpon the sudden to set vpon them with his armie brought out of EVROPE, before they were aware. But this his deuise serued to small purpose, for the Great Master perceiving by many circumstances, but especially by that late calamitie of *Xaycus*, that the RHODES was in the place the Turkish tyrant longed after; and fearing that delay might bring farther danger, caused a cessation from all other businesse to be proclaimed, vntill all things necessarie for defence of the citie were accomplished: watch and ward was kept in euerie street, the great artillery planted vpon the wals and bulwarks, companies appointed for the defence of euerie place, the publike armorie full of all warlike prouision was open, all the streets were full of men carrying weapons, some to one place, some to another. At which time a generall muster was taken by the chiefe men of the Order, where were found about 5000 free men able to beare armes, amongst whom were 600 knights of the Order, and 500 souldiours of CRET; the rest were for most part martiners, able bodies, who in the time of the siege did great seruice, encouraged by their sea captaines: the island people which repaired into the citie, serued to little other purpose but to dig and carrie earth vnto the rampiers: and the citizens (except it were some few of the better sort) were for the most part weake and of small courage, not able to endure any labour or paines, and yet hardly to be kept in order and gouerned, great speakers, but small doers, greater

The carefulnesse of the Grand master.

greater in shew than in deed. The Great Master hauing carefully provided and ordered all things needfull for defence of the citie, and fearing nothing more than the faint hearts of the citizens, caused them all to bee called together; for encouragement of whom, hee spake vnto them as followeth:

Vallinius his
Oration vnto
the Rhodians.

Valiant gentlemen and worthie citizens, we heare that the Turke our mortal enemy is comming against vs, with a huge armie raised of diuers nations: from whose naturall crueltie and wanted pcurie except we defend our selues by force, one and the selfesame danger is like to befall me, my knights, and you all. For wee haue with common consent and hand, greuously spoiled him both by sea and land, and you are by booties taken by strong hand out of his dominions, enriched: and at this day we keepe his people in greuous seruitude, and he ours; but he iniuriously, and we most iustly. For his ancestors (reuerie of the darke denmes and caues of the mountaine CAVCASVS, their naturall dwelling) without right, title, or cause, incited onely with couetousnesse, ambition, and the hatred of our most sacred religion, haue driuen the Christians out of SYRIA: and afterwards, oppressed the Grecians in GARCIA: where not contented to haue destroyed the people, with one simple kind of death (as barbarisme in euier cruell and mercilesse) they haue with most exquisite and horrible torments butchered many thousands of that nation. All whom this wicked proud youth (whose mischeefe exceedeth his yeares) in euill neighbour to all men, not contented with the dominions of ARABIA, SYRIA, EGYPT, the greatest part of ASIA, and of many other places moe, seeketh in tyrannie, murder, spoile, perimie, and hatred against Christ and Christians, farre to excell: and forceth himselfe to the uttermost of his power, to take from vs our Islands, and to subdue the Christian countries; that so at length being lord of all, and commaunder of the world, he may at his pleasure overthrow the Christian cities, kill the Christians, and utterly root out the Christian name, which he so much hateth. For the repelling of which intollerable iniurie, we haue especially chosen this Island of the RHODAS for our dwelling place, because the same seemed more commodious than any other for the annoying of this barbarous nation. We haue done what in vs lay, holpen by you: we know by prooffe your great valor and fidelitie, which we now haue not in any distrust. Wherefore I will not use many words to perswade you to continue in your fidelitie and loyalitie, neither long circumstance to encourage you to play the men: sithence worthie minds are not with words either encouraged or dismaied. But concerning myselfe and my knights of the Order, I will speake a few words. I wish them, with whom (as I hope) the Christian princes and other my knights of the West will in good time ioine their forces, are most readie and prest to defend your selues, your children, your wiues, your goods, the monuments of your ancestors, and sacred temples dedicated to the seruice of our God. Which opinion that it may remaine firme and fix in your minds, if nothing els, my faithfulness in your warres, my bodie not yet altogether spent, but able enough to endure paines and trauell, the nobilitie of these worthie knights of the Order, their loue towards you, and their hatred towards your enemies, were sufficient to confirme: but beside this, the strength of this citie, which this noble Order hath with infinit charges so notably fortified with ditches, wals, towers, and bulwarkes against all the force and furie of artillerie, is such that no citie may worthely be compared, much lesse preferred before the same. It is wonderfully stored with all kind of weapons and warlike prouision: we haue laid up plentie of wine, fleshe, and corne, in vaults, so that whether wet weather nor wormes can attaine the same: of wood and wholesome water not to be taken from vs, things necessarie for men besieged, we haue plentie: and able men ynow for the defence of the citie. All which things promise vnto vs assured victorie, and such end of the warre as we wish for. Besides this, Necessitie, which giueth courage euen vnto cowards, will enforce vs to fight. Yet standeth on our side true religion, faith, conscience, deuotion, constancie, the loue of our country, the loue of our libertie, the loue of our parents, wiues, children, and what soeuer els we hold deare: where as they bring with them the proud commaund of their captaines, infidelitie, impietie, vnconstancie, a wicked desire of your bondage, of your blood, and the blood of your parents, wiues and children. Out of doubt (beloued citizens) our good God will not suffer so many good vertues to be overcome by their foule vices. Wherefore be you in minds quiet and secure, and trouble not your selues with forboding feare of your enemies: onely continue in the fidelitie and loyalitie which you haue alwaies kept inuiolat and vnspotted toward this sacred and honourable fellowship, in most dangerous wars, and hardest chances of fortune: and if need shall so require, with courageous hand shew your valour against your enemies, and quite it knowne vnto the Spaniards, French, Italians, Hungarians, and English, That the Rhodians are of power to daunt the Turkish pride, and to auct their fleets and armies from ITALIE, which they haue

so many yeares threatened with fire and sword: and will no doubt thither with all speed hasten and come, if (that which my mind abhorreth to speake) they should here preuaile. Neither will this ambitious youth, in courage, fallhood, and crueltie exceeding Hanniball, imitate him in that, that hauing overthrowne the Romans in the great battell at CANNAS, knew not to use haunctorie: but he will presently with more than Cæsars celeritie bring forth the treasures his father got in AEGYPT, and with great fleets and huge armies invade AFRICA, CALABRIA, and SICILIA, from whence he will forthwith breake into FALSA, and afterwards into SPAIN, and other Christian countries, raging through them with all kind of crueltie. But I am caried away further than I purposed, and than need is: For your fidelitie and valor (most worthie citizens) to endure the siege and resist the enemy, is such, as needeth not my perswasion; and of greater resolution, than that it can be shaken with the dangers incident to men besieged. For the greatest and most forcible miseries of all, which is hunger and thirst, I assure you you shall neuer feelee, which pinching calamities for all these same people (in such false, courage, and valour nothing comparable to you) haue neuertheless most constantly endured. For they of PATELIMVM, besieged by the Carthaginians, for want of victuals, sold their parents and children out of the citie, the longer to hold out the siege, and lined themselves with hides and leather sod or broiled and leaues of trees, and made other homely things, by the space of eleven moneths, and could not be overcome vntill they wanted strength longer to stand vpon the wals, and to hold their weapons in their hands. They of CASSILINVM besieged by Hanniball, held out with a poorer monie, was sold for much monie. You must of necessity keepe watch and ward in your seasons: if your houses chance to be beaten downe with the enemies artillerie, you must haue patience; for why, they shall be repaired againe, and it is not a matter of such importance, that we should therfore yeld vnto our enemies whose courtesie and fidelitie no assurance is to be reposed. For besides that he is by nature cruell and vnfaithfull, he can by no means be gentle and faithfull towards vs, which haue done him so much harme: who onely (as he himselfe saith) haue oftentimes to his greefe interrupted the course of the victories of him the conquerour both of sea and land: whom he hath so many times assailed by open force with all his strength, wit, craft, deceit, and policie: yet alwaies he hath in vaine, almightie God full protecting vs, whom aboue all things (most deare citizens) I wish you to serue and call vpon: For except he keepe and defend the citie, the watchmen doe but watch in vaine.

This cheerefull speech wonderfully encouraged the hearers, especially the vulgar sort, easily caried away with pleasing words. But whilest they in their iolitic dreame of nothing but of triumph and victorie, the wiser sort possessed with care, ceased not to doe what in them lay, to procure, That the good commonly forewished, might in fine come to effect. Amongst others, Clement bishop of the Greekes, a man both for his place and deuout manner of liuing had in great reputation amongst them, laboured earnestly by dayly exhortations to perswade the Greekes his countrey men in that great and common danger with heart and hand to ioine with the Latines in defence of the citie: for although the gouernment was altogether in the Great Master and his Knights, which were Latines; yet the people both of the Island and citie were for most part Greekes, who liked not altogether so well of the Latine gouernment, but that they did many times repine thereat. Howbeit the matter was at that time so ordered by the good perswasion of the bishop, and good gouernment of the Great Master, that they all agreed as one man to spend their liues in defence of the citie; and were so farre from feare of the comming of the barbarous enemy, that many of the vulgar people, in whom appeareth commonly more heart than wit, wished rather for his comming than otherwise. But looke what they had fondly wished, proued afterwards to their costs ouer true. For within a few nights after, the Turkes by fire made the night time vpon the maine, gaue signe of parley vnto the Rhodians. Whereupon a gallie well appointed, with a long boat, was presently set forth to see what the matter was: which drawing nere vnto the shore, was hailed by a Turke, accompanied with a troupe of horsemen, desiring the captaine of the gallie to send some on shore, with whom they might more conueniently parley: which thing the captaine refusing, What, said the Turke, art thou afraid of Xayem? To whom the captaine in threatening manner answered againe, Xayem whom you haue contrarie to your faith and oath taken, troubleth me not; neither am I afraid of you, whom I trust not: but if you haue any thing to say, let me heare it, or els get you further off, otherwise I will speake to you by the mouth of the cannon. Then one of the Turks comming to the water side, laid downe letters vpon a stone, saying, that in them was contained that they had in charge

D d d

which

which said, he presently let spurs to his horse, and departed with the rest of his company. The captain sending out his long boat for these letters, found them directed in this sort.

Solyman by the grace of God, King of Kings, Lord of Lords, most mightie

Emperour of CONSTANTINOPLE and TRAPEZONDE, &c. vnto the renowned

father **Philipppus Villerius Lilladarius, Great Master of the Rhodoss,** to his worthy

knights, and all his people in generall.

The purport of which letter was as followeth:

Solyman threaten-
ing letters to
the Rhodians.

The compassion I haue of my distressed subjects, and the great iniurie you doe me, hath moued me so, that I therefore I commaund you without delay to yeeld vnto mee the Island and chiefe of the RHODES, willingly and charitably granting you leave safely to depart with all your riches, in as farre as you please vnder my obedience, your libertie and religion in no part infringed with tribute or imposition. If you be wise, preserve friendship and peace before bloudie warre: for as much as which are by force subdued, are referred all extremities, which the miserable vanquished use to suffer of the angrie conquerour: from which neither your owne force, nor forraine aid nor huge walls, which will utterly ouerthrow, shall be able to defend you, fare you well. All which shall assuredly be performed, if you shall make choice rather of my friendship than of my force: wherein you shall neither be deceived nor circumvented; I take to witnesse God the creator of heauen and earth, the foure writers of the Euangelicall historie, the foure score thousand prophets descended from heauen, & amongst them our highest prophet Mahomet, the reuerend ghosts of my father and grandfather, and this my sacred imperiall head. From our pallace at CONSTANTINOPLE.

When these letters were openly read in the Counsell chamber at the RHODES, some were of opinion, That it was good to answer the Turkish tyrant roundly, thereby to giue him to vnderstand that they were not afraid of his threats: other some thought it no wisdom to haue words to prouoke so great an enemy to further displeasure. Thus whilest euery man would haue framed an answer according to his owne disposition, in conclusion it was agreed vpon, to giue him no answer at all.

The same day these letters came to the RHODES, which was the foureteenth day of Iune. One of the Turkes great commanders at sea with thirtie gallies, the forerunners of the Turkish fleet, arrived at the Island of Cnos, famous in ancient time for the birth of Hippocrates the great physician, and the wonderfull picture of Venus left there vnpersifed by Apelles, which for the excellencie thereof neuer man durst afterward take in hand to perfect: which fruitfull and pleasant Island was then at the arrivall of the Turkes, part of the dominion of the RHODES. The Admirall of this fleet here landing his Turkes, began to burne the corne which was then almost ripe, with the countrey villages round about. With which iniurie, Prexianes gouernour of the Island (a man of great courage and valour) moued, with a chosen companie of footmen, and certaine troupes of horsemen, suddainly set vpon the Turkes, in diuers places dispersed abroad far into the countrey, with such a terrible crie of the countrey people, and instruments of warre, that the Turkes being therewith amazed, ran away as if they had been mad, and were many of them slaine without resistance; and had not the gallies lien neare the shore, to receiue them that were able to flee thither, there had not one of them which landed escaped the hands of the Island people. The Turkes hauing receiued this losse, left the Island, and put to sea againe.

The Rhodians
for feare of the
Turks destroy
their suburbs &
pieces of plaine
without the citie.

The Rhodians for the most part now assured and out of doubt of the comming of the Turkes, by the persuation of Gabriell Pomerolus vicemaster, and other men of great experience, plucked downe the suburbs of the citie, and laid them euen with the ground, their pleasant orchards also and gardens neere vnto the citie, they vtterly destroyed; the Great Master for example sake beginning first with his owne, being a place of great delicacie, lying vnder the wals neere vnto the French bulwarke: and taking into the citie all such things as they thought needfull for the enduring of the siege, they vtterly destroyed all the rest, were it neuer so pleasant or commodious, within a mile of the towne, leauing all that space as euen and bare as they could possibly make it; to the intent, that the enemy at his comming should find nothing neere the citie, wherof to make vic. But whilest the pleasures and delights of the suburbs are thus in defacing; another

more heauie and wofull sight presented vnto the eies of the citifens, filled the citie with greater mourning and penitence than did the comming of the enemy. The miserable multitude of the poore countrey people, some bringing wood, some corne, some cattell, some foules, and other such necessities as they had, out of the countrey into the citie (for so the Great Master had commaunded) after whom followed great numbers of women and children weeping, with discheueld haire, scratching their faces and tearing themselves after the manner of the countrey, wringing their hands and casting vp their eies to heauen, beseeching God with heauie countenance and floods of teares to defend the noble citie of the RHODES and themselves from the furie of their enemies. Which multitude of countrey people with their prouision, being packt vp into narrow roomes in the houses of the citifens, and their cattell staruing for want of fodder, afterwards corrupted the aire; whereof ensued rotten agues and the flux, during the time of the siege. But after the citie was giuen vp, such a plague and mortalitie followed, as destroyed great numbers of the Turkes and poore Christians; which knowing not whither to go, chose rather there to die than to forsake their native countrey.

The Generall of the Turkish fleet, which landed in the island of Cnos, and was of purpose sent by Solyman to prouoke the Rhodians to battell at sea; before he with his whole power came to besiege the island, came daily with twentie gallies halfe those narrow seas ouer, betwixt LYCIA and the RHODES, leauing the rest of his fleet riding at anchor at the promontorie called GNIDVM (not farre from the citie of the RHODES) readie to aid him as need should require: this manner of brauerie he used many daies together, hoping thereby to allure the Rhodians out of their haven to giue him battell; knowing, that if he should therein obtaine the victorie, it were at that time little lesse than the taking of the citie, or if he could by cruell fight but weaken the forces of the Rhodians, he should therein doe his master good seruice, and greatly further his victorie by diminishing the number of the defendants. When he had many daies without intermission in this proud manner come halfe seas ouer, and sometimes passing further came and lay at the mouth of the haven, as it were daring them to fight: the Rhodians not wont to be so braued at their owne doores, moued with the intollerable insolencie of this proud Turke, by their continuall importunitie caused the Great Master to call a counsell, to consider whether they should fight with this fleet of the Turkes or not. The counsellors by the appointment of the Great Master assembled: the Chancellor, a man of great authoritie and spirit, famous for his noble acts both at home and abroad, and chiefe of them which were of opinion this fleet of the Turkes was to be fought withall, said:

So great disgrace was not longer to be suffered, but presently reneged: For (said he) the huge fleet of the Turkes, I do not feare at whose force or sight, but at whose verie name many men do tremble and quake (which for all that is vnto vs no great noueltie, for euery yeare we heare of the like) is as a head to be ioined vnto these piraticall gallies, as members; and then will it be most expedient (which will be almost easie thing for vs to doe, hauing the better both for strength of shipping and number and valour of men) to giue that great head such a blow and wound, by cutting off these limbes, that it shall neuer after stagger and faile for want of strength: or else there is no other fleet at all prepared against vs to follow this, and then this discomfited we shall be at quiet. Which thing in my iudgement (though others which feare their owne shadowes and the falling of heauen, say otherwise) is most like to be true: for the great Turke is not so softish to come hither, the fittest time of the yeare being so far spent, in the latter end of Iune, to besiege this citie, and such a citie as he knoweth to be most strong, wanting no thing that is needfull, and thorowly manned with valiant souldiours, from whence his ancestors haue been with losse and shame repulsed: when as the remainder of the Sommer will be spent, before he can escape himselfe and place his batteries; and winter time as you know is unfit for any siege, especially in this island, wherein they can find no haven or harbour to rest in. Wherefore on Gods name let vs set vpon our proud enemies, and let vs not for a few threatening words sent vnto vs from a fearefull youth, vpon a fineness, and pollicie, least we should follow the tale of his fleet bound for some other place, sit still like cowards within our wals with our hands in our holmes, as men which for feare and dread durst not shew their heads. Which our cowardise and want of courage we (forsooth) call Fabius pollicie: but I would to God we were like Fabius, but I feare we shall proue more like Antiochus, the Resolians, the Itellians, all whose courage consisted in words, vainly hoping to gaine the victorie by sitting still and wishing well. But the helpe of God is not to be gotten by womens prayers and supplications.

cations or these faint-hearted policies, which cowards call advised counsell: but victorie is gained by aduenturing and exposing our selues to danger and perill.

With these and such like speeches he so moued the multitude, which commonly conceleth most courage vpon the greatest vncertainties, that they desired that they might fight, saying, That they would wash away that foule disgrace with the blood and slaughter of their enemies: for why, they wanted not weapons, courage, or hands (as they said) to doe it withall.

For all this, the grauer sort of the counsell (without whose consent the master might in such cases doe nothing) thought it not good in so dangerous a time to aduenture any great part of their forces, which they should afterwards want for the defence of their citie. The Turkish generall deceived of his expectation, and perceiuing that the Rhodians would not be drawne forth to battell at sea, withdrew his fleet twelue miles off, vnto a place called VILLANOVA, where casting anchor and landing his men, he burnt the corne all thereabouts which was now almost ripe, but forsaken of the people as a thing desperat: as for the people themselves, they were all fled, and had retired themselves either into the citie of the RHODIANS, or els into strong castles in other places of the island.

At the same time, certaine troupes of horsemen sent forth to haue skirmished with the Turks that were burning of the corne, were by a messenger sent from the Great master, commanded to retire: For the prouident Generall fought by all meanes to reserue his soldiers for greater dangers, which he justly feared in the expected siege: during which time he shewed himselfe a most politike capitaine and braue soldiour, he would many times by day eat his meat with his soldiers as one of them, and most part of the night keepe watch himselfe walking vp and downe, telling himselfe when he was wearie vpon some stone or piece of timber or other homely seat, as it chanced. In time of assault he was alwaies more forward and aduenturous than the graue counsellors withed, fearing neither shot nor enemy: yet did he alwaies more commend discreet counsell grounded vpon reason, than prosperous actions commended but by their euent. And that which a man would wonder at, amongst so many cares in midst of such diuers and dangerous chances, he carried alwaies such a grace and maiestie in his cheerfull countenance, as made him to be of the beholders both reuerenced and loued. All the time he could spare from the necessarie cares of his waighe charge, from assaults, and the naturall refreshing of his bodie, he bestowed in prayer and seruing of God; he did oftentimes spend the greatest part of the night in the church alone praying, his headpiece, gorget and gauntlets lying by him: so that it was commonly said, that his deuout prayers and carefulnesse would make the citie inuincible.

The six and twentieth day of Iune early in the morning, newes was brought into the citie from the watch-tower standing vpon S. Stephens hill about a mile from the citie, That a most huge fleet was descried at sea, making thitherwards all alongst the Westerne coast of Lycia. This bad newes much troubled the citie, although it was not of most men vnexpected; all places was filled with tumult and hurly burly, euerie man measured the greatnesse of the danger by the measure of his owne feare, and such a pitifull crie was in euerie place as is usually in cities presently to be besieged. Hereupon publike prayers were made through all the citie, and euerie man with great deuotion besought the God of heauen, That as it was his pleasure that the Rhodians should at that time be the champions of the Christian religion; so he would giue them strength and victorie against their enemies, and to turne the calamities of warre vpon the enemies of his name. Their deuotion ended, the gates of the citie were shut vp, and people from all places ran vnto the wals, great flocks of women, children, and aged men not able to stand without a staffe, going forth of their houses to gaze vpon that dreadful fleet (wherein was about 200 sailles as is reported) filled the streets, the tops of the high towers and houses. The foremost of the fleet was the Admirall of CALIPOLIS, to whom Solyman had committed the charge of all his name, and to assaile the citie by sea: The rearadmirall was *Cara Mahometes* an arch pirate, who was afterwards slaine with a great shot out of the citie. The viceadmirall in the middle of the fleet with a great squadron of gallies, hauing a faire Western wind, stricke saile directly before the mouth of the haven (which was on both sides defended with two strong towers well furnished with great artillerie) and began to row towards the citie: whereupon an alarm was raised, the trumpets sounded, and many hastened vnto the bulwarke which defended the left side of the haven, which the enemy seemed to direct his course vnto; and was indeed more subiect to danger

than the other. But the Turke seeing himselfe in danger to be sunke with shot from the bulwarke, was glad to get himselfe farther off vnto the rest of the fleet: the Rhodians from the wals with lowd outcries scornfully deriding him for his foolish attempt. This great fleet in exceeding brauerie and triumph passing by the citie in sight of the Rhodians (standing vpon their wals with ensignes displayed) did not more terrifie them, than they were themselves terrified to behold the strength of the citie and cheerfulness of the defendants. But passing on, they came to the promontorie which the inhabitants call B O, about three miles distant from the citie, Eastward: which small harbour being not able to receiue so great a fleet, many of the gallies were enforced to ride it out at sea, where they were by shot out of the citie oftentimes endangered and enforced to get them farther off. Whilest the enemy was there landing his great ordinance and other instruments of warre prepared for the siege, chusing a place for his campe, transporting his land souldiours from the maine into the island, viewing the strength and situation of the citie, and in what place he might with most ease assault the same: the Rhodians in the meane time were not idle, but sunke diuers deepe sounds in many places of the citie neere vnto the wals, to discover the enemies mines; and fortified their bulwarke with greater rampiers; in which worke euerie man put to his helping hand without respect of age or calling. The Graund master about that time sent *Lodouicus Andugus* one of the knights of the Order, into SPAIN to *Charles* the emperour; and *Claudius Duennillius* another of the Order also, to ROM to the Cardinals, and Italian knights of the Order; and from thence into FRANCE vnto the French king with letters craving the aid of these Christian princes, for reliefe of the citie by sea, and land besieged. But all in vaine, for they carried away with the endless grudge of one against another, or respecting only their owne estates, returned the ambassadors with good words, without reliefe.

At this time *Preianes* Gouvernour of CHIOS (of whom we haue before spoken) a man comparable with any of the captaines of that age, an excellent souldiour both by sea and land, valiant and thereto fortunat, of an inuincible courage, brought vp in the wars from his childhoods when he had by the space of two or three daies hid himselfe in the rocks at sea, for feare of the Turkes great fleet, came by night in a small pinnesse to the RHODIANS, hauing deceived the Turkes watch: at whose coming the Rhodians wonderfully rejoyced, for the souldiours repored greater confidence in no man than in him: And if any great exploit were to be done, him the Master trusted aboute any other: he alwaies in armes during the siege, encouraged the souldiours, searched the watch, suruaid the bulwarke, repaired the breaches; and such labours as others accounted extreme miseries, he cheerfully endured, as if they had been but his pleasures and recreation. At the same time also *Gabriell Martinus* of Brixia, a most skilful engineer, came to the Rhodes out of CHART; by whose industrie and cunning, 55 mines which the Turkes did with infinit labor and charge make (by reason of the springing of the water, and hardness of the rocks) during the siege, were all by countermines disappointed and defeated.

The citie of the RHODIANS is situated on a plaine ground, on euerie side to be besieged, onely Northward it is defended with a goodly haue, from whence it lieth all Westward: betwixt it and the hills round about it, lieth a stonie plaine ground, not verie broad but of greater length; and these hills are full of springs, and orchards planted with Oliues, Figtrees, Vines, and such other fruits as such drie and sandie ground will beare. But what by nature wanted, was by the hand and industrie of man supplied; for it was compassed about with a most strong double wall and deepe trenches, threatening the enemy with thirteene stately towers: and sure against all assaults, with five mightie bulwarke: with diuers goodly faire gates: and that which was the greatest defence of all, within the citie was alwaies kept a most exact and straight forme of warlike discipline. The defence of the whole citie was thus proportioned: From the French tower (which with the greameffe and height thereof seemed to mate the skie) stood the Frenchmen with the French Lillies in their ensignes, vnder their Commander *Joannes Abbinus* a noble knight of the Order: from thence to S. Georges gate lay the four Germains, with the Eagle in their ensignes: in the third station were placed the French Aurgnois, with the Spaniards, for that the ditches in that place were neither so deepe nor broad as elsewhere: in the fift place lay the English garrison, whom the Graund master himselfe commaunded: after them succeeded they of NARONAS, and last of all the Italians, in valour not inferior to any of the rest, vnder the leading of *Petrus Balthus* and *Gregorius Morgutus*. In euerie one of these stations were diuers valiant knights of the Order, whose names (worthy of eternall memorie) for breuitie we passe over, all men

A Turkish woman
man slave, conspires
to fire the
citie.

of themselves sufficient to haue taken vpon them the whole charge. The enimie was not busie without the citie in placing his batterie, but traitorous minds were as busie within to haue betrayed the same. A Turkish woman, slave to one of the rich citizens, had conspired with certaine other her complices, at such time as the Turkes should give assault vnto the towne, at one instant to set on fire the houses wherein they dwell in diuers places of the citie, that the defendants drawne from the walls to quench the fire, the Turkes in the meane time might the more easily enter. But this treason was in good time reuealed, and the offenders were thulie executed.

The painfullness
of the Turkish
pioners.

The Turkes had not as yet placed their batterie, when as they tooke a certaine hill, whereon stood the church dedicated to *Cosmus* and *Damianus*, directly oueragainst the English station: from thence (as it seemed, rather for exercising of their souldiors than for any great harme they could doe so farre off) they began with small battering peeeces to shoot into the citie: and afterwards they began to dig mines, and to cast vp trenches: for the performance of which kind of worke, and for the filling vp of the towne ditches, they had brought with them fiftie thousand pioners, men better acquainted with countrey labour and keeping of cattell, than with warres; which being enforced vnto their labour day and night, sometime with stripes, and sometime with death, did with incredible celeritie bring that to passe, which was before thought impossible. They cut wayes through the most hard stonie rockes, raising the plaines as high as mountains, with earth brought two miles off, and laying the mountaines euen with the plaines, and yet they neuer wrought in safetie, but were miserably rent in sunder with the great ordinance out of the towne: and that which most of all troubled them, the Rhodians falling out vpon these outlaboured people, hauing neither courage nor skill to defend themselves, but trusting onely to their heeles, slew great numbers of them, and not of them only, but of others also appointed for their defence, whom the Rhodians (taking courage of their feare) fiercely pursued & slew down-right. And when many others issuing out of the campe in great companies, thought to haue rescued their fellowes, the great ordinance before of purpose placed to most aduantage, so thundered from the wals amongst the thickest of them, that the ground lay couered with the bodies and weapons of the dead Turkes. With which manner of fight, after the Rhodians had twice or thrice troubled the enimie, the Turkes for their more safetie wrought most vpon their mounts by night, keeping most strong watch for defence of their pioners, which for more assurance they doubled in the day time, and bent their artillerie against the places which the Rhodians vsed to fallie out at: which did not so much keepe them in, as the feare of weakening themselves by often sallies. Knowing that one man was vnto them a greater losse, than vnto the enimie an hundred. Amongst others which in the beginning of this great siege forced the vntermost of their deuices to the destruction of the Turkes, were certaine mariners, who hauing the Turkish language perfectly, by leaue of the Grand Master (disguising themselves in the habit of Turkes) departed by night out of the haven in a small boat, loaded with apples, plums, peares, mellons, grapes, and such other fruits as the time of the yeare afforded; and in the darknesse came along the coast, vnto that part of the Island whereinto the passage was out of the maine. There as if they had been Turkes come from the maine, they landed their commodities, which the Turkish souldiors bought greedily. When they had thus sold their fruits, and in selling thereof diligently noted the speech and talke of the souldiors concerning the siege, and were now ready to depart, certaine Turkes which greatly disliked the hard beginning of this siege, seeing themselves if they did but stir, in danger to be set off with shot out of the towne, earnestly requested the mariners to take them with them into the maine: which to doe, at the first the mariners dissembling, refused, as a thing dangerous: & besides that, their boat was too little to receiue so many as would willingly haue gone with them. Yet with much adoe they suffered themselves to be situated to take in seuen or eight, such a number as they knew they could well master: who in hope of passing ouer into the maine, were (contrarie to their expectation) brought prisoners to the Rhodians, where they were by *Praianes* brought vnto the top of the highest tower of *S. Johns* church, from whence they might see all about the countrey, and well desire all the manner of the Turkes campe, which they simply discovered vnto the captaines, and what ouer els they demanded: and amongst other things confessed, that the souldiors were greatly discontented with the siege, halting in the beginning thereof lost so many men, and that they were ready to rise in mutinie against their captaines, and would hardly by them be commanded out of their

trenches and cabbins, saying, that all they did was but lost labour: and that they should find it another peece of worke to win the Rhodians, than they had at *Bellorad*: wherefore if they were wise, they should in time depart before they had received further harme both from the enimie, and for want of necessaries, wherewith the souldiors began already to be pinched. All which was then supposed to haue been spoken by the captiues to please them in whose power they now were: yet it appeared afterwards to bee all true. For *Pyrrhus Bassa*, considering the troubled state of the campe, and the generall discontentment of the souldiors, whom he was at that time gladder to please than to punish, writ vnto *Solyman* at *Constantinople*, That if he would the siege should goe forward, he should without delay come in person himselfe to the campe, for that the souldiors without regard of shame were ready to rise in mutinie and to abandon the siege, refusing to be commanded by their captaines.

In the meane time whilest *Solyman* prepareth himselfe to set forward, the Turkish captaines vnderstood by certaine fugitiues (whereof in all warres some are to be found) that the high steeple of *S. Johns* church serued them of the towne for a watch tower: for which cause, and for despatch of the Crosse standing vpon the top thereof, they laboured nothing more, than with continual shot to beat downe that tower; which whilest they were doing with great diligence, *Solyman* himselfe came into the campe the 28 day of August in the afternoone: where finding in his armie all the signes of cowardise, and feare that could be spoken of, or deuised, and nothing done according to the command of such as he had appointed for that charge, but all things out of order; he tooke more greefe to see that great disorder, than he did pleasure and good hope of two hundred thousand souldiors, which were in his armie. Yet for all that hee was inwardly chafed with the heat of youth and indignation, against his own people as well as the Rhodians, he moderated himselfe betwixt his owne rage and the offence of his souldiors, and calling them together, caused them to be disarmed, not leauing among them so much as a sword: and compassing them in with fiftene thousand harquebusiers whom he had brought with him well appointed, he stept vp into his royall seat, there set on high for the purpose; where sitting downe, he paused a good while without any word speaking; as if hee had considered with himselfe, whether he should onely punish the authors of the mutinie, or els with the punishment of many to ther he should soule a sedition, little differing from open rebellion. But following in himselfe the milder resolution, he thought it sufficient to correct the multitude and common sort of souldiors with sharpe and bitter words: and after generall silence made, brake out into this chollernicke speech:

Solyman comes
marsh into the
campe.

Slaves (quoth he) for I cannot find in my heart to call you souldiors, what kind of men are you now become? are you Turkes? men wont both to fight and overcome? verely I see the bodies, countenances, attire, and habit of my souldiors; but the deeds, speeches, counsels and deuises of cowardly and vile traitors. Alas how hath my opinion deceived me? that Turkish force and courage is gone, and the valour and strength both of bodies and minds, wherewith the Arabians, Persians, Sirians, Egyptians, Seruians, Hungarians, Bulgarians, Epirotes, Macedonians, and Thracians were subdued, is lost: forgetting your countrey, your oath, the command of your captaines, your obedience, and all other warlike discipline, you haue against the maiestie of my empire refused to fight, like cowards betaken your selues to flight, for vaine feare of death and danger, not beseeming men of warre. If any man should at home but haue named the Rhodians in your feasts, amongst your pots, in your assemblies or great meetings, you could then with your tongues brag to pull it downe, you had much adoe to hold your hands: here when I would make prooffe of your force and courage, it is nothing but yee thought perhaps, that the Rhodians so soone as they saw your ensignes before their gates, would straightway yeeld themselves and their citie into your power. Let all men cease, so to say of thins, and beleue me that know the truth. This base and infamous deigne (which you see) is full of mosterwill beafts, whose madnesse you shall neuer tame without much labour and bloodshed. I see shall worke them; for why nothing is so wild but it may at length be tamed: which except I bring to passe, I am fully resolved and haue vowed vnto my selfe, Either here to die or spend my daies: and if euer I dooe say otherwise, let this my head, my fleet, mine armie, and empire be for euer accursed and vnforsaken. And so saying hee departed. And for without further speech, desiring rather to be accounted of his souldiors gentle than

secre,

severe, he pardoned them all their former offences, and swore them all againe to his obedience. This mutinie so appeased, all things were afterwards done with better successe and greater care both of the souldious and commanders. First they planted in diuers places twelue great bombardes, wherewith they threw vp stones of hugie waight into the ayre, which falling downe into the citie, might breake downe the houses and whatsoeuer else they lighted vpon: with the fall of one of these, the Great master was like to haue been slaine. Howbeit this proued a deuisie of more terror than danger, for with 200 such shot were but ten men slaine; which thing amongst others, *Apella* a traitorous fugitiue declared vnto the enimie, with whom he had intelligence, as he himselfe confessed being taken vpon suspicion and examined: for which his treason he was justly executed.

The Turkish battery.

The force of the batterie was more feared, wherein the Turkes had planted fortie great pieces of batterie, and amongst them twelue Bassilisks (so aptly named of the serpent *Basilisk*), who as *Plinie* writeth, killeth man or beast with his sight) with these pieces the Turkes battered the wals continually; but lying somewhat farre off, did no great harme.

At the same time also *Solyman* caused batterie to be laid against the tower of *Saint Nicholas*, standing vpon a narrow peece of ground pointing farre into the sea, defending the haueyn vpon the right hand, where sometime stood the great Colossus of the Sunne, accounted the greatest amongst the seauen wonders of the world. Which castle was both strongly and sumptuously built at the charges of the Dukes of *Burgundy*, as appeared by their armes there engrauen in many places in marble. This tower was valiantly defended by *Guido* a Frenchman, who had the charge thereof, with 300 souldiours, amongst whom were 30 knights of the Order.

The Turkes artillerie planted against that tower, was by the skilfulnesse of the Christian canoniours in short time dismounted with shot from the tower, and many of the gunners slaine; so that they were glad to surcease any more to batter the tower by day; but lying still all the day they began to batter the same by night, wherein they preuailed no more than they had before done in the day time; for the defendants warily obseruing such places as were likeliest for the enimie to place his batterie in, did so aptly place their ordinance against the same, and to so good purpose, that the Turkes swore; their doings were by some meanes discouered vnto the enemies. So when they had in vaine bestowed 500 great shot, and made a small breach which they durst not once attempt to enter, they shamefully abandoned that place also.

The English bulwarke blowne vp.

All this while *Pyrhus* was busie in working of mines to vndermine the citie; two of which of which mines the defendants frustrated with countermines; in which kind of worke many were lost on both sides: yet for all the carefulnesse of the Christians, the English bulwarke was vndermined by the enimie, and vpon the fourth day of September part thereof blowne vp with such violence, that vnto them in the citie it seemed at the first to be a generall earthquake; and therewith diuers English men were there ouerwhelmed. The Turkes attempting presently to enter, were by the Graund master and his followers with great slaughter repulsed.

But *Mustapha* the Bassa comming on with fresh supplies, and crying out of the cowardice of them which retired, renewed the assault: where for a while was fought a most sharpe and cruell fight, the leaders cheerfully encouraging their souldiours, and they likewise doing what was possible for men to doe. All mens eares were filled with the thundring of the shot, noise of trumpets and drums, and crying of men. And vnto the Turkes it seemed that ouer their heads it rained deadly shot, stones, and fire: for the townsmen and women mingled with the souldiours cast downe vpon the Turkes, fire, stones, timber, and whatsoeuer else came to hand: so that they vnable longer to endure the courage and force of the Christians, turned their backs and ran away by heapes, not expecting any signe of retreat, euerie man seeking to save one amongst whom as they fled, the great ordinance shot off from the wals made a wonderfull slaughter. At this assault of the Turkes were slaine (as some write) almost 2000, and amongst them the master of the Turkes ordinance, a man whom *Solyman* greatly loued: which victorie the Christians gained not without some losse; for besides some few others that were slaine, fiftie knights of the Order (men worthe of eternall memorie) there ended their daies also.

The Turkes assault the English bulwarke the second time, and are againe repulsed.

The fift day after (which was the ninth day of September) *Solyman* by the perswasion of *Mustapha* the great Bassa, commaunded a fresh assault to be giuen to the English bulwarke, which was attempted by the Turkes with greater resolution than the first. Seauen ensignes of the Turkes were broken in by the ruines of the bulwarke, and had enforced the defendants, opposed with

number to giue ground, when the Graund master comming in with the ensigne of the Order, guarded with a companie of most valiant knights, draue them out againe by force, and made good the place. *Mustapha* seeing his men retire, courageously restored the battell by bringing on of new supplie, and other capitaines with threats, strokes, and terror of death, enforced the souldiours (who had before turned their backs) now againe to fight. So that there began a more cruell fight than had before bene from the beginning of the siege; which was vnto the Christians more dangerous, for that they were ouerwhelmed with the multitude of the Turkish shot. But in that extremitie no man regarded either danger, or life, onely this they remembered, That those were their barbarous enemies, whom they must either victoriously overcome or die therefore: with which furie the assault was continued by the space of three houres, vntill at length *Mustapha* with his Turkes discouraged, with the losse of 2000 of their fellowes, and of three great noble men whom *Solyman* especially fauoured, and sore beaten by the Spaniards out of their flankers, were enforced to retire. Few of the Christians in respect of so many enemies were slaine: yet had the ensigne of the Order been then lost, *Ioachim* *Cluys* the ensigne bearer hauing both his eyes shot out, had not *Emericus Ruiaulx* an Auernois and one of the knights of the Order, with incredible courage rescued the same.

After this second assault, falling out so vnluckily to the Turkes, *Mustapha* the great Bassa began to grow in contempt with *Solyman*: and *Pyrhus* to keepe his credit by doing something, with continuall batterie of 17 great pieces did batter the mount neere vnto the Italian bulwarke. At which time also *Cassius*, Gouernour of *Bithynia*, another of the Turkes great commanders, laboured by vndermining to haue ouerthrowne the French bulwarke: so glad they were to attempt any thing to content their imperious great lord and master. But the endeouours of *Cassius* was by countermines through the careful diligence of *Gabriell Chierus*, hauing charge of those works, frustrated: and *Pyrhus* in the other place after he had by hoat assault slaine them which were appointed for the defence thereof, and gained the mount, and brought a great feare vpon the citie, was againe with great losse shamefully repulsed, and by the commaundement of *Solyman* caused to retire. At this assault the Gouernour of *Eubea*, *Solyman* his lieutenant general, a man of great honor (if any of the Turkes slaues are so to be accounted) was slaine, for whose death *Solyman* was exceeding pensieue and heauie.

Mustapha the Bassa finding himselfe in disgrace with *Solyman* for the two vnfortunat assaults by him giuen at the English station, determined if it were possible by a third to recouer his lost credit: and for his better successe therin, agreed with *Achimetes* another great Commander, at the same time to assault the Spanish bulwarke: according to this resolution *Achimetes* hauing with a mine suddenly blowne vp a great part of the wall of the Spanish station, in the thicke of the dust and smoke, presently entered his men, who by the ruines of the wall recouered the top of the rampiers. *Mustapha* also at the same instant hardly charged the English, so that in both places was made a hard and doubtfull fight. *Mustapha* desiring nothing more than with better successe now to redeeme his former dishonour, did what he might to encourage his souldiours; calling vpon them by name, and putting them in remembrance of their former victories. The Rhodiens on the other side mindfull of their former honour, with the greatnesse of the present danger, valiantly repulsed the enimie, and forced him with shame to retire. In this assault many English men were slaine, and *Preiaues* also sore hurt, hauing before slaine many of the Turkes. *Mustapha* beside the losse of his men, had also two of his ensignes taken by *Christophorus Vualderick* Comendatur of the German knights. *Achimetes* hauing woon the top of the wals, had there set vp the Turkish ensignes; but by the valiantnesse of the defendants, and by meanes of certaine smal pieces of ordinance, by *Martinius* aptly placed in the houses before the new made breach, and by force of shot out of the flankers on both sides of the breach, whereof none fell in vaine, he was againe enforced to forsake the wals and to retire.

The English bulwarke assaulted the third time by Mustapha.

The Turkes ensignes advanced to the top of the wals are againe cast downe.

The three and twentieth day of September the Turkish capitaines hoping by meanes of a mine which they had made against the Auergne bulwarke, to enter and win the citie; approaching the wals with great multitudes of souldiours, ready to haue entered vpon the blowing vp of the mine, which being met with a countermine out of the citie, wrought not such effect as was by them expected: so that hauing receiued some harme, standing in a place of great disadvantage, and done nothing, they returned againe into the campe. Yet the expert captaines probably conjecturing that the wall might be inwardly shaken by the mine, although it were not by them

Another breach
made in the
walls.

them outwardly perceiued, caused that part of the wall to be most violently battered all the rest of that day and night following: and by the furie of their artillerie, made a faire and large breach. All that night was heard in the Turkes campe an vnwonted clattering of weapons, and of men running too and fro, as if there had been some great matter a doing; which the Rhodians conjectured (as the truth was) to be a signe of some great assault to be shortly giuen.

Solyman resolved the next day with all his force to assault the new made breach, after he had by himselfe in a melancholy mood walked vp and downe in his tent a great part of the night, sent for the chiefe commanders of his armie, to whom he declared his mind as followeth:

Your valour and wisdom (worthie captaines) needeth not any exhortation, yet the desperate manesse of our enemies maketh me to speake vnto you these few words. Who whilst they yet doe, as from the beginning, as men without reason desperately defend their citie rent with our artillerie, shaken with our mines, their churches and houses beaten downe about their eares, wearied and worn out with slaughter, labour, and wounds, which must needs befall men so often times assaulted; they wisely seeme vnto our souldiours men of inuincible force and courage; which opinion to haue removed, much concerneth the happie and wished successe of our assault. Wherefore I would haue you with effectuall perswasion & bountifull promises to harten on our men to the winning of this citie. Besides this, you shall open vnto them my purpose and intent, and that they should not thinke that they are brought hither to besiege one citie: but that in taking this one, they shall vpon the matter make way into all the dominions of the Christians. Here be the kinsmen, alliance, and friends of all the king, princes and potentats of Christendome: here is all our enemies treasure, the spoile whereof promised vnto our souldiours may serue to great purpose to encourage them forward: here is store of ordnance, armour, and other warlike provision, which shall both furnish vs, and in time to come miserably confound the rest of the Christians. We shall beside this, enjoy a most goodly and rich citie, with a haue of all other most commodious, from whence all things necessarie for warre may at all times, as occasion shall require, by land and sea be supplied: which as they shall be to vs things of great importance, so shall we despoile our enemies of farre greater. This is their castle, storehouse, treasure and armorie: this is the verie receptacle & place of refuge for all such as trouble the Turkes by sea: from hence shall we haue free scope and passage into AVELIA, CALABRIA, SICILIA, and many other Christian countries. But as for your selues valiant captaines, when as I consider how that you haue within these few moneths by your valour and wisdom subdued vnto my empire the strong citie of BELLGRAD, which my great grandfather Mahomet that mightie emperor could not with all his power gett in, in great hope that these fierce and obstinat Christians shall not long be able to defend themselves in these their dens and lurking places.

Having ended this speech, the captaines euerie one vnto his companie, made knowne what the great emperours will and pleasure was; and open proclamation made thorow all the campe, wherein the spoile of that rich citie was all granted vnto the souldiours as a prey and reward for the paines they were to take.

Solyman heauie with sleepe and care, laid himselfe downe vpon his pallet to take his rest. But the Great master (to whom the vnaccustomed stirre of the enemy portended some great matter) all that night in armes painfully viewed euerie part of the citie, cheerfully encouraging his souldiours to remember, that they did watch for the safetie of their countrey, their liues and libertie. It fortuned the same night, that a poore Christian seruing a Turke in the campe, calling secretly vnto the watchmen vpon the walls, gaue them warning that the Turkes prepared the next day to giue a generall assault vnto the citie. Which thing when the Great master understood, because he would haue nothing done rashly or fearfully (as it commonly happeneth in things done vpon the sudden) called together his knights, and spake vnto them as followeth:

The Great master
after his oration
vnto his knights.

I am glad sacred companions and fellows in armes, that the time is come when in one battell you shall win vnto your selues great honour, and defending your countrey, you may be iustly accounted the worthie defenders and renegers of the Christian commonweale and name. The people against whom we are to fight to morrow, assaulteth vs onely presuming vpon their multitude. But if we measure our valour, not by number, but by courage and prowesse, vndoubtedly a few resolute men will easily overcome a multitude of cowards. You know your enemies, and the manner of his fight: you are to fight

(most worthie knights) with them whom you haue alwaies vanquished at sea, and in iust battell sometimes overcome by land, at such time as with their whole power they assaulted your walls; omitting in the meane time manie hot skirmishes, wherein you euer put them to the worst: Wherefore you and they in the assaults to morrow shall haue such courage as conquerours, and men conquered use to haue. Neither will they fight because they dare fight, but because the great tirant and violent command of their captaines enforceth them thereunto. Wherefore, remembering what you are by birth, what opinion the Christian commonweale hath conceived of you, where you are, and what you haue taken vpon you, take up your armes with iust furie and indignation, and fight against them, following one iudicke youth, as if you saw your selues bearing armes against you: whereunto you are enforced, not onely by the indignitie of the wrong by them offered, but also by necessity, which of it selfe is of power to make cowards valiant and hardie. For here we are in an Island, from whence we cannot escape, and in a citie whose rent and battered walls doe not so much protect and defend vs, as our weapons: wherefore to morrow we must haue either vanquish them, or be therewith to morrow shall giue vnto vs either a most victorie, or a most honourable death.

As he was yet thus speaking, news of the approach of the enemy caused him to make an end, and euerie man halted with speed vnto the place of his charge. The enemy comming fast on, with a most horrible crie (as their manner is) fiercely assaulted the citie in five places, where the English, Spanish, Italians, Narbonenses, and Auergnoys had their stations. To the assault of euerie of which places, Solyman had appointed ten thousand Turkes. *Mustapha*, the Bassa calling vpon the name of his great prophet *Mahomet*, and promising vnto the souldiours the rich spoile of the citie, fiercely assaulted the English station, from whence he had been three times before shamefully repulsed. *Pirrhus* the other great Bassa with like furie assaulted the Italian station. In both places was maintained a cruell and deadly fight; the Turkes fighting for the prey, and the Rhodians for their liues and libertie. Neither was there any, of what degree or order soeuer, which did not that day fight for defence of the citie. The priests and religious were not then exempted, but fought among the other souldiours; women, children, and with them the aged fathers, beyond the strength of their bodies and courage of their minds, brought weapons vnto the defendants, some stones, which they had digged out of the streets, some burning pitch-bartels, some hoopes with wild fire, some scalding oyle, some boyling pitch: which being cast downe vpon the enemies, troubled them so, as nothing was more feared; for vpon whomsoever it fell, it stucke fast, and so scalded their bodies, that they were glad to cast downe their weapons to teare off their clothes, wherewith many of them rent off the skin and flesh also. All which things fell so thicke vpon the Turkes, as if it had rained fire and stones: besides the deadly shot, which amongst such a multitude of enemies neuer fell in vaine. The Great Master having a carefull eye ouer euerie part of the citie, after he had well relieved the Italian station, which was at the first hardly distressed by *Pirrhus*, left there *Antonius Monterollus*, one of the knights of the Order, with such companie as he thought conuenient for the safetie of that place, and went himselfe with the rest vnto the English station, which was then hardly laied to by the Bassa *Mustapha*. But whilst hee was there busied in repulsing the enemy, and had now well relieved the place, a suddaine crie ran alongst the walls, That the Spanish bulwarke was already possessed by the enemy. With which heauie newes he was not a little troubled, but leauing there *Emericus Gombaulus*, one of the knights of the Order, with a chosen companie of souldiours for defence of that place; he with his guard hastened vnto the Spanish station, which hee found by a wonderfull chance already taken by the enemy. In the beginning of the assault, certaine Turkes to shun the danger of the shot, had for feare hidden themselves at the foot of this bulwarke amongst the stones, which had before been beaten downe with the batterie: in the meane time, other Turks of the same regiment, vnder the leading of the valiant captaine *Achimetes*, hotly charged the Spaniards on the right hand of the bulwarke, not meddling with the bulwarke it selfe, as a thing of greatest strength: the valiant souldiours appointed for the defence of the bulwarke, seeing their fellows and countrey men distressed fast by them on the right hand, could not endure to stand still as lookers on, but left the bulwarke, and went to the place so hardly assaulted. Where whilst they were valiantly encountering the enemy, the cowardly Turkes who had before hid themselves for feare, hearing all silent ouer their heads, and thereby guessing (as the truth was) that the defendants were drawne thence vnto some other place more distressed; to colour their feare, and

The Turkes assault the citie in five places as once.

The Rhodians valiantly defend the citie.

The Spanish bulwarke taken by the Turkes.

the glorie of mine empire. This continuall threatnings of the heauens, this immoderat raine, this terrible thunder and lightning, the coldnesse of the weather, the want of necessaries, with the manifold miseries of this long siege, doe much persuaide me, to giue you leaue to lay downe armes and take your rest. But first let vs consider if vnto men of courage it be not a dishonour, for the tediousnesse of raine and tempest, to leaue vnto our enemies the victorie already in our hands, and humbly to forsake our trenches, forts, mounts, ouertopping not onely the wals of the citie but making the heauens, with such other like worke made with my infinit charge and your great trauell, all for the taking of this citie. Truly this warre either should not haue beene taken in hand at all; or being once begun, is to be ended for the honour of the Othoman empire. Which for so much as it could not be accomplished in Sommer; the reputation of mine empire in common, and the regard of the commoditie of euerie one of you in priuat, enforceth me to performe it in winter. For if we shall from hence depart with our armie, who doubts but the enemy, not onely for desire of reuenge, but also strained by necessitie, hauing lost all he had of his owne, will prey vpon your countries, houses, and goods, and will bring you, your wiues, and children, into a farre more miserable slaueerie and bondage than that wherein he himselfe now is? Wherefore I aduise you to continue the siege, and neuer to depart before you haue attained vnto the end of your desires. And admit there were no necessitie in the matter, yet the honour and fame of the action ought to impose vpon you a resolution both of bodie and mind to endure the siege: For the cics and countenances of all nations, especially the Christians, are fixed vpon you; whom when they shall vnderstand not to be able to endure the field one winter, they will of right call you Sommer birds, which so soone as any storme ariseth looke after your houses and places of repose. It is reported, that the Gracians for a strumpet besieged TROY ten yeares; and shall not the Turkes, vexed and oppressed with slaughter, robberies, inuasions both by sea and land, and that more is with the seruitude of 214 yeares, endure one winters siege? They will say, that the terror of your name is but vaine, and that same hath encreased the same (as many other things mo) which not few, are more feared in farre countries amongst men of small experience: And that now euerie man may safely enough abide your force, which make your inuasions rather vpon a furie and brauerie than vpon any good resolution, which in all kind of warre (but especially in besieging of cities) is most necessarie: whereof many being by naturall situation and fortification impregnable, time hath with her handmaidens, Famine and Thirst overcome and vanquished, as it shall doe this citie of the Rhodians: against which beloned in armes there is a secret mischiefe prepared, which may not in this open audience be published; for it is as necessarie that the vulgar sort should be ignorant of some things, as to know the same.

Many thought, that this was spoken rather of pollicie than vpon any good ground: and although his hoar persuasion had little moued the cold courage of his despairing souldiours, yet the regard of dutie in that most loyall nation, with the greedie expectation of so great a secret, ouercame all other difficulties; so that they departed (at leastwise in shew) contented to endure whatsoeuer should befall.

Achimenes author of this great expectation, and the onely hope of Solymans successe, came oftentimes and assailed the Vaumures of the Auergne station, which although they were not verie high, yet were they alwaies valiantly defended by the Rhodians. It fortuned, that this warlike captaine daily attempting the Vaumures, in the end by force obtained the same: and so possessed of the place he so much desired, desperately kept it vntill greater helpe came running in: who with wonderfull expedition (with matter for that purpose before prepared) clapt vp a strong and defensible couering in manner of a penthouse against the towne wall, betwixt the wall and the vaumure, vnder which they shrowded themselves from the defendants; which was an euen matter for such a multitude to doe, the ditches of the towne in that place being now filled wth so high, that the defendants could not out of their flankers scoure the ditch, nor yet without manifest danger come to cast any thing downe vpon them from the top of the wals: for the Turke harquebusiers which lying vpon their mounts, higher than the battered wals of the citie, suffered none to appeare vpon them without danger. So that the Rhodians who erst thought themselves at great quiet, were now ouertaken with a sudden and v unexpected mischiefe: which at the first filled the citie with feare and heauie silence, which straightwaies after brake out into pittifull outcries and lamentations. The Turkes lurking vnder their penthouse, laboured with mattocks and pickaxes to dig vp the foundation of the wall; and Precians forward and courageous to doe

Achimenes with the Vaumures of the Auergne bulwarke, raiseth a strong penthouse against the wall, and so vndermineth the same.

what might be done, threw downe vpon the Turkes, fire, scalding oyle, burning pitch, wilde-fire and such things. But when the miserable men which shrunk from the worke for feare of the fire, were againe beaten forward by their imperious commanders, and presently slaine if they made any delay, and fresh men still thrust on in steed of such as were hurt or slaine: the fatall work begun the seuenth day of October, went apace forward, with the great & continuall labor of these wretched slaues. A great number of the common souldiours whom the Turkes call Alapi was employed in this worke: of whom Solyman in this siege of the Rhodians, and other his expeditions, made not much more account but as of pioneers to worke in mines and to cast vp trenches, and oftentimes with their bodies to fill towne ditches to make a way for the Ianizaries to passe ouer vpon: they by the constraint of Achimenes vndermined the wall, and as they wrought, shoared vp the same againe with timber, whereunto they afterwards set fire, hoping by that means to ouerthrow the wall: which falling not out according to their expectation, for that they had not farre enough vndermined it, they assailed with great hooks and strong ropes to haue pulled it downe. But the Rhodians with their great ordinance from the Auergne bulwarke, quickly put them from that mad worke with great slaughter, and frustrated all their long labour. Achimenes thus disappointed of his purpose, stood in great doubt whether he should giue ouer the enterprife, for that he saw he laboured in vaine, or else in that dangerous place to expect some better hap, the onely meane to saue him from the tyrants heauie displeasure; who as hee knew measured all things by the euent. Solyman vnderstanding by Achimenes that the wall (although it was not ouerthrowne as was expected) was yet fore shaken and weakened with vndermining, caused his batterie to be planted against that part of the wall so vndermined: which so many waies weakened, and now fore battered, fell downe daily more and more. For remedie whereof, the Rhodians laboured day and night to raise a new wall, in steed of that which was beaten downe.

At the same time Solyman persuaied by the generall opinion of all his great captaines, that the citie was that day or neuer to be taken, determining to giue another generall assault, caused proclamation to be made thorow his campe: wherein he gaue the spoile of the citie vnto his souldiours, and the more to encourage them, spake vnto them in few words as followeth.

Fortune at length vnkant souldiours, hauing notably proued your courage and patience, now offereth vnto you the worthie rewards of your labour and paines. The victorie and wealth of your enemies which you haue so much desired, is now in your hands. Now is it the time to make an end of this mungrell people, of whom more are slaine than left aliue; and they not men, but the shadowes and ghosts of men, feeble and spent with hunger, wounds, wants, and labour: who will I know resist you, not because they so dare, but because of necessitie they so must, enforced thereunto with all extremities. Wherefore now renenge your selues of the fullbood, crueltie, & villanies of these Christians, and make them a woofull example to all posteritie, that neuer man hereafter presume to offer iniurie to a Turke, in whatsoeuer state he be. The way is already open into the citie, there is a faire breach made, whereby thirtie horsemen may at once enter: nothing wanteth but courage in you to assaile the same.

The miserable state of the common souldiours of the Turkes, and the small account is made of them.

The souldiours encouraged with this speech of their emperour, made great shew of cheerfulness, and promised to doe their vttermost deuore, threatening vnto the Christians most horrible death and miserable captiuitie.

In the meane time the great shot flying continually thorow the breach, did beat downe many houses in the citie; but the countermure new built against the breach standing vpon a lower ground, it seldome toucht, to the great good of the Rhodians. The rattling of the falling houses, the horrible noise of the enemy, with the thundring of the great artillerie, wonderfully terrified the miserable citizens: in euerie place was heard the lamentation of women and children, euerie thing shewed the heauinesse of the time, and seemed as altogether lost and forlorne. The day thus troublesomely spent, the night followed much more troublesome; and after the night, the day of the assault of all other most dreadfull: for with the dawning thereof, the glistering ensignes of the enemy were scene flying in the wind, and the Turkes cheerfull with the hope of spoile and of the victorie, hastened towards the breach with great outcries and songs, after their countrey manner: and there before one of the gates of the citie called S. Ambrose gate, set downe a great number of their ensignes deckt with garlands, in token of victorie. The Turkes great fleet also at the same

The distressed
estate of the Rhodians,
and their
congruous reso-
lution therein.

time sayling too and fro before the haven, made shew as if it would have assailed the citie on that side: who had seene the citie so beset, would have said that it would at one instant have bene besieged both by sea and land; and to most mens judgements, it seemed that the Rhodian state should that day have taken end and been destroyed. Yet for all these extremities, the Rhodians were nothing discouraged, but looking vpon their weapons as the onely remainders of their hopes, not regarding any danger, vpon the alarm given came running out of their houses by heaps vnto the wals, like desperat men opposing their bodies in steed of the battered wals against their enemies in defence of their country. There needed neither exhortation nor command of capitaine, euerie man was vnto himselfe a perswader to fight valiantly in defence of the citie; and one of them propounded vnto another the cruell death, the miserable seruitude, the mocks and taunts they should endure, if they should chance to come into the proud enemies hand: all which was to be auoided either by honourable victorie or death. The Turkes conducted by *Achimetes*, fiercely assailed the breach, which was by the Rhodians (standing vpon the tuines of their wals) valiantly defended. In the meane time, the dismaied matrons and maidens, some in their houses with heauie hearts expected the woful destruction of the citie and themselves; other, some in the churches with floods of teares and lamentable cries, poured forth their prayers to the Almighty, crauing his helpe in that their hard distresse, and to protect them against their barbarous enemies. The deadly fight at the breach, was on both sides with great courage and force maintained. The Turkes were in good hope forthwith to win the citie, if they did but a little more straine themselves: and therefore to terrifie the Rhodians the more, oftentimes in their fighting gaue out most terrible outcries: and the Rhodians accounted the Turkes as good as vanquished, for that they being so many in number, and in a place of such indifferencie, had not yet preuailed: beside that, they were greatly encouraged with the greatnesse of the common danger, and the fight one of anothers valour: so that by their inuincible courage the Turkes were enforced shamefully to retire. The Rhodians seeing their enemies turne their backs, gaue a great shout in derision of them: the Turkes disdaining that they in number many (and now victors, if they should with a little resolution maintaine the assault they had begun) should be so derided of a handfull of men as good as already vanquished; with great indignation returned againe to the breach, and more furiously assailed the Rhodians than at the first. At which time the citie had vndoubtedly been taken, had not they which defended the ends of the wall, yet standing on both sides of the breach, out of their baricadoes with their shot ouerwhelmed the Turkes thronging in at the breach; and others with murthering shot out of the flankiers of the new built wall so out them in sunder, that a greater slaughter for the time was hardly in any place seene. *Achimetes* beholding the wonderfull slaughter of his souldiours, and that he fought with great disadvantage and losse, against desperat men, who resolving to die feared no danger, gaue ouer the assault, and againe retired: leauing behind him in the breach and towne ditch the carcases of fise thousand of his dead Turkes, besides many more which afterwards died vpon the hums there receiued.

This assault was giuen vnto the towne the last day of Nouember, a day dedicated to *S. Andrew*: after which time the capitaines of the Turkish armie, although they dispaired not of the victorie, yet terrified with so great slaughter of their men, resolved with one accord no more to attempt the citie with any notable assault; but by sundrie great trenches to be made thorow the middelt of the ruines of the wals, to get into the citie; and with mattocks and pickaxes to ouerthrow the new made wall and another baricadoe which the defendants had made within the same: and in the meane time whilest this was in doing, to keepe the Rhodians still busied with continuall skirmishes and alarums. This deuise put in execution by the wonderfull labour of such a multitude of people, serued the enemy to greater purpose than all that he had before done: who daily ouerthrowing or destroying the new fortifications which the Rhodians made in steed of them which were before ouerthrowne, and by little and little creeping on further, draue the defendants to that extremitie, that they were glad to pull downe many of their houses, therewith to make new fortifications, and to make their citie lesse, by casting vp of new trenches: so that in short time they were brought to that point, that they could not well tell which place to fortifie first, the enemy was now so farre crept within them: for the ground which the enemy had thus gained vnto the citie, was almost 200 paces in breadth, and 150 paces in length.

Solyman, although he did now assure himselfe of the victorie, and was by nature cruell and desirous

desirous of reuenge; yet perswaded by *Achimetes* and *Cassius* (two of his most valiant capitaines) that for the enlarging of his empire, nothing was better than the fame of clemencie; commaunded *Pyrhus* the old Bassa to proue if the Rhodians might by parley be drawne to yeeld their citie vpon reasonable conditions. Vpon hereupon the Bassa sent one *Hieronimus Monilia* a Genoe way, vnto the wals, who crauing of the defendants safe conduct, said hee had something to say tending to the common good of the distressed citie. All mens minds were presently filled with expectation of some great matter, and he commaunded to speake. Vpon answered, That hee might not deliuer his message openly, but would either by speech in secret, or by letters deliuer the same vnto one *Matthias de Via* his countryman, one of the citizens of the Rhodians. When *Fra. Formosus* one of the knights of the Order, a French man of a cholericke disposition, whose great courage was well seene in all that siege (having as is reported, with shot out of *S. Georges* tower himselfe slaine 500 Turkes during the time of that siege) being now present, and moued with indignation to heare a motion made of priuat conference with the enemy; bent his piece vpon the messenger, and caused him forthwith to depart without doing his message. Many who in time of the assault feared not any danger, but were become altogether desperat and careless of themselves, after that they vnderstood that the enemy had offered parley, and that they began to conceiue some hope of life: resorted vnto the Great master, requesting him, that hee would prouide for the safetie of his louing people; whose warlike forces was with many assaults fore weakened, the citie beaten downe about their eares, and most of them which were left, either wounded or sicke. They had (as they said) now sufficiently proued both their force and fortune; wherefore he should doe well, to beware least while he were too long in consulting, the enemy should conceiue a further indignation in seeing his offers refused. Vpon these and such speeches they enforced the Great master to send embassadours to *Solyman*. The men that were sent, were *Anthonyus Groleus* a French man, ensigne bearer for the Order, a man of great reputation for his wisdom and experience; and with him *Robertus Barusius*, a man of great grauitie and skill in the Greeke tongue: for whom were receiued as pledges, a kinsman of the great capitaine *Achimetes*, and a certaine Epyrot which fled out of the citie vnto the Turkes, because one of the Graecian captains had struck him with his open hand; a man of a sharpe wit, and one that could perfectly speake the Greek, Turkish, and Italian tongues, as appeared to his great credit amongst the enemies, being had of them in great regard, although he was not knowne whilest he dwelt in the citie, that he was any such man. After that came also *Solymans* interpreter, for he himselfe could speake no other language more than his owne, accounting it a great disgrace, and against the *Othoman* empire to vse any other language. The embassadours admitted vnto *Solymans* presence, told him, That they were sent to know, for what cause he had sent to requite parley? Who in a flaming heat, as if he had knowne nothing thereof, said there was no such matter: and commanding them presently to void his campe, sent them away with letters to the Great master and the citizens to this effect.

If I had not compassion of humane infirmitie, which oftentimes tumbleth headlong mens ambitious and haucie minds, into most dangerous and vnnecessarie mischietes, truly I would not haue directed vnto you these letters at this time; but as you haue well deserued, persecute you with death and most miserable seruitude: which how easie a thing it were for me to doe, you your selues know. But hauing now sufficiently tried my force, if you be wise make prooffe of my clemencie. You haue already satisfied your owne furie, your owne mad humor: and now aduise your selues, lay your hand vpon your heart, and without delay yeeld your selues as I command; your liues I giue, I giue you your wealth; and more than that, your choise to tarrie there still, or to depart: Refuse not the grace frankly offered, which was of you to haue bene most heartily desired. It shall not alwaies be lawfull for you (as at this present) to make choise of both. From our campe.

Vpon the returne of the embassadours, the poore of all sorts flocke together to the Great master his house not farre from the breach: where after the multitude of the common people was dismissed, and the chiefe of the Burgers sent for, the imperious letter of the Turkish tyrant was openly read before the knights of the Order, and the better sort of the citizens. Wherunto the Great master accounting it both honour enough, and sufficient rearme of life honourably to die, answered in this sort.

Secret Parley
refused.

The Great master
as the instance of his people
senteth embassadours to
Solyman.

Solymans letters
sent to the Great
master and the
Rhodians by
their embassa-
dours.

The Great Master his opinion concerning that Solyman demanded by his letters.

You heard (sacred fellows in armes, and valiant citizens of the Rhodæ) these imperious and sorrowfull letters: whereunto how we are to answer, requireth no great deliberation: we must either solve men either yeeld or die; all hope of victorie is gone; except forraine aid come: wherefore if you will follow my counsell, let us with weapons in our hands, untill the last gaspe and the spending of the last drop of our blood, like valiant men defend our faith and nobilitie: received from our ancestors, and the honour which we haue so long time gotten both at home and abroad: and let it neuer be said, that our honour died but with our selues.

This speech of the Great Master seemed vnto many, heavier than the imperious commandement of the Turkish tyrant: and a great while men stood silent, heavily looking one vpon another, many with changing of their countenance and outward gesture, more than by words expressing what they thought in heart. At length a certaine Greeke priest, with great compassion of mind (as it seemed) and teares trickling downe his cheeks, brake forth into these words:

A notable speech of a Greeke priest, persuading the Great Master to yeeld.

And I would also hold my peace, if I were a priuat man; and not first of all in so great and troubled an assemblie, broach mine owne opinion: But for as much as the regard of our common profusion, can wring a word out of no mans mouth; and all men know, that now is the time to speake and say what every man thinketh best, which shall neither alwaies nor long be graunted vnto vs: I will not let it now ouerpasse and slip away: wherefore let vs suppose, that no command of a most mightie prince besieging vs, were come vnto vs, but that I were reasoning as a priuat man with his neighbor, or one friend with another by the fire side, or in our cups without care, without any great affection in either partie, as men indifferent; not liking or hating (as men oftentimes doe of princes affairs which concern them nothing) and then (as I hope) my speech shall be vnto you neither unpleasant nor unprofitable. We Greekes and Latines, with ioined armes haue now this six moneths withstood our deadly enemies, not onely abroad before our wals, but also in the very bowels of our citie, without any forraine helpe: which as we haue of long time all vainely looked for, so are we now every one of vs out of hope thereof. And yet our enemy either moued with the secret goodnesse of God, or els ignorant of our strength and forces, spent with wounds, slaughter, sickness, and perpetuall labour, doth voluntarily offer that vnto vs, which was of vs to be most of all desired and earnestly sued for. Your publicke and priuat treasures, the bodies of your selues, your wives and children he keepeth vniuolated; he taketh from vs only the citie, which he hath for most part already beaten downe and taken: Wherein the Great Master, and you most valiant Knights, I haue knowne your prowess and valour in many battailes at sea, but especially in this siege; whereof seeing there is no more use in this our desperat estate, I doe appeale vnto your wisdom and discretion. Sithence all is now the conquerors, in that he leaueth vnto vs our liues and goods, is to be accounted gaines, and the yeelding vp of the citie and Island no losse, which the victorious enemy already commaundeth: which although it be a heauie matter and grievous vnto the nobilitie, yet your fortune perswadeth you thereunto. Wherefore if you be to be moued with any compassion, I account it better to yeeld, than to be slaine your selues, or to see your wives and children by law of armes to be led away before your faces into miserable captiuitie and seruitude. If any Christian compassion remaine in your warlike minds, I beseech you seeke not the viter destruction of this innocent people, who (I may with modestie say) hath not euill deserued of you, whom Christ Iesus, whom the enemy himselfe would haue preferred. That I say this which I speake vnto you for Christian charitie and for no other cause, let this be a sufficient testimony. That so long as you were able resist by your owne power, or hoped for aid from forraine princes, I neuer spake word, or once thought of yeelding: but now seeing the fatal ruine of all things about vs, our common estate brought vnto the uttermost extremitie, our deadly enemy in the heart of our citie, no hope, and that the warre cannot longer be protracted; I wish you to yeeld, and for my part had rather make choise of peace than warre, and to proue the enemies fauour than his furie.

Most of them there present, were of the same mind with the priest. But as nothing can be so reasonably spoken as to content all men, so this speech was not of them all liked: Some there were (though not many) which considering the harmes they had done vnto the Turks, and doubting with what safetie they might yeeld themselves into the power of that faithlesse people, had rather to haue fought it out to the last man, and so to haue left vnto them a bloudie victorie. Amongst these, one bold spoken fellow stept forth; and in presence of them all dissuaded the yeelding vp of the citie in this sort:

I haue

I haue not been with any thing more vnacquainted, than to deliuer my opinion before princes, or in such great and publicke assemblies: being alwaies more desirous modestly to heare other mens opinions, than impudently to thrust forth mine owne. But now, seeing extreame necessitie will not longer suffer me to keepe my wonted course of silence, I will frankly speake my mind, and tell you what in my opinion is to be answered vnto the heauie message and imperious commaund of the most perfidious tyrant. This cruell enemy hath ouerthrowne our wall, and is entred three hundred foot and more within our citie, and as a most troublesome guest lieth and conuerseth with vs as it were vnder the same roofe. Such as list not longer to endure such an vnnelcome guest and troublesome neighbour, persuade you because he is troublesome, to giue him all: But (worthie and sacred knights) I am of far different opinion: neither doe I thinke a possession of 214 yeares is so lightly to be deliuered vp, and the ground forsaken: but rather that this troublesome intruder is in like manner to be himselfe troubled, and with deadly skirmishes continually vexed: whom after we had by force of armes and valour in himselfe, but helpen by time, which tameth all things: and since his first entrance it is now almost fortie daies, in which time for all his hast, he hath scarcely got forward 30 paces; hindered by the blockes we haue laied in his way, and will not cease continually to lay if we be wise men, and mindfull of our former valour. Destroy me you heavenly powers, before I see with these eyes these sacred knights to yeeld up this famous citie of the Rhodæ; the ancient bulwarke of Christian religion; vnto our mercilesse enemies, polluted with the infamous superstition of Mahomet: who besides the insatiable thirst they haue of our blood, how faithlesse and mischeuous they are by nature, if we know not, we need not make example of our selues, but wee may take example by the calamitie of CONSTANTINOPLE, the late miserie of EVBEEA, and that which later was, of METHONE; as also by the Malukes at CAIRE, miserably slaine contrarie to the league, contrarie to the faith and promise by the Turkish emperour himselfe before giuen. What? doe you not remember how the death of the most noble capitaine at BELGRADE was of late procured by the falshood, craft, and deceit of these same faithlesse miscreants? Let vs then, being men of wit and understanding, trust these mad beasts; let vs giue our selues into their power, which haue no regard of right or reason, of religion, or any thing els; whose conetousnesse and crueltie it is hard to say which is greater; which for these many years haue plotted and laboured nothing more than how by policie or force they may utterly root out the very name of the Rhodians, which they so deadly hate. They keepe vs shut vp and besieged now the sixth month, feeling together with vs extreame dangers and endlesse labours, slaine by heapes before our wals and fortresses, and cannot be remoued hence with thunder, lightning, stormes, tempests, and all the calamities of winter, a time which giueth intermission to all warres both by sea and land; so despite the calamities of reuenge, and greedie of our blood: and that not altogether without cause, for we haue rous they are of reuenge, and greedie of our blood: and that not altogether without cause, for we haue also shed theirs, and gladly would still so doe, if it lay in our power. But seeing it seemeth good vnto God otherwise, and that we are surprised with ineuitable necessitie: yet let vs whilst we are at liberty and God otherwise, and that we are surprised with ineuitable necessitie: yet let vs whilst we are at liberty same and glorie, prepared both in heauen and earth for such as honorably die in defence of their prince and country: which honour it becometh not them to enuie vnto thy most noble name and vertue, and worthis Grand Master, which hauing for many yeares enjoyed the commoditie and profit of peace, and greatly enriched by bountie of this sacred militarie Order, refuse now to beare this last burden of war.

At these words an ancient Greeke, for his wisdom and discretion of great reputation both with the Greekes and Latines, perceiuing his countrymen wrongfully touched, and the desperat holding out of the citie vainely persuaded, tooke hold, and interrupting this yong gallant, in answer of that he had said, spake as followeth:

That greefe of mind and desperation can make men rather eloquent than wise, as you haue many times heard before this; so you might this day perceiue also, most valiant gentlemen: for aduised moderation neuer falleth into obloquie, neither confoundeth falshood with truth; it desireth not the slaughter of the citizens, it persuadeth not furie, nor exhorteth men to madnesse: but it is by nature so engrafted in many, that when they cannot by their owne wisdom and policie deliuer themselves from their troubles, they yet seeke to draw others into the fellowship of the same danger: so greedie haue mallice, and miserie alwaies been of companie. But if you (worthie Commander) will giue me also leave to speake, a man

A most resolute speech of a common soldier, persuading the yeelding up of the Rhodæ.

The former speech notably answered by a Greeke, and the citie urged.

a man amongst his countrymen not of meanest place or authority, which thing both the present calamitie and urgent necessitie might of you easily obtaine; I would alledge such reasons, and lay downe such matter, as should not only refell the copious and glorious words of this sharp witted Orator, (except together of purpose to flourish out the matter, but also such as might stir up your mind, to that which is truest, profitable and necessarie; expelling hatred, feare, trouble, or despair. This gentleman, whom we all know, not only to be a vehement Orator, but sometime a man most terrible, whereas for all his great words he is by nature mild, and so mild, that he neuer had the heart to kill, may not so much as lightly wound any one of them whom he calleth barbarous, mad, cruell, whose perfidious dealing he detesteth, whose cruelty he accuseth, whose manner of liuing he exclaimeth against, as altogether without law, without reason, without order, without regard: and now in time of truce, and whilest the showers of arrows, from bullets, fire and stones doth cease, creeping out of his caue, maketh much adoe, and keepeth a great stir; and not knowing in what danger he is, doth now with glorious words call upon death, whereof he hath been shewed himselfe too much afraid, and all forsooth (as he saith) least he should be enforced to endure the mocking and scorning of the enemy. But this is meere pride, not Christian fortitude or humilitie. But our enemy neither threateneth nor purposeth any such matter, nothing so perfidious or cruell as he would make him, rubbing up the slaughters at CAIRE, EVBEA, METHONE, and CONSTANTINOPLE, cities taken either by force or warlike policie, and not yielded up by composition, upon faith given betwix the besieger and the besieged: who because he would spare us, will not suffer us to doe that whereby we should undoubtedly perish. But wherof proceedeth this new found clemencie? this unmounted fauor towards the people of the RHODIANS? I am not of the tyrants prauie counsell, neither euer curiously sought after the reason of another mans bountie, but am glad to receiue it when I need it. As for all that, I will not dissemble what I thinke in a matter so doubtfull: He is willing (as I suppose) in this siege and conquest of the RHODIANS, to shew vnto other nations whom he purposeth to invade, both his power and his patience: least alwaies satisfying his cruell nature, he should make desolation in places he would raigne ouer, and so for euer alienating the minds of men, be enforced to fight with all men with fire and sword, by which rigour he hath not so much hurt his enemy as himselfe. For this cause (as I suppose) he leaueth vnto vs life & goods, least whilest he is going about to take them from vs by force, & we seeking to keep the by desperatenesse, we should both fall into great destruction, no lesse lamentable to the conquerors than to the vanquished. Besides that, if he should kill all here, truly he might then enter the breaches of the citie on the bodies of the dead, no man now left aloue to resist him. But LERVS is shut up, ARANGIA is strongly fortified, LINDVS is by situation impregnable: here he knoweth are weapons, armour, and men, here he must begin a new war, except he will haue the remainder of your war, the fatal plague of his empire, to prey still vpon his subjects: all which strong places he shall haue without slaughter, without bloodshed (as reason is) if he shall let you and vs poore wretches depart in safetie with a little truce. Except these worldly considerations haue moued him to mercie and compassion: then out of doubt it is wrought by diuine power and the secret fauor of God towards vs, & of our Saviour Christ Iesus crucified. Whereto if you be men well aduised, if religious, if mindfull of the dutie of Christians, it becometh you not to oppose any obstacle, and with the ruin of your selues to destroy this miserable people, which in this halfe yeares siege hath scarcely had so much rest as might suffice the necessitie of nature. Standing for you in battell, enduring both wounds and death for your honour and victorie: by whose faithfull labour and diligence you haue bene alwaies holpen both at home and abroad; whether you invaded the Turke by land in MYTILENE, NAVAECTVS, METHONE, PATRAS, or other parts of P.ELOPONESVS, or els by sea thrust him out of the possession of the Ionian or Egeum: whereby it may appeare euen vnto a blind man, how iniurious it is & far from truth, to object vnto vs, That enioying the fruits of peace, we refuse the charges of wars: nay we neuer refused wars. But now it is come to that point, that if we would neuer so faine make wars, we are not able so to do, the flower of our youth being slaine: and the small remainder that is left, not only weakened in bodie with wounds, sickness, watching, and lesse labour; but also in mind discouraged, whilest all things fall out prosperously to our enemies, and to vs aduerse: the greatest and best part of our great artillerie being broken with continuall use, which if it were whole, we could haue thereof small use or profit, for want of powder, which not only this citie now wanteth, but also your strong holds, LERVS, LINDVS, HALICARNASSVS, ARANGIA. I was neuer desirous or curious to looke into other mens doings, much lesse into your manner of wars: but yet (Great Master) you cannot denie but it is so, who haue caused soldiers to be brought from thence hither openly, and gunpowder secretly: by which prouident foresight you haue withstood your forraine enemy these six months, and deuced the trecherie of one or two domesticall traitors. But I gladly admit we haue all these things,

things, I stand not vpon the truth, I say not what most men say, but I speake to please a few: and suppose we wanted neither armour nor courage, I would then aske you this, whether they would aduise you to vse them to your defence, or to your destruction? for vnto both it cannot be no more than at once to be a freeman and a slave. To vse them to your destruction, that were madnesse and senselesse pride, hateful to God and man: you should therefore vse them to defence: But how shall we defend a citie (I doe not say, as the truth is) already lost and possessed by the enemy, wherein he raigneth, and turneth all upside down? but hauing the wals battered down, a great breach in the Spanish station, and another not like but euen now as good as made in the Italian station, how shall we be able to keepe this vnfortunat towne, battered and rent at the French, English, and Auergne stattons, and the tower of S. Nicholas? which if it were not so battered and bared of all warlike prouision, but sound and thoroughly furnished with munition and victuall, yet necessitie enforcing, and reason perswading, you ought to forsake it, for so much as all power of further resistance is taken from you. Doe you not see how easily and almost without any trouble the enemy (by means of the castle he hath new built vpon the mount PHILIPPO, not past two miles distant) can take from you all manner of prouision both by sea and land, and restraîne you from going out or in? Truly notable gentlemen, honourable for your martiall prowesse, you see and haue long agoe foreseene these things better than I, altogether ignorant in martiall affaires, altogether busied in the trade of merchandise, and caring for my familie: yet suffer me to say the truth. All the powers wherby this kingdome stood, are departed and gone: against the force of our enemies no policie or force of man remaineth; and to expect armies of angels or soldiours from heauen, and other such like miracles, is in my iudgement more and more to prouoke God to anger, although in his anger he be vnto vs mercifull: wherefore being destitute of all worldly helpe, let vs as we may, prouide for our safetie. I beseech thee (worthie Great Master) by these my aged teares, by the naturall pittie ingrafted in thy noble nature, expose not this miserable citie to the spoile of the enemy, our old and middle aged men to the sword, our wines and daughters to be rauished, our boies and youths to the vnnaturall filthinesse of our barbarous enemies; and to be corrupted with the mad and grosse opinion of the vngodly Mahometane superstition. I would (noble knights) you had scene with what teares, with what mourning our beaue families and children crying about their mothers, sent vs hither, and what prayers they made for vs at our departing: I would you knew with what mind and how great hope they expect their safetie from your clemencie and aduised resolution.

This speech of the aged Greeke might haue moued a heart of flint: but the Great master, who in his countenance shewed a greater courage than his present state required, commanding euery man to his charge: after the matter had bene thus most part of the night discoursed, gaue them no other answer, but, That he would be carefull of all their well doing. The next morning he sent for PREIANES, MARTINIVS, and a few other of greatest iudgement and experience; by whom he was fully resolved, that the citie in so many places by the enemy laid open and shattered, was not possible to be long defended. Wherupon he caused a common counsell to beken, was not possible to be long defended. Wherupon he caused a common counsell to be called, of all the knights of the Order together with the Burgeses of the citie: where after long debating, whether they should fight it out to the last man, or yeeld vpon such conditions as was to be obtained; it was by generall consent concluded, That the citie should be yeilded, and thereupon a decree made, which was by the Great master pronounced. Whilest these things were thus in doing, a truce was taken with the enemy for foure daies, but full of feare and danger. During which time, diuers of the Turkes presuming vpon the truce, came by great companies to be holding the wals and rampiers of the citie: wherewith Fornonius the Frenchman (of whom mention is before made) being fore moued, in his choller without further command discharged a shot before made) being fore moued, in his choller without further command discharged a shot of great ordinance amongst the thickest of them, contrarie to the truce taken. At which time also, the Rhodians receiued into the citie secretly by night a ship loaded with wines out of CRETE, and in her Alphonsus a Spaniard, chiefe pilot of the Rhodian galleys, and with him one hundred voluntarie souldiours all Latines, all which went out of CRETE without the knowledge of the Venetian Senat: for at that time the Venetians were in league with Solyman. The Turkes justly offended with the breach of the truce, and the taking in of new supplies, which they supposed to haue bene farre greater than in truth they were; without command of any captain or ensigne displayed, in great numbers thrust in thorow the ruines of the breaches into the citie as farre as the rampiers and baricadoes new made, and furiously assailed the defendants: in which conflict many were slaine and wounded on both sides. But after the Turkes had to their

The Great Master resolved that the citie was not to be defended, call'd a common counsell of all his knights, and the burgeses of the citie.

A truce taken with the Turkes for foure daies.

A barbarous
act.

their cost againe made proofe of the courage of their enemies, as without commandement they began that skirmish, so of themselves they brake it off and retired. After the truce was thus broken, the captaine of the Turkes fencers, a bloudie cruell fellow, hauing taken three Christians prisoners, cut off their hands, eares, and noses, and sent them so dismembred into the citie with letters to the Great master, charging him with the vnjust breach of the truce, barbarously threatening within three or foure daies to make like example of him to all posteritie. Amongst other none was more troubled with this sudden and v unexpected breach of the truce, than *Robertus Perusinus*, *Raymundus Marchet*, and *Raymundus Lupus*, three knights of the Order, men of singular wisdom and grauitie, embassadours at that time in the Turkes campe: whom the barbarous people in their furie had vndoubtedly slaine or put to torture, if they had not feared the like measure to haue beene shewed to their hostages in the citie. But after that *Nicholaus Vergotus*, and *Georgius Sandriticus*, two of the Burgeses of the citie, were come into the campe with articles containing the conditions whereupon the Rhodians were contented to deliuer vp the citie, all their furie and rage was quickly appeased. *Solyman* for his greater maiestie and the more terror of these messengers, beset round about with his great armie, and guarded about with his Janizaries in their richest attire and glistening armour, gaue them audience: who admitted to his presence, with great humilitie offered vnto him in writing the conditions whereupon the Rhodians would yeeld vp vnto him the citie. The chiefe points whereof were, That the churches should remaine vnto the Christians inuiolated: that no children should be taken from their parents: that no Christian should be enforced to forsake his religion and turne Turke: that such Christians as would tarry still in the citie, might so doe at libertie, without paying any tribute for the space of five yeares: that all they which would depart might go with bag and baggage, furnished with conuenient shipping and prouision as farre as *Creta*, and to carrie with them so much great ordinance as they pleased; and that the Christians should appoint a reasonable day for the time of their departure. All which articles *Solyman* condescended vnto, and solemnly swore faithfully to performe the same. But how they were indeed performed, the writers of that age doe much varie: it should seeme they were neither altogether kept, nor broken, but so performed as pleased the conquerour: certaine it is, that many great outrages were through militarie insolencie committed by the proud Turkes vpon the poore Christians, contrarie to the mind of *Solyman*. *Iacobus Fontanus* a Ciuilian, and at that time one of the iudges of the citie (out of whose writings this historie is for most part collected) reporteth, That the Turkes not expecting the departure of the Christians, brake into the citie vpon Christenmas day, by the gate called *Cosquintum*, polluted the temples, shamefully abused the Christians, and made hauocke of all things: and that he himselfe falling into their hands, after he had with such money as he had redeemed himselfe, hauing not sufficient to content all their greedie desires, was by them hardly entreated and grievously beaten. The Great master by the counsell of *Achimetes*, putting on such simple attire as best befecemed a vanquished man that was to humble himselfe before the conquerour, went out of the citie into the campe, attended vpon with a few knights of the Order: where after he had waited in the raine most part of the day, before *Solymans* tent, at last he had a rich gowne cast vpon him, and so brought into the proud tyrants presence. VV here after they had a while at the first, with piercing eies one earnestly beholden the other; the Great master humbling himselfe before him, was in token of grace admitted to kisse his hand, and welcomed by *Solyman* in this sort.

Solyman his
speech vnto the
Great master.

Although (said he) I might worthely and iustly infringe the articles I haue prescribed concerning the yeelding of the citie, with thy most wicked crossed compieres, the people of the *Rhodes*, and thee especially such a capitall enemy, from whose deserved punishment, neither faith nor oath ought to stay a most iust conquerour: yet I haue determined to be not onely gracious and mercifull vnto thee so great an offender, deserving exemplarie punishment, but also liberall and bountifull: who if thou wilt by well doing amend the grievous transgressions of thy former life, I promise vnto thee most honourable entertainment, great preferment, and the highest places in my empire, in my armie in time of warre, and in counsell in time of peace. Not to refuse this my offer, both thy present estate perswadeth thee, and the Christians (whose quarrell thou tookest vpon thee to defend against me, with better beginning than successe) deserue at thy hands no better: for what should let thee, forsaken of all thy friends, a man as it were betrayed and vanquished, to cast thy selfe into the perpetuall

and protection of a most mightie and mercifull conquerour, of himselfe offering thee this vnderused grace and fauour.

Whereunto the Great master presently answered:

Most mightie and gracious emperour, your offered fauours before your other worthie captaines, I deserue not; neither is my present estate and desert towards you such, as that I dare or ought to receive the same: yet I will speake freely in the midst of your victorious armie, a man vanquished in presence of the conquerour, whose great mercie I neuer dispaired of, and whose faith I neuer doubted: I had rather now I haue lost my soueraignie, forthwith to lose my priuat and vnforsunate life; or else for ever hereafter to liue in obscuritie, than of my people to be accounted a fugitive rather than a vanquished man: For to be vanquished is but chance of warre, and of so great a conquerour no shame to him that is conquered: but afterwards to forsake his owne people and to turne to the enemy, I account it shamefull cowardise and treacherie.

There is a
speech of
the Great
Master to
Solyman.

Solyman maruelling at the courage and maiestie of the hoarie old prince, in his so great extremitie, dismissed him, and sent him againe into the citie, guarded with his owne guard, vntill he was come into his pallace: and vnto euery one of the knights attending vpon the Great Master, was giuen a rich garment, in token of *Solymans* fauour. VVithin a few daies after *Solyman* comming into the citie, went to visite the Great Master also: whom he found busie in packing vp his things against his departure. Here when the Great master falling downe vpon his knees would haue worshipped him, he would in no case suffer him so to doe: but with his hand putting aside his vaile of maiestie (which manner of reuerence the Turkish emperours giue onely to God, and their great prophet *Mahomet*) tooke him vp, and saluted him by the name of Father. To whom the Great master for his wisdom and discretion now to him no lesse admirable, than he was before in time of warre for his valour and courage, spake in this sort.

Solyman com-
meth into the
citie vnto the
Great Master.

If my fortune and successe had been answerable to my heart and courage, I should here be in this citie, rather as a victorious conquerour than a man conquered. But since the fatal destinies would needs ouerthrow the Rhodian estate, I am glad that you are the man before all other by fortune assigned, of whom I should receiue both force and grace. And vnto you, amongst many other your rare and worthie praises, this shall not be the least, That you vanquished the *Rhodes*, and shewed mercie. By this meanes you haue ioyned vnto your dreadfull power, the fame of clemencie and curesse: an honour not of the highest to be desired, by which alone we come neere vnto God. Wherefore I doubt not but you will keepe the conuenions of the late peace inuiolate, which your owne clemencie perswaded you to grant, and necessitie enforced vs to take. I shall now be an eternall example of the Turkish emperours clemencie and vertue, more than if I had by and by at the first yeelded my selfe: my obstinat wilfulnesse hath made thy glorie and mercie now famous thorow the whole world, and vnto the worlds end.

The speech of
the Great Master
to Solyman.

Whereunto *Solyman* by his interpreter, answered:

It is to me a great pleasure, that God at length hath put into thy mind to make choise of peace before warre, which I would thou couldest haue liked of from the beginning: then truly thou shouldest at this time, haue receiued of my great and mightie maiestie, more good than thou hast endured harme. Which that I haue done vnto thee, not for any hatred, but onely for desire of soueraignie, and substance: For I make not warre, thereby to heape up wealth and riches, but for honour, fame, immortalitie, and enlarging of mine empire. For it is the propertie of a king royally descended, by strong hand to take from others, and to invade others: not vpon a greedie and couetous mind, but for the honourable desire of rule and soueraignie: which whilest my neighbour withstandeth, I count it enough by force of armes to remoue him.

The notable an-
swer of Soly-
man to the great
Master.

But the Tyrant (as many supposed) spake all this by way of dissimulation, hauing as it was commonly bruted, giuen order for the rigging vp of a great ship and certaine gallies, for the sud-

den transporting of the Great master and the knights of the Order to CONSTANTINOPLE; G which report seemeth to haue bene but faigned either of malice, or else by such as least knew Solyman's mind: for if he had so purposed, who should haue let him, hauing them all in his power. *Iouius* in his little treatise *rerum Turcicarum* dedicated to *Charles* the first, reporteth that hee himselfe heard *Lilladamus* the Great master say, That when *Solyman* entered into the RHODES attended vpon with thirtie thousand men, there was not any man heard to speake a word, but that the souldiours went as if they had bene obseruant friers: and that when he came to aske leaue of *Solyman* that he might depart, he was so courteously vsed of him, that turning himselfe to *Abraim* the Bassa, whom he aboue all men loued, said, Truly I cannot but grieue to see this vnfortunat old man, driuen out of his owne dwelling, to depart hence so heauily.

The Great master embarking himselfe with his knights and such other as wete willing to depart, in vessels and gallies prepared for that purpose, departed out of the island on Newyeares day at night: and after long and dangerous trauell by sea in that Winter weather, landed at last at MESSANA in SICILIA, from whence he afterwards sailed into ITALIE, and so trauelled to ROME where he was honourably receiued by *Adrian* the sixt of that name then bishop there, a Hollander borne, sometime schoolemaster to *Charles* the first, and his Vicegerent in Spaine; who if he had bene as forward in the short time of his Papacie to haue relieved the RHODES, as he was to maintaine *Charles* his quarrell against the French king, it is not vnlike but that famous citie had bene relieved, and the island in possession of the Christians at this day. Thus *Solyman*, whilst the Christian princes wete at discord amongst themselves, to his great glorie and no lesse griefe of all good Christians, entered the RHODES the five and twentieth day of December, a day dedicated vnto the natiuitie of our Sauour Christ, in the yeare 1522, after it had bene by the knights of the Order valiantly kept and defended against the infidels by the space of 214 yeares, since the time they by force tooke it from the infidels in the yeare 1308: and now being so long holden as was possible, against all the power of the Turkes, was yeilded vp when it had been six moneths besieged. At this siege *Solyman* lost a great part of his army; for besides them that were slaine at the assaults, which were many, thirtie thousand died of the flux.

Solyman entricth
into the Rhodes
on Christenmas
day, in the yeare
1522.

Solyman fendeth
Ferhates Bassa
against Ali's beg
the mountaine
prince.

Whilst *Solyman* thus lay at the siege of the RHODES, *Ferhates Bassa* Gouverneur of the Marches of the Turkish empire, alongst the riuer of Euphrates, by the commaundement of *Solyman* went with a great armie against *Ali's beg*, whom the Turkes called *Schach*, *Suar-ogli*, that is to say, king *Suar* his sonne: which *P. Iouius* corrupting, calleth him by the name of *Saxouar-ogli*. This *Ali's beg*, after he had betraied his vnkle *Aladenles* the mountaine king, vnto *Siman Bassa*, was by *Selymus* left chiefe gouernour of that large and wild countrey alongst the borders of ARMENIA and CAPADOCIA, wanting nothing of the honour of a king but the name onely, as is before declared in the life of *Selymus*. *Solyman* jealous of his honor, and fearing least he should take vpon him the absolute gouernment of that countrey (which indeed of right belonged vnto him, the children of *Aladenles* the late king being now all dead) and so to make himselfe king, especially if he should joyne in friendship with the Persian king: after the manner of ambitious men, purposed by any meanes to haue him taken out of the way: and had therefore sent *Ferhates* to ease him off that care. The Bassa without making any shew of hostilitie, marching with his armie along the confines of his countrey, as if it had bene but to looke to his charge, when he was come as neere as he could to *Ali's beg*, without mistrust, thought good to assay if he could by policie bring that to passe which he was otherwise with great danger to attempt by force. Wherefore fauning himselfe to be extreame sicke, he sent embassadours to *Ali's beg*, requesting him as a friend to vouchsafe to come vnto him being at the point of death, vnto whom he had many things of importance from the great emperor to impart, and would if he should die, leaue with him all his charge vntill *Solyman* should otherwise dispose thereof.

Ali's beg
foire fois trea-
cherously slaine.

Ali's beg, who from his youth had alwaies honoured the Turkish emperours and faithfully seried them, mistrusting no harme came to the Bassa, accompanied with his foure sonnes, whom the faithlesse Bassa without regard of infamie, caused presently to be put to death with their father, and so reducing all that countrey into the manner of a prouince vnder *Solyman's* obedience, came to him with twentie thousand men, about the time that the citie of the RHODES was yeilded vp. This is the faithlesse dealing of the Turkes, not with the Christians onely, but with them of their owne superstition also: vsing it as no small policie, vtterly to extinguish the nobilitie in all countries subject to their seruite tytannie.

Solyman

Solyman after he had thus subdued the RHODES, and disposed of the Island as he liked best, returning to CONSTANTINOPLE, brake vp his armie, and for the space of thre yeares after followed his pleasure, not doing any thing worthie of remembrance. During which time and many yeares after, the rich and flourishing countrey of ITALIE, sometime mistress of the world, was miserably afflicted and rent in peeces by *Charles* the first, (then emperor), and *Francis* the French king, the one enuying vnto the other the glorie of the empire; and he not content therewith, seeking with immoderat ambition to make himselfe lord of all ITALIE: most of the other Christian princes and states being at the same time either by the one or by the other, drawn into the fellowship of that warre, to the great trouble and foreweakening of the Christian commonweale. Whereupon *Solyman* waiting all occasions that might serue for the enlarging of his empire, and annoying of the Christians, thought it now a fit time for him to let his foot into HUNGARIE, whereinto he had already laied open a way by the taking of *Batonia*. He knew right well that *Lewes* then king of HUNGARIE was but young, altogether vnacquainted with the warres, commaunding ouer his headstrong subjects (especially his rich prelates and nobilitie) no otherwise than pleased themselves, being himselfe rather by them altogether ouerruled. Besides that, he was in good hope, that the other Christian princes neere vnto him, either carried away with regard of their owne estate, would not; or els before vnto himselfe by league fast bound, could not afford vnto him any great aid or succour. The Germanes hee knewe would make small haft vnto such warres as should yeeld them much danger, and but small pay. As for the princes of the house of AVSTRIE, *Charles* the emperor, and *Ferdinand* his brother, although they were joined vnto the young king with the neere bonds of alliance (*Gemes* hauing married *Marie* their youngest sister, and *Ferdinand*, *Anne*, king *Lewes* his sister) yet was there as he thought small helpe to be expected from them; *Charles* hauing his hands full in ITALIE; and *Ferdinand* altogether carefull of himselfe. And that *Sigismund* king of POLONIA would for the young king's sake breake the antient league he had with the Turkish emperours, he could hardly be persuaded. As for other Christian princes farther off, he stood not in any great doubt. Thus hauing with himselfe singled out this young prince the Hungarian king, whom he had in his greedie mind already deuoured, he set forward from CONSTANTINOPLE, and was come on his way as far as SOPHIA in SERVIA with a mightie armie of two hundred thousand men, before that the Hungarians had any knowledge of his coming; so blind & senselesse was that state, which now sleeping in securitie, had long before lost those eyes which euer watch, and neuer spared cost or paines to keepe the same in safetie: instead of whom were others come in place, sharpe of sight and too too prouident for that concerned their owne aduancement; but blind as beetles in foreseeing this great and common danger (wherewith they were shortly after all quite ouerwhelmed) vntill it was now brought home vnto their owne dores. The young king of himselfe but weake, by reason of his youthfull yeares, and nothing strengthened by them for whom he had most done, and should haue bene his greatest stay; was wonderfully dismayed with the fame of the approach of so mightie anemie: yet the better to withstand him, he sent embassadours with all speed vnto the Christian princes his neighbors, requesting their aid against the common enemie: but all in vaine. In the meane time, after the antient manner of his countrey, he gaue out generall summonses for the assembly of his counsell for the waies: whether his great stipendarie prelates (of dutie bound to appeare) came with their troupes of euill appointed horsemen, and not halfe full; who also deliuered in lesse summes of money by farre, than of right they should haue done, towards the maintenance of the charge of that common war. And the temporall nobilitie, forgetting the warlike discipline of their famous ancestors, as fresh water souldiours which had neuer seene the Turkish emperor in his strength, and but little acquainted with some light skirmishes or small inuasions, in their vaine brauerie made light account of the Turkes, proudly vaunting, That although they were in number but few, yet they would easily overthrow the great numbers of them, if euer they came to handie strokes. But about all the rest one *Paulus Tomoreus*, archbishop of COLOSSA, sometimes a Minorite, who had before been in diuers light skirmishes against the Turkes, with great insolencie did so confidently brag and boast of the victorie he vainly dreamed of, that in his sermons vnto the souldiours, and in open talke with the nobilitie (if he could haue done so much as he vaunted of) it should seeme that he himselfe had been ynough to haue ouerthrowne the Turkes whole armie.

Solyman returneth
into Constantinople.

Solyman upon
the discord of the
Christian princes
and disordered
state of Hunga-
rie, taketh occa-
sion to invade
that kingdom.

1526

Solyman com-
meth against
Lewes king of
Hungarie.

The wastie of
Tomoreus.

But when all the kings armie was assembled, and a generall muster taken, there was hardly

Fff

found

W^hosome coun-
sellors followed.

The battell of
Mohatch.

Tomoreus slaine

found five and twentie thousand men in all, horse and foot. So that the foolish hardinesse of *Tomoreus*, and others so forwards to giue the Turks battell, was of most wise men disliked. The old souldiours and men of great experience said plainly, That it was meere follie and madnesse with such a handfull of men to giue battell vnto the enemies, who would bring eight times so many more into the field as they were. Wherefore some wished, that the young king should be withdrawn from the imminent danger: amongst whom *Stephanus Verbetius*, a noble captain of all the rest best acquainted with the Turkish warres, gaue counsell, that the person of the young king should for the safetie of the common state, whatsoeuer should happen, be kept out of danger in the strong castle of *Buda*. But the vntruly souldiours with open mouth impugned his wholesome counsell, and said plainly, That except the king himselfe did lead them, they would not at all fight. Of which opinion was also the rash prelate *Tomoreus*, perswading them with all speed to giue the enemy battell, and that the noble young king vnder the protection of Almighty God, should in person himselfe goe and giue the signall of battell against his enemies. The king ouerruled by this vnluckie counsell, vpon a brauetie without reason set forward with his armie, and came to a place called *Mohatch* or *Mvache*, which is a little countrey village not farre from *Danubius*, almost in the middle betwene *Buda* and *Belgrade*. And now *Babheus* with twentie thousand horsemen (the forerunners of the kings armie, entred into counsell, Whether it were better to encampe their armie within their wagons alongst the riuer of *Danubius*, and so to expect the coming of *Ioannes Sepsius*, countie of *Cilia*, and *Vayuod of Transilvania*; (who was then said to be coming towards the king with his Transilvanian horsemen, of all other fittest to haue encountered the Turkes) or els to march on forward, and presently to giue them battell. But *Tomoreus*, who now commaunded all, knowing that vpon the coming of the *Vayuod*, he was to giue place, and himselfe to be commaunded (which vnto so proud a man was no small grieue) for the maintenance of his credit and reputation, and to carrie away the glorie of the victorie he so vainely hoped for, could not abide to heare of any delay; but hasting headlong to his owne destruction, did with such vehemencie impugn the wholesome counsell of others, who would haue expected the coming of the *Vayuod*, that he by his franticke persuasions drew on the vnadvised young king into most apparent and manifest danger. For *Babheus* deuised his horsemen into foure battells, which by turnes skirmished with the kings armie without intermission, and gaue the Hungarians no leisure to rest either day or night, but continually wheeling about, kept them in so straight, that no man could without great danger goe to water his horse at the side of *Danubius*, which was fast by, or once to stirre out of the campe, but were enforced to dig pits for water in places where they lay: with which necessitie *Tomoreus* was enforced to put the armie in order of battell, and there was now no remedie, but he must of necessitie fight for the honour of his prince and countrey. His battell was ranged all in length, and his horsemen not altogether (as it was thought) vnstedfastly placed here and there by troupes amongst his footmen; least the Turkes (being in number eight to one) should with their multitude compasse them round; and so enforce them to fight as it were in a ring: for now was *Solyman* come also with all his huge armie. The Hungarian tents defended with a small garrison, were left a little from the armie on the right hand, enclosed round about with waggones, one chained to another: nere vnto the which, *Tomoreus* General of this vnluckie battell, had not altogether vndiscreetly placed a troupe of chosen horsemen for defence of the kings person against all vncertaine euents of the battell. But this day (vnluckie to the Hungarian name, but vnto the king himselfe most fatal and vnfortunat) ouerthrew that his purpose, deuised too late for the safetie of the kings person: for at the first encounter the Hungarians, although they had receiued no harme by the Turkish artillerie (being mounted too high, of purpose as it was thought, the gunners being for most part Christians) were easily beaten downe and ouerthrowne, oppressed by the multitude of their enemies, especially *Tomoreus* with the rest of the prelates and nobilitie being almost all slaine together, and the Hungarian horsemen also either slaine or put to flight. All things going thus to wracke, a companie of Turkes assailed the campe, which was hardly defended by the weak garrison. Which thing the troupe of the chosen horsemen appointed for defence of the kings person, beholding, could not be stayed, but that they would needs helpe them which defended the campe. The young king seeing all his armie discomfited, and himselfe forsaken of the horsemen which he was in hope should haue guarded him, betooke himselfe to flight. But

King Lewis
drowned in a
ditch.

A But as he was making shift for himselfe, thinking to haue passed ouer a fennie ditch, his horse in plunging out, fell backwards vpon him into the ditch; where being heauie loded with armour not able to helpe himselfe, he was in the midst of that filthie ditch in the mud most miserably drowned. Some few horsemen escaped out of the battell, the rest were either slaine or taken prisoners. This wofull battell neuer sufficiently to be lamented, as the ground of the miseries of that worthy kingdome, was fought the 29. day of October in the yeare 1526.

Solyman hauing obtained this victorie, marched on directly to *Buda* the regall seat of the Hungarian kings, which was deliuered vnto him with the castle; vpon condition, that he should not violate any man either in person or goods, and at his departure to leaue the same againe vnto the Hungarians: all which things he (according vnto their request) faithfully performed. Being entred into the castle, hee wonderfully commended the same, but lodged not therein, because it is by their auncient law forbidden the Turkish emperour to lodge within any walled place which is not his owne. Wherefore he returned and lodged in his campe alongst the riuer of *Danubius*.

Whilest *Solyman* lay thus at *Buda*, seauen bloudie heads of the bishops and greatest of the nobilitie (slaine in the late battell at *Mohatch*) were presented to him, all set in order vpon a wooden step: whereat he smiled, to see his courtiers laying their right hands vpon their breasts, and bending their bodies as if they had done them great obeisance, to salute them by name, and in derision to welcome them by the names of valiant popes. But afterwards, when he had more particularly enquired what euerie one of them was, it is reported that he most of all detested *Ladislaus Salcanius* the great bishop of *Strigonium*, for his miserable couctousnesse, that being a man of infinit wealth, refused to spare part thereof vnto his soueraigne, requesting the same at his great need: *Tomoreus* he blamed of inconsiderate rashnesse, for that he being a cleargie man, would busie himselfe so farre in matters not belonging to his vocation: On the contrarie part, he commended *Franciscus Perenus* bishop of *Veradivm*, a man honourably defended, for his wise counsell (though it was not followed) for that he had heard it reported, that he as a true prophet foretelling the common slaughter ensuing, had sharply said in the counsell at such time as *Tomoreus* would needs fight with the Turkes, and was not by any means to be removed from that his fatal opinion, That he did foresee what that their frierlike Generall would the next day doe; and that he would with so great an enterprise effect no more, but to make one holiday the more in the Christian kalenders, in remembrance of thirtie thousand Hungarian martyrs, most miserably slaine of the Turkes in vnequall battell, for defence of the Christian faith and religion (for at that time, they which willingly exposed themselves to death in defence of the Christian faith, were all accounted for Martyrs): *Georgius Sepsius* and the others he called rash fooles, that would adventure with so small strength to encounter so strong an enemy. At such time as the counterfeites of King *Lewis* and *Marie* his wife were shewed vnto him, he honourably said, That he was sorie for the young king, that it was his euill hap to haue so vnadvised counsellors in a matter of so great importance, as to persuaade him against all reason to fight at so great disadvantage: And that he came not into *Hungarie* to take his kingdome from him; but only to reuenge the wrongs done vnto him by the Hungarians: And that if he had escaped the danger of the battell, he would assuredly haue againe restored vnto him the kingdome of *Hungarie*, his confederat, so strongly enough to haue saued the nephew of *Sigismund* king of *Pollonia* his confederat, so strongly allied with the honorable house of *Austria*. All which he commaunded to be told to *Marie* the queene, who was for feare fled from *Buda* to *Possonium*. Which might perhaps all seeme to haue been either dissemblingly spoken, or falsely reported of the equitie and courtesie of the barbarous king, if he had not shortly afterwards to the ample declaration of his bountie and liberallitie, without any desert, giuen the same kingdome of *Hungarie* to *Ioannes Sepsius*, not borne of any royall blood, and then retaining the mind of a verie enemy. After that, he tooke away three goodly images of brasse of ancient workmanship, which were placed in the entrance into the kings pallace, by that renowned king *Mathias Coruinus* the great fauourer of rare qualities and vertues: these images represented the formes of *Hercules* with his club, of *Apollo* with his harpe, and *Diana* with her bow and quier: all which he placed in the tilyard at *Constantinople*, as a trophie of the Hungarian victorie. Howbeit these images were since taken downe by the persuation of the Musli, &c molten (as contrarie to their superstition) and great ordinance

The heads of
slaine Christian
bishops and cap-
taines presented
to Solyman.

The bishop of
Veradivm too
true a prophet.

The honorable
speech of Soly-
man concerning
his coming
into Hungarie.

dinance made of them. He carried also away with him three pieces of artillerie of most excellent and curious workmanship; and certaine brazen pillars of chamfired worke, which supported the Chapters of the gates. He tarried at BUDA about twentie daies: In which time to satisfie the cruell nature and greedie desires of his souldiours, he sent out diuers troupes of horsemen into the country thereabout, by whom all the country betwixt RAB and the riuer of Tibiscus was by that sudden and vnexpected incurfion so destroyed, that it is reported that about an hundredth and fiftie thousand people of all sorts were either slaine oryled away into most miserable captiuitie. All which done, he returned againe by the same way he came, to CONSTANTINOPLE.

About the same time *Ioannes Sepusius* Vayuod of TRANSILVANIA, with a great power came now too late into HUNGARIE to haue aided the king: but glad, as was thought, of his death, as tending to his owne aduancement; for as much as he was now (the king being dead without issue) a man of greatest account amongst the nobilitie of HUNGARIE. Wherefore as one of a deepe and reaching wit, and in great hope to obtaine the kingdom, he began cunningly to labour with the nobles, and instantly to request them, that at the next parliament they would not betray the honour of their country, in suffering the royall dignitie of that auncient kingdom to be transferred vnto a stranger, of such a nation as happily loued them not: for why, the Hungarians ought well to remember what great calamities they had receiued in former times, in chusing forraigne kings and strangers to raigne ouer them, and in following their vnfortunat ensignes against the Turkes; which thing the wofull miseries of times past might notably proue: which either *Sigismundus* of BOHEMIA, or *Ladislaus* the first of POLONIA, by their vnfortunat battels, once at NICOPOLIS, againe at CULMEBARIUM, and last of all at VARNA had brought vnto the Hungarians. But to speake, nay once to remember the harmes receiued by the long cowardise of *Ladislaus*, or this late rashnesse of his sonne king *Lewes*, would make any noble mind to blush and be ashamed: vnder whose gouernment all militarie discipline, and the glorie of HUNGARIE might well be thought to be vtterly lost. And yet he said there remained of the nobilitie of HUNGARIE, men honourably descended of most auncient houses, worthe of the kingdom, which bare noble minds, and were of sufficient courage, discretion, and power, in this time of common heauinesse to restore the honour of the estate, and worthily to defend the kingdom: Amongst whom (said he) I would not be accounted so base minded, or heauie headed (although there be many which for the honour of their houses and wealth may seeme to go before me) that I will therefore confesse, that any of them is for valour, prowesse, or fortune better than my selfe, either for conducting of an armie, or gouernment of a kingdom: for I shall be a king of courage and valour sufficient, if by your fauourable good will I shall be thought worthe of your consent and suffrages. The Vayuod taking this course, by his earnest sute and labour had woun the good wils of many; and so much the easier, for that *Stephanus Bator* (a man of greatest nobilitie among the Hungarians) was a little before gone into BOHEMIA vnto king *Ferdinand*, who was then greatly busied (by reason of a parliament there summoned) in procuring the fauour of the nobilitie and commons of that realme against the time of the parliament, wherein he was in good hope to be chosen king; as he was in short time after.

At that same time the Hungarians were with great solemnitie celebrating the funerall of their late king: whose dead bodie after the departure of *Solyman* from BUDA, was found whole, by the demonstration of one *Cotricus* one of the squires of his bodie, who was present when he was drowned; and so was brought out of the fens of MOKATCHZ to ALBA REGALIS, where it was with great pompe buried amongst the sepulchres of the other kings of HUNGARIE his predecessours. Which solemnitie funerall once ended, the generall militarie parliament (by the authoritie and voice whereof the kings of HUNGARIE were by their auncient lawes and customes to be chosen) was called: in the shutting vp whereof, *John* the Vayuod hauing in that common heauinesse no competitor, nor any of the greatest nobilitie which durst stand against him, was with the great applause and consent of all there present chosen king. To whom forthwith *Peretrus Perennus* came and presented the auncient crowne of the kingdom of HUNGARIE, which was in his keeping, made after an homely fashion of pure gold; with which the lawfull kings of HUNGARIE vsed alwaies to be solemnly crowned. It is reported, that it was the crowne of *Stephanus* first king of HUNGARIE, and was by an auncient custome alwaies kept in the castle of

Ioannes Sepusius, Vayuod of Transilvania, aspires to the kingdom of Hungarie.

King *Lewes* buried.

of VICOGRAD. And so *John* the Vayuod was orderly crowned, and consecrated by the hands of *Paulus* bishop of STRIGONIVM, lately chosen in steed of *Ladislaus Salcanius*, slaine in the battell at MUGACE, and by the hands of *Stephanus Brodaricus* bishop of VACIA, whom he chose for his secretarie. And vnto *Americus Cibachus* he gaue the honor of the Vayuod of TRANSILVANIA, being but a little before chosen bishop of VRADIVM. In his preferment, he was greatly holpen vnto the kingdom by the nobilitie which followed him out of TRANSILVANIA, men of great account both in peace and warre; amongst whom descended of the Hungarian bloud, were chiefe, *Stephanus Verbetius*, *Paulus Antandrus*, *Gregorius Peschenius*, *Nicolaus Glessa*, and *Ianus Docia*. But whilest this new king is in this sort busied in rewarding his friends and strengthening himselfe in his kingdom, he was aduertised, That *Ferdinand* his competitor of the Hungarian kingdom was chosen king of BOHEMIA: who out of the old controuersie betwixt *Mathias Coruinus* and *Fredericus* the emperours great grandfather, alleadged great claime vnto that kingdom, deriued from the time of *Ladislaus*, who was reported to haue bene poisoned at the time of the solemnization of his marriage, through the ambition and malice of *Georgius Pogibracius*; who affecting the kingdom of BOHEMIA, shortly after obtained the same. And now it seemed that the time was come, wherein *Ferdinand* made greater with the kingdom of BOHEMIA, and strengthened with the power of his brother *Charles* the emperour, not forgetting his right, might vpon good ground lay claime vnto the kingdom of HUNGARIE, vnto him (as he pretended) of right belonging euer since the time of *Albertus* the emperour. Neither did *Ferdinand* beside the strength of AVSTRIA & BOHEMIA, want the furtherance of diuers of the princes of HUNGARIE; hauing in his court many of vnquiet spirit, halfe fugitiues, desirous of change, which eniued at the Vayuods royall preferment (as if it had been taken from themselves, more worthe thereof than he) by the rash and tumultuous fauour of the vulgar people. For besides *Bator*, who in most mens judgement might most worthely haue required and obtained the kingdom, there were others also almost of like nobilitie and valour, as *Valentinus Turaccus*, *Stephanus Maylatus*, *Ianus Scala*, *Gasper Scredius*, *Baltasar Pamphilus*, and *Ferentius Gnarius*; to whom also was joyned *Paulus Babinus* borne in SERVIA, a valiant gentleman, who being entered into the Mahometane religion, to auoid the Turkish slauietie got away vnto the Christians, and hardly escaped from the battell of MOKATCHZ. By the persuation of these noble men, *Ferdinand* of his owne disposition readie ynough to D claime his right, especially a kingdom, and trusting vnto his strength in AVSTRIA, BOHEMIA, RHETIA, STIRIA, and CARYNTHIA, marched directly towards BUDA. With whose coming, *John* the new king being wonderfully troubled, as a man beset with want of all things, hauing neither sufficient strength whereupon to rest in his new got kingdom, neither any great assistance of the fidelitie of his subjects, like ynough either for feare, or of their naturall inconstancie to fall from him, determined not to abide the coming of his enemy to BUDA: but exhorted his captaines to follow him, although he were glad to depart and giue place to his euill fortune for a time, with such power as he had brought with him out of TRANSILVANIA, & such other as he could otherwise leuie, he passed ouer the riuer to PESTVM: and not daring any where thereabouts to rest, by long marches passed ouer the riuer Tibiscus, and there encamped at TOCAI, which was a strong castle vpon the further side of the riuer. His departure being knowne, *Ferdinand* marching on, obtained BUDA without resistance: where he staid a while, and consulted with his captaines, Whether he should pursue his flying enemy, or not: But it was quickly resolved, That the discouraged enemy was to be speedily pursued, before he should gather greater strength, or enter into greater policies. Wherefore *Ferdinand* committed all his armie vnto the nobilitie of HUNGARIE, his friends, whom we haue before named; who marching with all speed possible, came to the riuer Tibiscus: where passing ouer vpon a bridge made of boats, which they brought with them in waggons for that purpose, they came with ensignes displayed vnto the castle of TOCAI, where the king lay with his armie in order of battell. But the terrified with the suddaine coming of his enemies, and debating with his captaines of the greatnesse of the danger, took a course vnto himselfe rather safe than honorable: For his captaines desiring nothing more than to ioine battell, and in manner contemning their enemies, persuaded him to withdraw himselfe a little out of the battell, and to keepe him out of danger; and if things fell out otherwise than well, to referue himselfe vnto his better fortunes: as for themselves they would most resolutely fight against those traiterous fugitiues, for as much as it were great dishonour.

Ferdinand king of Bohemia leaues his claime to the kingdom of Hungarie.

King *Ferdinand* taketh Buda.

dishonour for them, being Hungarians, a warlike people by nature, to refuse battell being offered by the enemy. Amongst the chieftaines in the kings armie, *Ferentius Bodo*, an old captain of great experience and courage was cheefe, to whom the king deliuered his ensigne with his owne hands, and he with great skill ordered his battell, for the number of his souldiours: he himselfe stood in the maine battell with the Hungarians, placing the Transiluanians in the wings. In *Ferdinands* armie, *Valentinus Turacius* led the maine battell with the Hungarians vnder *Ferdinands* ensigne, strengthened on the one side with troupes of horsemen out of *STIRIA*, and on the other with the horsemen of *AVSTRIA*. But *Paulus Bachitius* according to the manner of the Turkish warres (wherewith he was well acquainted) with a companie of light horsemen lay close in ambush in a conuenient place for that purpose, a good distance off, against the left wing of the enemies armie, readie as occasion should serue to take his most aduantage. It was not greatly needfull for the captaines to vse any persuasions to encourage their souldiours, readie enough of themselves to fight. The great ordinance once discharged, the armies came fast on and joynd battell, where the wings of both battells fought with diuers fortune. The *Stirian* horsemen were not able to endure the force of the Transiluanians, but were put to the worse: and on the other side, the left wing of *Bodo* his armie, consisting for most part of raw and vnexpert souldiours, was by the horsemen of *AVSTRIA* ouerthrowne. At the same time both the maine battells (being almost all Hungarians) fought with equall courage, and that so eagerly, as seldome had been seene a more fierce or cruell battell. But by a fresh charge giuen by *Ferdinands* horsemen, who had now put to flight the right wing of *Bodo* his battell, all *Bodo* his armie fighting most valiantly, was disordered and put to flight: *Bodo* the Generall labouring to restore the battell, and to saue the ensigne to him before by the king deliuered, was by the comming in of *Paulus Bachitius* with his light horsemen, taken. The other captaines seeing all lost, and past hope of recouerie, betooke themselves to flight: all the kings artillerie and ensignes were taken by the enemy. The king seeing the ouerthrow of his armie, for safeguard of his life fled into *POLONIA*. *Ferdinand* his captaines following the course of the victorie, entered into *TRANSILVANIA*, where the people yeelding themselves at the first, all the whole prouince submitted it selfe vnto the authoritie of *Ferdinand*. *Bodo* and the rest of the noble men that were taken prisoners, with the ensignes taken from the enemies, were sent to *Ferdinand*. But when *Bodo* hauing his libertie promised, could not be persuaded to renounce his oath giuen to king *John*, and to beare armes against him, he was by *Ferdinand* his commaundement cast into a darke dungeon, where shortly after, consumed with sorrow and greefe, he miserably ended his life.

The battell of
Tocal betweene
the armies of
king John and
king Ferdinand.

King John fleeth
into Polonia.

Ferdinand
crowning of
Hungarie at
Alba Regalis.

Shortly after *Ferdinand* (the Hungarians generally submitting themselves vnto him) was by their common consent saluted king, and crowned with the same old crowne wherewith king *John* had been crowned, which the same *Perenus* (a man of little constancie) brought vnto him; and with him was also crowned *Anne* his wife, the only sister of the late king *Lewes*: all which solemne ceremonies were celebrated at *ALBA REGALIS*, the vsual place for the coronation of the Hungarian kings. *Ferdinand* by rare felicitie thus possessed of two kingdomes, whereunto he was not borne, returned into *BOHEMIA*, and left his deputies for the gouernment of the kingdom of *HUNGARIE*. These were *Stephanus Bator*, whom hee appointed viceroy, with whom he joynd *Paulus* bishop of *TRIGONIVM*, who had also reuolted from king *John*: and made *Berehsaxius* secretarie, and *Alexius Tursonus* a Morauian, treasurer.

King *John* thus miserably distressed, and thrust out of his kingdome, by *Ferdinand*, fled to *Hieronimus Lasus*, a man for his honourable descent and learned vertue, of great fame and reputation amongst the Polonians: who glad of so honourable a guest, was more carefull of nothing, than with all possible kindnesse and courtesie how to comfort him, wrapt vp in so many calamities with the losse of his kingdome; he frankly promised vnto him all his owne wealth (which was not small) for the recouerie of his former estate: and that which more was, for the reuiuing of his former felicitie, the vttermost of his wit and deuise, which in the compasing of all great matters was accounted wonderfull. That bountifull entertainment of this poore king by *Lasus*, was not altogether vnpleasant to *Sigismund* king of *POLONIA*, although because he would not offend *Ferdinand*, with whom he was joynd in friendship and alliance, he seemed to most men plainly to forget himselfe in shewing so small kindnesse vnto king *John*, whose sister *Barbara* he had sometime married: which was the cause that *Lasus* forgot no point of courtesie in entertaining his guest, and yet the credit of *Sigismund* with king *Ferdinand* not toucht. But when

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For *Lasus* saw, that *Solyman* (so great and prouid an emperour) was not so desirous of kingdomes (whereof he had so many as could not easily be reckoned, then commaunding ouer a great part of the world) as of glorie and renowne, wherewith he vnderstood him to be wonderfully delighted about all other kings of the East; naturally carried away with that windie vanitie. This counsell (as in effect it prooued) was vnto king *John* wholesome and reasonable, if a man doe but respect the poore estate of a king, so greatly wronged, liuing in exile; but respecting the Christian commonweale, it was vndoubtedly most dangerous and lamentable for one mans particular profit to bring the whole state into most dreadfull and horrible danger: but the sicke minds of worldly men, liuing in small hope of doing well, and at the point of desperation, refuse no worldly remedies, be they neuer so doubtfull or dangerous. And not long after, vpon this resolution with the king, *Lasus* desirous by noble actions to create the honour of his name, tooke the matter vpon him, and went as embassadour from the exiled king to *Solyman* to *CONSTANTINOPLE*. The report was, that *Sigismund* did not only not stay him, but secretly gaue him his safe conduct with letters of credence, wherein he commended him vnto the Bassaes and other great men in *Solymans* court, descended of the Polonian blood, as his faithfull and louing subject sent thither vpon an extraordinary and special embassage. *Lasus* as soone as he was come to *CONSTANTINOPLE*, with wonderfull dexteritie had in short time wooon the fauour, not of the Bassaes only, but of the other courtiers also; presenting them with such gifts as might for the finenesse and rarenesse thereof, rather than for the value (as he thought) be most acceptable and pleasing to their wiues: for amongst that barbarous and corrupted people nothing is better welcome than gifts, whether they proceed of simple good will, or other respect, is no great difference. Amongst the great Bassaes at that time of greatest power and authoritie, was *Lustebius*, or rather *Lutis*, who had married *Solymans* sister; and *Abraham* borne at *PARGA*, a base village in *ACARNANIA*, brought vp in the court from his childhood with *Solyman*: he was then visier or cheefe of the Bassaes, and keeper of the emperours seale, and was by his office to subscribe all such graunts or letters as passed from the emperour: by which his great place, and the special fauour he had with *Solyman*, he in magnificence power and authoritie farre exceeded all the rest of the Bassaes, doing whatsoeuer pleased himselfe; and that with such souerainetie and the good liking of *Solyman*, that it was commonly said, he was the commaunder of his thoughts. *Lasus* thus insinuated into the court, and oftentimes talking with the Bassaes without an interpretour, for that hee could well speake the Sclauonian tongue, (the familiar speech of the Turkish courtiers) earnestly solicited the kings cause, wonderfully commending him: for at his first comming after he had saluted *Solyman*, and was about to haue declared the cause of his comming, he was after the manner of the Turkish court turned ouer to the Bassaes: for *Solyman* vsed not to admit any Christian to talke with him in his court. *Lasus* the Bassaes: by the Bassaes, That king *John* wrongfully thrust out of his kingdome by request of *Solyman*, by the Bassaes, and the treason of certaine of the Hungarians, might by the Turkish power be againe restored vnto the kingdome of *HUNGARIE*, which he would hold by homage of the Turkish emperour, as of right belonging vnto him, since the time that *Solyman* with victorious hand reuenging his wrongs and subduing his enemies, had by law of armes (fortune so judging) gained the same. 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rather for giuing than receiuing: it was easie to be seene, how greatly it did concerne the profit of the *Othoman* kings to be neighboured with a weake and tributarie king, rather than with *Ferdinand*, a prince of great power, lately chosen king of *BONEMIA*, supported by the strength of his brother *Charles* the emperor, commaunding ouer the warlike nation of the *Germanes*; which was as much difference as was betwixt the maintenance of a continuall heauie warre vpon his borders, and the safe enjoying of a most assured peace. Beside that, it concerned the *Turks* to be ware, that such things as they had got by the sword, they should also by the sword defend; and not to suffer any one to grow greater than the rest in riches and power. For it might so fall out, that *Charles*, growne to be a prince of mightie power, might draw the rest of the *Christian* princes to joyne with him in the common cause of the *Christian* religion, and in that quarrell, as the *Christian* kings of *EVROPE* had in former time done, with vnited forces to seeke to recouer againe what they had before lost: whose force it would be hard to withstand. These things being sharply deliuered, and by the *Bassas* againe reported to *Solyman*, who standing at a secret window, had before heard them as they were by *Lascus* vnto the *Bassas* declared; it was no great labour to persuaide the *Turkish* emperor, of himselfe desirous of glorie and soueraignetie, againe to yndertake the *Hungarian* warre, and to graunt king *John* his request, promising according to the successe of the victorie, to giue him that he desired, so that he would faithfully performe what he had promised, and not shew himselfe therefore vnthankfull.

Solyman graunteth
Lascus his
request.

In the meane time, *Ferdinand* vpon great reason thinking it necessarie by all meanes possible to confirme himselfe in possession of the kingdome of *HUNGARIE*: and fearing no force but the *Turks*, determined to proue *Solymans* disposition, and to seeke for his friendship; hoping by reasonable meanes to compasse it, by shewing vnto the barbarous prince (not altogether abhorring from the commendation of justice) his antient title and claime, and that he was by the antient lawes of the countrey right heire thereof: thinking that *Solyman* hauing obtained so many victories, and ruling ouer so many kingdomes, would now at length giue himselfe to peace, as a man contented with his glorie already gotten. His desire was, to be receiued into his friendship, and to joine with him in league vpon the same conditions which *Ladislaus* and his son *Leues* had for certaine yeares before obtained of the *Othoman* kings, and *Sigismund* king of *POLONIA* then also with like quietnesse enjoyed. Wherefore hauing found out a fit man, whom he might send vpon this embassage to *CONSTANTINOPLE*, one *Ioannes Oberdanfscus*, a *Hungarian*, he furnished him accordingly, and gaue him gifts, such as hee thought good to bestow vpon the great *Bassas*. But when *Oberdanfscus* was come vnto *CONSTANTINOPLE*, he found *Solyman* harder to be entreated than he had before hoped, and the *Bassas* altogether vnwilling to heare of any league: for although he was courteously receiued of *Solyman*, and most patiently heard, whilst he both eloquently and discreetly before the great *Bassas*, deliuered his embassage; yet in the shutting vp of all, he receiued no more but a proud and insolent answer: for *Solyman* said, it was farre from the manner of his auncestors, to receiue them into grace and fauour which had done iniurie vnto the *Othoman* name: wherefore that *Ferdinand* had done impudently to invade another mans kingdome, and to thinke to hold it to himselfe: for as much as his old title and claime which he stood so much vpon, was altogether extinguished and lost by law of arms, by his late victorie against king *Lewes*: for which causes hee adjudged him vnworthie of his friendship and fauour, purposing sharply to reuenge the wrong he had receiued, and proclaiming warre to come againe into *HUNGARIE* with such a power as should be sufficient to invade *Ferdinand* either in *AVSTRIA* or *GERMANIE*. Wherefore in stead of friendship and league, he denounced vnto him all the calamities of warre: and so commaunded the embassage with speed to depart from *CONSTANTINOPLE*. But *Oberdanfscus* when hee was come backe againe as farre as *VIENNA*, and had there told the kings lieutenants, of the threatening words of *Solyman*, and that he would shortly come thither with his armie, he was not of any of them beleecued, but reputed for a vaine man. Wherefore to shun the hatred of them which mistooke truth for falshood, he made hast to come vnto *Ferdinand*, who was then at *SPICES*, labouring for voices to further his sute, for that at the next assemblie of the states of the empire, which was then at hand for the coronation of his brother *Charles*, he himselfe as he well hoped was to be chosen king of the *Romanes*. The newes brought by *Oberdanfscus*, did not a little trouble king *Ferdinand*, foreseeing as it were what would happen: for that the *Turkish* tyrant vsed not lightly to breake such promises, but to performe them to the vttermost: and that more

Solyman answereth
to Ferdinands
embassage.

increased his care, he knew he should come in euill time to craue helpe of the *Germanies*, for the defence of his kingdome in *HUNGARIE* against so mightie an enemy, especially his brother *Charles* the emperor being busied in his warres in *ITALIE*, and he himselfe wanting money, the only meanes to raise an armie to withstand the *Turke*. The Spring now come, and all things fresh and greene; *Solyman* altering nothing of his former determination, hauing leuied an armie of an hundred and fiftie thousand men, set forward from *HADRIANOPLE*, his *European* horsemen going before him conducted by *Abraham* the great *Bassa* and *Achomates*, *Michael-oglu* Generall of the *Acanziz* or voluntarie horsemen: and his *Asian* souldiours led by *Becrambeus* *Bassa* following after him: he himselfe with his *Ianizaries* and souldiours of the court keeping in the middle. And marching on this sort came in fiftene daies to *BELGRADE*, where king *John* accompanied with *Lascus* and such of the *Hungarian* nobilitie as tooke his part, came vnto him, of purpose to make himselfe knowne vnto him which was to protect him; and doing him all the honour he possibly could, to request him to proceed to reuenge his quarrell. *Solyman* with graue and yet friendly countenance, raising himselfe a little from the cushion wheron he sat, gaue him his right hand, protesting, That nothing could happen vnto him better, or that he more desired of God, than to be able to relieue distressed princes, especially such as were wrongfully oppressed by his enemies: wherefore he willed him to be of good comfort, promising of his bountie frankly to bestow vpon him whatsoever he should in that warre win with the sword from the enemy. King *John* obtained this rare fauour of *Solyman* by the earnest mediation of *Abraham* the commaunding *Bassa*; whom he had before at *CONSTANTINOPLE* by his embassage *Lascus* so wooen with gifts and requests, that he thorowly tooke vpon him the defence of the kings cause: wherein *Lascus* was especially holpen by *Aloysius Grittus* the Duke of *VENICE* his sonne, who then followed the *Turkes* campe, and was for his fathers sake and the great sufficiencie he held himselfe, had in great reputation amongst the *Turkes*; and in such fauor with *Abraham* who did all in all with *Solyman*, that he could persuaide him to any thing he would. For this *Aloysius Grittus*, borne and brought vp in *CONSTANTINOPLE*, and wonderfull eloquent in the *Turkish* tongue, had by the honourable carriage of himselfe, and the great port he kept in his house, so thorowly possessed *Abraham* (that all commanded) that he would manie times bring *Solyman* himselfe ouer the hauen to *PERRA*, to solace himselfe in *Grittus* his pleasant gardens and banquetting houses, which he had there most sumptuously made after the *Italian* manner: whereby to his great profit he obtained to be the chiefe man in receiuing of the *Turkes* customes.

1529

Solyman cometh
into Hungarie
with a great
armie.

King John cometh
to Solyman
at Belgrade.

Solyman enureth
Buda without resistance
and besiegeth the castles

The same of *Solymans* comming directly from *BELGRADE* to *BUDA*, so terrified the citifens of *BUDA*, that they almost all forsooke the citie and fled vnto other places further off, some to *STRIGONIVM*, some to *ALBA REGALIS*, some to *POSSONIVM*: so that at his first comming he entred the citie (almost desolate) without any resistance: the castle holden by a garrison of *Germanes*, he commaunded to be besieged. The captaine of the castle was one *Thomas Nagas*, a man of great account among the *Hungarians*, both for the honour of his house and his qualities answerable to the same, graced with singular learning: He perceiuing his souldiours dismaied with the sight of so great an armie and willing to surrender vp the castle, (as be seemed a valiant captaine) forbade his souldiours to haue any talke with the enemy, commanded the great artillerie to be bent and discharged vpon the *Turkes*: and seeing his souldiours slacke and timorous, reproved them of cowardise and treason, threatening them with shamefull death if they did not hold out the siege to the vttermost, and shew themselves valiant men, both for the honour of their countrey, and of king *Ferdinand* whose pay they receiued, and of whose bountie they were to expect rewards and preferments answerable to their deserts. But they misdoubting by the running too and fro of the *Turks*, that the castle was vndermined; and smelling, or at least wise imagining themselves to smell the sent of the gunpowder, which they supposed to be in the mine, and doubting to be presently blowne vp; were stricke with such a sudden feare, that neither the feare of future punishment, neither the shame of so foule a fact, nor the reuerence of so worthie a captaine could stay them, but that they would needs without further delay deliuer vp the castle: which when they could by no meanes persuaide the resolute captaine to consent vnto, but that he still with sterne countenance exclaimed against their cowardise and treason, they laid hands vpon him, and bound him hand and foot, and so presently concluded with the enemy to yeeld vnto him the castle, so that they might in safetie depart thence with bag and baggage: which their request

request *Solyman* granted. But when the garrison souldiours (in number about seauen hundred) were about to depart with their baggage towards *POSSONIVM*, as was before agreed; and the *Ianizaries* comming into the castle, hauing loosed the capitaine, were about to let him go also: *Solyman* aduertised of the treacherie of the garrison souldiours, and of the fidelitie of the captain, changing his mind, judged such villanous minded men vnworthie of his mercie, and in detestation of their perfidious dealing with their capitaine, gaue them all to his *Ianizaries* to be slaine: but to the capitaine himselfe he offered honourable entertainment, which when he refused, *Solyman* courteously sent him away; holpen therein by the commendation of king *Iohn*, although his sister was married to *Stephanus Maylat* his deadly enemy. Which bloudie execution done by the commaundement of the cruell tyrant, the *Turkes* said was not onely lawfully done, but also to the immortall glorie of his name in the execution of justice: which might peraduenture seeme reasonable, if the perpetuall hatred of that most barbarous nation against the Christians gaue not just occasion of suspect, that it proceeded rather of their auncient malice than of any regard of justice. For why should the Germans, who had offended to his great good, and therefore obtained his safe conduct, be thought worthe of so cruell death? when as *Solyman* himselfe in punishing the perjurie of another, ran into wilfull perjurie himselfe; peruerting the commendation of justice which he so much desired, by his most bloudie and vnjust sentence.

BUDA the chiefe citie of *HUNGARIE* thus taken by *Solyman*, he resolved forthwith to besiege *VIENNA* the chiefe citie of *AVSTRIA*: in good hope, that by the carriage away of that, the other cities of lesse strength both of *HUNGARIE* and *AVSTRIA* would without any resistance be yielded vnto him. Wherefore he sent before him *Achomates* with the voluntarie horsemen, who according to the manner of the Turkish warres, running thorow the heart of *HUNGARIE*, and entering with fire and sword into *AVSTRIA*, passed by *VIENNA*, miserably burning and destroying the countrey before him as farre as *LYNTZ*. The poore people not knowing where to hide themselves from the furie of their enemies, nor of whom to craue helpe, fled as men and women dismaied, carrying with them their beloued children, the vnfortunat pledges of their loue, and what else they could, as things saued out of the midst of the fire. For whatsoeuer fell into the enemies hand, was lost without recure: the old men were slaine, the young men led away into captiuitie, women rauished before their husbands faces, and afterwards slaine with their children, young infants were ript out of their mothers wombs, and otherwise taken from their breasts were cut in pieces, or else thrust vpon sharpe stakes, yielding vp againe that breath which they had but a little before receiued; with many other incredible cruelties, which were then by the mercilesse enemy committed. *Solyman* himselfe shortly after followed these forerunners, and setting forward with all his armie from *BUDA* towards *VIENNA*; by the way tooke the castle of *ALTENBURGE*, whether by force or composition, is diuersly reported: of the garrison souldiours there placed by king *Ferdinand*, he reserved three hundred *Bohemians*, whom he commaunded to follow his campe. He also assaulted the little citie of *NEAPODIS* seauen times in one day, and was as often repulsed: but being loath to spend any longer time about a towne of so small importance, he forooke that, and held on his way to *VIENNA*; whether he came about the six and twentieth day of September, and encamped in fiue places round about the citie, with such a world of people, that vnto them which viewed his campe from the highest tower in *VIENNA*, it seemed that the ground was for the space of eight miles all couered with the multitude of his tents and people. King *Ferdinand*, who from the time that he had by his embassador *Oberdanscus* receiued the hard answer from *Solyman*, alwaies stood in doubt of his comming; had beside his owne forces (which were not great to oppose against so mightie an enemy) craued aid of the Christian princes his neighbours; especially of the princes of the empire: who granting him aid against the common enemy, appointed *Fredericke* countie Palatine of *RHEINE* and duke of *BAVARIA*, Generall of their forces. But whilest the Germans after their manner, slowly set forward, and made lesse hast than the greatnesse of the present danger required; *Solyman* comming in the meane time, had so belaid the citie, that it was not possible for the duke *Frederick* by any meanes to get into it, but was glad to stay with his army at *CHREMS* about twelue miles from *VIENNA*. A few daies before by good hap, vpon the report of the losse of *BUDA*, twentie thousand souldiours horsemen and foot out of diuers countreys, were in good time come to *VIENNA*: amongst these, the cheefe commaunders was *Philip* the Paulgraue, duke *Fredericks* nephew (a young gentleman of great courage and hope,

A sent thither but a little before with a few companies of horsemen and footmen, by *Fredericke* his vnle, who was comming after with a greater power himselfe, but was now shut out of the citie by *Solyman*) *Nicholaus* countie of *SALMA*, the *L. William Rogendorff* steward of the kings household, *Ioannes Caxianer*, a noble man of *CROATIA*; and afterwards gouernour of *VIENNA*: and next vnto them *Nicholaus Turrianus*, *Ioannes Hardetus*, *Leonardus Pelsius*, *Hector Ramfak*, men both for their birth and valour of great account amongst the Germans: The citie of *VIENNA* as it was of some good strength toward the North, by reason of *Danubius*, so in other places it was at that time neither by art nor nature strong. The ditches, such as they were, were altogether drie, and easie to be passed ouer: the wals of bricke, built round without any flankers, and neither high nor thicke, but after the auncient simple manner of fortification of cities: for before that time neither had king *Ferdinand*, fearing no enemy, neither they of *VIENNA* who had not of many yeares seene an enemy, had any care to fortifie the citie: but as men altogether buried in securitie, and nothing fearing the comming of so mightie an enemy, (although they were thereof before admonished by *Oberdanscus*) had not so much as cast vp any rampier or bulwarke, more than at the gate of *CABINTIA*, whereon they might conveniently place their great Ordinance: so that of a hundred great peeces, and three hundred others of lesse charge, which might haue wonderfully annoyed the enemy, a great part serued to no vse, for want of convenient place to mount them vpon. Yet as the suddain comming of the enemy and the shortnesse of the time gaue leaue, such bulwarkes as they could vpon the suddaine, they cast vp, and plahted their ordinance thereon. The citie was diuided into diuers quarters, and to euery part a strong garrison appoynted for defence thereof, all the gates of the citie were mured vp, except such as were of purpose reserved for sallie out at. Now had *Abraham* the great *Bassa* encamped himselfe vpon a high hill, where stood a ruinous castle, from whence he might ouerlooke all the citie, yet so, as that he lay out of the danger of gunshot. *Becrambeus*, *Solymans* great commander in *ASIA*, lay at the gate called *PVRGATORIA*, neere the church of *S. Vladerich*. In the third campe towards the rising of the hils, lay *Michael Ogli*, towards the church of *S. Vitus*. At the Scottish gate towards *Danubius*, lay the *Alapi*, with diuers companies of the *Ianizaries*: which with shot out of their trenches, suffered no man to appeare vpon the wals into the citie, as if they had fallen out of the clouds; that hardly could any man stirre in the citie vnarmed, but he was forthwith wounded. *Solyman* himselfe lay neere vnto *S. Markes* church, compassed about with the *Ianizaries* and other souldiours of the court, defended also with the bricke wals of the gardens thereabouts. Whilest the *Turkes* were thus encamping themselves, the Christian defendants oftentimes fortunatly sallied out vpon them, and slew many of them. In one of which sallies *Wolfgangus Hagen* a valiant capitaine, with certaine old souldiours of the Spaniards was slaine, fighting most valiantly at the gates of the castle: and in another skirmish *Christophorus Zetlitz* a man of great courage, sallying out of the citie with fiue hundred horsemen, euen vnto the enemies trenches, was intercepted and taken with six of his fellows vpon him; who were all compelled by the *Turkes* to carrie so many heads of their slaine fellowes vpon poles, and so presented vnto *Solyman*: of whom he enquired many things as well concerning *Ferdinand* himselfe, and where he was, as concerning the princes which had the charge of the citie, whether they were in hope to defend the same against his mightie power or not. Whereunto *Christophorus* aptly and wisely answered, although not altogether so truly, That king *Ferdinand* lay not farre off at the citie of *LYNTZ*, expecting the assembly of a great armie: and that the princes of *GERMANIE*, *BOHEMIA*, *MORAVIA*, and of diuers other places were comming vnto him, with great aid; so that if he would but stay a little vntill his forces were come together, he should then see whether of them were of greater strength and power: for as much as it would not be long before the king would come and giue him battell. As for the princes in the citie, he said he knew no more of their minds, but that both they and all the souldiours from the highest to the lowest, had solemnely sworne to defend the citie, and not to giue it ouer vnto the last man, reposing their hope not in the wals and fortresses thereof, but in their weapons and valour, being men of great resolution, and not easily to be vanquished or discouraged. With which answer although *Solyman* was a little moued, yet dissembling his present heat, said, he had heretofore made warre against diuers nations, and alwaies had the victorie, whereof he doubted not now also: But as for him, and the others taken with him, they knew they were in his power to saue

Solyman contrary to his promise ca. feth the garrison souldiours after they had delivered the castle to be slaine.

Austria spoiled by the Turks.

Altenburge taken.

Solyman commeth to Vienna.

saue

*Solyman re-
sists the Christi-
an princes with
out success.*

saue or kill at his pleasure: Yet to make them know that he could shew mercie vnto his vanquished enemies, he frankly graunted them their liues and libertie: charging them, that after they were againe returned into the citie, they should in his name with the defendants of themselves to yeeld vp the citie, which it was impossible for them long to defend against his mightie power, which neither the strong citie of **BELGRADE**, nor the famous citie of the **RHODES** were able to withstand; and to accept of such reasonable conditions as he should graunt vnto them, promising, that amongst other things proceeding of his infinit bountie, hee would take order, that they should in safetie depart thence with bag and baggage: in which doing they should well prouide for the safetie of themselves and of their goods by flying vnto his mercie in time, before the furie of the warre was growne to further extremitie: all which it would be too late to expect after the victorie, when nothing was to be hoped for but cruell death, murder, and miserable destruction. Wherefore it were good for them well to consider of the matter, and not foolishly to refuse that was now frankly offered them of mercie, which they should not afterwards obtaine with any prayers or teares: for why, he was resolutely set downe (as he said) not to depart thence before he had taken the citie. When he had thus schooled them, he gaue vnto euery one of them three Hungarian duckats, and so sent them away. They being receiued into the citie with great joy, made relation vnto the princes and great capitaines of all the threatening and proud speeches of the Turkish tyrant; which they tooke in such disdain, that they would not vouchsafe to returne him any answer. *Solyman* not a little displeased, that his great words were so lightly regarded, by way of derision sent word vnto the citie, That if they wanted helpe, he would send them the three hundred Bohemians, whom he tooke in the castle of **ALTENBURG**: to whom answer was returned by them of the citie, That they needed no helpe from him, wherefore he might dispose of his prisoners as he thought good. By this, *Solyman* perceiued, that **VIENNA** was not to be won with words, nor the defendants to be discouraged with great looks: wherefore he began to vse his force, and with such ordinance as he had brought with him, to batter the wals: which because it was not great, but fitter for seruice in field than for batterie, did not much more harme than to beat downe the battlements and such little standings, made of timber and boards in manner of galleries, hanging here and there ouer the wall, for the small shot to play out of, a simple deuise in stead of flankers. His great artillerie prouided for batterie was comming vp the riuer of **Danubius**, which he daily looked for: but by good hap, *Wolfgangus Hoder*, a forward captain, hearing of the Turks comming vp the riuer, went out of **POSSONIVM** with certaine small vessels well appointed: and meeting with the Turks, set vpon them with such courage and resolution that he slew many of them, and suncke diuers of their boats and pinnaces, amongst whom were they which were bringing vp *Solymans* great peeces for batterie to **VIENNA**: which was there all suncke in the riuer, with the boats that brought it. By this good seruice, *Solyman* was disappointed of his great artillerie, and the citie deliuered of a great danger. So *Wolfgangus* hauing made great spoile amongst the Turks, and lost some few men, returned with victorie to **POSSONIVM**. Yet another part of the *Turkes* fleet comming vp to **VIENNA**, at the first comming brake downe all the bridges: for a little about the citie, the riuer of **Danubius** deuiding his channell, maketh diuers Islands, which by sundrie bridges are joyned together, ouer which lieth the way from **AUSTRIA** vnto the citie. This fleet so kept the passage, that no man could without danger either by water or by land goe in or out of the citie. *Solyman* hauing lost all his peeces for batterie, and seeing how little he preuailed with his field peeces, fell to vndermining of the citie, hoping by that meanes to ouerthrow the wals, and to make a way for his men to enter. This worke, as the *Turkes* cheefe hope, was with wonderfull labour and diligence attempted in fifteene sundrie places: which was not so secretly done, but that it was by drums laied vpon the ground, by bassons filled with water, & sounds made into the earth, perceiued by the defendants; and so with countermines met withall, that most part of those works were vterly frustrated, and in them eight thousand of his *Turkes* either slaine or buried quicke.

Solyman to baffle the defendants that they should not so perfectly discouer his mines, diuided his armie into foure parts, appointing the orderly to succeed one after another in giuing alarms to the towne, that filling their eares with continuall noise, he might keepe them alwaies occupied. In the midst of which hurly burly his workes in the mines went forward with all speed possible, neither was he in that his expectation deceived: for one of the mines brought to perfection vnperceiued by the defendants, and suddenly blowne vp, shooke and ouerthrew a great part

*Eight thousand
Turkes lost in
the mines.*

*The wals of Vi-
enna blowne vp.*

A part of the wall neere vnto the gate which leadeth towards **CARINTHIA**; whereat the *Turkes* gaue a great shout as if the citie had now been taken, and withall courageously stepping forward pressed in on all sides, by the ruines of the wall to haue entered the breach, charging the defendants with their small shot and *Turkie* arrowes as thicke as haile. VVhen on the contrarie part like resolute men stood in the face of the breach, with more assurance than the wall it selfe recei-
The Turkes pulled from the breach.
uing them with deadly shot and push of pike, in such furious manner, that the *Turks* for all their multitude, vnable longer to maintaine the assault, began to retire. VVhich thing *Solyman* perceiuing, sent in new supplies, and so renewed the assault before giuen ouer, but with no better successe than before: for hauing received a great ouerthrow, as men forgetting both duetie and martiall discipline, they retired, not expecting any signe of retreat. At this assault so many of the *Turkes* were slaine, that the ground neere vnto the towne lay couered, and the ditches filled with their dead bodies. Not long after, the wall was blowne vp in two places more ouer against **S. Clares** church; by which breach being not verie great, the *Turks* seeking to haue entred, made a bloudie fight with the *Germanes* which defended that place, which they fought so desperately to haue entred, that without regard they thrust one another vpon the points of their enemies weapons: who glistering in good armor, readily receiued them being for most part naked men, and slew them without number, and so enforced them againe disorderly to retire, hauing before filled both the breaches with their dead carcasses. Three daies after ensued a most cruell fight, when as another part of the wall (neere vnto the gate of **CARINTHIA**), and not farre from the first breach) was so suddenly ouerthrowne, that the *Turkes* thorow the new made breach seeing the *Christians* as they stood readie to come to the defence thereof; and likewise the *Christians* them, now approaching; for eagernesse and hast on both sides, threw away their pieces and bowes, and came to handie blowes in the middle of the breach; the *Turkes* with their scimiters, and the *Germanes* with their long swords. At which times, as the *Christian* capitaines encouraged their fouldiours with cheerfull persuasions: so the *Turkish* *Comimaunders* enforced forward their *Turkes* both with words and wounds. The assault began so terrible, that it was thought a more fierce and deadly fight was neuer seene from the beginning of the world: which was with greater resolution maintained by the *Turkes*, for that many of their most valiant horsemen forsaking their horses; thrust in with their targets and scimiters, or else with their launces amongst the *lanizaries* and other footmen; and there fought most desperately. At last, after this furious fight had endured by the space of thre houres; and many of the *Turkes* best capitaines and fouldiours lay dead vpon the ground by heapes; the *Turkes* seeing no hope to preuaile, gaue ouer the assault, and retired to their campe.
*The Turkes the third time re-
treated.*
Long and tedious it were to recount euerie assault giuen during the time of that dreadfull siege, with euerie particuler accident nor worthy the remembrance, which for breuitie I wittingly passe ouer. Yet amongst this rest (the most valiant leader, though afterwards vnfortunat) the *Lo. William Rogendorffe* is not to be forgotten; who oftentimes perceiuing many of the *Turkes* stragling disorderly abroad in the country, one day vpon the sudden sallied out vpon them with certaine troups of horsemen, with such violence, that at the first onser he ouerthrew them; and hauing them in chase, did such speedie execution, that of 5300; scarcely 140. escaped his hands: after which time his name became terrible vnto the *Turks*. *Solyman* was exceedingly grieved with the often and bloudie assaults by him in vaine giuen to the citie, but purposing now to proue the last and vtermost of all his forces, he called vnto him the chiefe commanders of his armie, whom at the first he sharply reprobued as men of no courage, which being many times as good as in possession of the victorie, had most cowardly contrarie to the manner of that vicious nation, turned their backs vpon their enemies, in the breaches already halfe won. Wherefore he willed them to plucke vp their hearts, and to make all things readie for a new assault, wherein hee expected that they should with courageous forwardnesse and resolution, recompence their late cowardise: for why he accounted it a great dishonour to forsake the siege begun: wherefore they should resolve the next day as victorious conquerors to take the citie, or else there as faint-hearted cowards to end their daies. The next day after this heauie charge giuen, which was the fifteenth of October, the great *Commanders* of the *Turkes* armie with all their forces assailed the citie, thrusting their men into the breaches by heapes, as if they would, if no way else, yet with verie multitude (if it had beene possible) haue discouraged or ouerborne the *Christians*: they were come to handie blowes, and the fight was in euerie place most terrible,
G g g

*A most terrible
assault.*

*The Turkes the
third time re-
treated.*

*The Lo. Will-
am Rogendorffe.*

*Vienna againe
assailed.*

ble, the Christian defendants still repulsing the with greater courage than they were able to assault them. Besides that, to the great advantage of the defendants, many pieces of their great ordinance skillfully mounted in places most convenient, and continually discharged amongst the thickest of their enemies as they pressed on, made such slaughter amongst them, and so cut them off, that being thoroughly discouraged, they shrunke backe, and could not by any threats or command of their captaines be thrust forward, chusing rather to be slaine of their owne captaines (as some of them were) than to be rent in sunder with the murdering shot of the Christians. So that the captaines seeing now no other remedie, gave over the assault and retired, leaving behind them many thousands of their dead Turkes in the towne ditches.

The next day after this assault, *Solyman* despairing to win the citie, and fearing the coming of king *Ferdinand* and the countie *Palatine* with a strong armie, as it had been to him reported, considering also that *Wint* was now coming fast on, determined to raise his siege: and to colour the dishonour thereof, he sent certaine of the chiefe prisoners which he had taken, richly apparelled with their purses full of money into the citie, to tell the captaines that he came not with purpose either to besiege or take the citie, but to reuenge the wrongs done vnto him by his enemy king *Ferdinand*, and to haue fought a battell with him for the kingdome of *HUNGARIE*: whom for as much as he could not draw vnto *VIENNA*, he would remoue thence to seeke for him, as his capitall enemy: Wherefore they should doe well to yeeld themselves, which if they would, he promised not to enter their citie, but to receiue both the citizens and souldiours into his protection, reseruing vnto them their liues and goods with perpetuall freedome. Which he offer the defendants scornfully refused as proceeding of meeke desperation. The next night following *Solyman* with more than barbarous crueltie, caused all the prisoners in his armie to be slaine, which pitifull outcries was of the souldiours heard into the citie, not knowing what the matter should be, vntill that the next day after the departure of the enemy they found the dead bodies of men, women, and children in all places of the campe wallowed in their one blood, a most lamentable spectacle to behold. *Solyman* purposing to forsake the siege, caused *Abraham* the great Bassa to shew himselfe in order of battell, as if he would haue giuen a fresh assault: in the meane time he himselfe rose vpon the sudden with the rest of his armie, and returned towards *BUDA* in such hast, that he neither put any garrison into such places as he had taken, neither demanded of them any tribute. After whom the Bassa followed, keeping himselfe a daies journey behind him: and so in fise daies he arrived with all his armie at *BUDA*, 32 Germane K miles from *VIENNA*.

This siege was giuen over by *Solyman* about the sixteenth of October, wherein he is reported to haue lost eightie thousand men, amongst whom was his great lieutenant of *ASIA*, with many other of his forward captaines and best souldiours. Of the defendants few or none of name were lost, but of the countrey people it is supposed that there was about sixtie thousand slaine, and carried away into captiuitie: all the countrey about *VIENNA* was miserably spoiled, all their trees and vines being by the Turkes cut downe to the ground. *Solyman* according to his promise, restored *BUDA* vnto king *John*, who by solempne writing acknowledged himselfe his vassalle, and to hold the kingdome of *HUNGARIE* of him as his lord and soueraigne: Vnto him *Solyman* joyned *Aloysius Grittius* as his legat, to helpe him to prouide such things as should be needfull for the defence of that kingdome.

It happened one day whilst *Solyman* lay at *BUDA*, and had giuen king *John* with diuers of the nobilitie of *HUNGARIE* access into his pavilion, that he fell earnestly in hand with king *John* to pardon *Paulus* bishop of *STRIGONIVM*, and *Petrus Beremus*, who had taken part with king *Ferdinand*, and to receiue them into his former fauour: which men king *John* could in no case like of, because that they as traitors vnto their prince and countrey, forgetting their faith and oath, had performed the like dutie vnto *Ferdinand*, as they had but a little before done vnto him at the time of his coronation: wherein he shewing himselfe vnwilling to be entreated, said: That their mutable minds fraught with infidelitie, would neuer containe themselves within the bounds of loyalty, but find occasion to commit some fouler treason than they had before: whereunto *Solyman* (raising his voice a little as one somewhat moued, most honourably replied: *Can any thing (said he) happen vnto thee in this life better or more honourable, than if by thy kindnesse shine enemies shall be of all men accounted ingratefull, that is to say, men noted with eternall infamie: when as in thy selfe the commendation of a good and courteous prince shall for ever remaine?* And so not long

A long after fearing the cold of *Wint*er then approaching; dangerous for his beasts for carriage, especially his camels bred and brought vp in the heat countries of *ASIA*, he set forward to *BELGRADE*, and so travelling through *THRACIA* returned to *CONSTANTINOPLE*.

All this while that *Solyman* thus raged in *HUNGARIE* and *AVSTRIA*, *Charles* the emperor lately reconciled to *Clement* the seauenth of that name; then bishop of *ROME*, with a strong armie besieged *FLORENCE*, by his lieutenant *Daualus* (who might haue done much against the Turkes, if he had been so well imployed) labouring by all meanes to repress the libertie of the citizens, whereunto they had but a little before aspired, and to bring them againe vnder the subjection of the family of *Medices*, whereof *Clement* was the chiefe. Which thing with much adoe he brought to passe, inuelling *Alexander* the bishops nephew in the dukedome of *FLORENCE*, and afterward giuing him his base daughter in marriage; forgetting his brother *Ferdinand* in the meane time, thrust out of the kingdome of *HUNGARIE* by *Solyman*, and the dukedome of *AVSTRIA* wasted by the Turkes, with the citie of *VIENNA* in danger to haue been lost. Which common calamities might well haue moued both the emperor and the bishop, to haue had more regard of, than by oppressing the libertie of one free citie to seeke how to serue their owne priuie respects.

The yeate following, which was 1530; *Solyman* with great solemnitie and triumph, after the Turkish manner, circumcised three of his sonnes, *Mustapha*, *Muhamet*, and *Selymus*; at *CONSTANTINOPLE*.

Solyman hardly digesting the dishonour he had before receiued at *VIENNA*, and oftentimes solicited by king *John* for aid against *Ferdinand*, who with greater stomacke than power ceased not continually to molest him: but most of all pricke forward with the insatiable desire of enlarging his empire, after the manner of the *Othoman* kings, accounting his neighbour princes alwaies his enemies, and their dominions the objects of his victories, and spoile for his souldiours; raised such an armie as for the greatnesse thereof might worthely haue bene a terrour vnto the world: Not so much purposing the protection of king *John*, which he in shew most pretended; neither the siege of *VIENNA*, as was commonly bruted; as the conquering of *AVSTRIA*, *CARINTHIA*, *CROATIA*, *STIRIA* and the rest of king *Ferdinands* dominions, and so afterwards of all *GERMANIE*. For the accomplishment whereof, he had in his immoderate desires refined vnto himselfe the space of three yeares, which the great monarchs of *ROME* could not performe in more than so many hundreds: It was commonly reported that the proud tyrant would manie times say, That whatsoever belonged vnto the empire of *ROME*, was of right his, for as much as he was rightfully possessed both of the imperiall seat & scepter of *Constantine* the great Commander of the world, which his great grandfather *Mahomet* had by law of armes woon from *Constantine* the late Christian emperor, whom he slew at *CONSTANTINOPLE*. And therefore both in his common talke and writings, as oft as hee had occasion to make any mention of *Charles* the emperor, he would proudly and as it were in disdain teame him by the name of the king of *Spaine*, but neuer by the name of emperor.

The discord of the Christian princes, and the great troubles euen then arising in *GERMANIE* about matters of religion, did not a little encourage the barbarous tyrant to take in hand this great expedition. King *Ferdinand* certainly aduertised that *Solyman* was in person himselfe setting forward with his huge armie, sent vnto him three embassadours; whereof *Leonardus Ne-garola* a noble gentleman, well learned, and skillfull in diuers languages, was chiefe, with rich presents and reasonable offers to intreat with him for peace. Who meeting him vpon the borders of *SARVIA*, were by him courteously receiued, and patiently heard: yet obtained of him no other answer, but that they should follow his campe, and attend his further pleasure. The report whereof brought a generall feare vpon all *GERMANIE*, but especially them of *AVSTRIA*, in whose fresh remembrance as yet remained the bleeding wounds of their countrey, their brethren and friends slaine, their wiues and children led away into captiuitie, their goods and cattell lost, their houses and fields burnt, and thousands of other grievous calamities which they had endured in the late inuasion of the Turkes. *Charles* the emperor had in verie good time (a little before) for a while well appeased the discention then arising in *GERMANIE* about matters of religion, putting them in hope of a free and generall Counsell to be holden for the deciding of all such matters: and in a great assembly of the states of the empire holden at *RATISBON*, shewing the greatnesse of the imminent danger, so puissant an enemy threatening vnto them all the calamities

The Turkes repulsed.

Solyman raiseth his siege.

80000 Turkes lost at the siege of Vienna.

Solyman restores the kingdome of Hungarie to king John.

The honourable saying of Solyman to K. John.

King Ferdinand sends his embassadours to Solyman.

The preparation
of Charles the
emperor against
Solyman.

calamities of warre, with the manifold mischeefes like to ensue, if they should in so vnshort time fall at variance amongst themselves: offering with great resolution to goe in person himselfe with all his old expert souldiours in defence of the common Christiani cause, so much preuailed with the princes of the empire, and the embassadours of the free estates, that they highly commended his forwardnesse; and all other matters for that time set apart, agreed all with one consent at a prefixed day to send vnto VIENNA such warlike forces as they had in any time before set forth, for the defence of the Christian religion, and the maiestie of the empire. Whereupon he wrote vnto *Alphonſus Vaſius* (his lieutenant Generall in ITALIE, and one of the greatest captaines of that age) that he should without delay call together the old captaines, and to leuie so many companies of harquebussiers as they possibly could; and with them and the Spanishe souldiours to repaire forthwith vnto him into AVSTRIA. He also enjoined *Andreas Awis*, his admirall, that hee should with like diligence rig vp a strong fleet of gallies and marchants ships, and to goe against the Turkes nauie into GRACIA. At the same time he sent for his choise horsemen out of BYRGVNDIE and the low countries, and many noble gentlemen and old souldiours out of SPAIN: for the guard of his owne person he entertained twelue thousand Germanes, such as had longest serued in his warres in ITALIE, ouer whom commaunded *Maximilian Herbersthene*, and *Tamissius*, both famous captaines. At the same time *Clement* the seventh then bishop of ROME, although his cofers were greatly emptied by the late Florentine warres, which had cost him ten hundred thousand ducats; yet to make some shew of his deuotion in so dangerous a time, with the great good will he bare vnto the emperor, after he had with greuous exaction extorted from the cleargie a great masse of money (whereunto his rich cardinals contributed nothing, as if it had been a thing utterly vnlawfull for them in so good a cause to haue abated any jot of their pontificall shew in the court of ROME,) sent the young cardinall *Hippolytus Medices* his nephew, being then about twentie yeares of age, a man indeed fitter for the warres than for the church, as his legate vnto the emperor, accompanied with mo good captaines than cleargie men, and his cofers well stuffed with treasure: whose coming to RATISBONE was vnto the emperor and the Germanes very welcome, for besides that hee was a young gentleman of very comely personage and exceeding bountifull, he entertained for those warres (besides the companie he brought with him) eight thousand Hungarian horsemen, of all others best acquainted with the Turkish warres.

See, Geronimus be-
sieged by king
Soliman.

King *Iohn* vnderstanding, that the formost of *Solymans* great armie were come as farre as SAMANDRIA in SERBIA, thought it now a fit time to write from king *Ferdinand* (such townes as he yet held in HUNGARIE, wherefore he sent *Aloisius Grittius* (whom *Solyman* had left as a helper for his estate) to besiege STRIGONIVM; which is a citie of HUNGARIE, situate vpon the side of Danubius, about thirtie miles from BUDA, the castle whereof was at that time holden with a strong garrison of king *Ferdinands*: whereunto for all that *Grittius* laid such hard siege both by the riuer and by land, that the defendants doubting how they should bee able to hold out, especially if *Solyman* should take that in his way, as it was most like he would; sent for releefe to *Cazarianer*, a warlike captaine, then gouernour of VIENNA, and generall of all king *Ferdinand* his forces: by whose appointment certaine small frigots, were sent downe the riuer of Danubius from POSSONIVM, well manned: who suddainly setting vpon the Turkes fleet (which so kept the riuer that nothing could that way be possibly conueyed either in or out of the castle) should by their vnexpected coming open that way: but *Grittius* hauing intelligence thereof by certaine Hungarians, which though they serued king *Ferdinand*, made no great account to flee sometime to the one part, sometime to the other, as best fitted their purpose; presently resolved to send his fleet vp the riuer, and by his sudden coming to oppresse his enemies, in like sort as they had thought to haue done him. And the more to encourage his souldiours, hee promised great rewards to all such as should performe any extraordinarie peece of seruice in that action: and so hauing thorowly furnished all his fleet with good souldiours, but especially with Turkish archers, sent them vp the riuer to seeke their enemies: who fearing no such matter, as men surprised with the same mischeefe they had prepared for others, were at the first exceedingly dismayed, yet considering that they were reasonably well prouided for their coming (although they yet wanted such helpe as *Cazarianer* had appointed to send them) they thought it a great shame to flee, and therefore putting themselves in order of battell, came downe the riuer, and with great courage encountred their enemies. There began a sharpe and cruell fight, many being slaine and

A and wounded on both sides: but at last they of POSSONIVM, not able longer to endure the deadly shot of their enemies, and especially of the Turkish archers, who with their arrowes sore gauled both the souldiours and the mariners, they turned their backs and fled: in which fight of sixtie frigots which came from POSSONIVM, onely thirteene escaped, with *Corporanus* the Generall, all the rest being either sunke in the fight, or els taken by the enemy, being run ashore and forsaken by the Possionians, trusting more vnto their legs by land than their oares by water. Besides this losse of the frigots, there was slaine of the Possionians almost fiftie hundred. After this victorie, *Grittius* hoping that they in the castle of STRIGONIVM, despairing now of releefe, and fearing the coming of *Solyman*, would not long hold out; left off to batter or undermine the castle, wherewith he perceiued he little preuailed, purposing, by lying still and keeping them in the castle from all releefe, to enforce them in time to forsake the place. Thus whilst the deuided Hungarians with their owne hands inconsiderately sought one anothers destruction, with the ruine of their country; *Solyman* the great enemy of all Christians was readye at their backs to deuour both the one and the other, as in few yeares after he did.

Much about this time the old Spanishe souldiours in ITALIE, drawne together by *Vastius*, as the emperor had before commaunded, were come to the Alpes. In this campe, of one sort of men and other, was about twentie thousand, whereof almost the third part was not seruiceable: for the old souldiours, enriched with the long warres in ITALIE, and the spoile of the rich country of LUMBARDIE, wherein they had of late bene billited, brought with them all their old gotten spoiles and substance, not forgetting so much as their women, and whatsoeuer els serued C their pleasure: for carriage whereof they drew after them a great multitude of carriages and vn-necessarie people, all which serued for no other vse but for the souldiours pleasure, and to consume victuals. Which their licentious wantonnesse *Vastius* desiring to reforme, gaue straight commaundement thorow all the campe, That they should leaue behind them all such vn-necessarie baggage, and appointed what carriages should suffice for euery companie: whereat the souldiours began at the first to murmure, and presently after to arise vp in mutinie: for many of the captaines being rich, and disliking of that long and dangerous expedition, covertly incited the common souldiours to crie out vpon *Vastius* the Generall for their pay, alreadye due. Which thing once put into their heads, and the matter set on foot, quickly grew to that heat, that they all with one voice said flatly, That they would goe no foot further, before they had receiued their pay. *Vastius* D although he well perceiued that tumult to be raised by some of his enemies, which sought thereby to lighten his credit, was glad for all that for the present to dissemble the matter, and yeelding to the necessitie of the time, to content the mutinous souldiours with one months pay, promising them their full contentment, at such time as they should come vnto the emperor: and so when he had with much adoe appeased that tumult, he set forward into GERMANIE.

Immediately after the Spaniards followed the Italians, who with such cheerefulness offered themselves to that seruice, that euery captaine brought with him twice so many in his companie as was expected: so that *Vastius* (who before doubtfull of their forwardnesse in so dangerous a warre, especially in the aid of the Germanes, of whom they had in the late warres receiued great harmes, had by great and earnest persuaasions induced diuers of the nobilitie, and others of the better sort, to enter into that honourable action, in hope that they would draw after them great numbers of their friends and tenants, as indeed they did) was now glad to send backe again many of the common souldiours, by reason of the multitude; and also to his great discredit, and the offence of many, full sore against his will to displace most part of those forward gentlemen whom he had but a little before made captaines, who to their no small charge had gallantly furnished themselves, according to their degrees and places: for the emperor had then appointed what number of Italians he should bring, and also giuen commaundement, That rejecting the rest, he should commit the leading of them onely to those old expert captaines of whose valour and discretion he had before had good experience. These were *Martius Columna*, *Petrus Mavramaldus*, *Pyrrhus* F *Stipicianus*, and *Camillus Columna*, being all men of great worth and approoued faith towards the emperor.

In these Italian companies were fourteen thousand select footmen, beside many other braue men who voluntarily resorted from diuers places to VIENNA. After these footmen followed *Ferdinand Gonzaga* with two thousand horsemen, and certaine troupes of Grecians and Spaniards,

The Governour
commits to the
Bassa.

His answer to
the Bassa.

Solyman depar-
teth from the
siege of Gvnza.

forthwith granted, and two men of great account sent for hostages for him into the citie with G
Solymans safe conduct. Which being receiued, the Governour went forth, and was by *Abr-*
ham the great Bassa honourably receiued into the campe, and commanded to sit downe by him
in his tent: where he was by him first by the way of courtesie demanded, whether hee had re-
couered his old infirmities wherewith he was troubled at such time as he was sent embassadour
vnto Solyman at CONSTANTINOPLE? After that, whether the wounds he had receiued in the
last assault, were dangerous or not? but last of all, and that which most concerned the matter, vp-
on what hope he alone had so long and so obstinately withstood the mightie Sultan Solyman;
when as all his neighbours round about him had so willingly submitted themselves: saying fur-
ther, That he marvelled much why he reposed any confidence in the lingering king Ferdinand.
Vvhereunto the Gouvernor modestly answered, That he was (thanks be to God) well deliuered H
of his old disease: and that his wounds were without danger: but as concerning his holding out,
he said, that he for his great wisdom knew, that it was the dutie of a good souldior valiantly to
withstand his enemies, & not to be troubled with any euill hap, or discouraged with any chance
of warre: as for himselfe, he said, when mans helpe failed, he had reposed his full trust in God, by
whose power he had bene hitherto preferred, which as he well hoped, should neuer faile him at
his need: and that king Ferdinand was not so farre off, but that he would before it were long be
there present with a great armie: wherefore hee did not greatly maruell, that he was not releued
before that time, for as much as many lets and occasions might chance which might hinder the
kings purpose, considering that fortune alwaies by nature vnconstant, was in nothing more like
vnto her selfe in her vnconstancie than in martiall affaires. The Bassa wondering at the inuinci- I
ble courage of the Governour, said, That although the great emperor Solyman might now at
his pleasure utterly destroy the towne, with all that therein was; yet being by nature of a most
honourable and mild disposition, and a great louer of valiant and courageous men, had com-
manded him in his name to giue him that towne, and the liues of all them that were in it, as a
reward of his valour shewed in the defence thereof: yet so, that he should sweare obedience vn-
to him, and receiue some few Turkes into the towne, in token that he had yeelded the same. The
politicke Gouverneur knowing that of eight hundred valiant souldiours he had scarcely a third
part left, and them also fore weakened with wounds and want of rest, thought it necessarie
to make his peace in best sort he could: For what could haue happened vnto him more witheliedly,
than with his great honour to keepe the towne still, and with the losse of a few pleasing words K
to deliuer himselfe, with so many of his friends, from extreame feare and perill? and so in all his
talke shewing no signe of feare, and with great words setting forth the strength of his garrison
(which was indeed brought to an extreame weaknesse) said he was readie at the first to haue yeel-
ded vp the towne, for the old acquaintance he had with him at CONSTANTINOPLE, but was
alwaies letted by the Germanes and Spaniards which were there in garrison, fierce and cruell
souldiours, whose hard hearts were (as he said) hardly entreated to suffer him at that time to come
out of the citie into the campe: Vvherefore he could promise to be a friend to all such Turkes as
should passe that way, and to releeue them with such things as his wasted country could afford;
and further, in token of his submission, to set vp one of Solymans ensignes in the cheefe tower of
the citie: but as for receiuing any Turkes into garrison, in token that hee had yeelded vp the L
towne, he was willing so to doe, but that he was greatly afraid they should be euill entreated by
the Germanes and Spaniards, who deadly hated the Turkes: whereof it was to be thought, that
new waies would euenly arise. In conclusion, he so cunningly vsed the matter, that the great
Bassa was contented with this small token of submission, That he should receiue in at one of the
gates of the citie, one of Solymans captaines with ten Ianizaries: which, being done according-
ly, and they courteously for a while entertained and againe dismissed, the great Bassa held him-
selfe with that simple submission well contented: when as the Gouverneur had neither Germane
nor Spaniard as then in garrison. So when Solyman had with his great armie lien at the siege of
GVNZA by the space of eight and twentie dayes, and in that time to his great losse assaulted the
same thirtene times, he rose with his armie, glad of a little fained submission for the safegard of M
his honour: and leauing VIENNA on the right hand, whither most part of the Christian armie
was assembled, tooke the way on the left into CARINTHIA, and so came to the river Mura, and
from thence to the citie GRATIA. This turning of Solymans out of the way from VIENNA,
where he knew his enemies lay, put all feare out of the minds of the Christians, which they had
before

A before not without cause concealed, in so much, that he but a little before feared as a prince of
great pride and power, shamefully repulsed at the little towne of GVNZA, and now flunning his
enemies at VIENNA, began to grow into contempt as if he had been running away for feare:
Which disgrace the Turkes sought by diuers excuses to couer, as that the strong citie of NOSTAT
lay betwixt him and VIENNA, which could neither without much difficultie be taken,
nor danger left enemy behind him: Besides that, Winter began to approach, which caused him
(as the Turkes gaue it out) to content himselfe with the spoile of the rich countries betwixt the
rivers Sausus and Dranus, and so in good time to returne againe to BELGRADE: But they which
seemed to see farther into the matter, were of opinion, That Solyman vnderstanding by his espials,
and secret aduertisement from his friends, that the princes of GERMANIE had with one consent
B joyned their forces with the emperours, brought out of ITALIE, SPAINNE, and the low coun-
tries, which at his setting forth he least feared; and that the Christian armie in number great,
consisted not of raw souldiours, but for the most part of such as had bene trained vp in warres;
men both for courage and skill nothing inferior to his Ianizaries and best men of war; chose ra-
ther to take the spoile of the country, as he might with safetie, than to aduenture his person and
state to the hazard of a most doubtfull and dangerous battell.

Whilest these things were in doing, Michael-ogli by the commaundement of Solyman sent C
Cafon with fifteene thousand of his voluntarie horsemen (who in Solymans expedition against
VIENNA, had run thorow the country of AVSTRIA as farre as LINTZ) charging him with-
out stay to spoile all the country farre and neere which lieth between Danubius and the Alpes,
thereby to learne what he could of the state and strength of the emperours campe; and by doing
all the harmes he could possibly, to leaue a most lamentable remembrance of the Turkes being
in AVSTRIA. Cafon was of himselfe forward enough, and desirous of the spoile; but so much
the more, for that he was by the former road into that country become both famous and rich:
Wherefore diuiding his horsemen into three companies not farre distant one from another, he
suddenly oppressed an infinit multitude of all sorts of people in the fields and country villages
as he went; all which hee either slew without mercie, or carried away as miserable prisoners.
Thousands of men and women tied together in chaines and ropes, were by the cruell Turkes
enforced to run as fast as their horses, the country villages were burnt downe to the ground and
in them the poore children of the Christians, whose parents were either slaine or carried away
D captiues: so that all the country euerie way for the space almost of an hundred and fiftie miles,
was couered with smoke and fire, within three miles of LINTZ; where king Ferdinand then ly-
ing, was glad to get himselfe farther off to STRADINGA, where his brother Charles the emperor
lay. This cruell Turke, according to his charge hauing with fire and sword without compulsion
wrought all the wo he could possible vpon the poore Christians, and now loded with the spoile
of the country and multitude of prisoners, began to returne the same way he came, thinking to
find Solyman either at the siege of GVNZA where he left him, or neerer hand at NOSTAT com-
ming towards VIENNA. But he as is before said, rising with small honour from GVNZA, and
feating the power of the Christians, was gone quite another way as farre as GRATIA, the metro-
politicall citie of STIRIA, standing vpon the river of Mura; which turned to the vtter destru-
E on of Cafon and all his followers. For as soone as it was perceived by the burning of the coun-
trei all about, that the Turkes were come neere vnto LINTZ, the Christian captaines with their
companies went out of the campe, some one way, some another, as was thought most conue-
nient for the meeting with of these mischieuous Turkes, which neuer rested in one place: wherin
they vsed such diligence in taking the passages, that it was not possible they should escape vn-
fought withall. Foure companies of Spanish and Italian horsemen vnder the leading of Lewes
Cone a valiant captaine, first lighting vpon them in a valley neere vnto NOSTAT, and desperately
charging them, were by the Turkes for most part slaine: But Cafon perceiuing how he was on
F the night following with more than barbarous crueltie slew foure thousand of the Chri-
stians he had before taken prisoners, because he should not be hindred by them in his flight; and
the diuiding his armie into two parts, about midnight began to set forward, vsing the benefit of the
night to haue escaped from his enemies out of these vallies wherein he was enclosed. One part
of this armie led by Ferises taking the way Southward, did with incredible labour cut a way thro-
row the thicke and ouergrown woods (a thing thought altogether impossible) and so with li-
tle

Cafon sent with
15000 horsemen
to spoile Austria.

4000 Christi-
an captiues mur-
dered by Cafon.

Cafon discomfited
by the Palatine
and slain.

The slaughter of
the Turkes.

die or no losse came to *Solyman* into *STIRIA*. *Cafon* with the other part of the armie breaking out of the valley of *STORAMBERG*, chanced vpon the Palatine (Generall of the forces sent from the German princes) who with ten thousand footmen and two thousand horsemen, and certaine field pieces brake the battell of the Turkes, and slew of them a great number in which consist *Cafon* his chiefe ensigne was taken. He fighting most valiantly in the rearward to giue others time to escape, was himselfe there slaine; whose gallant headpiece presented afterwards to the emperour, confirmed the report of his death. They which escaped from the Palatine in their flight fell into the hands of *Lewes* and the Marquesse of *BRANDENBURG*, by whom they were slaine like beaſts. The Hungarian horsemen led by *Valentinus Turacus*, lighting vpon them which fled from *Lewes* and the Marquesse, had the killing of them for the space of seauen miles; and of all others did vpon them the cruellest execution, following them hard at the heeles with their fresh horses, and fiercely insulting vpon them in their owne language. Those few dispersed Turkes which escaped the furie of the Hungarians, fell into the hands of the country people about *VESPRINUM* and the lake of *Balaton*, which came out on euerie side in hope of spoile, who shewed them small fauour: so that of 8000 Turkes which were with *Cafon*, it was thought not one returned to *Solyman*.

The emperour vnderstanding that *Solyman* was gone as farre as *GRATIA* in *STIRIA*, called his chiefe captaines together into the castle of *LINTZ*, to know their opinions, whether it were best to follow the enemy into *STIRIA* or not. The cities of *LINTZ*, *GRATIA*, and *VIENNA* are situate almost in forme of a triangle: but from *LINTZ* to *GRATIA* is three good daies journey of bad rough way by horse. Some said it was best to fight with the Turkes in that vneuen mountaine country, where the Turkes chiefe strength consisting in the multitude of his horsemen, should stand him in small steed, but should be enforced to trie the battell with his footmen, wherein he was inferiour to the Christians. This counsell although it had in it many difficulties, yet for that it proceeded from the most approved captaines, so moued the emperour, that he presently sent *Spontius* a Spaniard (the most famous captaine *Antonius Lena* his lieutenant) to take view of that passage: who shortly after returned againe to *LINTZ*, bringing word that all the country as hee went was desolat and for feare forsaken of the inhabitants: but concerning the place of the enemies abode, he could learne no certaintie. Whereupon it was by generall consent concluded, that they should all go to *VIENNA*, whether all the strength of the Germans was already assembled, there to take a generall view of the armie, and to giue the enemy battell if he should againe retorne. Some there were of great courage which openly disliked of that going to *VIENNA*, saying, That the emperour should rather in that distresse of the prouinces of *STIRIA* and *CARINTHIA* pursue his enemy, than turne out of the way to *VIENNA*. But others of greater judgement, whose opinion preuailed, said, It was one thing to invade, and another thing to defend: so that the emperour might with honour enough encampe himselfe in the fields of *VIENNA*, and from thence to expect & deride the base expedition and vaine brags of his proud enemy, who a farre off chalenged him into the field, and then like a coward durst not come neere him.

Charles the emperour
his power
at Vienna.

The emperour comming to *VIENNA*, and taking a generall view of the armie, found therein two hundred and sixtie thousand men, whereof nintie thousand footmen, and thirtie thousand horsemen were accounted old expert soldiours, and of them many whole companies and bands of such as had before ben generals, captains, lieutenants, antients, or other officers & men of marke in other armies, and now were content to serue as priuat men. It was thought that so many worthie captaines and valiant souldiours, were neuer before in the memorie of man assembled together into one campe: for the princes and free cities had not sent thither common souldiours, but their chosen and approved men; struing as it were amongst themselves, who should send the best. All the flowre and strength of *GERMANIE* from the riuer of *Vistula* to the *Rhene*, and from the *Ocean* to the *Alpes*, was by the princes of the empire and free cities either sent thither, or of themselves voluntarily came thither. A thing neuer before heard of, that all *GERMANIE* should as it were with one consent, be glad to take vp armes for their common safetie, in defence of their honour and libertie; especially against people brought out of the furthest parts of *ASIA*, *SYRIA*, and *EGYPT*. Beside the great number of Spaniards, Italians, and Burgundians; the Bohemian campe lay not farre off, strengthened with them of *SILESIA* and *MORAVIA*. There were also some troupes of Polonian horsemen, not sent thither by publike authoritie, but serving

as voluntarie men: king *Sigismund* winking thereat, who as he was carefull not rashly to breake the league he had made with *Solyman*; so least he should seeme carelesse of the Christian common cause, by notable dissimulation left place for such of his subjects as would (as if it had beene without his knowledge) to shew their valour in the most honourable warre.

The Christian armie ready to receiue the enemy, lay in a great field neere vnto *VIENNA*. The order of the Christian armie. Three great squadrons of pikemen, standing one squadron a great way distant from another, were so placed against the enemy with like and equall front, that all the horsemen diuided into two parts, might well be receiued into the great spaces betwixt the three squadrons: for it was not thought conuenient to oppose so small a number of horsemen in open field without the footmen, against almost three hundred thousand of the Turkes horsemen. The right wing of the horsemen was led by the emperour himselfe, and the left by king *Ferdinand*. Before and behind, and on euerie side of the three squadrons of pikes, sauing in those places which were left open for the horsemen, about thirtie paces off, were placed twentie thousand nimble harquebusiers ranged in length, and but five in a ranke; so that whilest the first discharged, the second, and after them the third, and so the rest readly and orderly comming on; might without let deliuer their bullets vpon their enemies: neither was it thought any disadvantage to place them so thin, for that if they found themselves by the enemies oppressed, they might easily retire amongst the pikes, standing fast at hand. Before the harquebusiers was planted the great ordinance, whereof the emperor had such store and so well placed, that he could therewith (as with a most sure trench) haue compassed in his whole armie. Only the Hungarians, men well acquainted with the manner of the Turkes fight, chose to lie in the open field in two great wings, vnder the leading of their two valiant captaines *Valentinus* and *Paulus*. Many noble gentlemen beholding this goodly armie, wept for joy, conceiuing a most assured hope of victorie, if the proud enemy durst with all his forces ioyne in battell. But *Solyman*, who by all means sought with his great number of horsemen to keepe the wide and open fields, certainly aduertised both of the emperors strength and the manner of his lying, got him ouer the riuer of *Mura*, and at *MARPURCH* by bridges which he made on the sudden, passed ouer the great riuer *Dranus*. And so he which that Sommer held almost all the world in suspence, with the doubtfull expectation of the successe of that war; hauing with all that his huge power wherewith he threatened the world, done nothing at all worth the remembrance, but was in euerie place either overcome or else shamefully repulſed; left *STIRIA* & returned the same way he came, directly betwixt the riuers of *Sauus* and *Dranus* to *BELGRADE*, and so to *CONSTANTINOPLE*, leauing here and there some remembrance of his barbarous cruelty, and still looking behind him if the emperour were not at his heeles: at such time as a few Dalmatian and Croatian horsemen did still pursue the taile of his armie. It is reported that he carried away with him thirtie thousand Christians into captiuitie, besides many thousands of poore country people slaine by the mercilesse Turkes; but especially by *Cafon* and his followers: and so to his eternall infamie was twise in the space of a few years diuen out of *GERMANIE*. The emperour vnderstanding of *Solyman*'s departure, determined with all speed to retorne into *ITALIE*, although king *Ferdinand* his brother most earnestly entreated him before his departure, in so fit a time to employ those great forces against king *John*, who now as it were forsaken of *Solyman*, might easily with so puissant an armie haue bene thrust not onely out of *BUDA*, but also quite out of the kingdome of *HUNGARIE*, wherein he was by *Solyman* as his vassall placed. But the emperour, for that *Winter* began now to approach, and the plague was got into the campe, yea euen into his court, continued in his former purpose of departing into *ITALIE*: yet yielding so farre vnto his brothers request, as to leaue behind him all the Italians, who ioynd with king *Ferdinand*'s owne forces were thought sufficient for the accomplishment of the Hungarian warre.

Over these Italians, one *Fabritius Maramaldus* was by the means of *Alphonſus Vicinius* appointed Generall: but no order taken for the payment of their wages, whereby the souldiours might be the more encouraged to take in hand that warre, and also kept in obedience. Which thing at the first much offended the minds of the other captaines, thinking themselves disgraced by the preferment of *Maramaldus*, a man of no greater account than themselves: but as soone as it was knowne abroad, the vnder captaines and officers of the bands, led with the credit and fauour of their old captaines, said plainly, That they would not go into *HUNGARIE*, except either king *Ferdinand* would in person himselfe go, or else one of the great Commanders, *Vasilius* arise in mutinie.

or

or *Lena* were appointed for their Generall: and the common souldiours said flatly, that they would aske leaue to depart, except they had three moneths pay, which they knew well they should neuer get of that poore king, already brought vnto great wants. *Vastius* to appease this mutinie, trauelled greatly with his souldiours, perswading them to remember the faith of souldiours, and by their constant perseuerance to maintaine the honour they had got by their cheerdious, full comming: telling them, That valiant souldiours neuer wanted pay, furnishing themselves by their victories with all things necessarie from the enemy. And as for *Maramaldus* their Generall, they had no just cause to mislike him being an old capitaine of great experience, for courage and pollicie not inferiour to any of the greatest Commanders, and placed by the emperor to his owne appointment as a man most sufficient, whose judgement they ought not in any case to dislike. When *Vastius* had with these and such like reasons well appeased the tumultuous souldiours, and was gone out of the campe into *VIENNA* to take further order for the remedying of all difficulties; night, the nurse of sedition came on, whose darkenesse excluding all modestie and feare, gaue further scope and place vnto the mutinous souldiours insolence: By chance there was at that time brought out of the citie into the campe verie course, hoarie, moulded bread, which some of the souldiours hauing bought, and thrusting it vpon the points of their speares, shewed it vnto their fellows in great choller, railing against king *Ferdinand*, which in his owne kingdome in the beginning of the warre had made no better prouision, but with such corrupt and pestilent bread to feed them being strangers, which were onely for his defence and quartell to aduantage their liues. And but a little before, a certaine Spaniard being but a common souldiour comming into the Generals tent, and casting the like bread down at the feet of *Vastius*, bitterly cursing the emperor and king *Ferdinand*, had raised a wonderfull tumult: wherefore the Italian souldiours flocking together out of their tents, gaue many hard speeches concerning their pay, their victuals, and the difficulties of the Hungarian warre. There one *Titus Marconius* of *Volaterra* a man of a troublesome spirit, but reasonably well spoken, was by the other souldiours set vpon a great heape of saddles, that he might be the better heard, and by diuers seditious captaines requested frankly to speake his mind, so farre as he thought concerned the safetie and welfare of them all. Where it is reported that he spake vnto them in this seditious manner as followeth:

The seditions
or reason of *Titus*
Marconius, to
the mutinous
Italians.

And shall the Spaniards (said he) beloued companions and fellowes in armes, as you have heard, K go into *ITALIE*? and to our great hurt againe returne into their old wintering places? and that which I am ashamed to say, as notable guests lie with our wines? and we Italians as banished men fight this winter with ice and snow in *HUNGARIE*? and that forsooth for a most beggarly king, and him also to the Hungarians a foreiner and meere stranger, against a naturall borne prince, of his subtilties well beloued, and strongly backed with the power and wealth of the Turkish emperor? And that which might iustly grieve any couragious mind, under the conduct of *Maramaldus*, who oftentimes blinded with anger and hastie cruelty, hath so furiously thrust vs thorow with his sword, that he seemeth not more to desire the name of a capitaine for any thing, than for the killing and murdering of vs now his souldiours. Neither can I beleue that you, who haue oftentimes bene captaines and auantients your selues, will be so mad, as to serue under a common capitaine, without hope of any pay, or any prouision, of victorie or returne. Truly it delighteth me not so much to haue come hither for the honour of the Italian name (no more reckoned of than a rush) although I haue eleven times stru'd: as it doth this day shame me to see this shamefull end of the warre, ended before it was well begun. But in Regall dignitie is no shame, nor equitie in rewarding the souldiour: for kings now adies make account of souldiours onely according to their necessitie; this is it alone that giueth vs pay, this is that getteth vs loue, this is it maintaineth our reputation; all which, peace once by victorie obtained, leese their grace. So fareth it with vs at this present (fellow souldiours) the emperor and his brother king *Ferdinand*, deliuered from the feare of a most dangerous warre, to ease themselves of this multitude of vs, seeke to thrust vs into *HUNGARIE* as beasts to the slaughter, by the spending of our blood: hoping to purchase vnto themselves victorie; and by the losse of vs to take no harme themselves; though M the Turkes and Hungarians should with sword and famine utterly destroy vs, shut up with the ice of *Danubius* and the snow of the Alpes. But peradventure you understand not these desires; no more than you understand what this terrible and bloudie comet, shooting his beames towards *ITALIE*, pretendeth. Verily it is not fatall either to *Solyman* or *Cæsar*, but rather threatneth vnto vs death and destru-

* At this time
there was a great
blazing flame was
seen in the firmament
at
Vienne.

A destruction: for they with like counsell, full of safetie and discretion, would not open any way vnto their owne destinies; but warily withdrew themselves one from the other, and shunned all the dangers of the field: wherefore if it were lawfull for them without any blemish of their Maesties, so notably to provide to keep themselves out of danger, when as on each side halfe the world lay as a reward of the victorie; shall not we looke to our selues that we be not thrust thither from whence appeareth no hope of returne, but with utter destruction? when as we may doe it without offence and by good right, especially seeing no pay is offered vs. Thus you see what a goodly end is made of this notable warre, wherein onely we the Italians in stead of commendation and reward reape iniurie and disgrace, and are peradventure of purpose exiled into *HUNGARIE*, that this floure of chivaltrie being drawn out of *ITALIE* and sent farre out of the way, colonies of Spaniards and Germans may be placed in our steads. Truly it seemeth hard dealing to be sent out of the way into a barbarous country, where we shall find all hostilitie, and no place of refuge to receive us, being distressed. Beside this, we shall also whether we will or no feele how heauie and intollerable it will be both to our bodies and minds to endure the miseries of this winter and dangerous warre: and in the meane time, with no small heauy griefe imagine what things our children, our brethren, our kinsmen, yea and our wives, suffer at home of the Spaniards and Germans: wherefore worthie companions, it concerneth vs more at this time to haue a good foresight, than valiantly to fight. The occasion presented vnto vs fauour safetie and welfare, standeth vpon a tickle point, it must be done without delay, and we must haue vs hence before that the Spaniards trusse up their baggage; and so preuenting the emperours foremost companies, come first our selues into *ITALIE*: for if we shall stay but a little to consult vpon the matter, *Vastius* C and our other proud commanders will presently be here, the very betrayers of the Italian blood, who for their owne gaine and our mischeefe haue brought vs into these straits; who I know will most earnestly intreat vs, and with many subtilties seeke to seduce vs, by offering vs great pay and what soeuer els we shall require: which will all proue but words. But you, if you be men, refuse to talke with them, as with your common enemies, or rather in reuenge of their old iniuries kill them. Here wanteth not in this assembly valiant men, for courage and integritie of life their betters farre, which can lead you forth, order your battell, and fortunately use this your courage and forwardnesse. Wherefore if you be wise, set forward resolutely, and good fortune no doubt will attend you in your hast, for the full accomplishment of your desire consisteth in your hast onely.

D *Marconius* had no sooner made an end of this mutinous speech, but the tumultuous souldiours in every band began highly to commend and approue the same, and by and by such a confused noise was heard thorow all the assemble, as vnto to rise amongst the discontented vulgar people, readie to rise in armes: but the drums presently striking vp a march, they made no longer stay, but without delay plucked vp their ensignes, and forward they go directly towards *NEOLISTAT*. In this tumult, in stead of their old captaines which either were not then present, or refused to goe with them, they chose others to bee their leaders: who once named by the seditious multitude, might in no case without danger refuse to take the charge vpon them, were they neuer so vnwilling. These were *Montebellius*, *Nerius*, *Melcarius*, *Sanctius*, and the two twins of *MILLANE*, called *Glusani*: who drew after them eight thousand souldiours; the rest partly for shame, and partly for feare, staid still with *Maramaldus* their new appointed Generall. When they were thus gone, *Vastius* and diuers other great captaines hearing thereof in the citie, posted after them six miles, and at length ouertaking them, requested them to stay, and not to dishonor themselves with so foule a fact, telling them, that their pay was readie for them, and omitting nothing wherewith they might haue ben moued to stay, mingled their prayers with grievous threats: but they resolutely set downe, would neither heare, nor stay; but as men enraged with furie, and their own guiltie conscience, with sterne lookes discharged some small shot vpon them. Whereupon *Vastius* would there haue staid the companie; and did what hee possibly could by threatening and otherwise to haue terrified their leaders, and to haue brought them backe, he was oftentimes in danger to haue been slaine. In the end he was glad to forsake them, and to returne as he came. F King *Ferdinand* by this sudden departure of the Italians, for that time disappointed of all his hope of recouering the kingdome of *HUNGARIE* from king *John*, in great choller writ vnto his subjects of *STIRIA* and *CARINTHIA*, whereby the Italians were to passe, that they should shew them no manner of courtesie in their passage: whereupon ensued great hurt on both sides. Yet for all that these Italians in despite of what could bee done, at length recolected *TITUS*

Eight thousand
of the Italian in
mutinie forsake
their captaines
and returne to
Italy.

H h h

VENTUM

Charles the emperor returned into Italie.

VENTUM in the borders of ITALIE, where they disbanded themselves, and returned euerie man to his owne dwelling, leauing king *Ferdinand* vnto his owne forces. The emperor also breakeing vp his armie at VIENNA, and purposing now as before to returne into ITALIE, appointed *Ferdinand* *Gonzaga* to goe for most with the light horsemen, with whom also he went himselfe: after him followed *Vassius* with the Spaniards: two dayes after came the cardinall, whose traine was of all the greatest; last of all followed the mercinarie Germanes: in which order he returned in safetie into ITALIE.

This was the end of those wonderfull preparations made by the two great monarchs *Solyman* and *Charles* the first, in the yeare 1532, which held the world in great suspence, with the fearfull expectation of some matuellous alteration; and so much the more, for that at the same time appeared a great blasing starre by the space of fifteene daies: All which for all that, God so appointing, soited to farre lesse harme than was of most men feared.

Auria goes aboard the Turkie.

Now whilst *Charles* the emperor was thus in Armes against *Solyman* in AVSTRIA, *Auria* by his appointment with a fleet of 35 tall ships and 48 gallies, wherein he had embarked 25000 good souldiours well appointed, did in the meane time wonderfully annoy the Turkes in PELOPONESVS. With this fleet *Auria* departing from MESSANA in SICILIA: and passing alongt the coast of ITALIE into the Ionian, neere vnto the Iffe of ZACYNTHVS, met with *Vincentius Capellius* the Venetian admirall with a fleet of sixtie gallies, set forth by the Venetians for defence of their territories; who offered vnto *Auria* all possible kindnesse; but excused himselfe, that he could not joine with him in that warre against the common enemy; by reason of an old league betwixt the Turkes and the Venetians, which *Solyman* had but a little before renewed. So that at that time the Venetians stood as men indifferent betwixt *Charles* the emperor and *Solyman*, offering like kindnesse to both, but taking part with neither, yet in readinesse to fall out with either, if they should by sea or land offer any iniurie to their state: wherein they bare themselves so indifferent, that it was thought, that they at one and the selfsame instant aduertised *Auria*, That *Himerales* the Turkes admirall lay with his fleet of sixtie gallies, euill appointed in the bay of AMBRACIA, where he might easily be surprised: and gaue likewise warning to him of the coming of *Auria* with a strong fleet, wishing him in time to prouide for his better safetie, by retiring his fleet into some other place of more affurance, which he presently did: for knowing himselfe too weak, he departed from AMBRACIA to the strong haue of CALCIDE. Which thing with other like well considered, might giue just cause to any Christian heart to bewaile the state of that time, wherein the Christian princes being either in mortall warres among themselves, or entangled by *Solyman* with leagues of no assurance, omitted the fairest oportunitie that could haue beene wished for the abating of the Turkes greatnesse: for if the Venetians joyning their forces with *Auria*, had in time pursued the Turkish admirall, it was like, that not onely all *Solymans* power at sea had beene vterly discomfited; but also most part of GRACIA, mindfull of their ancient empire and libertie, and then readie to haue rebelled; and joynd hands with the Christians, might haue beene recovered out of the Turkish thraldome; yea and the imperiall citie of CONSTANTINOPLE greatly endangered, few or none being left for the defence thereof, beside yong Ianizaries, and effeminat eunuchs, the heartlesse keepers of the Turkes concubines, *Solyman* himselfe being then far off in HUNGARIE, and hauing drawne with him the greatest strength of his empire.

Auria besiegeth Corone in Peloponessus.

Auria taking his leaue of the Venetian admirall, with much honour done at sea on both sides, was shortly after aduertised, that the Turkes admirall was fled to CALCIDE. Wherefore now out of hope to doe any good against him, he directed his course to CORONE, which is a strong citie vpon the coast of PELOPONESVS, about twelue miles distant from MODON, with purpose to besiege it: which when hee had well viewed, and considered of the strength thereof, he laid siege thereto both by sea and land, battering it most terribly, at one time with foureteene great peeces of artillerie by land, and a hundred and fiftie by sea, so that a more terrible batterie had not beene lightly heard of: for all that, the Turkes valiantly stood vpon their defence, and manfully repulsed the Italians, which vnder the leading of the countie of SARNE assaulted the citie by land. The Turkish garrisons lying about in the country of PELOPONESVS, did what they might to haue releued the citie, who by the valour of the said countie were discomfited, and *Zadares* their cheefe leader slaine, whose head with others of the slaine Turkes was set vp vpon stakes to the terrour of the defendants.

At

At length the Turkes wearied with assaults, and terrified with the thundering shot which neuer ceased, and driuen also from their greatest strength towards sea by the desperate assault of certaine resolute Christians, whom they had now full sore against their wills receiued as it were into their bosomes, fearing also to want victuall and poulder; if they should longer hold out without any hope of releefe; yeelded the citie & castle to *Auria*, vpon condition, that they might in safetie depart thence with bag and baggage. CORONE thus taken, and a strong garrison of Spaniards there placed, and the Christian Greekes which dwelt in the citie sworne vnto them, *Auria* put to sea with his fleet, and sayling againe by ZACYNTHVS, came to PATRAS, another ancient citie of PELOPONESVS, which he easily tooke and ransacked: for the Turkes distrusting the strength of the citie had strongly entrenched themselves neere vnto the castle, which place

Corone yeilded to Auria by the Turkes.

Patras taken and ransacked by Auria.

also together with the castle they in short time yeelded to *Auria*; couenanting, that they and especially their wines might with their garments onely depart in safetie into ETOLIA: which was by *Auria* so precisely performed, that when three thousand of them passed along thorow the armie of the Christians raunged on both sides, and some of the souldiours began rudely to handle some of the women, and to take from them some of their jewels, he caused them presently to the terrour of others to be hanged. *Auria* leauing his armie at PATRAS, with commandement to follow him by land, sailed alongt the coast of PELOPONESVS, vntill he came to the strait of NARPACTVM, now called LEPANTO, which is the entrance into the gulf of CORINTH, passing PELOPONESVS from ETOLIA with a strait somewhat narrower than the strait of HELLESPONT: Vpon this strait stood two castles, the one called RHIVM vpon the coast of PELOPONESVS, and the other MOLYCREVM in ETOLIA, which *Baiazet* had wonderfully fortified and stored with ordinance for the keeping of that strait. *Auria* threatening all extremities vnto the capitaine of the castle on PELOPONESVS side, if he did enforce him to plant his batterie, so terrified him, that he without delay yeelded to him the castle, couenanting only, That he and his souldiours might in safetie depart thence: which graunted, and the Turkes departed, *Auria* gaue the spoile of the castle vnto his souldiours which came with him by sea; whereby he so offended the minds of the other souldiours which came by land from PATRAS, that they were about to haue forsaken him. The other castle vpon ETOLIA side was not so easily taken, being valiantly defended by a garrison of old Ianizaries, appointed for the keeping thereof. Yet in the end by furie of the ordinance a breach was made, whereby the Christians forcibly entring, slew three hundred of the old garrison souldiours, not taking any to mercie: the rest fled into a strong tower in the middelt of the castle, where seeing no remedie but that they must needs fall into the hands of their enemies, they desperately blew vp themselves and the tower with a great part of the castle with gunpoulder, in such sort, that it seemed all the sea coast to haue been shaken with an earthquake, and the gallies which lay a bow shoot off were almost ouerwhelmed with stones blowne out so faire off. The great Ordinance taken in this castle, was valued at seuentie thousand duckats; whereof certaine peeces of a wonderfull greatnesse, with Arabian letters written vpon them, were afterwards by *Auria* brought to GENVA, and in remembrance of the victorie mouint vpon the bulwarke at the mouth of the haue. All these things thus happely atchieued, *Auria* strongly fortified the citie of CORONE, storing it both with munition and plentie of victuall, committing the defence therof to *Mendoza*, a valiant Spaniard, with a strong garrison of Spaniards, promising of his owne charge to relieue him whensoever he should need, if the emperor should desire to doe it. The strait of NARPACTVM laid open, *Salusiatos* with the gallies of MALTA, scoured all alongt the gulf of CORINTH, doing great harme vnto the Turkes which dwelt on both sides of the gulf, spoiling and terrifying them euen as farre as CORINTH. Not long after Winter now approaching, *Auria* receiuing letters from the emperor, of *Solymans* departure out of HUNGARIE, returned with his fleet loaded with the spoile of the Turkes to NAPLES, and so from thence home to GENVA.

In the beginning of the Spring following (which was in the yeare 1533) it was wisely reported, that the Turkes were comming with a great fleet towards PELOPONESVS: and not long after, *Mendoza* Governour of CORONE by letters aduertised *Peter* of TOLEDO viceroi of NAPLES, that he was both by sea and land hardly besieged by the Turkes; and that he would to the vttermost of his power valiantly defend the citie, so long as he had any prouision of victuall: Wherefore he most earnestly requested, that if the emperor would haue the towne kept, hee should in time send him reliefe, wherupon the oppressed Grecians taking heart were like enough

H h h ij

Auria returneth to Italie.

1533

The Turkes besiege Corone.

*Auria sent by
the emperor to
relieve Corone.*

to rebell, and to helpe to expulse the Turkes quite out of PELIOPONNESVS. But about all things G he forgot not to craue speedie helpe of *Auria*, and to put him in mind of the faithfull promise he had made to relieue him at his need. Vpon this newes, *Charles* the emperor commaunded *Auria* his Admirall to rig vp a conuenient fleet for that seruice, promising forthwith to send vnto him twelue gallies, which hee had new built in SPAINE. He also requested the knights of MALTA to aid him with their gallies against that common enimie. Wherefore *Auria* hauing with wonderfull celeritie rigged vp thirtie tall ships, and as many gallies, came to NAPLES to take in his souldiours: there the old garrisons of the Spaniards which for want of pay were risen in mutinie against the great Commaunder *Vasilius* and the viceroy, and had risened the citie of AVERSA, and done no little harme all about in the countrey of CAMPANIA, were againe pacified by a pay giuen vnto them, and presently embarked for CORONE, vnder the command H of *Rodericus Macicauis* their Generall; at which time also *Frederick* of TOLEDO the viceroy his sonne, with a companie of braue gentlement went aboard, vowing vnto the sacred warre that their first seruice. The knights of MALTA came thither also with their gallies. But whilest these things were a doing, *Auria* to encourage them of CORONE, for feare least they despairing of helpe should fall to some hard composition with the Turkes, sent *Christopher Palaucine* a resolute young gentleman of an inuincible courage, with a most swift gallie to CORONE; who by daylight passing thorow the midst of the Turkes fleet, safely recovered the haven, to the great joy of the besieged Christians: and shortly after, when he had well viewed all things he was sent for, with the strength and manner of the enemies lying, and filled the mindes of the defendants with assured hope of speedie rescue; about noone time of the day he suddenly brake out againe I thorow the midst of his enemies, and as it were miraculously escaped in safetie for all that they could doe, although they ceased not to giue him chase so long as they were in any hope to haue ouertaken him. *Auria* departing from NAPLES came to MESSANA, where he certainly enformed of the enemies force both by sea and land, with the number of their gallies, and seeing that the chiefe hope of relieuing of the citie consisted in celeritie, staied not for the gallies he expected out of SPAINE, but held on his course towards GRÆCIA: for it was told him that the enemies fleet daily increased by the coming in of the Turkish pirats; and that *Assam-beg* otherwise called the Moore of ALEXANDRIA (an arch pirat) was still looked for, in whose good directions the Turkish captaines reposed the greatest hope of their victorie. Vhen he was come as farr as ZACYNTHVS, he was enformed by the Venetians, That *Lustibius Bassa* (or rather *Lut-zis Bassa*, the Turkes great Admirall and *Solyman* his brother in law) with *Solyman* of ACARNANIA, and the Moore (men for their skill at sea of great fame and reputation) lay before CORONE with eightie gallies, manned with diuers companies of the old Ianizaries; so that it was thought a matter of exceeding perill for him to aduenture to relieue the town, except he tooke the advantage of some prosperous gale of wind. Wherefore *Auria* to haue yet more certaine knowledge of the enemies fleet, sent before him *Christopher Palaucine* with one gallie, againe to view the manner of the enemies lying: who passing the promontorie of ACUTES, saw all the Turkes great fleet lying in verie good order before the citie: and so returned to AVRIA, confirming that the Venetians had before reported, and that the Turkes fleet was greatly encreased, and lay ready as it should seeme to giue him battell as soone as he should approach the citie. For all that, *Auria* nothing dismayed with the greatnesse of the Turkes fleet, made no stay but still kept on his course, and with a faire gale of wind passing the promontorie of ACUTES, came directly towards CORONE. Two great Gallions, of all the fleet the most warlike ships, came foremost; whereof the one was *Auria* his owne which hee had built with a wonderfull charge, and the other was of SICILIA: These two great ships were appointed by *Auria* to turne a little vpon the left hand, and at such time as the enimie should set forward from the shoare to cast anchor betwixt both the fleets; that as occasion should serue, they might as out of two strong castles beat the Turkes gallies with their great ordinance, wherewith they were for that purpose wonderfully stored. Next vnto these great Gallions followed the other warlike ships with full sailes: after whom came the gallies in three squadrons, whereof *Saluiatus* had the leading of the right wing, which consisted of the bishop of ROMES gallies, and them of MALTA: in the left wing and nere vnto the enimie commaunded *Antonius Auria*; and in the middle was *Auria* himselfe. At the first sight of the Hungarian fleet the Turkes moued not from the shoare, but discharged their ordinance at them a faire off, and then begun to set forward and to draw neerer; especially the

*The order of
Auria his fleet
before Corone.*

A the Moore, who with greater courage than the rest, assailed the side and reareward of the fleet: for the Christians keeping on their course right forth to CORONE, and turning nothing to the left hand as was before appointed, seemed as if they had fled; and so much the more, for that the gallies in the right wing, for feare of the Turkes great ordinance did get a great compass farther off into the sea, and many of the middle Squadron and of the left wing also, had disorderly thrust themselves in amongst the ships, although they had receiued little or no harme of the enemies great shot.

In this confusion of the Christian Nauie, the Moore requested *Lut-zis* the Admirall not to let slip so faire an occasion, wherein the Christian fleet might easily haue bene ouerthrowne: but whilest *Lut-zis* doth slowly and considerately set forward, *Auria* in the meane time had put B his fleet againe in order, and with a faire wind was come to CORONE. Two of the ships by the way falling foule one on another, staied behind, being not able to keepe way with the rest: about which all the Turkes gallies presently flockt, and tooke the lesser of them, killing all the Spaniards they found therein. Out of this they boorded the greater, and with a bloudie fight had woon the forecable and waste of the ship: when *Auria* accounting it no small dishonour to haue his ships so surprisid at his heeles, caused all his gallies to turne againe vpon the enimie to rescue those ships. The Turkes seeing that, and with the WESTERNLY wind by little and little fallen downe so farr with the ships, that they were come within the danger of the shot of the towne, began C with great hur to forsake the ships, and to betake themselves to their oares, and so in manner of flight withdrew themselves. Whom *Auria* pursued, a good way to MODON, thundring in their poupes with his great shot, which hee liberally bestowed amongst them. There the Spaniards which meane time *Antonius Auria* came to rescue the two distressed ships. There the Spaniards which but a little before had hardly maintained their close fights, began now as men reuiued to shew themselves, and courageously to make resistance: and they which came with *Antonius Auria* to their rescue, entring with wonderfull celeritie on either side, slew and tooke three hundred Ianizaries, which with great courage had entred those ships, and were there left by the sudden departure of their fellowes. Amongst whom was taken one *Iosuphius* and old captaine of a thousand Ianizaries, to whom *Auria* after he was come to CORONE, gaue a faire sute of apparell and a chaine of gold, and so set him at libertie without any raunsome, thereby to prouoke the Turkes to the like kind of courteous dealing with the Christians. *Assam-beg* the pirat, and the D other captaines of the Turkes fleet wonderfully blamed *Lut-zis* the Admirall, for that he would not then fight with the Christians, when as he was thereto most earnestly requested both by the captaines and souldiours in general, and had a faire opportunitie of victorie offered at such time as the Christian fleet was disordered: but he excused himselfe, saying, That it was giuen him in speciall charge from *Solyman* the emperor, that he should in any case respect the safetie of his nauie, and not to come to the hazard of a battell. The Turkes which besieged the citie by land, vpon the approach of the Christian fleet forsooke their trenches & fled: at which time *Mandoza* the Gouernor falling out, tooke great store of victuall and warlike prouision which the Turkes had for hast left behind them. So *Auria* to his great honour, hauing driuen the Turkes from CORONE both by sea and land, furnished the citie with store of corne, wine, victuall, powder, E and shot: and committed the defence thereof to *Macicauis*, and the companies of the mutinous Spaniards which he had brought from NAPLES: comforting the Greekes, and exhorting them patiently for awhile to endure those calamities of warre, telling them that the emperor would the next Spring make warre against the Turkes both by sea and land in PELIOPONNESVS, and free them from the Turkish bondage. And so embarking the old garrison of Spaniards, departed from CORONE and came before MATHON, where he lay as it were brauing the Turkes. Admirall, hoping thereby to draw him out of that strong harbour to battell. But when he saw that the enimie could by no meanes be allured out of his strength, or assailed as he lay, he departed thence to CORCYRA, and so backe againe to MESSANA in SICILIA.

Within a few dayes after *Assam-beg* the Moore of ALEXANDRIA and most famous pirat, lying in wait for the marchants ships of VENICE coming out of SIRIA with marchandise, by chance met with *Hieronimus Canalis* vpon the coast of CRETE: where in the night time was fought betwixt them a fierce and cruell battell, wherein of the Moores thirteene gallies foure were sunke, three taken, and the rest hauing lost most part of their rowers, fled to ALEXANDRIA. In this fight was slaine three hundred Ianizaries which were going to CATA, and a thou-

*The Christian
fleet disordered.*

*Auria arriveth
at Corone.*

*The Turkes fleet
flies to Modon.*

*Corone relieved
by Auria.*

*Auria returneth
and before Mo-
don becometh the
Turks fleet.*

*The Moore of
Alexandria well
beaten and sa-
len by Canalis
the Venetian.*

thousand other Turks: of all them that were taken there was scarcely one saved; but the Moore G himselfe, who greuously wounded in the face, for safegard of his life was glad to discover himselfe: for the Venetians maintaining their state by trade and trafficke, doe of all other shew least fauour vnto pyrats. When the Moore had made himselfe known vnto *Canalis*, there was great care taken for the curing of his wounds, and either of them began with notable dissimulation to excuse the matter to other, saying, that they were both deceiued by the likenesse of the gallies, and mistaking of their friends for enemies: when as for all that they knew one another right well. For the Moore said, that he tooke those Venetian gallies for to haue bene part of *Auria* his fleet: and *Canalis* excused himselfe, by saying, that he mistooke him for *Barbarussa*, who a few yeares before had surpris'd three of the Venetian gallies. Yet the Venetians doubting how *Solyman* would take the matter, by their embassadour sought to excuse that was done, as a thing H happening by error and mischance: of which excuse *Solyman* excepted, and said moreover, that *Canalis* had done well and foldior like, to repulse by force the wrong that was offered him. Three of the emperors gallies staying behind the rest of the fleet, were neere vnto the promontorie *PALINVRVS*, vpon the coast of *APVLIA*, intercepted and cartied away by *Sinam*, sur-named the Iew, a notable pyrat of that time also.

The Winter following, the Spaniards and Greekes in *CORONE* began to want victuals, especially wine and flesh: for the Turkes had so blocked vp the citie, that nothing was to be had out of the country; wherefore the souldiors requested *Macicauus* their Gouernour and General to lead them forth to some peece of seruice against the enemy, for so much as they were not to hope for any reliefe elsewhere before Aprill, wishing rather valiantly to die like men in fight against the Turkes, than to languish within those dead wals for want of victuall. But *Macicauus* mindfull of his charge, fought by many reasons to dissuade them from such purpose, shewing them what an offence it were rashly to depart out of the citie committed to their custodie, which might be vnto them dangerous, although they should speed neuer so well; and that those wants which they rather feared than felt, would well enough be overcome by sparing and patience: and therefore told them plainly, that hee was resolutely set downe to keepe the citie for the emperor, and to endure all hardnesse, rather than to incur the infamie, That he had forsaken the citie, and betrayed his garrison. Yet for all this, the matter was so vrged by *Didacus Touarres* and *Hermosilla*, both great captains, and by the generall importunitie of the souldiors, that *Macicauus* was enforced to yeeld to their desire, and to promise them to goe: yet earnestly protesting, that he did it altogether against his will, rather enforced than persuaded vnto that, whereof he had no great hope of successe. Amongst other that were so forward in this action, was one *Barbatius*, a most valiant Greeke, who could perfectly speake the Turkes language, and of all others best knew the bywayes and secret passages of the country: he vnderooke to be their guide, and by vnkowne wayes to bring them vnto the enemies vndiscovered in the dead time of the night, when as they feared no such matter. So *Macicauus* commending the custodie of the citie to *Liscanius* and *Mendesius*, with charge that they should suffer no man to goe out of the citie after his departure, for feare of giuing any knowledge vnto the enemy, set forward about ten a clocke in the night towards *ANDRVSSA*, *Barbatius* being his guide, who shunning the common beaten wayes, brought them by secret and vncouth pathes that night halfe the way to *ANDRVSSA*: but vpon the rising of the Sunne he brought them into a secret woodie valley, where they rested and refreshed themselves all that day, and setting forward againe at night, came to *ANDRVSSA* before day. In this towne, which was of no great strength, lay one *Caranius*, a warlike capitaine, with three thousand footmen, whereof the one halfe was of the Ianizaries, and in the suburbs lay *Acomates* with a thousand chosen horsemen, with which garrison the Turkes kept all that day of *PELOPONESVS* in awe. *Macicauus* brought by his guide vnto the place where his enemies lay, went directly to the towne to haue surpris'd it: *Hermosilla* in the meane time standing still with certaine companies of Spaniards oueragainst the place where the horsemen lay. But this could not be done with so great silence, but that some of the horse boyes being awake, discovered them by the fire in their matches; who first awaked the negligent watchmen, and afterwards raised an alarum in the suburbs: whereupon *Hermosilla* courageously set vpon the horsemen, being altogether vnreadie, and slew many of them before they could arme themselves, and set fire also vpon the stables wherein the Turkes horses stood, with the rage whereof many of the Turkes perished, with their horses and armour. Great and terrible was the

The garrison soldiers of Corone desire of their generall to bee brought to some seruice.

Macicauus gouernour of Corone goeth on to surprise Andrusa.

A noise raised vpon the sudden in the suburbs, but especially of the horses, which burnt as they stood fast tied in the stables, or by chance breaking loose, ran vp and downe with their tailes and maines on a light fire: by occasion whereof, an alarum was raised in the towne, and the Turkes, got to the wals before the Spaniards could enter. *Macicauus* himselfe labouring to breake in at a posterne, was shot in the head with a small shot, and slaine: diuers others neere vnto him were slaine also. The Turkes perceiuing the small number of their enemies, sallied out vpon them, and enforced them to retire to *Hermosilla*, who had already made great spoile amongst the horsemen, by whose skilfull direction the Spaniards retired in so good order, making many stands, with their harquebusers all drawne into the reward, that such of the Turkes as were most forward to pursue them, did by their death cause the rest to make lesse hast. *Acomates* with such of his horsemen as had escaped the fire, hastened thither also, bringing with him two hundred harquebusers, which he had caused his horsemen for hast to take vp behind them vpon their horses: but whilest he sought eagerly to be reuenged vpon his enemies, and with too much heat pressed on with the formost, he was shot into the bodie with a bullet and slaine. So the horsemen which had before receiued a great losse as they lay in their lodgings, accounting it in their good haps that they were not there all slaine, and hauing now lost their capitaine, ceased any further to pursue their enemies, but returned. The Spaniards and Greekes, although they were wearied both with their long march and euill successe, retired still as resolute men readie to fight, and so returned to *CORONE*. Presently after, the Turkish garrison removed from *ANDRVSSA* to *MEOLOPOLIS*, now called *LONDARIVM*: after whose departure the Christian souldiors of *CORONE* came thither, and buried the dead bodies of their slaine fellowes (which till then lay vnburied) and brought backe with them the head of *Macicauus* their late General, which the Turkes had there set vp vpon a long pole, which they honourably buried at *CORONE*. Not long after the plague began to grow hot in *CORONE*, so much the more grieuous, for that it came accompanied with many other hard difficulties. For which causes, the Spaniards as men at once enforced with many extremities, embarked themselves with all the great ordinance and such Greekes as would goe with them, in certaine ships which came with corne out of *SECLIA*, and so departed, leaving the towne empty for the Turkes to come vnto.

Macicauus slain

Corone forsaken by the Spaniards

It was commonly reported, that the Spaniards left *CORONE* not without the secret consent of the emperor, which was the rather thought to be so, because that they which forooke the place, receiued thereby no disgrace, and the emperor himselfe had offered to giue the towne to *Clement* bishop of *ROME*: the Venetians and the knights of *MALTA*, who all refused to receiue it, as loath to be at so great a charge in keeping a place seruing for no greater purpose; the verie cause why the emperor was so willing to depart with it. Now *Clement* the great bishop had by meanes of *Aloysius Grittus* made a motion of a peace, to haue bene concluded for ten yeares betwixt *Solyman* and the Christian princes, and therupon the towne to haue been againe deliuered vnto the Turkes: which peace *Solyman* was not altogether vnwilling to grant, being then wholly bent to inuade the Persian king. *Ferdinand* was also in good hope that his brother *Charles* the emperor, would for the yeelding vp of that towne haue couenanted with the Turke some great matter for his benefit in *HUNGARIE*, which as was thought would also haue bene easily obtained. But whilest the emperor drawne diuersly with the consideration of his honor in keeping it, and of his profit in giuing it vp, stood too long in resolving; the towne in the meane time was by the Spaniards (their necessitie daily increasing) abandoned, and so left to the Turkes for nothing.

Solyman now purposing to returne his forces against the Persians, of whom hee had in the frontiers of his dominions receiued great hurt, especially in *COMAGENA*; renewed the league he had with the Venetians, and some other Christian princes; but of all other his affaires with the Christians, he was most carefull of the interest he had already gotten in *HUNGARIE*. For it was reported, that king *Iohn* his vassale, induced by the continuall sollicitations of his subjects, was desirous of peace with king *Ferdinand*, vpon condition that hee might quietly enjoy the kingdom during his life: and after his decease it to remaine to king *Ferdinand* and his heires. Wherefore *Solyman*, that nothing should be there done in his absence without his knowledge, sent *Aloysius Grittus* the Duke of *VENETIE* his sonne (of whom we haue before spoken) a man both for the honour of his house, the good carriage of himselfe, and the special commendation of *Abraham* the chiefe Bassa, in great credit with him: with commission as his Lieutenant to be assistant

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Aloysius Grittus the duke of Venice his sonne, Solymans lieutenant in Hungarie, to oversee king Iohn.

assistant vnto king *Iohn*, in such magnificall sort, as that without him the king might conclude nothing in matters of state, concerning either peace or warres, with any other the Christian princes. With this proud commission from the Graund seignior, *Grittus* entred into *TRANSILVANIA*, then a part of the kingdome of *HUNGARIE* (much about the same time that *Solyman* set forward from *CONSTANTINOPLE* against the Persian) attended vpon with seauen thousand persons of one sort and other, amongst whom were *Vrbanius Batianus* and *Ianus Docia*, two famous Hungarian capitaines with their companies, and many of the Turkes *Ianizaries* also. At his first comming, to make his authoritie the more knowne, he sent out his proud commaund vnto the great men and Gouvernours of the cities of that warlike prouince, charging them forthwith to reparaire vnto him as great *Solymans* deputie, authorised by him to heare and determine all the controuersies and matters of state concerning the kingdome of *HUNGARIE*. At that time *Americus Cihachus* bishop of *VERADIVM*, a man of great nobilitie and power, withall singularly well qualited, was *Vayuod* or gouernour of *TRANSILVANIA*, an honour next vnto the king: he vnderstanding that *Grittus* was come into his prouince, and making small halt to welcome him, as one not greatly moued with his comming, or much regarding the commandement of *Solyman*; wonderfully offended *Grittus*, who desired nothing more than at his first entrance to haue confirmed the opinion of his authoritie in the minds of the vulgar people by the prest and readie attendance of the *Vayuod*. But it was commonly bruted, that the stout bishop vpon a Christian zeale detested the friendship of the Turkes, and could not well brooke that they should be too much acquainted in his prouince, for feare least that fruitfull countrie abounding with men and horses, should by one meanes or other fall into their hands. *Grittus* was come to *BAXOVIA* when he vnderstood by many messengers, that the *Vayuod* was comming with a great traine, and lay about ten miles off, encamped with diuers gallant troupes of horsemen in warlike manner appointed: for the bishops of *HUNGARIE* being wonderfull rich, were by old custome bound to keep great numbres of horsemen, which as occasion serued they vied to bring into the fields against the Turke; accounting it great honour with their religious hands to defend the cause of religion. But then especially the nobilitie of the countrie well appointed, resorted on euerie side, of courtesie to honour and countenance their great bishop and Gouvernour, at whose commaundement they were: in so much as the bishops retinue made shew of a good armie. Which thing moued *Grittus* exceedingly, that he should be enforced contrarie to his expectation to parley with the bishop in the open fields, as with an enemy in sight of all their followers. Hereof rise enuie, a deadly mischiefe alwaies repining at another mans honor; when as the one swelling with Turkish pride could not then abide any equall, and the other jealous of his honour could by no meanes endure any superiour, in such place as he had the foueraigntie of. When these two great men had met together in the open fields, and there dined more like enemies than friends, without any shew of friendship or good will: *Grittus* inwardly chafed at his bare entertainment, couertly threatened to bee reuenged vpon all such as should make so light account of his authoritie: and immediatly as he departed from the banquet, taking his cap from his head (which was after the Turkish manner made of a high fashion, of rich fables) and opening it with both his hands, said, This cap will not hold two heads, and therefore it must be fitted to one, and so put it on againe. *Ianus Docia* one of the Hungarian capitaines, his followers, who deadly hated the *Vayuod* (for that he had long time before, for his malapert speech in a great assembly, given him a blow with his fist) tooke hold of that speech of *Grittus*, as a fit occasion for him to worke his reuenge: and said, Your honour maketh a fit comparison, neither can this prouince containe two equall gouernours or commanders, nor you euer enjoy your power and authoritie, except you doe this day with speedie and manly resolution defend both *Solymans* credit and your owne. You know not this proud beast *Americus*, whose pride and insolencie if you but say the word, I will quickly put downe: for he hateth *Solyman*, he regardeth not the king, and of you he maketh no account at all, for why he aspieth vnto the maiestie of a king, and saith that the *Vayuod*ship of *TRANSILVANIA* well becometh a king: for that in this countrie *Decebalus* the *Dacian* sometime reigned, whom the warlike emperor *Traian* with all the force of the Roman empire hardly subdued. No man can more proudly or arrogantly set himselfe forth than he, neither more craftely or cunningly dissemble to serue his turne. Indeed he hath for fashion sake presented your honour with a few simple presents, and given you his hand also, better knowne for his falshood than his faith; to the intent that when you are once past his countrie, he may scoffe and teast at your decrees: wicely he deadly enuieeth at you.

Americus bishop of *Veradivm* and *Vayuod* of *Transilvania*, controuerteth *Grittus*.

Ianus Docia incensed *Grittus* against the *Vayuod*.

A your honour and felicitie, and grudgeth in his heart, that you should set downe the lawes of peace and warre in *HUNGARIE*: and whereas he doth manifestly aspiere vnto a kingdome, he feareth you aboue all others, least you should trouble his designs, abate his credit, and chastise his insolencie. Verely, he that thus maligneth your happinesse, and contemneth your authoritie, is not to be suffered, but by good reason to be taken away: thereby at this your first entrance to defend the credit of your commission and honour of your name. For nothing is more dangerous than a faithlesse companion and a secret enemy; especially when you shall leaue him at your backe behind you: for when he shall as occasion serues shew forth his hidden malice, he shall so much the more stily and desperatly indanger your person. *Grittus* entred with his speech more than before, thought it best to make hast, & to vse his authoritie to the full; he commended *Docia*, and promised him in short time to requite his good will towards him, especially if he would by some notable attempt abate the bishops pride. It is reported, that *Grittus* gaue him no other charge but to take the bishop, that so he might after the Turkish maner haue sent him in chaines to *CONSTANTINOPLE*, & bestowed the honor of the *Vayuod* vpon *Hieronimus Lasus* the Polonian, who in hope of that honourable preferment vnto him promised by king *Iohn*, had done him great and faithfull seruice, as his embassadour both vnto *Solyman* and also to the French king. But when king *Iohn* perceived that he could not conueniently with our manifest danger place him, being a Polonian (who could scarcely speake the Hungarian language) gouernour ouer such a warlike people; he as it were enforced by necessitie, preferred this *Americus* the bishop of *VERADIVM*, a man of them both reuerenced and feared: Which so grieved *Lasus* a man of great stomacke and experience, and thereunto excellently learned, that he would neuer admit any excuse of the kings, but alwaies after complained that he was by the king deluded. Yet for all that, he kept himselfe within the bounds of loyalty, and enjoyed certaine lands and townes which the king had giuen him in the borders of *POLONIA*; and estranged neuertheless from him in mind, was now become one of *Grittus* his followers, hoping of his better preferment by his meanes vnto *Solyman*; and for that cause was not so forward to doe the king such seruice as he had in times past. Now by the commandement of *Grittus*, a strong companie of Turkish horsemen, and certaine troupes of Hungarians, were deliuered to *Docia*, who secretly departing that night from *BAXOVIA*, came suddenly to the *Vayuods* campe, hauing a little before by his Hungarian spies learned that he lay in the open fields in his tent, by reason of the great heat, without any watch or guard, attended on only with his pages and household seruants, as a man without feare; and that all the rest of his retinue lay dispersed in the countrey villages round about. All which serued so well for *Docia* his purpose, that the *Vayuod* ignorant of his death so nigh at hand, who rather contemned than feared his enemies, was suddenly oppressed by *Docia* his souldiours: so that whilest he was yet lying in his bed, and scarcely well awaked by his chamberlaines and the noise of the enemy; *Docia* breaking into his tent, cut off his head as he lay. All they which lay neere, amazed with the suddennesse of the matter, fled away for feare, and left their horses and other things for a prey to the Turkes, and other of *Docia* sent to *Grittus* his followers. *Docia* hauing done so great an outrage, returned to *Grittus* presenting vnto him the *Vayuods* head, which he brought in his hand by the care. *Lasus* was then present, but altogether ignorant of the murder, who as a man moued with a naturall compassion in so sudden and horrible a fact, and forgetting all former grudge (as in like case it oftentimes chaunceth) stood as one dismaied, nothing reioycing at the vnworthie death of his enemy. To whom *Grittus* turning himselfe said, *Lasus*, Doe'st thou not know this shauen pate, truly it is a great mans head, but of such a one as was verie ambitious, rebellious, and proud. To whom *Lasus* replied, Truly though I loued him not, yet I thought it not so whilest it stood vpon his shoulders: disallowing therein the crueltie of the fact. Which thing *Grittus* perceiuing, began to repent him, of that was done, and said openly, That although he was worthily slaine, yet he could haue wished rather to haue had him taken prisoner: The report of this horrible murder on the bruted abroad, the bishops kinsmen and friends, yea almost all the people of that prouince rising in armes against *Grittus*, to reuenge the death of the reuerend bishop, whom liuing they had both loued and feared: Neuer did any people in reuenge of a common wrong, enter into armes with greater desire, more heat, or quicker speed: so that in a few daies there were assembled together fortie thousand horse and foot, vnder the leading of *Stephanus Maylat* a noble gentleman, who of all other most honored the bishop, and in that common grieue tooke vpon him as chiefe, the persecuting of the authors of such inhumane crueltie. *Grittus* perceiuing how grievously the matter

The cause whi *Lasus* the Polonian fell from king *Iohn*.

The *Vayuod* murdered in his tent by *Docia*, and his head presented to *Grittus*.

The *Transilvanians* rise up in armes against *Grittus*, to reuenge the death of the *Vayuod*.

matter was taken, with the danger he was in, began to doubt with himselfe what course were best for him to take. To go forward, and to fall into the hands of the furious people, the same was present death; and to returne and leaue the honourable deputation he had with so great expectation of all men taken vpon him, was vnto his aspiring mind no lesse torment than death it selfe. Thus perplexed, he with al speed got himselfe with his followers to the strong town of *Mogin*, in hope to shroud himselfe vntill such time as the rage of the country people were either of it selfe appeased (as it oftentimes falleth out in such sudden tumults) or else he might be relieved by king *John*, or the Turkes Sanzacks which had the charge of the frontiers of the Turkish empire. The townsmen of *Mogin* seeing *Gritus* accompanied with so many Turkes, shut the gates against him: yet at length by the persuation of the two Hungarian captaines *Docta* and *Batianus*, they gaue him leaue to enter into the bafe towne, hauing before retired themselues with all their substance vnto the higher towne, which in manner of a strong castle commanded the lower. Here whilest *Gritus* with all carefulnesse fortieth the place, and dispatcheth the messengers vnto his friends abroad for aid; his enemies with hideous noise & outcries approaching the town, at their first comming attempted to haue scaled the wals and rampiers thereof: which thing whilest they disorderly did, with greater furie than discretion, they were easily repulsed and many of them slaine by the Turkes Ianizaries and harquebusiers. After which losse, by the direction of *Maylat* their Generall, they withdrew themselues out of the danger of the shot, and encamped on euerie side of the towne, hoping as the truth was, that their enemies vnprouided of victuall could not long hold the place, but must of necessitie either starue with famine or yeeld it vp. In the meane time *Gritus* resolutely enduring all the calamities of a man besieged, fell sicke, and so much the more for that he could heare nothing of any aid which he expected fro his friends: For king *John* glad in his mind of the distresse of the ouerfer, or rather competitor of his kingdom; and also knowing that he could not without great discontentment of his subjects oppose himselfe against such a multitude risen vpon so iust a cause, yet for fashion sake sent certaine troupes of horsemen to his reliefe: who not altogether ignorant of the kings mind, made such hast, as men that purposed not to come in time to doe him good. As for the Turkes Sanzacks of *Belgrade* and *Samandria*, they enuying at his homage, flatly refused to depart from their charge to relieue him, without expresse commaund from *Solyman* himselfe: and *Laschus* (before one of *Gritus* his chiefe followers, but now a beholder of his distresse) when he had a little before departed from him to procure him some reliefe as he promised, did now in this extremitie forsake him also. The citizens in the vpper towne, who a great while had stood looking on from above as men indifferent; perceiuing the full resolution of their countrey men to be reuenged, and the difficulties wherewith the Turkes were inclosed, assailed them also from the high towne. *Gritus* thus beset on euerie side, offered vnto the Transiluanians a great masse of money, to suffer him to passe forward into *Hungarie*: but their furious minds more desirous of reuenge than money, were not to be moued with any gold. In fine he sent rich jewels vnto the Governour of *Moldavia* his friend, to be readie at a certain houre when he would fallie out of the towne, to receiue him with certaine troupes of horsemen; so if it were possible to saue himselfe and his children. *Gritus* (whether it were vpon a doubtfull hope, or vrged by inevitable destinie) fallie out of the towne at the appointed time, with *Solyman's* commission in his hand, and misling of the Moldavian, fell vpon *Francis Schenden* the late bishops nigh kinsman; and *Maylat* his familiar friend; who furiously running in vpon him with tumultuous speech, violently raught from his head his rich cap of Sables, and with his horsemen tooke him, being weake with sickness and making no resistance. His followers, especially the Turkes, encloed on euerie side, were either slaine or taken. But *Gritus* himselfe being brought to the Generals tent, beset round with his armed enemies, and there examined, Why he had commaunded the Vayvods to be slaine: earnestly protested, That he neuer commaunded any such thing, and that it was done without his knowledge. Which his answer serued not his turne, all the people crying out against him with one voice, that he should as a sacrifice be offered vnto the Vayvods ghost. Whereupon he was by *Maylat* deliuered againe to *Francis Schenden* to be executed, who without delay caused his head to be stricke off. The nobilitie and the Vayvods kinsmen (after the manner of that people) dipped some part of their garments in his blood, the longer to keepe in mind the remembrance of the reuenge. This was the shamefull end of *Aloysius Gritus* the duke of *Venice* his sonne, *Solyman's* deputie in *Hungarie*, with whom he was in such credit as ne-

Gritus besieged
by the Transil-
uanians.

Gritus taken
and brought to
Maylat.

Gritus beheaded.

uer was any Christian, abounding in wealth and worldly felicitie: but climbing too fast vp the euill staired ladder of ambition, suddenly fell and neuer rose more. The executioner stripping his dead bodie, found about him so many pretious stones and jewels as were valued at fortie millions of duckats. And not long after, *Lafus* sent for by the king to *Byzantia* was straightly examined vpon torture concerning *Gritus* his commission and purposes, and was in great danger of his life: but at last by the intercession of *Sigismund* king of *Polidonia* he was set at libertie, and so fled out of *Hungarie* vnto *Sigismund* his countie. *Piotom* who after hee had long time wearied himselfe and aduentured his life in the Hungarian state, *Docta* the author of this Tragedie, was by the furious people afterwards rent in peeces and so perished. The same time that *Gritus* went from *Constantinople* into *Hungarie*, *Solyman* the Turkish Emperour dreading no danger out of *Exar*, took in hand two great expeditions both at one time, the one by land into *Asia* against the Persians, and the other by sea into *Affricke* against the Moores: promising vnto himselfe in this inhospitable deserts the monarchie of the whole world in short time, if he might subdue those two great nations whom he had already in hope deuoured. But for as much as all cannot be told at once, which was at one time in diuers places so farre distant done; omitting for a while the expedition made in person himselfe against the Persians, we will first declare what he did by his lieutenants against the Moores. *Haridenus* surnamed of the Christians *Barbarussa*, who succeeded his elder brother *Horruccius* in the kingdom of *Alexandria* in *Affricke*, had by many victories so enlarged the kingdom before gotten by his brother, that his name and power was now become terrible both to the Christians and wild Moores; and his fame grown great in the Turkish court, was the chiefe author and persuer of *Solyman* to invade *Affricke*. But it shall not (as I thinke) be far from our purpose here briefly to rehearse by what means those two *Mexilene* brethren, basely borne, crept out of a small gallie vnto the maiestie of great kings, that herein they which come afterwards may also admire the wonderfull changes and chances of these worldly things, now vp, now downe, as if the life of man were not of much more certaintie than a stage play. These two brethren, *Horruccius* and *Haridenus*, bothe at *Mexilene* in the Island of *Lesse*, so wearie of the poore and bafe estate they led at home with their father, a renegade Grecian; stealing a little gallie, committed themselues and all the hope of their good fortune to sea, where by chance they comforted themselues with *Camales*, a most famous pyrat of that time, vnder whom *Horruccius* the elder brother for his forwardnesse became a captain: and growing rich by many purchases, and also strong with gallies and slaues which he had at sundrie times taken, and at last comforting himselfe with *Haidin*, *Sinam* the Jew, *Salco*, and other lesse pyrates, which afterwards became men of great fame and account, ouer whom he commaunded as an arch pyrat, came seeking after purchase as far as *Mavritania*. At which time *Selymes* king of *Libia* *Casaria*, which now we call *Algers*, was in armes against his brother *Mechemetes*, competitor of the kingdom: who aided by the Numidians, now commonly called Arabians, put his brother in great doubt of his estate. *Selymes* glad of the coming of *Horruccius* & the other pyrats his followers, with a great masse of money paid before hand, induced *Horruccius* and the rest to take vpon them the defence of him and his kingdom against his brother: VVhich thing *Horruccius* so happily performed, especially by the meanes of his harquebusiers, as then no small terror to the wild Moores and Numidians, that in short time he repulsed that savage people, and set *Selymes* at peace in his kingdom. *Horruccius* being a man of a sharpe wit, and by nature ambitious, noting in the time of his seruice the kings mild and simple disposition, void of all distrust; and that the naked Moores were no souldiors, but a light and ynconstant people, alwayes at variance among themselues; and that the wandering Numidians liuing barely, decuded into many factions, were easily by reward to be wooon, or by force constrained: suddenly falsified his faith, and villanously slew *Selymes* the king, as he was bathing himselfe, mistrusting nothing lesse than the falshood of the pyrat; and in the same hurle murdering such as he thought would withstand his desire, and with bountie and crueltie ouercomming the rest, so wrought the matter, that he was by generall consent chosen king of *Algers*. Thus of a pirat become a king, he shortly after by policie surprised *Cirello*, a famous citie (about sixtie miles distant from *Algers*) by his souldiors sent thither in the habite of marchants. After that, he by his brother *Haridenus* (no lesse valiant than himselfe) troubled all the Medeterranian sea from *Algers* with his gallies, & all his neighbors: himselfe by land with daily incursions, leauing nothing vntoucht which

The riches found
about *Gritus*.

Solyman as one
time purposed to
invade Persia
and Affricke.

The poore begin-
ning of *Horruccius*
and *Haridenus*, who of
basse pyrats aspired
to the king-
dome of *Algers*.

Haridenus his
success.

which might by force or policie be had: so that his power dayly increased, men of seruice continually resorting vnto him, as the cheefe man in all those parts. Not thus contented, he resolved to enlarge his kingdome, draue the Spaniards out of *Bvda*, a citie famous both for the great trade thither, and for the Mahometane schoole: sometime there kept; at the taking whereof, he lost his right hand with a shot, and in stead thereof ever after used a hand of yron, wherewith hee obtained many worthie victories against his enemies: for neere to *Alexandria* hee ouerthrew an armie of the Spaniards, with *Diego de Vars* their generall. And shortly after, at such time as *Hugo Moncada* returning out of *ITALIE* with the old Spanishe souldiours, landed in his countrey, hee enforced him againe to sea; where he with all his expert souldiours either perished by shipwracke, or driuen on shore, were slaine or taken prisoners by *Horrucius*, and thrust into his gallies. A litle hauing in sundrie battels overcome the king of *TRAMISSA*, *Charles* the emperor his confederat, and thrust him out of his kingdome, he stirred vp both the Christians and Numidians against him: so that comming to take *ORA* and *PLOTVS*, two strong holds kept by garisons of Spaniards sent thither to aid the king of *TRAMISSA*, he was by them and the Moores at the first repulsd, and afterwards quite ouerthrowne: where most part of his armie being slaine or taken prisoners, he with a few of his friends sought to saue themselves by flight over the desert lands; and seeing himselfe hardly pursued by his enemies, scattered many peces of gold vpon the lands as he fled, thereby to haue staied their hastie pursute: but they more desirous of him than of his gold, followed so fast, that at the last they ouertooke him, and without further delay stricke off his head, which was afterwards sent into *SPAIN*, and carried vpon a launce thorow all the townes and cities alongst the sea coast; to the wonderfull reioycing of the people; vnto whom he had in former time done great harme.

*Horrucius slain
and his head car-
ried about in
Spain.*

*Hariadenus fir-
mament Barba-
russa, succedeth
his brother Har-
rucius in the
kingdome of Al-
gers.*

*His wonderfull
successe.*

*Solyman sendeth
for Barbarussa.*

After the death of *Horrucius*, *Hariadenus* inferior to his brother neither in courage nor martiall prowesse, by the generall consent of the souldiours tooke vpon him the kingdome of *ALGERS*. He, made hither not onely of his brothers kingdome; but of his vertues and haue thoughts, and of the surname also of *Barbarussa*, began forthwith to aspire vnto the empire of all that part of *AFRICK*, accounting what he had already gotten; too little and too base to answer his desires. Wherefore he entred into armes, and became a terror both to the Moores and Numidians, holding peace with some, and warres with others, as best serued his purpose; and with his gallies robbed and spoiled the coasts of *SPAIN*, *SARDINIA*, and the Islands *BALARES*; fortune to fauouring him in all his enterprises, that he became both famous and fearefull vnto his enemies. He slew *Hamet*, a great commander among the Numidians, & chased *Benchades* and *Amida*, two of their greatest princes, out of the countrey: and with like fortune at sea ouercame *Hugo Moncada*, a famous Spaniard, who sore wounded, had much adoe to saue himselfe by flight, when he had lost diuers of his gallies. He also in battell at sea ouerthrew *Rodericus Portundus*, admirall of *SPAIN*: in which fight the admirall with his sonne were both slaine, and seuen of his gallies taken: In token of which victorie, he sent part of the rich spoile there taken with the admirals ensigne, as a present vnto *Solyman*, whereby he became famous in the Turkes court; but much more after he had repulsd *Auria* from *CERCENNA*, and taken two great Genoway ships which were comming to *Auria* loaded with men and munition, the losse whereof filled the citie of *GENVA* with much sorrow. All things sorting thus according to his desire, and his name become no lesse terrible in *SPAIN*, *ITALIE*, *SICILIE*, and the Islands of the Mediterranean, than it was in the greatest part of *AFRICK*; *Solyman* grieved with the losse of *CORONE*, *PATRAS*, and the castles vpon the straits of *LEPANTO*, taken from him by *Auria*, *Himerales* his admirall being shamefully put to flight by the counsell of his Bassaes, but especially of *Abraham* the cheefe Bassa, sent embassadours vnto him to *ALGERS*, offering him the greatest honours of his court, and to make him admirall of all his fleet, if hee would forthwith repaire vnto *CONSTANTINOPLE*: for why he was the onely man in all mens iudgements, who for his yeares and great experience at sea, as well as for his inuincible courage and glorie of his late atchieued kingdome, was to be compared with *Auria*, and to bee opposed against the Christian fleet. *Sinas* a great man in *Solymans* court, was with this embassage sent, and speedily transported to *ALGERS* by *Mangalis*, a famous pyrat, then gouernour of the *RHODES*: who at his landing was honourably receiued by *Barbarussa*, and audience giuen him. *Barbarussa* vnderstanding the cause of his comming, was exceeding glad thereof, presently conceiuing no small hope of obtaining the Monarchie of *AFRICK*, if he might once come to *Solymans* presence, and

A and at large shew vnto him the state of *AFRICK*, and power of the Christians, with their continuall discord amongst themselves. Wherefore without further delay committing the protection of his sonne *Afenes*, (then aboute eightene yeares old) and the gouernment of his new gotten kingdome to *Kamada* and *Agis*, two of his nigh kinsmen and assured friends, of whose fidelitie he doubted not: he with fortie of his owne gallies, in most warlike manner appointed, set forward with *Solymans* embassadour towards *CONSTANTINOPLE*, where by the way hee met with a fleet of Genoway ships bound for *SICILIE* for coine, which after a sharpe and cruell fight he tooke and burnt. After that, landing by night in the Island of *ELBA*, not farre from *NAPLES*, he suddenly surpris'd *RHEVMA*, a rich citie; where loading his gallies with the wealth thereof, and carying away with him all the inhabitants into captiuitie, he arrived at *CONSTANTINOPLE* in the yeare 1533, where he was by the great courtiers brought to *Solyman*, of whom he was joyfully receiued, if it were but for the presents which he gaue him: which were fair boyes and young maidens sumptuously apparelled, euniches, and wild beasts of *LYBIA*, as Lyons, Leopards, and such like. But after he had certaine daies discoursed at large with the great Bassaes of the state of *AFRICK*, the strength of the Christians, and how the warres were to be managed, he was afterwards by them seldomer sent for, and offering himselfe into their companie, was hardly admitted: for enuie (the inseparable companion of growing honour) had quickly ouertaken him in the court, so that many men letted not openly to say, That it had not bene the fashion of the *Othoman* kings to preferre pyrats (the worst kind of theecs) to the honour of their great Admirall; and that there wanted not, neither euer would want men both vertuous and valiant in the Turkes court, which could with great honour maintaine and augment the glorie of the Turkish empire both by sea and land, whereas he had against all right and conscience, by shamefull treacherie intruded himselfe into another mans kingdome in *AFRICK*, and there persecuted the Mahometane princes and people, being of no religion himselfe, as one that was borne of a renegat Greeke, and had from his youth liued as a mercilesse pyrat, and common enemy of mankind. By which speeches, *Barbarussa* well perceiued in how euill time *Abraham Bassa* his best friend, and by whose meanes he was sent for, was absent from the court: who at that time was gone into *COMAGENA*, and wintered at *ALBPO*, with purpose (as *Solyman* fore-runner) with the first of the Spring to passe ouer *Euphrates* against the Persian. After long suite and much expectation, *Solyman* answered *Barbarussa* by *Alex* and *Casimes*, two of the great Bassaes, That all the matter concerning him should be referred to the discretion of *Abraham* the cheefe Bassa, for that hee was by his counsell especially sent for into *AFRICK*: wherefore if he did expect any thing, he should repaire vnto him into *SIRIA*, that according to his graue judgement all things might be ordered. *Barbarussa* thus rejected into *SIRIA*, although he well perceiued that it tended to his no small disgrace: yet in hope by sufferance to obtaine another kingdome, seemed contented with the answer, and resolved forthwith to take vpon him that long and painefull journey, which the old king lustily performed: and so posting by land thorow *ASIA* the lesse, and traueilling ouer the mountaine *AMANVS*, then couered with deepe snowe, came in the dead time of Winter to *ALBPO* in *SIRIA*, where hee was honourably receiued of the great Bassa, and heard at large, to his so good contentation and liking, that he deemed him of all others the fittest to command the Turkes power at sea, and to that purpose writ commendatorie letters in his behalfe to *Solyman*; wishing him for his sufficiency to place him as the fourth with the other three Bassaes of his counsell. After *Barbarussa* was againe arrived at *CONSTANTINOPLE* with these letters, and that it was once knowne how effectually the cheefe Bassa had commended him to *Solyman*, it was a world to see, how vpon the sudden the face of the court was changed vpon him, euery man either for friendship or flatterie begun now to speake of his praises, and to extoll his worthinesse: who was now in all mens mouths but *Barbarussa*? so great was the power & authoritie of the cheefe Bassa, that being absent, yet was his approbation of all men accounted sufficient to preferre whom he pleased; & his letters lawes to the rest of the court, *Barbarussa* had brought with him from *ALGERS* one *Rosettes*, the elder brother of *Mulcastes*, king of *TYNES*, who wrongfully driuen into exile by his younger brother, had liued certaine yeares at *ALGERS*; but now by the persuation of *Barbarussa* was come with him to *CONSTANTINOPLE* to craue aid of *Solyman* against the oppression of his brother. Him *Barbarussa* oftentimes shewed vnto the great Bassaes, and in his discourses with them concerning the conquest of *AFRICK*, set him out as a most fit instrument for subduing of the kingdome of *TYNES*.

*Barbarussa com-
meth to Con-
stantinople.*

*Barbarussa vni-
ted in the
Turk court.*

*Barbarussa visit-
eth *Abraham*
the great Bassa.*

*He traueilleth
into *SIRIA* to the
Bassa, and is by
him commended
to *Solyman*.*

*His returne to
Constantinople.*

Rosettes

as a man whom the people more affected than they did *Muleasses* the usurper. After long deliberation and consultation had with the *Bassas*, concerning the inuasion of *AFRICK*, *Barbarussa* now admitted vnto the presence of *Solyman*, in these or like words perswaded him to that warre, for the entrance whereinto we haue thus farre digressed.

*Barbarussa his
speech to Soly-
man to perswade
him to inuade
Tynes.*

What thing the priests with lowd voice vse to pray for, at such time as the Ottoman emperours enter into the temple to pray, the same thing doe I also wish vnto thee most mightie *Solyman*, which is, That thou shouldest remember, thy progenitors by iustice and religion to haue got for thee this empire, than which, more magnificent or richer the gods haue not giuen to any: for fortune hath neuer deceiued them that tread that way, and thou hether to hast so traced their steps, that thou hast easily surmounted their fame and glorie, administering iustice to thy subiects; and inflamed with the hope of eternall praise, making continuall warre against the enemies of our religion, the true office of a zealous prince. By this meanes is *BELGRADE* taken, *RHODES* woon, the king of *HUNGARIE* slaine in battell, *GERMANIE* twice harried and burnt: so that *Charles*, whom the Christians would make equall to thy selfe in power and valour, with the great aid almost of all the Christian nations, perished with the noise of thy armie, shunned battell. But for as much as empires be they neuer so large, or victories be they neuer so glorious, can either satisfie the greatnesse of an heroicall mind, or glut the same with glorie: thou hast therefore sent before thee thy victorious ensignes against the *Persians* and *Parthians*, that those nations who haue wickedly fallen from our rites, purified as it were by thy sacred armes, may be againe reclaimed to the auncient rites of our religion. But be this vnto thy greatest most honourable to attempt, and glorious to performe: let it only be lawfull for me now growne an old man in the midst of armes and dangers, to declare what is expedient, and briefly to open such things as I haue by long experience learned to concerne the augmenting of thy fame and empire elsewhere. Neither would I haue you to take this as presumptuously spoken of me: for fortune hath enough, yea and more than enough fauoured my designes, whom from a poore cottage and bare hope, she hath promoted to glorious victories, great riches, yea vnto the title and maiestie of a king. But vnto these things the gods could giue me nothing better than to be called for of thee, and sent for, in counsell to discourse of matters of greatest importance: wherefore my aduise shall bee vnto thee faithfull, and with experience confirmed; which although it be all that it seemeth old men can doe, yet in my sound bodie remaineth such strength, that I dare both promise and performe vnto thee my good service at all affaires both by sea and land. For vnto this onely course haue I bent my selfe day and night from my youth (following the purpose & counsell of my valiant brother *Horrucius*, who to extend the bounds of our religion, persecuted the Christians both by sea and land) desiring nothing more, than that thy fleet and power might once be ioined with my forces and direction, and so vnder thy good hap to be either a commander, or els commaunded: for as much as it grieueth me not to be commaunded by my betters: of which my desires if the gods shall make me partaker, the Spaniards shall shortly be driven quite out of *AFRICK*, thou shalt heare that the *Moors* are gone ouer into *SPAIN* to repossesse the kingdom of *GRANADO*, that *TYNES* and *NUMIDIA* are at thy commaund, and not to speak of *SARDINIA* and *CORSICA*, that *SICILIA* is ours: which once taken, we shall starue up *ITALIE*, and on every side distresse it with our fleet, being now weake and brought low by the discord of the princes, and that part thereof both towards *SICILIA* and *MACEDONIA* readie to submit it selfe vpon any condition, so it might cast off the Spanish yoke. Thinke not that either that strength or unitie is now in *ITALIE*, which was when thy great grandfather *Mahomet* hauing taken *HYDRUNTUM*, brought a great feare not vpon *ITALIE* onely, but vpon other the Christian nations also: For by the good successe of that warre, which all the Christian princes could hardly withstand, he had undoubtedly taken the citie of *ROME*, and so according to right and reason againe vntied the empire of the East and of the West, as they were before in their auncient glorie: But hee suddainly left the world, rapt to heauen, that he might leaue to thee (according to the appointment of the fatal destinies and reuolutions of the heauens) this worke of absolute perfection. And yet my purpose is not by putting thee in hope of so great and rare a triumph, to interrupt or hinder thee for turning thy power into the East against thy old and irreligious enemies, deseruing all extremities: for thy nauie shall be sufficient for me, whereof thou shalt haue no need in thy warres so farre within land, that whilst thou art conquering *ASIA*, *AFRICA* the third part of the world may in the meane time be brought vnder thy subiection also. Where before all other things, *Muleasses* is to be driven out of *TYNES*, a man of insatiable couctousnesse, vnstayed lust, horrible crueltie, hated both of God and man: who hauing

A by treacherie slaine eightene of his brethren, or that which worse is, cruelly burnt out their eyes, doth forsake alone, that he hath left him neither kinsman nor friend: For being as unthankfull as perfidious, he hath murdered all his fathers friends, who with great trauell had preferred him to the kingdom, so to make short payment for so great desert. With this beast we must haue to doe, whom whilst no man loveth, all men easily wish to perishe. The *Numidians* trouble him with daily inuasions, whose iniuries the infamous coward endureth with such shame and reproach, that it should seeme he had rather to suffer them than reuenge them. And yet this effeminate disdardeth in chains many valiant *Turkes*, and acknowledgeth not your imperiall name, whereunto all men on euery side sue for grace: and which is not to be suffered, exceedingly fauoureth the *Spaniards* at *TRIPOLIS*, to the intent that *Agis* and *Moses*, two valiant *Turkish* captaines, may be driven out of the citie. B This wild beast disarmed of his claws and teeth, we shall easily destroy, if it be but for that we haue with us *Rofcetes* his brother, whom the *Numidians* wish and long for: him must we vse, if it be but for a shew, so shall the thing we desire be without bloud effected, as soone as we shall but present our selues before the gates of *TYNES*. Then shall it be at your pleasure to appoint whom you will haue to gouerne the *Numidian* kingdom: it shall be vnto me glorie enough, when the greatest part of *AFRICK* conquered, shall be peaceably deliuered into your hands at your returne with the triumphs of *PERSIA*. But by the way as I returne, I assure you vpon mine owne priuaty so to vse the matter, that the Christians shall also haue good cause to bewaile their calamities: and if I hap to meet with *Auria*, he shall haue smal cause to reioyce of the mischiefe he hath done: for him alone I challenge to persecute as my proper and peculiar enemy, both for the remembrance of the harmes we haue receiued at his hands, and for the desight I haue at his same; who once taken out of the way, the seas shall be open onely to you and your fleets. And beleene me, he that shall be able to commaund the seas, shall easily also subdue the kingdoms by land.

But *Solyman*, who after the manner of wise princes vsed well to consider, and afterward with ripe iudgement to resolute of such matters as he had with attentive care hearkened vnto; commending *Barbarussa* for his forwardnesse in his seruice, for that time brake vp the counsell. Not long after a decree was made, according to *Abraham* the great *Bassa* his aduise, That *Barbarussa* should be joynd as fourth with the other three chiefe *Bassas* of *Solymans* counsell, and be made great Admirall: so that all the islands, ports, and people all alongst the sea coast thorow out *Solymans* empire, should be at his commaund, and that it should be lawfull for him to take vp such matriners and souldiours for seruice at sea, as pleased him in what place soeuer. This being solemnly proclaimed, *Solyman* with his owne hand deliuered him a scepter and a sword, willing him by worthie deeds to performe what he had promised. After which *Aiax* and *Cassimes* the two great *Bassas*, with the captain of the *Ianizaries*, brought him with exceeding pompe from the court to the Nauie: at which time was carried before him all the tokens of his new obtained honour. And toward the maintenance of that warre at sea, he had deliuered vnto him out of *Solymans* treasures eight hundred thousand duckets, and eight hundred *Ianizaries*.

But for as much, as much it was that he did in the seruice of *Solyman*, and more is of him hereafter to be spoken; it shall not be amisse here to present vnto the view of the world the sterne, E but liuely countenance of this so famous a man (who liuing kept all the *Mediterranean* in feare) as it is by *Boisardus* exprested, together with the *Elogium* following.

*Barbarussa made
Solyman great
Admirall.*



*Littora te Hesperia timuere vtriusq;
Oppressi dextra succubnere tua.
Nunquam te Lypare Corcyrae diliget, harum
Cum sis immeritos depopulatus agros.*

The coasts of ITALY and SPAIN, of thee were sore afraid,
And so the Moores did stoupe to thee, by thy right hand dismayd.
LYPPAROS will thee neuer loue, ne yet CORCYRA strong:
For that thou causelesse didst to them so great and open wrong.

Barbarussa sped of that he desired, staid not long after at CONSTANTINOPLE, but departing out of HEBSPONTVS with eightie gallies and certaine galliots, shap'd his course towards ITALIE; leaving Amurathes (a sea captaine) with twelue gallies to transport Solymán and his armie, readie to set forward against the Persian, ouer that narrow sea into ASIA. Who after hee had so done, ouertooke Barbarussa at MATHONE, who holding on his course to AFRICK, and sodainly passing the strait betwixt ITALIE and SICILIE, brought a great feare vpon both the countries; but passing by the bay of HIPPONA alongst the coast of the lower CALABRIA, he set vpon the towne of S. Lucidius called in auncient time TAMPESA: which although it stood vpon a rocke, and was reasonable well walled; yet such was the violence of the Turkes assault, that it could not be defended but was taken, with so much more hurt to the inhabitants, for that the

He spoileth the
coast of Italie.

Maio

A Maio of the towne to keepe the people from flying away, had lockt vp the gates on the other side of the citie from the enemy. From thence he with rich spoile and many prisoners went to CITRARIUM, where he had learned of his prisoners, a fleet of gallies was in building. This towne forsaken of the inhabitants for feare, he tooke without resistance, ransacked and burnt it, where he also fired seauen gallies not yet altogether finished. But after he was come with his fleet as farr as the island CAPRI within the sight of NAPLES, such a terrout was stricke into the minds of all that dwelt alongst that coast, that it was thought if he had landed and gone directly to NAPLES, the Neapolitanes would for feare haue abandoned the citie. But holding on his course, he came to PROCHITA, which he tooke and rifled; so passing by the port of CAIETA, which he might easily haue taken; he came to SPRLVNCA, a towne in the hitherto part of the kingdome of NAPLES. They of the towne dismayed with the suddain arrivall of so great a fleet, yelded the same without resistance. The enemy entering the towne, tooke twelue hundred prisoners. *Pelagrus* a chiefe man amongst them of SPRLVNCA was fled into the castle; him Barbarussa commaunded to yeeld, which if he would presently doe, he promised to let him go free; but if he should stand vpon his defence, he threatned in short time to make him repent his foolish hardnesse with the viter destruction both of himselfe and the towne. The fearefull gentleman without delay, came out of the castle, and fell downe at his feet; who according to his promise gaue him his libertie, and with rare courtesie restored to him his wife, his sonne, and niece, whom hee had taken prisoners, who receiued them with many teares falling from their eyes for ioy.

C The same night also two thousand Turkes came from the fleet thorow the rough and bushie mountaines to the citie FVNDI, ten miles distant from SPRLVNCA, in the vttermost borders of the kingdome of NAPLES, conducted as was thought by certaine Italians of that countrey; who a few yeares before taken at sea, and ouerweatied with the heauie burthen of the Turkish slaue, had reuolted to the Mahometane religion. But such was the suddennesse of their coming, and their celeritie in entering the citie, that *Julia Gonzaga* the paragon of ITALIE, and the chiefe prise which they sought after, had scarce time to get to horse halfe naked, and so with much difficultie to escape into the mountaines. It is reported, that Barbarussa (which thing he himselfe afterwards seemed not to denie) moued with the fame of her incomparable beautie and wonderfull perfection, desired exceedingly to haue taken her as a present for Solymán. The citizens D were for most part either slaine or taken prisoners by the Turkes; who loded with the spoile of the citie, returned againe to the fleet. Another part of Barbarussa's fleet came to TARRACINA, which the Turkes tooke forsaken of the inhabitants, who for feare were all fled into the mountaines, except some which for age or sicknesse could not shift for themselves, whom the Turkes slew and spoiled the churches. Barbarussa thus scouring alongst the coast of ITALIE, and newes thereof daily brought to the citie of ROME, stricke such an exceeding terrout into the minds of the citizens, that it was verily thought if he had come but a little farther to OSTIA, they would generally haue forsaken the citie. But he hauing well performed his promise made to Solymán for vexing the Christians, and before resolued of a greater matter he had to doe; when he had watered at PONTIA, passed ouer into AFRICK with such celeritie, that he was arriued there before it was thought that he was departed from the coast of ITALY. For Barbarussa to deceiue E Muleasses king of TVNES, and to take him vnprovidid, had giuen it out that he would burne and spoile the coasts of the Christian countries, especially of ITALY, LIOVRIA, and SPAIN, in reuenge of the harme done by *Auria* at CORONE and PATRAS. Which thing Muleasses the rather beleeued, vnderstanding his proceedings vpon the coast of ITALY. The Venetians hauing also at the same time at great charges prepared a great fleet, did in some part lessen Muleasses feare, that Barbarussa would employ his forces for AFRICK; for then what should the Venetians haue needed to haue made so great and chargeable a preparation. But that which about all other things brought him into securitie, was for that he had by secree espials certainly learned, that his brother *Rosetes* was kept at CONSTANTINOPLE, as a prisoner at large, vnder safe keeping: which made him to thinke that Barbarussa's forces were not prepared against him, for he knew that he could not be impugned, or his state more endangered by any other means than by producing the competitor of his kingdome, to whom his guiltie conscience doubted, that both the citizens of TVNES and the Numidians were for most part well affected.

This Muleasses of whom we now speake, and whom hereafter we shall by occasion often re-

Iii iij

member

*Julia Gonzaga a
faire lady hardly
distressed by Bar-
barussa.*

*The Romans
afraid of Barba-
russa.*

Solyman the Magnificent,

member, was lineally descended of the auncient kings of Tunes; who without interruption of G
discent or mixture of forraine blood, had by the space of nine hundred fiftie and foure yeares
mightily ruled the great kingdom of TUNES, from TRIPO LIS to BYOTA, almost eight hun-
dred miles alongst the Mediterranean, and into the maine as farre as the mount ATLAS; and
for the long continuance of their state, and largeness of their kingdom, were worthily accom-
ted the most reuerend and mightie amongst the Mahometane kings of AFRICK. His father
Mahometes, when he had with much glorie and more pleasure reigned two and thirtie yeares,
perceiuing the end of his life to approach, had purposed to haue appointed Maimo his eldest
sonne (whom for his hastie aspiring he then held in durance) to succeed him in his kingdom.
But ouercome with the importunitie of Lentigesia his wife, a woman of haucie spirit, who had
by reward made a strong faction in the court for her sonne Muleaffes, he altered his former pur- H
pose, and appointed him his successour: by whom (as it was thought) the small remainder of
his owne old yeares was shortened; Maimo the right heire of the kingdom in prison, presently
murdered; seuentene of his other brethren vnmmercifully executed; and three other, Barcha, Be-
oneth, and Saeth, with more than barbarous crueltie, with a hoat yron of their sight deprived; on-
ly Roscetes the second brother, and Abdemelech, escaping the hands of their vnnaturall brother,
fled to Morhabitus a great prince amongst the Numidians; whither also their brothers malice
persecuted them, seeking sometime by practise, sometime by poison to haue taken them away,
and at last for a great summe of money to haue had them deliuered into his hands: Which mo-
ney they Numidian receiued, but suffered the distressed princes as if they had escaped against his
will, to flie further to another Numidian prince a friend of his, called Bentieses: where Mule- I
affes by like practises as before fought to haue destroyed them, or to haue got them into his owne
power. Thus chased by their brothers endlesse malice from prince to prince, and place to place,
they for their more safetie fled at last to the citie of BISCARIS farre into the maine land: where
Abdemelech as one wearie of the world, gaue ouer all and betooke himselfe to a solitarie life, and
became a melancholy Mahometane monke. But Roscetes courteously entertained by Abdalla
prince of that citie, found such fauour in his sight, that he gaue him his daughter in marriage, and
long time honourably maintained him as his sonne in law, with such carefulnesse, that for feare
of Muleaffes practises, he was seldome permitted to eat any other meat but such as the prince
or his wife had before tasted of. Muleaffes thus reigning and raging, and yet not contented with
the death of so many of his brethren, proceeded further, and murdered diuers of their children K
also. He caused also the Manifest and Mesuar, men of greatest authoritie in all the kingdom,
his fathers graue counsellors and his cheefe friends, by whose meanes especially he had aspired vnto
the kingdom, to be cruelly tortured to death, fearing their greatnesse, or rather as some thought
greeuing to see them liue to whom he was so much beholden, and therefore rewarded them
with such sharpe payment. And by the instigation of Lentigesia his mother, caused diuers of his
fathers other wiues and concubines to be shamefully murdered, inuicighing oftentimes against
his father, that as an effeminate prince with infinit charges had for his pleasure maintained two
hundred wiues and concubines in his houses of delight, by whom he had begot so many sonnes
competitours of the kingdom, that he had left him (as he said) a laborious and enuious peece
of worke, to destroy so great a brood. Roscetes aided by his father in law and the other Numi- L
dian princes, to whom the name of Muleaffes both for his crueltie against his owne blood, and
injurious dealing against his neighbours, was become odious, passing ouer the riuer Bragada,
with a great armie, neere vnto TUNES met with Muleaffes his armie, conducted by Dorax,
a valiant capitaine, brother to Lentigesia: where in a sharpe conflikt he ouerthrew his brothers ar-
mie, and enforced Dorax with them that were escaped out of the battell for safegard of their liues
to flie into TUNES. Roscetes pursuing the victorie, came and presented his armie before the gates
of the citie, in hope that the citiens (whom he knew for the most part to hate the vsurping ty-
rant) would vpon the sight of him, in right their king, with so great an armie, raise some tumult in
the citie, and let him in. There he lay by the space of twentie daies, still expecting some inno-
uation; in which time the more to alienate the minds of the people from Muleaffes, and to shew M
how vnable he was to protect them, he burnt and destroyed all the oliue and fruit trees, which
grew most plentifully and pleasantly all alongst the country, from the ruines of old CARTHAGE
to the wals of TUNES: which was vnto the citiens, whose greatest possessions lay there, a most
heauie and lamentable spectacle. But Muleaffes had so tempered their minds with faire spee-
ches

The ingratitude
of Muleaffes.Roscetes riseth
against his bro-
ther Muleaffes.

fourth Emperour of the Turks.

ches and large promises of recompensing euery man to the full, for all such harme as they should
sustaine by his brothers furie in the countrey: and beside that had the citie in such strong posses-
sion by reason of his souldiors, that the citiens either would not or could not reuolt to Roscetes.
The Numidian princes wearie of that long and vaine expectation, according to the leuitie of
that nation, accounting it no shame after victorie once gotten to depart, began one after another
to thinke away to their owne dwellings, perswading Roscetes also to prouide for himselfe whilest
he had time, and to attend his better fortune. Wherefore he fearing to be betrayed by the Nu-
midians, or circumvented by his cruell brother, fled to Barbarussa, then reigning at ALGIERS
in great glorie, where he was honourably entertained; and there remained vntill such time as by
his perswasion he went with him as is aforesaid to CONSTANTINOPLE, to craie helpe of Soly-
man, by whom he was detained in safe custodie: although it was in policie giuen out by Barba-
russa, that he was in the fleet, and that he should by Solymans power be restored to his fathers
kingdome at TUNES.

This was the state of the kingdom of TUNES, at such time as Barbarussa with Solymans
great fleet, contrarie to all mens expectation, suddenly departing from the coast of ITALIE, lan-
ded in AFRICK at BISERTA, a famous port of the kingdom of TUNES. They of BISER- Biseria greideu
TA wearie of the gouernment of Muleaffes, and of themselves desirous of change, as soone as
they heard the name of Roscetes, forthwith draue out their Gouernour, and receiued the Turkes
into the towne. For Barbarussa had before sent certaine of Roscetes his familiar friends ashore,
which bare the people in hand, that he was in the fleet, but not able yet to come on shore, for
C that he was (as they said) seasicke and troubled with an ague. BISERTA thus possessed by Barba-
russa, he presently departed thence: and sayling by Vrica, thirtie miles distant from BISERTA,
and so keeping alongst the coast, and passing the promontorie of CARTHAGE, came before
GULIETTA, a strong castle within the bay of TUNES, so placed vpon a strait, that it commaun-
ded all the passage by sea vnto the citie of TUNES. Before this castle, Barbarussa in token of
friendship, discharged all his great ordinance, which they of the castle answered with like: but
being required to deliuer it vp to Roscetes, they said it should be alwayes at his commaund that
ruled in the citie of TUNES. The newes of Roscetes his supposed comming, flying swiftly by land
from BISERTA to TUNES, and the great fleet once discovered, set all the citie on an vtper: for
the citiens were in great expectation of their new king, both for the loue of Roscetes, who had
D alwayes shewed himselfe to be of a mild and bountifull nature; and also for the hatred of Mu-
leaffes, whose tyrannous and couetous gouernment they thought they had too long endured.
Neither was he ignorant what report ran of himselfe, and how he had lost the hearts of his sub-
jects, which was evidently to be scene in the eyes and countenances of the cheefe men of the ci-
tie. And that which more encreased their hatred, was for that he had not according to his pro-
mie to them in time of his distresse, made them any recompence for their goodly houses and
olue gardens, destroyed in the countrey by Roscetes in the former warres: wherefore at such
olue gardens, destroyed in the countrey by Roscetes in the former warres: wherefore at such
time as he came now out of the castle, and in the greatest assemblie of his people, began to per-
suade them to play the men, and to continue constant in their obedience, promising vnto them
such reward as they knew he was neuer able to performe, they all departed, and left him alone:
E yeasome of them vnder the colour of friendship, and amongst them Abdahar, then Mesuar,
(which was cheefe officer next vnto the king) perswaded him to giue place to his hard fortune,
& forthwith to flie, for by chance at the same instant it was in euery mans mouth, that the Turkes
were euen at hand: which thing caused Muleaffes, forsaken of his subjects, of himselfe fearefull,
and worthily doubting to be betrayed, to flie in such hast out of the citie, that he left behind him
both his treasure and jewels, which afterwards came into the hands of his enemies. The first that
gave Spaniards. Fetuches presently after the flight of Muleaffes, brought out Roscetes wife and
children, whom Muleaffes had long time kept in prison, & to welcome their father, placed them
in the kings royall seat. Abeszes also forthwith aduertised Barbarussa of the departure of Mu-
leaffes, and with what longing the people expected their desired king, wishing him without delay
F to repaire vnto the citie: and for a present sent him a goodly Barbarian horse, richly furnished,
and diuers others for his other cheefe capitaines. Hereupon Barbarussa without longer stay set
forward with fife thousand Turkes, which he had already landed, and comming to the citie, was
of the citiens joyfully receiued. But after long looking, when they could no where descerie Ros-
cetes

Forsaken of this
Numidian prin-
ces, he flieeth to
Barbarussa.Barbarussa com-
meth to GULIETTAMuleaffes flieeth
out of Tunes.Barbarussa en-
treth into Tunes
cetes

ettes their supposed king, and heard nothing but the name of *Solyman* and *Barbarussa*, doubled and redoubled by the Turkes in their militarie acclamations, as they marched thorow the citie towards the castle; they began to distrust, as the truth was, that in stead of their new king whom they so much desired, they had receiued the Turkish gouernement, which they vicerly detested. Which suspicion once confirmed by certaine of *Roscetes* friends (whom *Barbarussa* had brought with him of purpose to delude the people) who grieued to see the ruine of their native country, spared not for feare of the present danger to tell their friends and acquaintance as they went, That they did in vaine looke for *Roscetes*, whom they had left in bonds at **CONSTANTINOPLE**: it was a wonder to see, how suddainely the minds of the people were changed, how speedily they ran to their weapons, and how furiously they assailed the Turkes, now learing no such matter, and were not as yett got into the castle. The cheefe leader of the citifens in this tumult, was *Abdabar* the Mesuar, who but a little before vpon the coming of the Turkes, by augmenting the danger, and the vnfaithfulness of his subjects, had persuaded *Muleasses* to flie; but now perceiuing himselfe deceived of his expectation for the coming of *Roscetes*, and repenting of that he had done, fought by all meanes to driue out the Turkes, and to recall *Muleasses*. And the more to animate the people, as he stood on high, from whence he might best be heard, he cried vnto them with a loud voice:

We are most villanously betrayed (worthie citifens) for Roscetes, whom we expected for our lawfull king, lamenteth his miserie in chaines, in prison at CONSTANTINOPLE: and we, except we presently play the men, and valiantly fight for our libertie, shall for ever serue as slaues to these forraigne and mercilesse pyrats. The present danger of our estate telleth vs, that we must presently and without delay take the occasion offered. Wherefore let all men that meane not to serue as slaues, and to be bought and sold as beasts, take up armes against the faithlesse Turkes. I my selfe will be your leader: let vs therefore all with one consent with heart and hand renenge this shamefull trecherie, defend our country and libertie with the ancient honour of the Numidians.

There was now no time to stay, euery man had betaken himselfe to his weapons; *Muleasses* was againe sent for, who yett itaied in the suburbs, expecting what should happen; many of the Turkes were slaine before they were aware, or feared any thing; all the citie was filled with outcries and clattering of weapons: the number of the citifens was such, as might easily haue expelled the Turkes, had they beene but reasonably armed or well conducted, which in a matter so sudden, and with men altogether ignorant of seruice, was not possible. Yett they armed with furie, and encouraged with the multitude of themselves, swarmed vp as thicke as was possible one of the bulwarkes of the castle, which they knew was easiest to be gained, where the Turkes had set vp one of their ensignes; and with the multitude of their darts and arrowes so ouerwhelmed the Turkes, that they were glad to forsake the place, and to retire farther into the castle to a place of more strength: from whence and all alongst the curtaine of the wall, they without intermission discharged their great artillerie and small shot amongst the thickest of the naked Moores, making of them a wonderfull slaughter. *Barbarussa* although he was a man of an invincible courage & great experience, all his life time well acquainted with desperat dangers (the dreadfull steps of aspiring minds) yett surprisid with the suddenesse of the assault, shut vp in a place whereof he yett knew not the strength, and not provided of victuall for three dayes, was with the due consideration of these difficulties, not a little troubled: which his care was by the disordered furie of his enemies, and knowne valour of his owne souldiours greatly diminished; especially when hee saw his owne men still fighting, as men full of hope and courage, and the Moores as men halfe dismayed with the wounds and slaughter of their friends, readie to retire. Howbeit, by the coming in of *Muleasses* and *Dorax*, the assault twice before giuen ouer, was againe at both times renewed, with no lesse desperat furie than at the first, and the Turkes hardly charged. In this dangerous assault *Halus* of *MALIGA*, a renegade Spaniard, but a most expert souldior, turning himselfe to *Barbarussa*, said:

If thou wilt saue thine honour, and hold this fort, we must sallie out vpon this enemy, which ha-ving neuer scene a set battell, but onely acquainted with light skirmishes, will not be able to endure our charge at hand; but shall in a moment know the price of their foolish hardinesse: who as brainesicke men could neither endure the gouernment of their cruell king, ne yett thankfully receive the authors of their deliuerance and libertie.

This motion of the Spaniard, confirmed by the generall approbation of the cheefest cap-
taines,

taines, *Barbarussa* commaunded *Halus* the author of that counsell, with certaine other captaines and their companions, at one instant to sallie out at two ports of the castle: which they so re-
lolutely performed, that in short time a wonderfull number of the naked Moores lay dead vpon the ground.

Abdabar the Mesuar himselfe, was there shot thorow with a bullet and slaine: whereupon the assault was quite giuen ouer, the Moores retreating by companies backe into the citie, and the Turkes still pursuing them: where, in the streets for certaine houres, was fought a most cruell and bloudie battell. At last the citifens ouercome, forsooke the open streets, and betooke them to the refuge of their houses; not so carefull of their king, as of themselves, their wiues and children. And *Halus* with the rest, wearied with the slaughter of his enemies, and overcome with labour, heat, and thirst, returned with victorie vnto the castle. It is reported that there was aboue three thousand of the citifens slaine that day, and thrise as many hurt. *Muleasses* thus discouraged, and vtterly despairing to recover the citie; hardly escaped his enemies hands, and overcome with this vncke *Dorax*, with whom he fled ouer the riuer *Bagrada*, and came in safetie to **CONSTANTINA** (called of old time **CYRTA**): the ancient seat of the Numidian kings, but then a part of *Dorax* his dominion; where he was honorably maintained and protected vntill the coming of *Charles* the emperour into **AFRICA**. The night ensuing this battell, and the flight of the king, was restless both to the citifens and the Turkes, each of them for feare of other standing vpon their strongest guard.

The next day the citifens discouraged with the losse of so many of their kinsmen and friends, and hauing no king now for whom they should fight, craued pardon of *Barbarussa* for their rash attempt, excusing it by the name of loyaltie to their ancient kings; offering to submit themselves vnto him with all faithfulness. Which their offer he willingly accepted, knowing that he was not able to keepe that place with his souldiors three daies, for lacke of victuall: so that all his hope and victorie gotten, might easily be ouerthrowne and brought to nought, if the citifens moued and either with desperation or desire of reuenge, should joyne with the other Numidian princes, and besiege him in the castle. Whereupon a generall peace was granted, and by soleme oath on both sides confirmed, whereby the citifens expresse bound themselves to the obedience of *Solyman*, and to *Barbarussa* as his lieutenant. All things thus set in order in the citie of **TUNES**, & new magistrates and officers by him made, he laboured by all meanes to win vnto him the Numidian princes, of themselves prone enough vpon light occasions to make or breake the bonds of friendship, he sent *Afan-aga* an eunuch, and *Halus* the Spaniard with the Ianizaries, & certaine pieces of great ordinance, to take in the other cities of the kingdome of **TUNES**: which they in short time performed, being in all places peaceably receiued, onely the citie of **CARVENNA** held out a while, yett afterwards for feare of further harme receiued the Turkes garrison. But to leaue *Barbarussa* king of **ALGIERS** and *Solymans* great Admirall, thus possessed of the kingdome of **TUNES**; and *Muleasses* in exile at **CONSTANTINA**, vntill he be againe restored vnto his kingdome by *Charles* the emperour, as shall be hereafter declared: let vs againe returne to the wars at the selfesame time vnderaken by *Solyman* in person himselfe in **PERSIA**, persuaded therunto as we haue before said by *Abraham* the great Bassa. Of whom a few words, that they which shall hereafter liue, may in him as in others, see in what slipperie place they stand, and what small assurance they haue, which forsaking God, run headlong after these worldly vanities, and swelling with the fauours of great princes, are in a moment when they least feare any such fall, suddenly ouerthrowne, and become the miserable spectacles of mans fragilitie in the height of their supposed blisse.

This great Bassa called of the Turkes *Ibrahim*, of vs *Abraham*, was borne in a poore country village neere vnto **PERGA**, a towne in that part of **EPHROS** which was called **BYTHRO**: who in his childhood was taken from his Christian parents, by such as by authoritie did take vp the tribute children of the Christians for the Turkish emperour. A tribute of all tribes most grieuous. He was of countenance amiable, of feature comely, actiue of bodie, well spoken, pleasantly conceited, and sharpe of wit: so that he in shorter time than was thought possible, to the admiration of many, learned both to speake and write the Arabian tongue, and other languages vsed in the Turkes court, and could skilfully play vpon sundrie kinds of instruments. And being yett a boy, serued *Scanderbassa*, a man of great authoritie and power, in the
time

The citifens de-
scribed of their
exaltation, rise
against the
Turkes.

The citifens of
Tunes discoun-
fessed by the Turkes.

Muleasses fleeth.

The citifens of
Tunes yield them-
selves to Barbar-
ussa.

Muleasses return-
eth into the
citie.

The description
of Abraham the
great Bassa.

time of *Selymus* the emperour, in whose seruice he was instructed in the Mahometane religion; but giuing himselfe to all manner of curiositie and neatnesse, he was wonderfully fauoured by the great ladie his mistresse, and by her commended to her husband *Scanderbassa*, as a fit page to attemper his melancholy and wayward disposition, with his pleasant conceits and deuises. Wherein the Tetricall Bassa finding him to excell, gaue him as a rare gift to *Solyman* the sonne of *Selymus*, his grandfather *Baiazer* yet liuing: who tooke in him such pleasure, that the old emperour caused him to be brought vp in the court, in all princely qualites with *Solyman* (who was of like yeares vnto him) as his companion and playfellow. Where he so framed himselfe vnto the young prince his disposition in all points, that he was of him alwaies exceedingly beloued, and afterwards promoted to all the honours of the court, and made one of the Bassas; giuing vnto him in marriage the onely daughter and heire of *Scanderbassa*, his master then dead, with an exceeding great dowrie. And after that, made him Gouernour of *CARIA*: where hee had not long remained, but he was againe sent for to the court, as the man which gaue thereunto life, without whose companie *Solyman* was as one halfe dead. At length he made him Vezier, which is the chiefe of all the Bassas, and president of his counsell, the greatest honour in the Turkish empire next vnto the emperour himselfe. And to honour him yet more, he deliuered him his priuat signet, wherewith the Turkish emperours neuer vsed to trust any but themselves: he might at his pleasure, grace, and disgrace whom he would, in court or elsewhere. What he commaunded, was done: and whatsoeuer he did, was taken for well done. He might without the emperours knowledge giue any office, yea the gouernment of whole countries and prouinces, vnto his fauourites: his credit with the emperour was so great, that hee did what he list, and no man durst presume to aske any reason why. And by all at once, he wanted nothing of the maiestie of an emperour, but the name onely; in steed whereof he was commonly called the Great Commander of all the emperours forces. His house in *CONSTANTINOPLE* was of all other most stately, wherein was daily to be scene such a multitude of his gallant followers, and such a world of wealth and royall furniture, as that it might be worthely compared with the pallace of a great prince. Neither was he partaker of *Solymans* counsailes in his waighie matters of state onely, but of his secreet delights and pleasures also; if he were present all was well, if he were away nothing pleased: to be short, he so possessed this great emperour, that men commonly said, The soule of *Solyman* liued in *Abraham*. Whereat many of the great men of the court secretly repined; but especially *Solymans* mother, and *Roxalana* his faire concubine, whom of all women hee held dearest. His liuely and maiestieall countenance thou maiest here behold.

His bringing vp
in the courts.

His great credit
with Solyman.

ABRA-



*Magnus es & Getici tibi gratia prona tyranni
Seruit, at ex alto magna ruina venit:
Te proceres odere, Parenſq; & regia coniux
Horum ne pereas proditiōe caue.*

Right great thou art, and doest commaund the fauour of thy king:
But such great fauours oftentimes, a greater fall doe bring.
The great kings mother, wife, and all the nobles hate thee sore:
Beware that by their wily drifts thou perish not therefore.

This great Commaunder, which might at all times be bolde to speake what he thought vnto *Solyman*, sought many times in his priuat discourses betwixt them two, to persuaide him to forbeate to vse his forces any farther against the Christians, ouer whom he had sufficiently already triumphed, and to turne them vpon the Persians by whom he was daily injured. Alleadging vnto him, that the Germans were a strong and warlike people; who as they both in language and manners differed from the Hungarians, so were they alwaies at variance with them, and therefore much cared not though they were by him subdued: but if he should begin to inuade any part of their countrey, he should then soone see that inuincible nation with their vnited forces, vp in armes readie to make strong resistance. And to prouoke *Charles* the emperour (of all the Christian princes the mightiest) were not good, who of himselfe was able to bring into the field

*Abraham Bassa
persuadeth Soly-
man to make war
vpon the Persi-
ans.*

field most puissant armies of valiant fouldiours out of his owne dominions: beside the wonderfull concourse of most resolute men out of all parts of Christendome, which would not spare to lay downe their liues at his feet in that warre, which was of them accounted most religious. *Yea what strength both of horse and foot might be raised and brought to the battell by the two brethren Charles and Ferdinand, onely might (as he said) even then be plainly perceived, when as they valiantly defended VIENNA, besieged by us with great power. Neither did Charles afterward, as it seemed, and as the Christians commonly vaunt, feare to haue aduentured the fortune of a maine battell with you: who although I doubt not, but he should haue beene overcome by you, so great a monarch with so puissant an armie, a thing peculiar to your good fortune; yet I cannot denie, but that that victorie against such expert and resolute soldiers, so strongly armed as their manner is must haue been bought with a great deale of our blood. These things in my opinion may reasonably perswade you to let the Christians alone, by while warres to weaken one another, that so afterward as they may become a prey vnto us without any danger of ours. So that in my iudgement the Persian warre is to be taken in hand, rather than the warres in GERMANY, and especially for that you haue sufficiently enlarged the bounds of your empire Westward: which you haue extended euen vnto nations very far distant. So that it is now a great matter to defend so much as you haue already gotten, and therefore partly for the difficultie of the defending thereof, and partly vpon an honourable contempt, according to the infinit bountie of your heroicall inclination, haue thought good to bestow whole kingdomes vpon strangers, yea halfe your enemies. Wherefore how much more glorious shall it be now vpon iust occasion to seeke for that which doyneth vnto your owne confines; and may therefore easily be vntied vnto your owne empire: if you according to the example of your grandfather and father shall force your selfe to driue that accursed and abhorrible race of Imaell out of ASIA. For it shall be a great glorie vnto the name of the Ottoman kings for euer, if you shall after your wonted manner zealously respect the cause of religion, a worke of an incomparable fame, if the authors of a most detestable superstition shall by you be chastised quite out of ASIA. For what more iust or honourable cause can there be to make warre, than to professe your selfe the defender of the diuine precepts of our great prophet Mahomet, against the wicked and irreligious impugnors thereof? And by the way to reuenge and utterly to destroy the capital enemies of your ancestours: which was the last prayer of your father Selymus. Can you endure them which rule so insolently, that they account euery one that is nere them their enemies and prey, and dare also with their pilfering inuasions prouoke your selfe, lining contented within the bounds of your owne empire in peace both in EVROPE and ASIA: and they (for sooth) such as haue by most horrible wrong crept into the royall seat of the most lawfull and noble kings descended of the blood of Vsun-Cassanes? who after their wonted manner still liue by rapine and robbery? Beleeue me noble emperour, if you shall vpon a zeale to your religion with your victorious hand take away this staine and plague of ASIA, there shall undoubtedly be erected vnto you so glorious and magnificent a trophie in the midst of PERSIA, as may be compared, yea preferred before the triumphs of your victorious father Selymus. For it is not so much to haue destroyed the Mamalukes (by condition slaves) and the proud Sultans of EGYPT and SIRIA, as to haue subdued the Persians, famous in ancient time for their martiall prowesse, who so oftentimes vanquished by Alexander of MACEDON gaue vnto him the name of Great. Solyman prickt forward with many such discourtes, dayly founded in his cares by the Bassa, began to yeeld to his perswasion. Whereof Abraham in himselfe greatly rejoiced: for it was thought of many, that he did neuer in heart renounce the Christian religion, but was onely in outward shew a Turke, and in heart a Christian. Which was the rather conjectured, for that he maruellously fauoured and protected the Christian marchants, furthered by all meanes the leagues of the Christian princes with Solyman, and laboured alwaies to turne his forces from them vpon the Persians. And the more to whet him forward, the Bassa had cunningly insinuated into his acquaintance one Mulearabe of DAMASCUS, a man at that time famous in CONSTANTINOPLE, for the opinion the people had generally conceied of his holinesse and profound knowledge in the secret causes of things; and the art of Magicke; vsing him as a prophet to fill the ambitious mind of Solyman, with assured hope of prosperous successe: which thing the hypocriticall wifard, after the manner of such deceiuers, most slyly performed, prophesying vnto him all happinesse in so religious a warre, and so much (as he said) pleasing God. This the Bassaes purpose was much furthered also by Vlemas, a noble and valiant Persian, who hauing married the great Persian king Tamas his sister, was revolted from him to Solyman, fearing to be called to account for the extortion wherewith he had grievously oppressed*

A oppressed the countries whereof he had the gouernement: and being wonderfully countenanced in Solyman court by the great Bassa, did after the manner of disloyall fugitiues perswade Solyman by all means he could to take that war in hand, discouering vnto him the power, strength, and state of the Persian kingdome (which he could well doe) and plotting vnto him the easiest way for the conquering thereof, offering also vnto him the vttermost of his deuice. So Solyman filled with the vaine hope of the conquest of PERSIA, yeelded fully vnto the perswasions of the great Bassa, and gaue out his commissions into all parts of his empire for the raising of a mighty armie for the performance of so great an enterprize, commaunding all his capitaines and men of warre to be readie at the citie of NICIA in BITHONIA: and a certaine day appointed: Which his purpose, although it was mightily impugned by his mother, and faire Roxalana his best beloved, as that which altogether proceeded from the Bassa, the one alleading with what euill successe his grandfather and father had before him attempted that same way: the other assailing him with her passionat affections; but both of them indeed reppining at the credit of the Bassa, and in their hearts disdaining that so great a monarch should at the pleasure of his seruant be led vp and downe the world (so farre from their companies; for which cause they did what in them lay to haue ouerthrowne the purpose of Abraham, and to haue altered Solymans former determination. But so strong was the Bassaes credit with his great lord and master, that all these great ladies deuises and prayers were as womens affectionat passions rejected, and the Bassaes counsell to their no small griefe) in all things regarded.

The time appointed being come, and all things in readinesse, Solyman sent Abraham the Bassa, and Vlemas the Persian before him into SIRIA with a strong armie, to be readie with the first of the Spring to inuade the Persian king. Which thing the Bassa gladly tooke vpon him; and coming into SIRIA, wintered with his armie at ALAEO: whither Barbarossa came vnto him for his letters of credence to Solyman, as is before declared. The Spring now approaching, Abraham sent Vlemas the fugitiue Persian prince before him with the light horsemen, the fore-runners of his armie, into MESOPOTAMIA as his guide, because the countrey was vnto him best knowne; following not farre after himselfe with all his armie. And marching still forward in that manner, came at length without resistance vnto the famous citie of TAVERIS in ARMENIA the greater, called in ancient time EBATHANA, as is probably by some conjectured: a great and rich citie, but vntoall and of no strength, where the Persian Kings (for the pleasantnesse of the place, and freshnesse of the ayre) vsed commonly to be resident in the heat of the yeare.

From whence Tamas the Persian king was as then absent, busied in warres with Kesen-bassa, a prince of the Corasine Hircanians; so that the citizens of TAVERIS destitute of all helpe, yeelded themselves and the citie vnto the Bassa at his first comming. Tamas the Persian king vnderstanding what was happened at TAVERIS, drew neere with his power, warily expecting to haue taken the Turkes at some aduantage, and so by pollicie to haue defeated his enemies, whom hee was too weake to meet with in plaine battell. Which thing the warie Bassa well perceiuing, for more assurance, by speedie couriers aduertised Solyman of the taking of TAVERIS, and of the enemies purpose, requesting him with all speed to repaire with his armie to TAVERIS. Solyman was then come farre on his way with a strong armie, not by the way of ANCYRA, SEBASTIA, EAMASIA, the borders of TRAPEZONDE, and so ouer Euphrates at ARSENOA into ARMENIA, as his father Selymus had done before him, because that way was thought longer and more troublesome; but quite another way, on the right hand from NICIA BYTHINIA to ICOMIA, and by CASARABO MALATHIA, where is the notable passage ouer the river Euphrates, bursting out by the vallies of the mountaine ANTIVAVS, from whence the plaines of MESOPOTAMIA, then part of the Persian kingdome, begin to open themselves; thence, which Solyman marched peaceably with his armie, paying the poore countrey people for whatsoeuer he tooke: and so in foure and fiftie dayes march came from NICIA BYTHINIA to the citie of COIM in ARMENIA the greater, which is supposed to be built in the ruines of the famous and ancient citie ARAXATA. But hearing such news as is aforesaid from the Bassa, he doubled his march, and so in short time after came and joynd his forces with the Bassa at TAVERIS. Tamas who yet dayly expected the comming of the Georgian light horsemen, vnderstanding that Solyman was coming against him with a world of men, thought it not good to abide the comming of so puissant an enemy, but with delay to wearie him out that drew such a multitude of people after him; and by taking of him at all aduantages, to cut off his people

K k k

spent

Solyman followeth Tamas the Persian king into Sultania.

spent with long trauell, wanting victuall, and falling into diuerse diseases; as it commonly chan-
ceth to populous armies in strange countries, where the change of the ayre, with the innumerable
necessities alwaies attending vpon a great armie, most times causeth grievous and contagious di-
seases. Wherefore Tamas to shun the comming of Solyman, retired further off into SVLTANIA,
about six daies journey from TAVRIS. Whereof Solyman hauing knowledge, departed from
that rich cite without doing any harme therein, following after Tamas into SVLTANIA, to joine
battell with him if he could possible: leauing behind him for haile, a great part of his carriages
and baggage, with five hundred Ianizaries, and three of his Sanzacks with their companies.
The cite of SVLTANIA was in auncient time one of the royall seats of the Persian kings, but ru-
inated by the Scythian Tamerlane, retained no shew of the auncient maiestie, but onely in the
churches by him spared. Neere vnto this cite Solyman lay encamped many daies, expecting that
the Persian king (in reuenge of the iniurie to him done, and for the safegard of his honor) should
at length come out of the mountaines, and shew himselfe in plaine field, and giue him battell:
Which was a thing so farte from Tamas his resolution, vpon the due comparing of his owne
strength with his enemies, that he retired in such sort, that Solyman could by no meanes learne
what was become of him; or which way to follow him.

The countrey neere vnto the cite of SVLTANIA wherein Solyman lay encamped at large, is
on euerie side enuironed with hugie mountaines, whose tops are to be seene a farte off, alwaies
couered with deepe snow: these mountaines were in auncient time called NYPHATAS, CAS-
PIVS, COATHRAS and ZAGRVS, taking their beginning no doubt of CAVCASVS the father
of mountaines; and joyning one to another, some one way, some another, doe diuide most
large and wide countreys. Whilest Solyman in those plaine fields most fit to fight a battell in,
expected the comming of Tamas, such a horrible and cruell tempest (as the like whereof the Per-
sians had neuer before seene at that time of the yeare) fell downe from those mountaines; which
was so much the more strange, for that it fell in the beginning of September: with such abun-
dance of raine; which frose so eagerly as it fell, that it seemed the depth of WV inter had euen then
of a sudden beene come in: for such was the rage of the blustering winds, striuing with themselves
as if it had beene for victorie, that they swept the snow from off the tops of those high moun-
taines, and cast it downe into the plaines in such abundance, that the Turkes lay as men buried
aliue in the deepe snow, most part of their tents being ouerthrowne and beaten downe to the
ground with the violence of the tempest and waight of the snow, wherein a wonderfull number
of sicke souldiours and others of the baser sort which followed the campe perished; and many
others were so benumbed, some their hands, some their feet, that they lost the vse of them for
euer: most part of their beasts which they vsed for carriages, but especially their camels, were
frozen to death. Yea Solyman himselfe was in great danger to haue beene ouerwhelmed in his
tent, all the tents round about him being ouerthrowne with the violence of the tempest. Nei-
ther was there any remedie to be found for so great mischiefs, by reason of the hellish darknesse
of that tempestuous night, most of their fires being put out by the extremities of the storme, which
did not a little terrifie the superstitious Turkes as a thing accounted of them ominous. And that
which troubled them no lesse than the miseries of the tempest, was the fear of the enemy, whose
sudden comming they deadly feared: vntill that after so tedious a night, the Sunne breaking out
the next morning, with his cheerfull beames reuiued many before readie to giue vp the ghost for
cold, and gaue comfort to them all in generall, by discouering the open fields cleare of their fea-
red enemies. It was a dreadfull thing to haue seene what miserie that one night had brought in-
to the Turkes campe: the ground lay almost couered with bodies of the dead; and many liued,
but so, as that they accounted the dead more happie than themselves. Many of the Turkes vain-
ly thought, that horrible tempest was brought vpon them by the charmes and enchantments of
the Persian Magicians; whereas it was vndoubtedly, by the hand of him which bringeth the
proud deuises of princes to naught.

Solyman troubled as well with the strangenesse of the accident, as the losse he had receiued, after
he had a little refreshed his discouraged souldiours, rise with his armie and tooke his way on the left
hand into ASSIRIA: Vlemas the Persian perswading him therunto for many causes, but espec-
ially by putting him in hope of the taking of BABYLON; for that Mahometes a friend of his, was
gouernour thereof. But he when the matter came to prooffe, was not to be wooon either by pro-
mise or reward to betray the cite. Wherefore Solyman resolved to take it by force, neither did

his fortune faile him therein: for as soone as Mahometes vnderstood that Vlemas was at hand
with the forerunners of the Turkes armie, and that Solyman with all his power was comming af-
ter, who as he thought would neuer haue come so farte; he not prouided to withstand so might-
ie an enemy, and not beloued of the citizens, fled out of the cite. Solyman comming, in short
time after was of the Babylonians receiued without resistance. This cite of BABYLON com-
monly called BAGDAD, rise out of the ruines of the old cite of BABYLON, so much spoken of in
holy writ: from whence it is not farte distant, standing vpon the riuer Tygris, which not farte be-
neath falleth into the riuer Euphrates. In this famous city is the seat of the great Caliph, the chiefe
Mahometane priest, whom all the Mahometane princes haue in great reuerence, & hath an old
prerogative in the choise and confirmation of the kings of ASSIRIA, and the Sultans of AEGYPT:
of which Caliph, Solyman according to the old superstitious manner, receiued at his hands the
ensignes and ornaments of the Assyrian kings, and with great bountie wooon the hearts of the
people: and thereupon resolved to spend that Winter there, billiting his armie in diuers pla-
ces of that fertill countrey: The other cities of ASSIRIA and MESOPOTAMIA also, namely
CARABMIDA, MEBDINVM, ORSA, and ASANCESA, hearing that Solyman had without re-
sistance taken BABYLON, yielded themselves and receiued his garisons. Yea the same thereof
was so great, that embassadours came vnto him as farte as ORMY, a cite in the mouth of Eu-
phrates, where it falleth into the Persian gulf, famous for the great traffique out of INDIA thi-
ther, suing vnto him for peace. Thus the auncient cite of BABYLON with the great countreys
of ASSIRIA and MESOPOTAMIA, sometimes famous kingdomes of themselves, and lately
part of the Persian kingdome, fell into the hands of the Turkes, and became prouinces of the
Turkish empire in the yeare 1534. Where Solyman after he had spent that Winter in great joy
and triumph, according to the manner of the Turkish government, placed a great Commander,
which they by a proud name call the Beglerbeg (which is as much as to say, the lord of lords);
and vnder him diuers others for the government of these countreys, by parts, which they call San-
zacks, who are euer at the command of the Beglerbeg. Whilest he thus wintered at BA-
BYLON, he caused Alexander Zelibi (which is to say, Alexander the noble) his great treasurer
for the warres, to be hanged, for that he had vnfaithfully dealt in his office; and confiscated all
his goods.

Tamas hearing that Solyman was gone to BABYLON, returned to TAVRIS: of whose speedy
comming, the Ianizaries and other captaines there left by Solyman vnderstanding, fled in haist out
of the cite, leauing all such things as were committed to their custodie, for a prey vnto the Per-
sian souldiours.

Solymans armie being mightily increased by the comming vnto him of the great Bassa of
CAIRE, with the Sanzacks of ALEXANDRIA, IVDEA, SYRIA, and COMAGENE; by the per-
suasion of Abraham, and Vlemas, the Spring now well come on, departed from BABYLON
again towards TAVRIS, with purpose either to draw Tamas to battell, or else to his eternall in-
fanie before his face to sacke that his regall cite. But Tamas aduertised of his comming, and
knowing himselfe too weake to giue him battell, forsooke the cite, and fled into the mountaines
of HIRCANIA: destroying all the countrey before him as he went, and carrying away the in-
habitants, leauing nothing to relieue the Turkes, if they should pursue him. Solyman vnderstan-
ding that Tamas was againe fled, sent Vlemas with all the choise horsemen of his armie to over-
take him if it were possible, and to fight with him. But when he had followed him two or three
daies journey, and still found the countrey desolat as he went, yielding neither forrage for his
horses, nor reliefe for his men, and saw no hope to ouertake the king, he began as a prouident
Generall to forecast the extremities like to befall in his returne thorow those desolat countreys,
with the enemy at his heeles: and thereupon in time retired backe againe to Solyman, declaring
vnto him what had happened. Who fleting in his mind, that the Persian king was not to be
drawne to battell, marched forthwith to TAVRIS, entered it without resistance, the citizens sub-
mitting themselves vnto him: whose liues spared, he gaue that rich cite for a prey vnto his sol-
diers, who left neither house nor corner thereof vnancked, abusing the poore citizens with
all manner of insolencie; euerie common souldiour without controulment, sacking himselfe with
whatsoeuer best pleased his greedie desire, or filthy lust. Tamas had in this cite a most stately and
royall pallace; so had also most part of the nobilitie, their sumptuous and rich houses, which by
the commandement of Solyman were all rased, downe to the ground, and the greatest part of
the

him out of fauour, and to worke his destruction. But that which most empaired his credit with *Solyman*, was the common report raised of him by his enemies, That he being in heart a Christian, did in all things fauour the Christians (athing most odious amongst the Turkes) and had for that cause craftely perswaded *Solyman* to take in hand the vnfortunat Persian warre. And that which more encreased the suspition, was, That he about that time had caused one *Marke Nicholas*, a Venetian marchant (who had not without the suspition of some oftentimes come vnto him with letters and secret messages whilest he lay at *BABYLON*) to be taken in the night, and murdered at *CONSTANTINOPLE*, and cast into the sea, because hee should not discouer any thing that might be hurtfull vnto him. *Abraham* thus brought in disgrace with *Solyman*, was (after the manner of the Turkish tyrannie) bid to a solemne supper in the court about the foure-teenth of March, after which time he was neuer more seene. It is reported, that after supper *Solyman* fell into a great rage with him, charging him bitterly, That he had misgouerned the state, inuerted his treasures to his owne priuat, and as a traitor, had secret intelligence with the Christian princes his enemies: for prooffe whereof, *Solyman* with sterne countenance shewed him his owne letters, which had by chance been intercepted, oftentimes asking him in furious manner, If he knew not that hand, if he knew not that seale. All which the *Bassa* lying prostrate at his feet, humbly confessed, and with many teares craued of him pardon. But his hard heart was not by any prayers to be moued: for the same night as he was slumbring vpon a pallet in the court, ouercome with heauinesse, an eunuch cut his throat with a crooked knife, which *Solyman* for that purpose had deliuered vnto him with his owne hand. He was murdered sleeping, because *Solyman* had in former time of his fauour solemnely sworn vnto him, That he would neuer kill him whilest he liued. By which oath the great Mahometane priest said, he was not so bound, but that he might kill him sleeping, for as much as men by sleepe deprived of sense, are for that time not to be accounted as liuing but as dead, mans life consisting altogether (as he said) in liuely actions. It is reported, that after *Solyman* had looked vpon the dead bodie, and bitterly cursed the same, he caused a great weight to be tied vnto it, and so cast into the sea. His treasure and goods, which were almost infinit, were the next day all ceised vpon for the emperor, and a small portion thereof appointed for his poore wife to liue vpon. His death was no sooner known, but that the vulgar people deuised of him infamous songs and slanderous reports, as of a traitour most iustly condemned: and in further despight, with stones and mire defaced the trophies of the Hungarian victorie, which hee had in most stately manner erected before his sumptuous house in *CONSTANTINOPLE*. This was the wofull end of *Abraham* the great *Bassa*, who whilest he stood in fauour with his prince, was of all others accounted most fortunat, wanting nothing but the name of the great Sultan: but after falling into disgrace, became the scoorne of fortune, and the lamentable spectacle of mans fragilitie. He was murdered the 15 day of March in the yeare 1536.

How the kingdome of *TUNES* was by *Barbarussa* (the Turkes great admirall) taken from *Muleasses*, we haue already told: but how the same was againe taken from him by *Charles* the emperor a little before the returne of *Solyman* out of *PERSIA*, remaineth now to be declared. It was commonly reported, and not without iust cause feared, that *Barbarussa*, possessed of the kingdome of *TUNES*, and supported by the power of *Solyman*, would the next Summer, not content himselfe with the spoile of the coasts of *SPAIN*, *SARDINIA*, and *ITALIE*, as he had in former time, but with all his forces inuade *SICILIA*, the garnerie and storehouse of *ITALIE*: and from thence attempt the conquest of the kingdome of *NAPLES*, which it was thought he in his immoderat desires had longed much after. To repress this his barbarous insolencie, and to worke the safetie of the frontiers of the Christian kingdomes (much subiect to the rapines of the Turkish pyrats) *Charles* the emperor resolved in person himselfe with a puissant armie to passe ouer into *AFRICK*, whilest *Solyman* was yet busied in the Persian wars, and by force of armes to dispossesse the pyrat of his new gotten kingdome in *TUNES*. For the accomplishment whereof, he caused souldiours to be leued in all parts of *SPAIN*, and came downe to *BARCELONA* with eight thousand footmen and seuen hundred horsemen, farre sooner than was by any man expected: amongst whom were many of the nobilitie of *SPAIN*, with their followers most gallantly appointed: but especially *Ferdinand* of *TOLDO*, duke of *ALBA*, whose forwardnesse in that honorable action, with the desire he had to reuenge the death of his father *Garcia*, slaine before by the Moores at *GIRAPOLIS*, gaue great hope euen the vnto his countrymen, That he would

The causes which moued Charles the emperor to inuade Tunes.

The emperours great preparations for the inuasion of Tunes.

A would in time prooue a wortheie chieftaine, as indeed he afterward did. In the meane time *Andrew Auria* the great Admirall, vnto whom onely for his approoued fidelitie and long experience the emperor had fully communicated what he had with himselfe before purposed, had with wonderfull diligence and celeritie rigged vp a great fleet of ships and galleys, so furnished with all manner of warlike prouision, as might well haue sufficed a great armie: whereunto he joyned also his owne fleet of seuenteen galleys and three galleasses, wherein he had embarked the flower of *GENVA* and *LIGVRIA*, who with exceeding cheerefulnesse had voluntarily offered themselues to follow him their old Generall in that sacred expedition. With this great preparation *Auria* came to the emperor at *BARCELONA*: Thether came also *Lewes* the king of *Portingals* brother (whose sister *Isabell*, *Charles* the emperor had married) with five and twentie Caruels, ships which the *Portingals* vsed in their Indian voyages, amongst whom was also one huge Galeon; all ships well appointed and fit for seruice, wherein were embarked two thousand *Portingals*, beside matriners: There also arrived sixtie saile of tall ships sent out of *FLANDERS* and the low countries, wherein were a great number of condemned persons, whose liues was spared that they might serue in the galleys: Vnto this warre *Paulus* the third of that name, then bishop of *ROMB*, sent ten galleys vnder the conduct of *Virginus Vissinus*: the Great Master of *MALTA* sent thither his fleet also. At the same time that all this preparation was in making in other places, that wortheie chieftaine *Alphonfus Daulus Vastius*, whom the emperor had appointed Generall of all his forces at land, had by the emperours commaundement taken vp five thousand new souldiours in *ITALIE*, which were led by *Hieronymus Tutauilla*, countie of *SARNE*, *Federicke Caralle*, and *Augustina Spinula*, all famous capitaines. The old Spanish garrisons which lay in *LOMBARDIE*, the emperor commaunded to be straightly looked vnto, that none of them should leaue their places to goe in this new expedition, but to remaine there still vnder their Generall *Antonius Lena*: which wortheie capitaine although he would faine haue had him with him, as of all his greatest commanders the best; yet he thought it good to spare him, both for that he was much troubled with the gout, and also for that it was necessarie, as he thought, to leaue such a valiant capitaine with his garrisons in that country, so neere vnto the French and Swissers, whom he durst not so well trust as to furnish that country either of so great a commander, or of the wonted garrisons. At the same time *Maximilian Eberstein*, an old commander, came to *Vastius* with eight thousand Germans, D ouer the Tridentine Alpes to *MILLANE*, and so to *GENVA*; amongst whom were diuers noble gentlemen, who then as voluntarie men serued of their owne charges. With these Germans and the five thousand Italians, *Vastius* embarked himselfe at the port called *PORTVS VENETIS*, in *LIGVRIA*: hauing before perswaded them with patience to endure the tediousnesse of the sea, and to comfort themselues with the hope of the victorie in *AFRICK*; where they should fight in the quattrell of God, and for the emperor, who did neuer forget his religious and valiant souldiours. So sailing alongst the coast of *ITALIE*, he came to *NAPLES*, where the vice-roy and diuers other of the nobilitie had of their owne charges, euery man according to his deuotion or abilitie, built or furnished some one galley, some more, for that seruice. It was a wonder to see with what cheerefulnesse the gallants and lustie youths of *NAPLES*, and all that part of *ITALIE*, came and offered themselues vnto *Vastius*, so that it seemed there was none left behind in *NAPLES*: for he had with singular courtesie so wooon the hearts of the old soldiots and lustie youths of that kingdome, that both the one and the other thought it a most honourable thing to adorne, the one their before deserued pensions; and the other their first entrance into martiall affaires, with the participation of so notable a victorie. But whilest euery man was thus busied in setting forward, certaine mutinous souldiours (wearie of the sea, and fearing the dangers of so long a voyage) began to cast many perils, to find fault with their small wages, and to discourage the multitude, perswading them with seditious speeches to forsake their colours, & to run away: for redresse whereof, *Vastius* caused the authors of that mutinie to be taken and thrust into stocks, and in the sight of the whole fleet to be cast into the sea. So *Vastius* departing with his fleet from *NAPLES*, came in few dayes to *PALERMO* in *SICILIE*. The emperor also loosing from *BARCELONA*, came to the port of *MAGO* in the Island of *MINORICA*, and from thence to *CARLIS* in *SARDINIA*; whether *Alphonfus Vastius* was a little before come with all his fleet out of *SICILIE*. Nor long after the emperor, now that all his forces were come together, passed ouer from *SARDINIA* into *AFRICK*, and with a faire Westerly wind put into the port of

Andrew Auria the emperours Admirall.

Alphonfus Daulus Vastius Generall of the land forces.

The emperor
passeth over into
Africke.

Barbarussa ad-
uertised the com-
ming of the em-
peror is much
discouraged.

In his rage he
executeth slo-
wly Prexenda.

Barbarussa en-
courageth his
souldiours.

of V T I C A, which is of the seafaring men called F A R I N A. In the entering whereof the admirall G
gallic, wherein the emperor himselfe was, by great mischance strake vpon a sand, and there
stuck fast: which so much more troubled the emperor, for that his father Philip had by like mi-
shap beene like to haue beene cast away vpon the coast of E N G L A N D, as he was sayling out of
the low countries into S P A I N E: howbeit by the good direction of A u r i a she was quickly got
off the sand againe, and entred with the rest, to the great rejoycing of the whole fleet. So present-
ly departing againe from V T I C A, and sayling alongst the coast, he doubled the promontorie of
C A R T H A G E, yet famous for the ruines of that proud citie, and came to anker before a castle,
which of a well beneath it, is called by the name of A Q U A R I A, or the W W a t e r castle. The
Moore, who from the hils of V T I C A and their watch towers had taken view of the Christian
fleet and of the course it held, aduertised Barbarussa. That the Christians were coming against
him with an innumerable fleet: for there was of one sort and other almost seuen hundred saile,
whereof 82 were great galleys, which gallantly garnished with flags and streamers, made a shew
of more than indeed they were, and wonderfully terrified the enemy. But that troubled Barba-
russa most, that he was by messenger vpon messenger certainly informed, That the most migh-
tie Christian emperor Charles was in person himselfe in the fleet, with such a world of people
that it should seeme he had left none in S P A I N E and I T A L I A that were able to beare armes.
Which newes was brought by certaine Mahometane slaues, who getting loofe in the galleys,
had in the night swum ashore, and reported the certainetie of the emperours comming: for the
proud Turke, a great contemner of the Christian forces, neuer thought that the emperor would
haue aduentured his person vnto the dangers of the sea, and chaunces of warre, especially in an
vinknowne barren and scorching countrey, but would rather haue attempted to doe something
by his lieutenants; or els by A u r i a his admirall seeke to surprisfe some base places alongst the
sea coast, but not to come directly for the regall citie of T V N E S: in which opinion he was chie-
fly confirmed by A l o y s i u s P r e x e n d a, a gentleman of G E N V A, who taken at sea, was kept as
prisoner at large in T V N E S: of whom Barbarussa had learned many things concerning the state
of I T A L I E, the manner of the Christians, and strength of the emperor; craftily feeding him
with the hope of libertie, if he would truly declare vnto him such things as he desired to know.
Wwherefore now in his rage he caused him to be brought before him, charging him bitterly, that
he had craftily and perfidiously told him lies for truth, concerning the emperor; and therefore
commaunded him to be forthwith executed. Wwhen he had thus with the vnworthie death of a K
guiltlesse Christian, somewhat mitigated the griefe of his light beleefe, hee forthwith began to
cast with himselfe how he might best withstand his puissant enemy. And first of all calling to
counsell his sea captaines, in whom for their approued valour he reposed most confidence, hee
showed vnto them, that they as valiant men, acquainted with the dangers attending vpon hono-
rable actions, were not to doubt of the victorie, for so much as he saw it as good as alreadye gai-
ned; for the same reasons for which he had before perswaded himselfe, that the emperor (if he
had not beene halfe mad) would not haue vnderaken so desperat and doubtfull a warre.

For who is there (said he) that knoweth this countrey (not to speake of our owne forces) which
would not reasonably thinke our enemies should in short time know the price of their ambitious desire L
and rash attempt? which in a most vnseasonable time of the yeare, the dayes being now at the longest,
and the Sunne in his greatest strength, are come to fight in a countrey scorched with heat, and drow-
ther without water; where the very sand which riseth with every blast of wind, flying into their ey-
es and faces, shall no lesse trouble them than their enemies? Shall we thinke that they, which as I haue
for most part are fresh water souldiours, and surcharged with beaustie armour, can easily march for-
ward, or retire, or yet keepe their ground, as the diuers occasions of battell shall require: when as the
deepe and hollow burning sand up to the middle leg, will not suffer them to keepe any order of array?
How shall they be able by any meanes to abide the force of our Turkish footmen, or the often charging
of the nimble Numidian horsemen? And if they be so many of them as they say there is, where can
they get victuall to feed such a multitude, if we doe but protract the warre? Assuredly (most val-
iant and courageous chieftaines) we shall erect a most rare and incomparable trophie in this countrey
of A F R I C K E: when as Charles the rich and great emperor of the Christians shall either here be
slaine in battell, or els fall into our hands as a most rich prey. For mine owne part, I will notably pro-
uide, that you shall want neither weapons, victuall, nor aid, during the time of this warre: I will open

A the old armouries, broach my store, and bring forth my treasures. The Numidian princes now out-
friends, I will without delay entertaine with great pay, and such presents as shall be to them most wel-
come. As for the citizens of T V N E S, you know how easily they are to be kept in obedience, and brought
on against the enemy for a small pay, and hope of reward. But this one thing is it that I most earnestly
require of your approued valor, That you most valiantly defend the strong castle of G V I T T A, as
the most assured defence, not of this citie onely, but of the whole kingdome; and especially of our naue
which there lieth in safe harbour: for that piece will our enemies with all their forces first assaile.
wherefore, as worthy men neuer to be vanquished, keepe that for Solyman and me: so that it being
vainly attempted by our enemies, and resolutely defended by you, the Christian emperor there failing
of his purpose, and shamefully foiled, shall now begin to despaire, not of the taking of the citie of
B T V N E S, but of his owne returne and safetie.

When he had thus said, the sea captaines answered with one consent, That they would most
willingly and cheerefully performe whatsoever it should please him to commaund: and in con-
firmation thereof, promised him not to doe any thing which beleemed not most valiant and re-
solute men. Amongst these sea captaines, Sinan of S M I R N A, a Jew, who had lost his right eye,
was both for his age and long experience in militarie affaires, of greatest account: next vnto him
was Haidinus of C I L I C I A, for his firoufnesse in fight surnamed of the Italians Cacciadiabolo,
and Salec of I O N I A; which two had before in a great battell at sea, slaine Rodericus Portendus
great Admirall of S P A I N E, and taken his sonne John prisoner, and seuen great galleys: after
C these was Tabacches of L A O D I C I A, and Giasser a valiant captaine of the Ianizaries: all which
were notable pirates and then men of great fame. The strong castle of G V I T T A standeth in the
bottom of the bay of C A R T H A G E, vpon a point of the land, where the sea by a narrow strait
runneth on the East side of the castle into the lake of T V N E S, which being in a manner round,
is about twelue Italian miles ouer. But now that castle is parted from the maine on the W est
side also, by the sea that way let in; which chargeable worke was by Barbarussa begun, but giuen
ouer againe by him; perswaded by some, That the sea comming in that way, would in short time
fill vp the lake with sand: but was afterwards for all that, perfected by others. So that now it
standeth in manner of an island, in the mouth of the lake, deuided from the firme land by two
narrow straight passages, the one on the East, and the other on the W est, yet so, that it com-
maundeth both. This castle Barbarussa had before strongly fortified both with men and muni-
D tion, as the key of that kingdome: but now vpon the comming of the emperor, he put into it
his most expert and resolute captaines before named: well foreseeing that in the defence therof,
rested the safetie of his naue which then lay within the lake, as in a most sure harbour; and also
the greatest hope he had for the holding of the citie of T V N E S, whereon depended the whole
state of that kingdome. The emperor lying at anchor with all his fleet neere vnto the shoare,
gaue generell commaundement, that his souldiours should with as much speed as was possible be
landed with the long boats: which was so orderly done, that the Moores terrified with the ha-
leous crie of the souldiours, making toward land, and not able to abide the showres of small
shot, were easily beaten from the shoare, whither they were come downe in great multitudes,
E and so suffered the Christian souldiours to land quietly. The first that landed were the Spanish
companies, after them the Italians, and last of all the Germans, whom N a s t i u s Generall of the
armie caused presently to encampe themselves straightly commaunding, that no man should
straggle from the campe farther into the land, vntill the horsemen and great artillerie were all
landed. The emperor himselfe bearing victorie in the cheerefulnesse of his countenance, landed
also. In the meane time certaine companies were sent out by the Generall, to view the places
also: and to seeke out the cisterns and fountaines of fresh water thereabout, which (some-
time) fenced the famous citie of C A R T H A G E, with whom the Moores, but especially the Nu-
midian horsemen, a swift, subtil, and painfull kind of souldiours, oftentimes and in many places
suddenly skirmished: and though they were but naked men, yet taking all the advantages they
F could of the places, to them well knowne, with their arrows, and darts furiously assailed them
vnawares, and ouerloaded with armour; sparing no mans life that fell into their hands. Amongst
whom was Hieronimus Spinula a Ligurian captaine, who ouerthrowne by a Numidian horse-
man, had his head cut off, and carried away by the same nimble horseman, before he could be
relieued. The like mishap befell Federicus Garectus a noble gentleman, who going with N a s t i u s,
to

Barbarussa his
chiefe captaine.

The situation
of Gulusa.

The Christian
army landeth
at Gulusa.

to view the places thereabouts, was fast by his side suddenly slaine with a small shot. All which nimbleness and fierceness of the enemy, could not for all that stay the emperor: but that hee would needs with a small troupe of horsemen, in person himselfe take view of the places thereabouts, euen in the sight of the Numidian horsemen, which were in euery place to be seene pricking vp and downe the countie in troupes; although he was many times requested by his graue counsellors, to leaue that seruice for his inferiour captaines, and not to expose himselfe to so great danger both of his person and of the common safetie. *Vassius* thus brought on the armie neere vnto the castle of *Gvletta*, still casting vp a rolling trench as he came neerer thereunto, thereby to keepe his men out of the danger of the enemies shot: which worke was not done only by the pioners and gally slaues, but by souldiours of all sorts; yea many of the captaines themselves laid their hands to the spade and mattocke: for why, the emperor was there a continuall beholder, and cheetfull commender of euery mans labour and forwardnesse, and the busie enemy was euer ready to take the aduantage, if any thing were by negligence omitted, oftentimes fallying out euen vnto the verie trenches of the Christians, there giuing vnto them proud words of defiance. When the armie was to be martialled, and euery commander to be appointed to the place of his charge in this siege of *Gvletta*: the countie of *Sarna*, a man famous both for the honour of his house, and for the good seruice he had lately done against the Turkes at *Cokona*, requested of *Vassius* the Generall, to haue the charge of the mount neere vnto the castle; which as it was a place of most danger, so was it also of greatest honour. Whereat the old Spaniards (after the manner of their proud nature) much repined. Vpon the top of this mount, the countie set vp his rich tent in the eye of the enemy, and there lay with the Italian companies, ouer whom he commaunded. He had not lien there long, but *Salee* one of the Turkes famous pirats, with certaine companies of the garrison souldiours, sallied out of the castle directly vpon the mount whereon the countie lay; and by making shew as if hee would desperately haue assailed the same, raised a great alarm amongst the Italians: yet so, as after certaine volleys of shot discharged on both sides, he began to retire as if he had been thereto constrained. Which thing the countie perceiuing, being a man of greater courage than direction, in great rage with bitter words reproued certaine of the captaines, whom he perceiued not so forward in pursuit of the enemy as he would haue had: them in his furie ran downe from the mount, the rest for shame following him, and ouertaking the enemies slew diuers of them. The craftie pirat now seeing the countie drawne out of his strength into the plaine ground; and perceiuing himselfe strong enough to encounter him, suddenly turning himselfe about, said vnto his souldiours: *The aduantage you wished to haue of your enemies is now offered, they are now in your danger; wherefore now shew your selues valiant men, and suffer not one of these proud fresh water souldiours to escape alive or unwounded.* Which he had no sooner said, but they presently made a stand, and so hardly charged them whom they but euen now seemed to flie, that the Italians not able longer to endure the fight, betooke themselves to flight. The countie himselfe with *Belingerius* his kinsman, fighting valiantly in the formost of his companies, was slaine: many others endured the same fortune: others flying backe againe to the mount, were there slaine by the Turkes, who resolutely entred into the trenches with them so farre, that they carried away with them the plate and riches of the counties tent. Neither was there any of the Spaniards which lay neere vnto them, and might easily haue rescued them, that would once stir out of their places to helpe them: for it is reported, that they were nothing sorie for the ouerthrow of the Italians, for as much as the countie had so arrogantly craved of the Generall the most honourable place, which he so euill held. His head and right hand was cut off, and sent by *Salee* to *Barbarossa*. This ouerthrow much grieved the Italians whom *Vassius* comforted with cheetfull speeches, imputing all that losse, neither to the valour of the enemy, or cowardise of the Italians; but only to the rashnesse of the countie, whom he said worthily to haue paid the price of his inconsiderate forwardnesse. But the Spaniards he sharply reproued as mercilesse men, which vpon so light an occasion had giuen cause for the Italians to haue them in distrust. The Turkes in the meane time by the often shooting off of their great ordinance, shewed the joy they conceived of this victorie.

It oftentimes so falleth out, that whilest men laugh at their neighbours harmes, their owne is not fare off; and so it chanced with the Spaniards: for *Tabachob* another of the piraticall captaines, shortly after fallying suddenly out of the castle in the dawning of the day, was got vp to the

A the top of the trenches wherein the Spaniards lay, before they were aware of his comming, and there slew some as they were a sleepe, some idlie sitting fearing no harme, others as they were arming themselves; and with their suddenerie, caused the rest which lay neere vnto that place shamefully for feare to flie out of their trenches: where the Turkes taking such tush as they there found, and hauing slaine and wounded many, amongst whom was one *Mendosa* a captain, and carrying away with them the ensigne of *Sarmentum* which stood vpon the top of the trench, returned with victorie. The alarm raised in the armie was such, as that the emperor himselfe came running to the place in his armour, severely reprouing them of cowardise which had forsaken the place, and grievously offended with them which had kept such negligent watch, against such an enemy, as was not for wilnesse agilitie and courage, to be slightly regarded of the best and most expert souldiours. This disgrace of the Spaniards well comforted the Italians, to see the old souldiours no lesse ouertaken in their negligence, than they had been in their vnadvised forwardnesse.

This tumult appeard, *Vassius* called into his tent the Colonels and chiefe captaines of the Spaniards, and spake vnto them in this manner:

Friends (said he) elsewhere alwaies valiant, who together with me, haue by your inuincible prowesse gained vnto our emperor many most glorious victories. You seeme vnto me at this time to haue need speech to this Spaniard. You be called vpon, and to be put in remembrance of your wonted and approved valour: for as farre as I can see, the remembrance of your ancient fame, is in you growne altogether cold; your hands are become faint for feare; and that which I am sorie and ashamed to say, you are growne I know not how, altogether out of order and heartlesse, shewing no courage for the subduing of these naked pirats. Yesterday (as many say) you smiled at the unskilfull and unfortunate forwardnesse of your friends, which they bought deere; but to day they worthely laugh at your degenerate carelesse negligence: so that it concerneth you in honour, to blot out this so foule and publike a disgrace, by some notable and worthe exploit. Wherefore I exhort you, and I straightly charge and commaund you, that with all speed you prepare both your minds and weapons for the atchieuement of some new honour: so that if the proud enemy shall againe presume to come forth and assaile your trenches, you shall forthwith breake out vpon him, and beat him backe againe euen to the gates of *Gvletta*. Perhaps good fortune will so attend your valiant and resolute pursuit, that you may together with their disordered men, enter some of their rampiers, wherein we see their whole hope consisteth: which if it shall otherwise fall out than is to be hoped for, yet shall you by this your notable deuoir wonderfully content the emperor your soueraine, and me your Generall, and withall couer your late dishonour.

Whereunto they all answered, That they would so beare themselves against the enemy, as that he should not desire greater courage or contempt of danger in men desirous of honour and commendation.

It was not long, but that the Turkes encouraged with their former successe, after their wonted manner sallied out againe, conducted by *Giaffer* captain of the Ianizaries, a man of exceeding courage and strength of bodie: who with the Ianizaries and certaine companies of Moorish archers, about the noone time of the day issuing out of the castle, assailed the uttermost trenches. E Wherein he was nothing deceived, for the Spaniards in their stations negligent and vnprepared, hoping in that broiling heat to find the Christians in their stations negligent and vnprepared. Wherein he was nothing deceived, for the Spaniards that burning hot time of the day, kept such negligent watch, that *Giaffer* with his Ianizaries and archers, was got vp to the top of the such negligent watch, that *Giaffer* with his Ianizaries and archers, was got vp to the top of the rampiers, and there discharged their shot and arrowes vpon the Christians in their trenches, before they were well aware of his comming. But vpon the striking vp of the drum, certaine companies of harquebusers brake out vpon them in two places at one instant, as *Vassius* had before commaunded, whom he seconded with a companie of halbardiers, keeping in readinesse his squadrons to rescue his harquebusers, if they should be enforced by the enemy to retire: and in that order expected the euent of the skirmish, which was most valiantly maintained on both sides. For the Ianizaries, although they were enforced to giue ground, yet (as men not vsed to flie, and standing vpon the honour of their order) withstood the Christians with no lesse resolution than they were by them charged: vntill that *Giaffer* their leader desperatly fighting amongst the formost of the Ianizaries, was at once shot in with two bullets, and slaine: whose dead bodie the Ianizaries labouring to carie away, endured a most cruell fight, many being on both

Salee sallies out: upon the countie and the Janissaries.

The countie slaine, and his head & right hand sent to Barbarossa.

The Spaniards retreating at the ouerthrow of the countie, are themselves captured by Tabachob.

The Turkes fall againe vpon the Ianizaries.

Giaffer captured by the Ianizaries.

both sides slaine vpon his dead carcasse: yet at length they were enforced to flie, and so were followed by the Spaniards, that they of GVLETTA, when they had received in the forme first out almost a fourth part of their owne men, for scarce the Christians should together with them haue entered the castle: *Didacus Abila*, one of the Spaniards ensigne bearers, admitted his ensigne vnto the top of one of the enemies rampiers, and was there slaine, but his ensigne fast by, one of the souldiours of the same band. The Christians received more losse in their retreat than they had in all the fight, for the Turkes from their rampiers then discharged their shot as fast as they could vpon them, which they could not before doe, without the like danger to their owne men mingled amongst them. This dayes worke well abated the pride of the Turkes, and gave good hope to the Christians, that the castle would without any great losse be gained: for being nere vnto it, they perceiued it not to be so strong as they had supposed.

The emperour hauing spent a few dayes in consultation about his farther proceeding, and preparing of things for the siege, resolved without further delay with all his forces to assault the castle, perswaded therunto by many reasons: first by the cheerfulness of his owne souldiours, and the courage of his enemies sore daunted in the last skirmish, which he was loth they should againe recouer by the comming of new supplies; besides that, he was informed, that diuers companies of the Numidians were comming to TUNIS, entertained by *Barbarussa*, whose strength was like dayly to encrease: but that which moued him most to hasten the matter, was, for that his men began to grow sickly in his campe, being all the day time scorched as it were with the feruent heat of the Sunne, and well nere starued in the night with cold, and exceeding dewes wherewith they were commonly wet to the skin; neither was there either good water or fresh victuall by any meanes to be had in that sandie and barren soile, for the releefe of the sick, other than that was brought out of the fleet: for all the water thereabout was most vnpleasant and exceeding brackish, so that both sick and whole were glad when they could get a crab to quenche the extremity of their thirst: although the emperour did what he might to remedie these extremities, and much releefe was in good time sent both from SICILIA and NAPLES: the biskop also in the ships, especially in the Spanish galleies, was growne hoarie and vnwholesome. Wherefore he began to place his batterie about the fifteenth of Iuly, which was defended all along with Gabions, and caske filled with sand, for that the countrey soile in that place yeelded neither earth nor turlie to doe it. *Muleasses* appointed to batter the castle by sea, deuised his galleies into three squadrons, which orderly succeeding one another, should by turns beat the same: his great ships rid at anker, and out of their forecastles thundered with their great ordinance. And *Vassim* at land had deuised the armie into three battels, Spaniards, Italians, and Germans, every nation by themselves, in such sort, as that they might indifferently be partakers both of the danger of the assault, and of the glorie of the victorie. There was neuer stronger place in the memorie of man, since guns, that fatal engine were first inuented for the destruction of mankind, assailed with greater force, greater preparation, or greater industrie. The great ordinance in manner of a great earthquake so terribly roared and thundered, that the earth seemed not onely to tremble and quake vnder mens feet, but euen by and by to rent in sunder and swallow them vp: and the sea which was euen now quiet and calme, began to rise aloft, and to rage and some as if it had been in a great storme: at which time the aire became thicke, and the skie darkened with the smoke of the great artilerie: from the breake of the day vntill noone the roaring cannon and culuering neuer ceased: so that the Vamures were beaten downe, the castle made faultable, and the wals so shaken, that in many places the Turkes cannoniers, together with their cannons, lay buried in the ruines thereof. Which thing perceiued, they which were before appointed to giue the first assault, vpon signal given by the emperour, presently vpon the ceasing of the great artilerie assailed the breach, and others with their scaling ladders scaled the wals: which was done with such courage and resolution, that the Turkes when they had done what they possibly could for the defence of the place, by casting downe darts, wild fire, and such like things vpon the Christians as they were climbing vp: at length as men despairing longer to hold the place, and overcome with a greater fortune, turned their backs and fled. *Sinan* and the rest of the captaines by a wooden bridge, fled out at the farther side of the castle into the maine, and so along the left side of the lake by land to TUNIS, not looking behind them for halt: which way most part of his men followed him also. The rest were either slaine or driuen into the lake, where seeking to saue their liues by swimming, they were either slaine in comming to land by the Spanish horse,

Guletta furiously battered.

Guletta assaulted by the Christians.

A men, or else in their swimming shot at pleasure by the harquebussers, so that all the lake was as it were covered with the dead bodies of the Turkes and Moores. The emperour with small losse thus gained the castle of GVLETTA, with all the warlike prouision therein, and with it all *Barbarussa* his great fleet & strength at sea, which he for the more safetie had before put into the lake: which as it was vnto the emperour a thing most pleasing, so was it vnto *Barbarussa* and his pyrras the greatest greefe and losse possible, hauing at once lost all their power at sea, which but a little before was no small terror to all the frontiers of the Christian countries and Islands in the Mediterranean.

Barbarussa troubled and terrified with so great a losse, with a sterne and scornfull countenance received the Iew, and the rest of the captaines fled from GVLETTA, reuiling them bitterly in his rage, and calling them faint hearted cowards, which had in so short a time giuen ouer so strong a place. Whereunto *Sinan* answered for them all in this sort:

Hairadin (said he) so long as we were to fight with armed men, we did as thou well knowest, and our enemies cannot denie what well beseeemed us and thy magnificent fortune. But when we were to withstand the deuill and his infernall furies, which came against vs with flames of fire, and earthquakes, things of extreame terror and danger: it ought not to seeme strange vnto thee, if we sought to escape the vnconouth furie of the immortall enemies of mankind, to doe thee service in thy better fortune, in defence of this thy citie and kingdom. Neither doe we account it any disgrace to haue escaped that danger, as men that mind againe to fight: out of which thou, a most antient and expert Commander (if I may frankly speake vnto thee the truth) if thou haddest bene there present, wouldst haue accounted it no dishonour, but very good discretion to haue escaped in safetie.

Barbarussa representing his furie, began in a more temperat manner to request them euery one particularly, as valiant and courageous men to stand fast vnto him in that warre against their enemies the Christians: telling them, that he well hoped, that after the great supplie of the Moorish footmen and Numidian horsemen were once come, which were now at hand, the enemies should not long reioice of the taking of GVLETTA. After that, he forthwith conuerted all his studie and endeuour, to prepare such things as were needfull for the warre, bringing forth his treasures, and bountifully bestowing the same amongst the Moores and Numidians, thereby to confirme the friendship of such as well affected him, and with this new bountie to win the hearts of such as yet stood doubtful.

In the meane time *Muleasses* the exiled king, with a small retinue of his friends and followers came from the farthest part of NUMIDIA into the emperours campe: the emperour sitting in a royall seat in the midst of his pavillion, whereinto *Muleasses* was admitted, with a myter vpon his head, in a garment of greene and blew changeable silke: he was of a tall & manly stature, of colour tawny, but so squint-eyed that he seemed spitefully to looke vpon them whom he beheld: who after he had kissed the emperours right hand, and had set himselfe downe, with his legs gathered close vnder him, vpon a carpet spread vpon the bare ground, after the manner of his countrey, he by an interpreter spake vnto the emperour as followeth:

Thou art come in armes into this countrey, and art now almost conquerour of the same (thrice mightie Emperour) prouoked therunto not by any desert of mine, for that our different religion so required: yet as I verely thinke, not without the appointment of the most high God, whom both thou and I doe with like deuotion worship, to take reuenge of the most perfidious and cruell tyrant and pyrat, the mortal enemy of mankind, whom I foresee as good as already vanquished, now that GVLETTA is taken, and his name surprised. So that I hope he shall in short time by thy reuenging hand, receiue the iust guerdon of all his former villanies: which shall be so much the more to my comfort, for that I hope the fruit of thy rare felicitie and glorious victorie will redound in great part to me, being restored by thee into my fathers kingdom: which I as a poore exiled prince most humbly request of thy iustice and bountie. For it shall be vnto thee a thing most honourable and profitable, if thou shalt receiue into thy protection me, a king royally descended, of a most antient progenie, strenghtened with the great alliance of the Numidians and Moores. Neither do I refuse either to pay thee tribute therefore, or to acknowledge my selfe vassall vnto thee the Christian emperour: Of which my fidelitie, there can be no greater assurance, than the thankfull remembrance of so great a benefite received,

LII

which

Guletta won, and Barbarussa his fleet taken.

Barbarussa reuiled.

The story kinde of Sinan the Jew to Barbarussa.

Muleasses cometh to the emperour.

The Oration of Muleasses to Charles the Emperour.

which shall for ever remaine vnforgotten of me and my posteritie, euen for that especially, that I detest and abhorre the name of an vnthankfull man, and doe well by experience find, how much my state may be confirmed, and the minds of my people to me assured, by thy Garrison: so neare as hand to SICILIA and SARDINIA.

The emperours
answere to
Muleasses.

Whereunto the emperour answered, That hee was come ouer into AFRICK to be reuenged of the injuries which *Barbarussa* had many times done vpon the frontiers of his dominions, and to root out the pyrats, of all others most mischieuous: which his good purpose had by the goodnesse of Christ his Sauour taken so good effect, that he doubted not in short time by the taking of *TUNES* to obtaine a perfect victorie; which once gained, hee would then kindly graunt him all things which should stand with the conuenience of his affaires, and the vse of his victorie: so that he would not falsifie his faith, which he might justly suspect, if he reposed not a speciall trust, that the remembrance of such a benefite would for euer remaine in his heroicall mind; and was further assured, that the same power which should restore to him his kingdome of court, could also take it from him againe, if his vnthankfulness should so deserue.

The behavior of
Muleasses.

Muleasses in presence of the emperour vsed such a grauitie and grace in his speech and gesture, as well declared, that he had nothing forgotten of his former estate: but towards the Generall and the other great capitaines hee vsed all manner of courtesie; so that hee rid vp and downe with them gallantly mounted, managing his horse; and charging and discharging his lance with such agilitie and skill, as shewed him to be a very good horseman, and of great actiuitie. At other vacant times he would subtilly reason with the learned men, after the manner of *Auerroes*; of the nature of things, of the motion of heauen, and power of the stars. By the emperours commaundement he had a tent appointed for him, and honourable allowance for his diet. *Vassius* and the rest of the cheefe commaunders of the armie vsed him with all honor and at such time as he was desirous to see the campe, courteously brought him into all places of it, that he might himselfe see what mounts they had in short time cast; what abundance there was of great artillerie, what strong watch and ward was kept; what a number there was of braue and warlike souldiours of diuers nations, differing much one from another in language, countenance, and manner of furniture: and further demanded, Whether that puissant armie which the emperour had brought ouer to his great good, were in his judgement sufficient to subdue the enemy? Where about all things *Muleasses* wondered at the number and order of the great ordinance: and next vnto that, at the wonderfull plentie of things to be bought and sold in the market place, and at the modest quietnesse of the souldiours in buying the same. Not long after, the expert capitaines by diligent inquirie learned of him many things well seruing for their better proceeding in that warre, especially of the disposition and strength of them of *TUNES*; of the situation of the citie, of the nature of the wals, and fortification of the castle, of the wels and cisternes in the suburbs, and what strength the Moores and Numidians were of, which *Barbarussa* had entertained. In conclusion he assured them (as afterwards it fell out) that *Barbarussa* would neuer trust to the strength of the wals, which would easily be ouerthrowne with the great artillerie; but would in a great brauerie with ensignes displayed bring all his forces into the field; of purpose to terrifie the Christians with the sight of the multitude of his rasall souldiours, and to breake their array with his Numidian horsemen; who with hideous and terrible cries, after the manner of that nation, would not faile to assaile them: and yet for all that would neuer bring into the battell his Turkish footmen, in whom he reposed his greatest confidence, and whom hee desired most to spare, but would as a craftie and subtil Turk, by opposing of the Moores, whom he held in small regard, trie by their blood what might be done without the danger of his owne men. But as he told them, nothing could be more strange vnto the Moores his countrey men, or that they were more afraid of, than in a set battell to fight with that enemy whose squadrons comming orderly on in glittering armour with long pikes, might scorne & easily ouerthrow the naked archers of the Moores, and the vnarmed Numidian horsemen: and that our men should find nothing more grievous or troublesome than the scorching heat of the Sunne, and the thirst rising thereof; which might easily be remedied by plentie of water, which by slaues and small boats might easily be brought in caskes and bortels from the fleet along the lake, and so distributed amongst the armie: although not farre from the wals of the citie, were certaine old conduit heads, which would yeld them great plentie of water, if the malicious enemy did not to his owne hurt and others poyson

His opinion and
counsell con-
cerning the present
warre.

the same. These things orderly reported to the emperour, confirmed the hope hee had before conceiued of the desired victorie: So that wholly bent thereupon, and carefully forecasting all things, hee resolu'd forthwith to depart from *GVLETTA*, and with all his power to besiege *TUNES*.

But whilst he was preparing things necessarie, ordering his souldiours, and discovering the enemies purposes, his souldiours had daily diuers skirmishes with the Numidians; so that once the skirmish was like to haue come to a just battell, which began in this sort. The Moores had plant'd certaine field pieces amongst the oliue gardens, wherewith they shot continually into the campe: for remouing whereof, the emperour leauing the Italians, with certaine companies of the old Germane and Spanish souldiours, for the keeping of his campe and trenches, went forth with his horsemen and the rest of his armie: sending before him *Montegius*, Generall of the Spanish horsemen, who for most part were but raw souldiours, such as were of the nobler or dinarie seruants and followers, not before acquainted with the wars. These light horsemen with diuers fortune skirmished a while with the enemy, but when they saw themselves to be hardly charged, and *Montegius* their Generall grievously wounded, they turned their backs, and in the sight of the emperour shamefully fled to the men at armes which were comming after them. The manner of the enemies fight was, to giue at the first a fierce and desperat charge, and vpon the encounter giuen, of purpose to retire, auoiding thereby the sudden force of their enemies, and by and by to turne againe vpon them with a fresh charge. The emperour seeing the flight of his light horsemen, came on courageously with his men at armes, by whose comming in and valiant encounter the Turkes and Moores were put to flight, and their fieldpieces wherewith they had before annoy'd the campe, taken. In this skirmish the emperour in person as hee stood for most in his armed troups, gaue the signall of battell himselfe by crying with a loud voice, *Saint James*, *Saint James*, whom the Spaniards take for their patrone; and so charging the enemy, performed the part not onely of a courageous cheefestaine, but of a resolute and valiant souldior also: reueing with his owne hand *Andreas Pontius*, a noble gentleman of *GRANADO*, whom he whorled and sore wounded, the enemy was readie presently to haue slaine, had not the emperour by his comming in saued him; deseruing thereby the Oken garland, which the Romans by the name of *Civica Corona* gaue as an honour to such as had in battell saued a citien.

The Spanish
light horsemen
put to flight.

The emperour
rescues the
battell, and with
his owne hand
rescues *Andreas
Pontius* of *Granado*.

About the same time it fortun'd, that thirtie thousand Moores came vpon the suddaine to haue surpris'd a little tower, standing vpon a hill neere vnto the ruines of old *CARTHAGE*: wherein the emperour had placed certaine souldiours for the keeping thereof, because it was neere vnto his campe. Before these Moores weir a Numidian priest, who bellowing out certaine superstitious charmes, cast diuers scrolls of paper on each side the way, wherein he cursed and baned the Christians: and now they had with fire and smoake brought the Christians in that tower to great extremitie, when the emperour himselfe comming to their rescue with certaine companies of horsemen and footmen, slew the conjuring priest, with others, and put the rest to flight. The discomfiture of the Spanish horsemen caused many men to thinke, that if the emperour should come to a set battell with the enemy, he should find his horsemen too weak both for that they were but few in number, and not to be compared with the Numidians. For which cause he and diuers others, certaine of the emperours graue counsellors, but none of the best souldiours, wished him not to proceed further in that dangerous warre, but with speed to returne out of *AFRICK*; forasmuch as he had woon honour enough by the taking of *GVLETTA*, and the surprising of the enemies fleet: whereby he had to his immortal praise, and the common good of Christendome, deliuered all the frontiers of the Christian countries in the Meditertanean from the danger and feare of those most cruell pyrats: besides that, the flux began to rage in his campe, whereof many of his souldiours fell sicke, and died dayly: whereas on the contrarie part, the mightie Numidian princes, such as were *Muleasses* old enemies, were reported to come in ready to the aid of *Barbarussa*. These vnseasonable speeches the emperour thought good to repress betimes, reasoning against the vnfaiths thereof with great grauitie, as against men, who with more feare doubted of the successe of things, and the euent of the victorie, than becomed them; whom for their constant resolution and good opinion conceiued of their discretion, hee had chosen to be of his most secret counsell.

The emperour
advised by his
counsellors to
returne home.

Saying, that he desired not of them, that their needlesse and dishonourable labours, wherein they should

should shew themselves more carefull of his person than of his honour: for as much as those things which he now alleadged, should haue been said before the warre was taken in hand, now by good hap halfe ended; before hee euer passed ouer into AFRICK. For he might (as he said) haue rested quietly in SPAIN, and haue easily neglected and reiecte the iniuries done vpon the sea coasts, and the complaints of his subiects; but he was (as they well knew) for most urgent causes come thither: whereas hee was resolu'd to satisfie the expectation of the world with a notable victorie, or if God should otherwise appoint, there to end his daies with honour. Wherefore he willed them to cease farther to flatter him that was no way dismay'd, or to possesse the minds of his valiant souldiours with a vaine forboding feare; and with resolute minds, together with him their chieftaine, against the next day, to expect what the fortune of the field should appoint for the full accomplishment of that war. For he was (as he said) set downe to giue the enemy battell, or if he refused the same, to batter the walls of TVNES, not doubting but that God would stand on his side in so good and so goodly a quarrell.

The emperor
marcheth to-
ward TVNES.

The emperor leauing a sufficient garrison in the castle of GVLBERT, commanded the breaches to be repaired, and the great ordinance there taken to be laid vpon carriages; which before, after the old rude sea fashion, lay bound in great vnneldie pieces of timber, with yron rings fastned thereto, and could not handsomely be handled or remoued too, or fro. After that, when he had caused the country to be well viewed all about, which betwixt the Oliue groues and the right side of the lake, gueth a direct passage vnto the cite of TVNES; he set forward with his armie in so good order, that he still marched as readie to fight, for feare of the pollicies and sudden assaults of the enemy. On the left hand marched the Italians next vnto the lake, on the right hand the Spaniards neere vnto the Oliue groues, which in the manner of a great wood ran all alongst the country, from the ruines of CARTHAGE almost to the walls of TVNES; in the midst betwixt both marched the Germans; next vnto them followed the great ordinance; and after it, the carriages of all the armie. In the vaungard was *Vastius*, whom the emperor had made Generall of the armie, and especially for that day: in the rearward was the duke of ALBA, with certaine troupes of chosen horsemen: in the middle of the maine battell was the emperor, and by his side *Lewes* his brother in law the king of PORTINGALES brother. The Italians were conducted by the prince of SALERN, the Spaniards by *Alarco* an auncient capitaine, and the Germans by *Maximilian Eherstein*. But the emperor in his armour ceased not to ride from squadron to squadron, with cheerfull countenance and full of hope, recounting vnto them the former victories which they had gotten for him: and telling them, that he did that day expect of them a most honourable daies seruice, for as much as they were to fight against the naked enemies of the Christian religion: wherefore they should with resolute minds, set downe themselves to endure the waight of their armour, the painfullnesse of the march, the heat of the Sunne and sand, and the tediousnesse of the thirst arising therof; vntill they might joine battell with their enemies, where they should vndoubtedly by the goodnesse of God (in whose quarrell they fought) obtaine the victorie: in the meane time they should with patience overcome all difficulties, comforting themselves with the vndoubted hope of a most rich prey, which they were to expect of the spoile of a rich cite. Whereunto euerie squadron answered with a great shout, that he should not trouble himselfe with those matters which he had before rehearsed, but to assure himselfe that they his souldiours would most patiently endure all extremities, and not deceiue the expectation he had conceiued of their wonted valour, but by valiant fight to make him emperor, not of AFRICK, but of ASIA also.

Now *Vastius* had withdrawne two companies of harquebusiers out of the Spanish squadron to skirmish with the Moores, who continually followed in the taile of the army; whom by those harquebusiers and certaine troupes of horsemen deputed to that purpose, the duke of ALBA notably repulsed in the rearward.

The armie was now come vnto the cesterne of fresh water, which *Muleasses* and others which well knew the country had before told them of; which as soone as the souldiours almost fainting vnder the waight of their armour, with the scorching heat of the sunne and extremity of thirst, desired a far off: they for desire they had to quench their thirst, forthwith forsooke their colours, and disorderly ran as fast as they could to those cesterne: *Vastius* the Generall, to the vttermost of his power labouring in vaine both by faire meanes and foule to haue staid them; who saw by that disorderednesse of the souldiours, a great aduantage offered vnto the enemy, which then

The souldiours for
greedinesse of
water disorder
their march.

A then was not farre off. But when the Generall could neither with words or blowes preuaile any thing with them, the emperor himselfe was glad to hast thither, with his presence and authoritie to haue kept them in order: yet such was the force of their intollerable thirst, that neither the sight of the emperor, nor all that he could doe, could remedie the disorder; some fainting in the sand for lacke of drinke, and some other for greedinesse readie to burst their bellies at the fountaines; so that the emperor was faine with his truncheon to beat them away. Amongst the rest one *Tullius Cicero* of ARPINAS a famous capitaine, died at the cesterne side with drinking too much. This extremitie for want of water seemed iustly to haue happened vnto them, for as much as *Vastius* the day before, had by generall proclamation thorow the campe, commanded that euerie souldiour should carrie with him a bottle of wine or water at his girdle: although he caused so much water as he conueniently could, to be carried in great caskes, for the common reliefe of the armie; whereof the Germans had the greatest part. Some almost readie to giue ouer for thirst, were glad to get a draught of cold water of their fellows which had it, for two duckats.

A draught of
water sold for
two duckats.

This disorder being with as much speed as was possible reformed, and the armie againe brought into order, the emperor held on his march toward the enemy: for *Barbaruissa* with a wonderfull multitude of horsemen and footmen, and a number of ensignes (the instruments of vaine feare and foolish brauerie) gallantly displayed after the manner of the Moores, was come about three miles from the cite, and with certaine field pieces (as *Muleasses* had foretold) went about to haue broken the battell of the Christians: which pieces although they were oftentimes discharged, yet did they little or no harme, by reason of the vnskilfullnesse of the canoniers. *Vastius* in like manner and for like purpose, had commanded the great ordinance to be brought into the front of the battell: but perceiuing what toile and time it required to haue it done, for that it was drawne but by strength of men, and the wheeles of the carriages sunke deepe in the deuouring sand, and the shot and powder which the marriners and gallylaues carried altogether vpon their shoulders, came but softly on; he suddenly changed his purpose, and told the emperor, That he thought it not best to stay for the great artillerie in that cheerfulness of his armie, when euerie man desired battell, but to commit all to the valour of his resolute men and his own good fortune, which euer fauoured his honourable attempts: least whilest we stay (said he) too long vpon our great ordinance, which doth not alwaies serue to great purpose in sudden battells, our enemies gather courage in the time of this our vnnecessarie delay; and this exceeding cheerfulness of our souldiours, the most sure token of an vndoubted victorie, by deferring of time grow cold. Whereunto the emperor desirous of battell, and filled with good hope, cheerfully answered: *Vastius* if thou so thinke it good, which I also like well of, in Gods name giue the signall. That shall I by and by doe (said he) but first it is reason, that you which sway and command a great part of the world, learne at this time to obey him, whom to his great charge and shame, you laying aside the imperiall majestic of your selfe, haue for this day made Generall and Commander of so mightie an armie: Wherefore said *Vastius*, I will now vse mine authoritie, *Vastius* commandeth the emperor, and command you (such I may not so request you) to depart from this place, and to get you into the middle of the battell neere vnto the ensignes; least by some vnluckie shot, the whole estate of the armie be brought into extreame perill by the danger of one mans life. Whereat the emperor smiling, willed him to feare no such thing, saying moreover, That neuer emperor was yettaine with a gun. For all that he departed out of the place as he was commanded, and went into the middle of the battell. Whereupon the signall of battell was by the sounding of the trumpet and striking vp of the drum, presently giuen, and the enemy (with more hast than the trumpet and striking of the drum required) furiously charged by the emperours horsemen, who to auoid extreame heat of the day required) made all the hast they could to come to handie blowes. In the danger of the great artillerie, made all the hast they could to come to handie blowes. In the foremost of these horsemen was *Ferdinand Gonzaga*, a most valiant noble man, who then serued the emperor without charge: he being somewhat before the rest at the first onset, flew with his lance a notable capitaine of the Moores, and presently with his sword so troubled them that were next, that he opened a way for them that followed him, to breake into the enemies battell. The harquebusiers also discharged so fast vpon the enemy, that three hundred of them lay dead vpon the ground before the joyning of the battell: which the rest of the footmen seeing, forsook their great ordinance, and fled backe to *Barbaruissa*: Who long endured not the force or sight of the Christians; but grinding his teeth for sorrow and griefe of mind, turned his horse, and with

his

Barbarussa si-
eth to Timour.

his Turkes retired into T V N E S . For now that his designes had in the beginning taken so euill
successe, he thought it not best to aduenture all in one battell; knowing right well that the empe-
rours armie could not long endure the inconueniences of the intollerable heat, and want of ma-
nie things, especially of fresh water: which fed him with hope, that hee should out of these his
enemies distresse picke some fit occasion of aduantage, if he could but a while defend the citie of
T V N E S . The Numidians and Moores, who in great troupes and companies had alwaies ho-
uered about the emperours armie, without doing any thing worth reporting, retired themselves
also into the suburbs, gardens, and other places neere vnto the citie.

Barbarussa in
mind to kill all
the Christian
captiues is dis-
suaded by Sinan
the Jew.

The empetour glad of the flight of his enemies which were thought to haue been in number
an hundred thousand, encamped with his armie that night in the same place where they before
lay; determining the next day to batter the wals of T V N E S . In the meane time, *Barbarussa* sur-
prised with an exceeding feare, and distracted with many cares, and now become more cruell
than himselfe, had in his mind purposed a fact full of exceeding and inhumane crueltie; which
was at once to haue killed all the Christian captiues in the castle of T V N E S : fully resolved to
haue put the same in execution, had not *Sinan* the Jew dissuaded him from that most execrable
fact, protesting such a practise to be vnseemely for a man of his valour, famous for his many vi-
stories, and carrying with him the majesticie of a king: whereas he would shortly after wonder-
fully repent him for doing so shamefull a fact: The doing whereof, what was it else (as the Jew
said) but a manifest demonstration of his extreame feare, and desperation: which two things
were most dangerous to him, that was to maintaine so doubtfull a warre, and would much de-
face the glorie of his former life; wherefore he should doe well to beware, that by the same of
such a most horrible fact, he did not prouoke *Solymans* heauie displeasure against him: who de-
uoid of all humane crueltie, had vsed both to detest and reuenge such outrages. W herefore he
should suffer the Christian captiues to liue bound in their fatal chaines, so long as it were their
fortunes; who being well kept and vnarmed, might shortly after serue him to good purpose, and
could no way without most certaine danger moue themselves, if they should vnadvisedly lust af-
ter their vnluckie libertie: for by them, the expected victorie could neither be giuen to the ene-
mie, nor taken from him, or yet so much as hindred. At which speech the tyrant was ashamed,
and so sparing the liues of the poore wretches, went out of the castle into the greatest church of
T V N E S , whither he had caused to be assembled all the chiefe men of the citie, to tell them what
he would haue done for the defence of the citie, and now by persuation to encourage them to
fight: from whom as men by him holden in distrust, he had but a little before the coming of the
Christians, taken all manner of armour and weapon.

W hilest *Barbarussa* was thus busied, the most joyfull and happie day appeared to those mi-
serable captiues; by fortunes change no lesse black and dismall vnto the Turkes and Moores. For
that hainous purpose of the cruell tyrant, could not long be couered or kept secret: so that a con-
stant report of a danger so imminent, was run thorow the whole castle, euen into the deepe dun-
geons; by the compasion of certaine manumised slaues, who detesting the sauage crueltie of
Barbarussa their master, and touched with deuotion, had in heart returned to their old and true
Christian religion; encouraging by secret speeches the chiefe of the captiues with whom they
were acquainted, to lay hand now vpon their libertie. Amongst these well minded men was
one *Francis* a Spaniard, whom *Barbarussa* had from his youth brought vp as his minion, hauing
him alwaies in great esteeme by the name of *Memis*; and another called *Vincenius Catarus* of
D A L M A T I A an eunuch: These two aduenturing a most memorable and godly attempt, let
open the prison doores, and gaue instruments vnto the poore prisoners, ready to take the occa-
sion offered; who boldly starting vp, breake off their chaines and giues, and so by the great good-
nesse and mercie of God, about six thousand poore naked Christians, armed with that came
first to hand, but especially with stones, brake forth suddenly vpon the Turkes that were in the
castle. *Ramadas* a renegate Spaniard captaine of the castle, stirred vp with the vnexpected and
terrible noise of so many prisoners breaking their irons, with a few souldiours whom he had
suddenly called vnto him, ran to the castle gate, where one of the prisoners (a lustie young man
of S I C I L I A) had with one of the bars of the gate stricke downe one or two of the warders, and
hauing bolted the gate, was become master thereof: him *Ramadas* slew, and opening the gate,
made way for himselfe and his few followers, with whom he went to *Barbarussa* to carrie him
newes of that his hard mischance. But the Christians now losed from their bands, and hauing
suddenly

The Christian
captiues breake
prison, and drine
the Turkes out of
the castle of
Turks.

A suddenly slaine diuers of the Turkes, possessed themselves of all the castle, brake open the armo-
rie, and so seizing vpon the kings treasure, armour, and prouision, from a high turret gaue signes
of victorie to the Christian armie by smoake and false fires made with gunpowder; and lastly, by
displaying of *Sarmentus* his ensigne, which (as we haue before declared) was by *Tabacches* ta-
ken from the top of the trenches at the siege of G V L A T T A . These signes, although the Christi-
ans in the armie could not well perceiue, as being too farre off: yet by the fugitiues which came
oftentimes out of T V N E S to the emperour and *Muleasses*, they were both perswaded, that some
great tumult was risen amongst the enemies. W herefore the emperour sent two of his caprains
with their companies, who going as neere as they could to the citie and the castle, should disco-
uer what the matter was. In the meane time, *Barbarussa* almost mad for anger, in his furie blas-
pheming his vaine gods, and bitterly cursing and banning the Jew, for dissuading him from kil-
ling the captiues, came to the castle gate, and with teares standing in his eyes pitifully requested
the late Christian captiues (which then stood vpon the top of the wals and the gate with wea-
pons in their hands) That they would forthwith let him in, faithfully promising them their liber-
tie, with a generall and free pardon for all that they had done. But they mindfull both of their
former and present fortune, and mooued with just hatred, cast stones at him, and with many op-
probrious words rejected his request: so that hee enraged with sorrow and madnesse, shot at
them with his owne hand, and seeing all past remedie, and the citie not possible now to bee kept,
shamefully betooke himselfe to flight. After him followed the Turkes, in number seuen thousand,
with purpose to flie to the citie H I P P O N A , now called B O N A , famous with the bishopricke of
C that reuerend Father and great Diuine *Augustine*. For there (as in a most sure harbour) had
Barbarussa left foureteene gallies in the lake neere vnto the citie, to serue his turne whatsoever
mischance should happen: but the tacklings, sailes, oares, and ordinance, he had laid vp in the ca-
stle fast by, which was kept with a garrison of his owne.

The emperour vnderstanding that *Barbarussa* with his Turkes was fled, came with all his ar-
mie vnto the gates of T V N E S , where the magistrates of the citie were readie to submit them-
selues vnto him, and to deliuer him the keyes of the citie, only requesting of him that he would
keepe his souldiours encamped without the citie, and not to seeke the vtter spoile and ruine there-
of, promising that the souldiours should want nothing that was there to be had. *Muleasses* also
carefull of the safetie thereof, earnestly intreated the emperour in the citizens behalfe. But he, al-
though he was of his owne honourable disposition readie ynough to haue graunted what they
requested; Yet for that he did not without cause doubt of the Moores fidelitie, and that the pai-
ment of the money which they of T V N E S had by *Muleasses* promised for the payment of the
souldiours wages, was by them craftily delayed, expecting still the vttermost deuoure of *Barbarussa*,
he could not by any meanes be perswaded to promise them any certaintie of their safetie: moou-
ed also so to doe by the discontented speeches of his souldiours, who spared not to say, That they
should bee hardly and vnkindly dealt withall, if after so long trauell and so much paines taken
both by sea and land, they should be defrauded of the reward of the victorie, sith nothing but on-
ly the hope of the present spoile did relieue and feed them, being poore and miserable, hauing
scarce clothes to couer their nakednesse, and their bodies spent with long labour and thirst; so
that the Moores of T V N E S , enemies of the Christian religion, and the perpetuall receivers of
most horrible pyrats, might worthily reioice of the Christian victorie, and the conquerours
themselves for euer bewaile their owne calamities and miseries. W hilest the emperour stood
himselfe for euer what to resolue vpon, *Vastius* with a small companie came to the castle gate, and
thus in doubt what to resolue vpon, *Vastius* with a small companie came to the castle gate, and
was with wonderfull joy receiued in by the Christian captiues. But as he was viewing the wealth
and prouision laid vp in the castle, a Ligurian captiue discovered vnto him where certaine trea-
sure lay hidden: for *Barbarussa* had there cast into a well thirtie thousand duckats sowed vp in
bags, which *Vastius* getting easily out, obtained them of the emperour of gift, as he whole good
seruice had well deserued them. The castle thus woon by a most rare chance, and the captiues sa-
fety by heapes, running after the spoile into every part thereof, the citizens fearing no such matter,
and calling in vaine vpon the faith of *Muleasses*. The souldiours at their first entrance slew many
The Spaniards and Italians sought most after the spoile. But the Germanes desiring more to
glut themselves with the Mahometane bloud, filled all places with dead bodies, without regard
of sex or age; so that the prophane temples of their vaine prophet, swam with the bloud of them
that

Timour yielded to
the emperour.

Timour spoiled by
the Christians.

that were fled into them. Which furious execution continued vntill such time as the emperour G moued with the pitifull request of *Muleasses*, caused proclamation to bee made, That no man should vpon paine of death hurt any citisen, or take any prisoners: yet for all that, it could not otherwise be, but that many young men and women were by the mariners (which were come to the spoile of the citie) carried away to the fleet.

Muleasses for a little money redeemed diuers which he knew out of the hands of such as had them prisoners: amongst others, one of his wiues, whom he sometime held dearest, was ransomed for two duckats. The emperour entering into the castle, commended the captiues, who were the occasion of that speedie victorie: and giuing to euery one of them money, set them at libertie, promising vnto them shipping and prouision to bring them home euery man into his owne country. Vnto the two manumitted seruants of *Barbarussa*, which were the authours of H breaking the prison, he gaue money and apparrell, and afterward learned of them many things concerning *Barbarussa* his purposes and secret disposition. In the spoile of the castle, *Muleasses* lamented the losse of three things especially: first the ancient Arabian bookes, containing the interpretation of the Mahometane law, and the acts of the kings his predecessors; the losse whereof *Muleasses* (in the hearing of *P. Ionius*, out of whom this hystorie is taken) said (as he reporteth) that he would most gladly, if it had been possible, haue redeemed with the price of a citie: Then the precious oynments and perfumes, with the wonderfull store of ambergrize, muske, and ciuet, worth much gold: all which *Barbarussa* as a rude and rough man had made no reckoning of: And last of all, the rare and rich colours for painting, which lying by heapes, were by the ignorant fouldiors, seeking for that might yeeld them present money, foolishly neglected and troden vnderfoot, seruing no man to good. In this castle were found diuers headpieces & other armor of the Christians, namely of the French, who with *Lewes* their king had about three hundred yeares before besieged that castle: which armour had bene vntill that time there kept by the Moores, in remembrance of that victorie against the Christians.

Barbarussa in the meane time was come to the riuier of Bagrada, which the Moores call Maiordech, which he easily passed ouer, though he was pursued by certain Numidian horsemen, whom *Muleasses* had raised of his old friends, and of the followers of his vncl *Dorax*, and sent them to pursue the Turks: but *Barbarussa* so marched with his harquebusers and archers placed in the reuerward, that the Numidian horsemen durst not come neere him, and so in safetie came to *HIPPONA*, as he had before purposed. Yet in passing the riuier Bagrada, he lost *Haydin* of K SMIRNA, that famous pyrat: who being a fat man, and wearied with the heat of the Sunne and painfullnesse of the journey, dranke too much, that he presently died vpon the banke of the riuier. When *Barbarussa* was come to *HIPPONA*, he rested his men two dayes: then calling them together againe, he comforted them with good words, persuaading them, that whatsoever mischance had happened, they should impute it not to the valour of the enemy, but to the trecherie of the slaues; exhorting them as valiant men patiently to endure that frowne of fortune, and by some notable exploit to win againe her fauour: for he was determined to put to sea with the fleet he had, and to goe presently from thence to *ALGIERS*, where after he had with new supplies increased his power, and augmented his fleet, and better aduised himselfe, he would take an attempt in hand answerable to their desires, and not vnbecoming his owne credit and estimation. It is reported, that neuer vanquished and beaten captain was with a more cheerefull acclamation answered by his fouldiors, than hee was at that present; they all with one consent most willingly requesting him to commaund whatsoever pleased him, which they would neuer refuse to vndertake, were it neuer so heauie or dangerous, so that they might be brought to some notable exploit. *Barbarussa* vsing this exceeding cheerefullnesse and forwardnesse of his fouldiors, did with wonderfull celeritie weigh vp the foureteene galleys which he had sunke in the lake, and forthwith rigged them vp, and furnished them for all assayes: and vpon the very brinke of the lake cast vp a mount of earth, whereon he placed certaine pieces of artillerie for defence of the harbour; not vainly conjecturing, that the Christian fleet would in short time come thither to impeach his going out: pointing therein as it were at the purpose of the emperour and *Auria* M his Admirall, who were of opinion, That by sending part of the fleet thither, those galleys might be drowned in the harbour with the great ordinance, before they could be rigged and made ready. Vnto this peece of seruice *Auria* appointed one *Adam*, a captain of GENOVA, a man of no great skill in matters at sea, but yet of great wealth & credit, and the Admirals nigh kinsman: he

A he with certaine galiots and foureteene galleys, set forward towards *HIPPONA*, promising vnto himselfe a most certaine and easie victorie, hoping to purchase vnto himselfe great honour of the vnprouided enemy: for that he thought to haue taken *Barbarussa* busie in setting forth of his fleet. But after he was past *BISERTA* and come neere to *HIPPONA*, he was certainly aduertised, that *Barbarussa* had with incredible celeritie rigged vp his galleys, and fortified the harbour, by planting great ordinance vpon the mount he had there raised: With which newes he wonderfully troubled, changed his purpose, persuaaded by the other captaines of the galleys; in no case to aduventure to fight with him, because the Spanish, Sicilian, and Neapolitan galleys were but weakly manned, many of the fouldiors being for greedinesse of the spoile gone ashore without leaue at *TUNES*: so that he should at great disadvantage fight with the Turks, being B mo in number and desperately bent. Wherefore he vpon good aduise presently changed his former course, and returned to the fleet for more aid. *Barbarussa* (as it was afterwards known) stood a good while in doubt, whether he should in hope of victorie pursue those galleys; for as much as they were in number no more than his owne; or else to persist in his former purpose of going to *ALGIERS*. Vnto which opinion all the vnder captaines inclined; being altogether ignorant of the weaknesse of the Christians: and so letting slip a faire occasion; leauing a small garrison of C the weaknesse of the Christians: and so letting slip a faire occasion; leauing a small garrison of *Barbarussa* of the Turks in the castle, he departed from *HIPPONA* and sailed alongst the coast to *ALGIERS*. When *Adam* was returned againe to the fleet, and had done nothing, many of the Christian princes were wonderfully offended, that by the negligence of some who were hardly to be commaunded, and by the vnlinesse of others who without leaue were gone ashore, so faire an occasion of the desired victorie, was neglected. For this thing onely wanted vnto the emperours rare felicitie in that warre: for if those few galleys had been taken from the cruell enemy, or sunke in the sea, there had been no meanes for him to haue escaped; being verily thought, that the Numidians in number infinit and deadly enemies vnto the Turks, would with often skirmishes out of their knowne places of aduantage, haue so cut him off in his long and painfull trauell by land, that they would altogether haue made an end both of him and his followers before hee could haue come to *ALGIERS*. *Auria* angrie both with himselfe and those whom he had put in trust, and yet not out of hope to ouertake his enemy; with his own galleys and some other of the best ships went to *HIPPONA*: but finding *Barbarussa* gone, he tooke the citie and ouerthrew the walls thereof: but in the castle which he by force tooke from the Turks, he placed *Aluarius Gometius* D with a sufficient garrison, and so returned vnto the emperour. This *Gometius*, although he was a most valiant captain, yet became so infamous for his auaricious dealing both with the enemy and his friends, that for feare how to answer such things as he knew would be laid to his charge, he became the infamous executioner of himselfe. The castle was afterwards by the commaundement of the emperour, rased downe to the ground, for that it was not without a traituclous charge to be kept. After that, a counsell was holden concerning *Muleasses*, whom the E decay the charges of a thousand Spaniards. and more, to be left in garrison in the castle of *GULLETTA*; by holding whereof, the emperour kept as it were the keyes of that kingdome at his girdle. The emperour hauing thus honourably driuen *Barbarussa* and the Turks, pirats, out of the sea. *TUNES*, taken from them their galleys, deliuered the Christian countries all alongst the sea coast in the Mediterranean of a great feare, and restored *Muleasses* againe to his kingdome. *Aluarius* was led into *SICILIA*, where he was in great triumph receiued at *PANORMVS* and *MESINA*, from whence he passed ouer to *RHODVM* into *ITALIE*, & from thence by land to *NAPLES*. Thus was the kingdome of *TUNES* taken by *Barbarussa* and the Turks; and by *Charles* the emperor recovered againe out of their hands the selfsame time that *Solyman* was in person himselfe in was against the Persian: whom *Barbarussa* accompanied with *Sinan* the Jew; after this F ouerthrow neere *ICONTIUM* in his returne out of *PERSIA*, well accepting of their excuse, as is before declared: *Solyman* as well of his owne ambitious disposition, as following the manner of the *Othoman* kings, desirous by all meanes to increase the glorie of his name, and to enlarge his empire's dominion with himselfe to take away from the Portugales all their traffique into the East Indies. It

Three things especially lamented by *Muleasses* in the spoile of the castle of *TUNES*.

Barbarussa fleeth to *HIPPONA*, and there consistereth his fouldiors.

Auria sendeth certaine galleys to intercept *Barbarussa*.

The kingdome of *TUNES* is by the emperor restored to *Muleasses*.

The emperor returneth with victory into *ITALIE*.

It grieved him to heare, that the Christian religion should begin to take root amongst those Pa-
gan kings, which had not long before received the Mahometane religion: Besides that, he was
credibly informed, that the Portingales in these late wars he had against the Persians, had aided
them with certaine harquebusers, and also had sent them workmen to shew them both the ma-
king and vse of great artillerie: But that which moued him most of all, was for that the Portin-
gales by their traffique into the Indies, had cut off all the trade of merchandise into the gulf of
ARABIA, whereby the riches of the East were wont to be transported vnto CAIRE, and so
to ALEXANDRIA, from whence they were afterwards by the Venetian merchants and others
dispersed into all parts of EUROPE: but now were carried by the great Ocean into PORTIN-
GALL, and from thence conuayed into all parts of Christendome, to the great hinderance of his
tributes and customes of EGYPT. For these causes, and at the instance of *Solyman Bassa* an eu-
nuch borne in EPIRVS, and then Gouverneur of EGYPT, *Solyman* caused wonderfull prepa-
ration to be made, for the building of a great fleet in the Red sea to go against the Portingals: All
the timber whereof, was cut downe in the mountaines of CILICIA, and shipped in the Bay of
ATTALIA in the bottome of the Mediterranean, from whence it was by sea transported to PA-
LYSIVM, and so vp the riuer of Nilus to CAIRE: where after it was framed and readie to be set
together, it was with infinit labour, and no lesse charge, carried by land with Camels thorow that
hoat and sandie country, from CAIRE to SVETIA, a port of the Red sea, called in ancient time
ARSINOE. From which place eightie miles distant from CAIRE, the ancient kings of EGYPT
seeking by vaine and wonderfull workes to eternise the memorie of themselves, had with incre-
dible charge cut thorow all that maine land, so that vessels of good burthen might come vp the
same from ARSINOE to CAIRE: which great cut or ditch, *Sesostris* the rich king of EGYPT,
and long after him *Ptolomeus Philadelphus*, purposed to haue made a great deale wider and dee-
per, and thereby to haue let in the Red sea into the Mediterranean, for the readier transportation
of the Indian merchandise to CAIRE and ALEXANDRIA. Which mad worke *Sesostris* pre-
vented by death, could not performe: and *Ptolomeus* otherwise perswaded by skillfull men, in time
gaue ouer; for feare least by letting in the great South sea into the Mediterranean, he should there-
by as it were with another generall deluge haue drowned the greatest part of GRACIA, and
many other goodly countries in ASIA, and with exceeding charge, in steed of honour haue pur-
chased himselfe eternall infamie. Yet by the singular industrie of *Solyman* the eunuch, who with
seuerer commaundement enforced all the people of the countries therabouts: to the furtherance
of the building of that fleet; he had with wonderfull celeritie in short time, new built eightie tall
ships and gallies at ARSINOE, and furnished them with men, and all things else needfull for so
long a voyage. At which time, he vpon a quartell pickt without cause, but not without the good
liking of *Solyman*, most injuriously confiscated the goods of the Venetian merchants at ALEX-
ANDRIA and CAIRE, and thrust the mariners into his gallies as slaues. With which fleet in
most warlike manner appointed, *Solyman* the Bassa accompanied with *Affan-beg*, commonly
called the Moore of ALEXANDRIA, a most famous pirat and an excellent seaman, set forward
against the Portingals: and sayling thorow the Red sea, and so Eastward by the gulf of PER-
SIA, came at length as far as the great riuer Indus, where with all his power he assaulted DIU-
a castle of the Portingals, situate vpon the mouth of that great riuer: but in conclusion, after
he had many daies besieged the castle both by sea & land, and tried the vitermost of his strength,
he was so repulled by the Portingals, that he was glad to forsake the siege, and leauing his great
ordnance behind him for hast, returned backe againe to ADESSA citie of great trade in ARABIA
FELIX: Where discouraged with the euill successe he had against the Portingals, because he
would be thought to haue done something, he allured the king of that rich citie to come vnto
him, vpon his false faith before giuen for his safe returne: but as soone as he had him aboard, he
like a perjured wretch hanged him vp at the yards arme of his Admirall galley, and so surpris-
ing the citie, enriched himselfe with the spoile thereof. The like barbarous crueltie he vied at ZE-
BYTH, another famous port of ARABIA, where the pilgrims of the East doe commonly land
when they after the manner of their superstition come to visite the temple of their false prophet
at MECHA: The king of which place, together with all his nobilitie he cruelly murdered, con-
trarie to his faith giuen: and so traouelling himselfe by land to MECHA, as if he had been some de-
uout pilgrim, sent backe his fleet by the Moore to SVETIA, hauing performed against the Por-
tingals nothing at all.

The Egyptian
kings about to
let in the Red sea
into the Medi-
terranean.

Diuina castle of
the Portingals
in the East In-
dus in vaine of-
fended by the
Turkes.

The treacherous
dealing of *Soly-
man* the eunuch
Bassa with the
king of Arabia.

At the same time *Solyman* by the persuation of *Lurxi* and *Max* (the Bassas of greatest au-
thoritie about him) now that *Abraham* was dead, turned all his forces from the Persians, as men
agreeing with him in the cheefe points of his Mahometane superstition, with purpose to conuert
the same vpon *IRAK*: whereunto he was earnestly solicited by *Iohn Forrest* the French kings
embassadour, then lying at CONSTANTINOPLE, of purpose to incite *Solyman* against *Charles*
the emperour, assuring him, that he was not of such power, as at one time to defend AFRICA
against him, and the kingdome of MILLAINE against the French king: who (as he said) was
determined that Summer to invade that part of ITALIE. And to further the matter, about the
same time one *Troilus Pignatellus*, a noble gentleman, sometime commander in *Charles* the
emperours armie, put downe exiled out of NAPLES, fled vnto *Solyman*; and for so much as hee
was a man of name, and like to doe him great seruice in the inuasion of AFRICA, as one which
knew the countrey well, and promised vnto him good successe in that warres, was by *Solyman*
honourably entertained amongst his *Mutfaracas*: which is a certaine companie of horsemen for
their approued valour, chosen out of all nations, hauing the free exercise of their religion what-
soeuer without controulement, and are onely bound to attend vpon the person of the great
Turke. When he goeth to warres. The cause of his reuolt was, for that the vicetoy of NAPLES
had executed *Andreas* his brother, one of the knights of the RHODS. But being now growen
into great fauour with *Solyman* and the Bassas, and oftentimes called to counsell in the prepara-
tion of that warre, casting off all naturall loue of his countrey, ceased not by all meanes to per-
suade *Solyman* to invade the same, assuring him, that the people of AFRICA and SALERNE op-
pressed with grievous tribute and exactions by the emperours officers, would at the first reuolt,
especially if they saw any of the French nation to cleaue vnto. And that which moued him
more than all the rest, the auncient Turkes told him into what a feare all ITALIE was stricken,
at such time as *Achmetes* the Bassa hauing taken HYDRUNTVM, had vndoubtedly conquered
not onely the kingdome of NAPLES, but the citie of ROME also, and all the rest of ITALIE,
had not the vntimely death of *Mahomet* his great grandfather interrupted the course of that vi-
dorie. Which persuations wrought such effect in *Solyman*, that he once fully resolved for the in-
uasion of ITALIE, made such expedition both by sea and land, that he himselfe in person was
come with two hundred thousand men vnto AVLONA, the most conuenient port of MACEDONIA
for the transporting of his armie, before it was thought in ITALIE that he was set for-
ward from CONSTANTINOPLE: where he had not long stayed, but *Lurxi* Bassa his Admi-
rall, accompanied with *Barbarussa*, sayling alongst the coast of PAPHLAGONIA and EPIRVS,
and so passing by CORCYRA, where *Hieronimus Pisaurius*, Admirall of the Venetian fleet lay
with his gallies (after mutuall salutation done after the manner of sea, by shooting off their great
pieces with cannon of small ship) put into the haven of AVLONA also. *Solyman* not purposing to lose
any time, and hauing ITALIE now in his sight, commaunded *Lurxi* and *Barbarussa* to passe
ouer with the fleet vnto OTRANTO, and to prooue the minds of the people; that if the first en-
terprise fell out well, he might presently follow after with all his armie. With them went also
Troilus Pignatellus, as forwarder the destruction of his country, as any of the rest. He knowing
that the great cities of HYDRUNTVM and BRINDVSVM were kept with strong garrisons of
Charles the emperour, steering his way vnto the right hand, directed the Turks to a towne
vpon the sea coast, by the names of CASTRUM, neere vnto which standeth a castle vpon a
hill, and belonging to the *Mercurians*: who being a man vnacquainted with warres, and
terrified with the doctouring of the Turkes, and perswaded by *Troilus*, yielded vp his ca-
stle vpon condition that the Turkes should offer no violence or iniurie vnto him or his, either in
bodily or goods. Vpon which condition the towne of CASTRUM was also deliuered vnto them.
But the Turkes, especially the greedy mariners, being got into the castle and the towne, moued
neither with the meane of *Troilus*, nor the commaundement of *Lurxi* and *Barbarussa*, rifled
the towne and castle, and carried away with them *Mercurius* himselfe, with all the floure
of the people, to their gallies as prisoners. But *Lurxi* was ashamed of such faithlesse dealing, presently
set *Mercurians* at libertie againe: At the same time also *Solyman* had by night sent ouer certaine
troupes of light horsemen, in great palanders: which running all alongst the sea coast from TA-
RANTVM to BAVVSVM, carried away with them both the people and cattell, and what-
soeuer came in their way by the space of fortie miles. So that all that countrey of SALERNI-
NUM, now called OTRANTO, was filled with feare and danger, and had not there stayed, but

Solyman incited
by the French
embassadours to
invade Italie.

Solyman with his
armie of two
hundred thou-
sand men com-
meth to Aulona

Solyman sendeth
Lurxi and *Bar-
barussa* with his
fleet to invade
Italie.

Castrum in Aphi-
lia yielded to the
Turkes, and by
them conuayed
to their faith
spoiled.

The Turkes
spoil Afulia,
was

came as neere vnto the cite of CORFU as they possibly could, to see which way they might G most conveniently lay siege vnto it: but perceiuing the great strength thereof, being wonderfully fortified, and thorowly manned, they aduertised *Solyman*, that it was a place inpregnable. *Aloysius Ripa*, and *Symon Leonius*, two Senators of VENICE were then gouernors of CORFU, who not without cause standing in doubt of the great strength of the Turkes both by sea and land, caused the suburbs of the cite (which were verie great and sumptuously built) to be plucked downe, for feare that the Turkes throwding themselves in them, should with more ease besiege the towne. This was a wofull and lamentable thing to behold, when as at the same time a man might haue scene the magnificent houses of the Venetian merchants, built in time of long peace, both for profit and for pleasure in euery place of the island, all set on fire by the Turkes: But the regard of the publike state in so great a danger, made all those goodly things which went H so to wracke, to be lightly accounted of in comparison of their liues and libertie; for as much as those lost things might with new charge be againe in short time recovered.

The two Venetian gouernours aforesaid, fearing a long siege, and not prouided of victual to suffice such a multitude as were got into the cite, for any long time; vsed a heauie and sharpe remedie, by turning a great number of weake people and children vnable for seruice, out of the cite, of whom many, especially children, died in the towne ditches in their mothers armes vnder the wals of the cite, nor daring to go any further for feare of the enemy, who had fast by in places conuenient cast vp great mounts, and planted his ordinance against the cite: onely the castle called *S. Angelo* standing in the middle of the island, about fiftene miles from the cite of CORFU, being valiantly defended by the inhabitants against the assaults of the Turkes, happily I saued about three thousand poore people which fled thither from the furie of the Turkes, who in all other places of the island had made all desolate. The Turkes the more to terrifie them of CORFU, taking a hill not farre from the cite, couered the same with their tents, and from the rocke called *MARIBRVS*, shot with their great ordinance into the towne: some of them in the meane time standing close in the ruines of the suburbs, did with their harquebusiers kill or wound them which appeared vpon the wals. The gallies also did oftentimes out of their prow discharge their great pieces against the cite, to the greater terrour than hurt of the defendants. *Solyman* perceiuing that he did but lose his labour in besieging the cite, as he was told at the first by his great capitaines, *Lutzius*, *Aian*, and *Barbarussa*; determined now to raise his siege, and to returne to CONSTANTINOPLE, greatly ashamed that he had no better sped neither in K ITALIE, nor at the siege of CORFU. But when he was about to haue departed, it was told him how vnfaithfully some of his soldiours had dealt with them of CASTRUM ITALIE; who yeelding themselves vpon the Turkes faith to them giuen for the safegard of their libertie and goods, were neuertheless most injuriously spoiled of all that they had, and caried away into bondage. VVhich fact as tending to the dishonour of his name, and the deterring of others from yeelding,

Good iustice done
by Solyman.

The Turke de-
parts from Corfu,
and caries away
with them about
sixteen thousand
Christians into
captiuitie.

Solyman tooke in so euill part, that for amending thereof, he caused the authors of that fact to be put to death, and the captiues of CASTRUM to be diligently sought out, and sent home againe into their countrey: well deseruing therein the commendation of a most iust prince. The Turkes left the siege of CORFU and departed out of the island about the twelfth of September; in the yeare 1537: carrying away with them about sixtene thousand of the island people into perpetuall captiuitie. So *Solyman* rising with his armie, marching thorow A CARNANIA and ETO-LIA, returned thorow MACEDONIA to CONSTANTINOPLE: hauing in this his expedition done great harme both in ITALIE and CORCYRA, but yet nothing encreased his empire or honour.

Before his departure, calling vnto him *Lutzius* his Admirall, he commaunded him also to returne with his fleet to HELESPONTVS: who, passing by ZAZINTVS, and landing some of his men in the night, tooke diuers of the countrey people prisoners. But vnderstanding that the cite it selfe was both strong and well manned, he departed thence to CATHERA, where vnto-
tunately attempting to haue taken the castle, and disappointed of his purpose, he made what spoile he could vpon that island, and with eight hundred prisoners returned into AEGYPTVS: AEGYPTVS
a rich and famous island, and well peopled both with mariners and other inhabitants. Appro-
ching the island, he by his messengers sent before vnto the Gouerour of the cite, attempted first
by faire means, and afterwards by threats to haue had the cite yeilded vnto him: and not so
preuailing, but perceiuing them to stand vpon their defence; he landed his men and gaue the sig-
nall

A nall of battell. Which they of the island refused not, but manfully met him, and at the first en-
counter slew many of his men: wherewith the Admirall grievously offended, and still landing
fresh men, euen with his multitude oppressed them of the island; being but in number few, and
wearie of long fight; and so enforced them to retire into the cite.

To be reuenged of this iniurie, the Bassa caused certaine pieces of great ordinance to be lan-
ded, and a batterie planted against the cite: by force whereof, he had in short time in diuers pla-
ces opened the wals, and then with all his power assaulting the breaches, forthwith tooke the ci-
tie: which after he had rifled, he burnt it downe to the ground, rased the wals, and put the men
euery mothers sonne to the sword. As for the women, he gaue them without respect vnto the
lust of his souldiours and mariners, whom afterwards together with the boies and young chil-
dren he shipped into the countrey neere vnto ATHENS, to be from thence conuayed to CON-
STANTINOPLE into most miserable seruitude.

AEGINA thus vterly rased, he with much like force and crueltie raged vpon them of P AROS,
and the other islands thereabouts, killing the old men and such as made resistance, and thrusting
the rest into his gallies. Shortly after he came to the island of NAXOS, where all the island peo-
ple were for feare of his comming, fled out of the countrey into the cite: there landing his men, he
made hauocke of whatsoeuer came to his hand. And in the meane time sent a messenger vnto the
duke, to will him to yeeld himselfe and his cite to the obedience of the Turkish emperour *Soly-
man*. VVhich messenger admitted into the cite, and brought before the duke, in blunt and plaine
termes, without farther circumstance, deliuered his message as followeth:

C If thou wilt without more adoe, yeeld thy selfe, thy cite and territorie to the Constantinopolitane
emperour, thou shalt deserue his fauour, and so saue thy selfe with that thou hast. But if thou other-
wise aduised, shalt now refuse this grace, thou shalt neuer hereafter haue the like offer: but for euer,
vnto thy selfe, thy wife and children, thy citizens and subiects in generall. Here is present a most
mightie fleet with most valiant and victorious souldiours, furnished with all the habiliments of war,
 requisite for battell or siege. Be warned by them of AEGINA, P AROS, and other thy neighbours,
princes of the islands. Thy hap is good, if thou be not misadvised; and warned by other mens harmes
wilfully refuse to remedie thine owne; and when thou mightest be safe, wilfully cast away thy selfe.

The blun speech
of a Turke sent
by Lutzus Bassa
vnto the duke
of Naxos.

D This said, he was commaunded by the duke to stand aside, and a while to expect his an-
swere: who with the chiefe of his subiects there present, but much troubled, and all full of hea-
uinesse and sorrow, consulted what answere to make. But after they had according to the waigh-
tinesse of the cause and necessitie of the time fully debated the matter, it was with generall con-
tinesse agreed, That for as much as they were not themselves of power to withstand so furious an
enemie, neither to expect for helpe from others, they should therefore yeeld vnto the present vne-
celsitie, which otherwise threatned vnto them viter destruction, and reserve themselves vnto
better times. VVherevpon answere was giuen vnto the messenger by the duke, That he was rea-
dy to yeeld himselfe vnto *Solyman* as his vassalle, and of him as of his soueraine to hold his
siegnorie for the yearly tribute of five thousand duckats. Of which offer the Bassa accepted,
receiving in hand one yeares tribute. So was that notable island yeilded vnto the Turkish obe-
dience the 11. of November this yeare 1537: from whence *Lutzius* the proud Bassa laded with
the rich spoile of the countreys and islands he had passed by, returned to CONSTANTINOPLE
with his fleet. Not long after, this great Bassa then in credit and authoritie next vnto *Solyman*
himselfe, fell at odds with his wife, *Solymans* sister: for that he after the vnnatural manner of those
barbarous people kept in his house a most delicat youth, in whom he took more pleasure than in
his wife. VVhich she being a woman of great spirit not able to endure, and knowing her husband
by marrying of her to haue been from base degree aduanced vnto the highest honours that the
by marryng of her to haue been from base degree aduanced vnto the highest honours that the
emperour her brother could heape vpon him, in great rage reproued him with most bitter
words, saying, That she had married him to be of him beloued, and vsed as his wife, and not
contemptuously abused by his minions. VVherewith the Bassa moued, gaue her a blow on the
face, and caused her as a foolish and vnquiet woman to be shut vp in her chamber. But she not
brooking such abuse, came weeping to *Solyman* her brother, and complaining of her husband,
requested to be diuorced from him, who made no better reckoning of her: And with her com-
plaint so incensed *Solyman*, that he tooke from him his scale, and thrust him out of all his hono-
rable

Naxos becom-
meth tributary
vnto the Turke.

*In this passage dis-
graced by Soly-
man and exiled.*

able promotions, and had vndoubtedly put him to death, had not the remembrance of his old G
loue and friendship staid his furie: Yet hauing vterly disgraced him; he banished him the court
into MACEDONIA, where he spent the remainder of his loathed like as a poore priuat man: of
whom *Bosardus* thus writeth.

*Que tibi cum molli res est pollute Cynado:
Cum cubet in Thalamis regia nympha tuis?
Ex humilis fortuna loco te euexit in altum
Ex alto maior saepe ruina venit.*

On daintie boies, thou filthie man, why doest thou fix thine eye:
Whilest princely dame of roiall bloud, doth in thy chamber lie:
From base estate to honours height, blind fortune did thee call,
And set thee vp with princes great, to worke thy greater fall.

*The Turks spoile
the Venetians,
and the Veneti-
ans like-
wise.*

Solyman thus fallen out with the Venetians, as is aforesaid, to entangle them at once with was
in diuers places, commanded his lieutenants in euerie place bordering vpon any part of the Ve-
netian seignorie, to vex and molest them with all hostilitie, which they did accordingly: In Pa-
LOPONESVS, Castles besieged NAUPLIUM and EPIDAVRVS, two strong cities of the Ve-
netians: *Barbarossa* landing his men in DALMATIA, surpris'd the ancient citie of BOTORVS,
belonging to the Venetians, carried away the citizens & rased the citie: OBROATIVM another
citie of the Venetians in DALMATIA, called in auncient time AROIVTVM, with the castle of
NADIN, were taken by *Vstref*, Solymans lieutenant in ILLYRIA. The Venetians thus invaded on
enemie side, requited them againe with the like: *Pisaurius* and *Veturius* (the Venetian Admirals)
landing their men, besieged SCARDONA, a citie of the Turkes in the borders of DALMATIA,
which they tooke by force, put the Turkes to the sword, and ouerthrew the wals of the citie, be-
cause it should be no more a refuge vnto the Turkes: They sent also one of their capitaines called
Gabriel Ribens to besiege OBROATIVM; who vpon the comming of *Amurathes*, one of *Vstref*'s
his capitaines, cowardly fled, and in flight lost most of his men; for which his cowardise, *Pisau-
rius* caused his head to be stricke off aboard the Admirall gally: And *Camillus Vrsinus* appointed
by the Venetian state Gouernour of IADRA, a strong towne vpon the frontiers of their terri-
torie in DALMATIA, tooke from the Turkes the towne of OSTROVIZZA, which he burnt
downe to the ground: Herecouered also OBROATIVM, which was a little before lost; which
by the commaundement of the Senat he vterly rased, as a place not well to be kept against
the enemye.

The same Autumne that Solyman hauing wasted CORCYRA was returned to CONSTAN-
TINOPLE, and the Venetians held warres with the Turkes for the townes and castles in DAL-
MATIA: king Ferdinand receiued such an ouerthrow at EZZEK by the Turkes, as a greater or
more shamefull vnto the name of the Christians was hardly in that age scene; if the losse of the
choise souldiours and capitaines of foure great nations, with the shamefull flight of the Generall be
well considered. After the battell of MOHAHZ wherein king Lewes was lost, the Turkes hauing
gotten the victorie, kept vnto themselves that part of HUNGARIE which is called POSSEGA,
because thereby they had a fir passage from BELGRADE further into HUNGARIE: The two
great riuers of Sauus and Dranus, running almost with equall distance from the West, taking
with them diuers other smaller riuers, before they fall into the great riuers of Danubius Eastward,
doe on both sides inclose this country of POSSEGA, being a rich and plentifull countrie, and
wonderfull well peopled: It bordereth vpon the prouinces of CROATIA and CORBANIA,
which in times past were at continuall warres with the Turkes garrisons thereby in ILLYRIA
and BOSNA.

*Mahometes Go-
uernour of Bel-
grade.*

At that time one Mahometes a most valiant captain of the Turkes was Gouernour of Bel-
GRADE, to whom for his approved valour and wisdom Solyman had committed the kee-
ping of those frontiers, and the protection of the kingdom of HUNGARIE in the behalfe
of king John. He the yeare before had so used the matter, that what by force, what by policie, he had
taken from the Christians about thirtie small castles in that country (which was sometime part
of the patrimonie of the Despot of RASCIA) and had joynted them to the regiment of BOSNA.

*An euill assured
peace.*

A One of these castles amongst the rest called EZZEK, for the commodious situation thereof hee
strongly fortified, as that which might giue him passage ouer the riuers Dranus into HUNGARIE:
from whence he set in infinit preyes out of king Ferdinand's countrey neere vnto him. Yet was
there at that time a certaine league betwixt Solyman and Ferdinand, which notwithstanding after
the old custome of those countries for the exercise of the garrison souldiours, did beare with the
taking of bootie, and light skirmishes without any breach thereof; so that it were done without
any great power or field pieces: which wrong named peace, *Mathias* and the auncient kings
of HUNGARIE had of long time used with the Turkes, doing them with their nimble light horse-
men no lesse harme than they receiued. But the Germans now vsing no such light horsemen,
but seruing vpon great horses, and charged with heauie armour, receiued great hurt by those
light skirmishes; the Turkes with their light horses easily shunning their charge, and againe at
their pleasure charging them afresh, when they saw the heauie German horses almost wearie and
spent: by which meanes the German horsemen were oftentimes by the Turkes light horsemen
ouerthrowne, and so either slaine or taken: King Ferdinand not well brooking these continuall
injuries, and grieved in mind with the league which Solyman had to his profit made with him at
his going into PERSIA, finding the same both vnprofitable and hurtfull to himselfe; determi-
ned to take vp armes, with purpose, that if he could driue the Turkes out of the countrey of POS-
SEGA, then forthwith to passe ouer Dranus, and to go directly to BUDA against king John. It
still stucke in his mind how that kingdom was taken from him by Solyman, and that more was,
as it were in disgrace of him and the house of AVSTRIA, bestowed vpon a stranger, which had
neither right thereto, nor was any way roially descended. Yet were there some which wished him
not rashly to enter into armes against so mightie an enemye, as was not to be vanquished but by
the united forces of all the Christian princes of EVROPE: For they foresaw that Solyman so pro-
uoked, would not put it vp, but for the hatred he bare against the Christians, and for his owne
honour seeke more cruell reuenge: as he had of late done against the Venetians, with whom
vpon a light occasion he had broken a most auncient league, for sincking one or two of his gal-
lies; for which he would admit no excuse or satisfaction. All this Ferdinand knew to be true, yet
all the people of his dominions lay so earnestly vpon him to take that warre in hand, that they
said plainly, they would neuer beare armes more against the Turkes, if he omitted that occasion.
For they of CARINTHIA, STIRIA, CROATIA, and NORICVM, subject to the inuasion of the
D Turkes, and daily receiuing great harmes, thought the Turkes might easily be driuen out of POS-
SEGA, for as much as Mahometes had no great power nor like to haue any greater, Autumne
being now almost spent.

So, king Ferdinand with the wonderfull rejoycing of his subjects, caused souldiours to be taken
vp in all parts of his kingdom, sending for most of his nobilitie and best capitaines, as to a reli-
gious warre: and in a verie short space had raised a good armie, yet supposed of greater strength
than number, as consisting most of select men. The footmen were for most part Germans, to
whom were ioyned as wings certaine companies of Italians, harquebusiers, whom *Lewes Lodro-
nius* a valiant captain and generall of the footmen had raised in RHETIA, and those parts of ITA-
LIE which lie neere vnto the Alpes. The horsemen were of BOHEMIA, SILEZIA, MORAVIA,
E STIRIA, CARINTHIA, and some also out of HUNGARIE, all conducted by their severall cap-
taines: all these horsemen were in number eight thousand, but the footmen were sixteene thou-
sand strong: with great store of artillerie of all sorts. This armie for the expertnesse and valour
of the souldiours, was thought sufficient to haue met the greatest armie of the Turkes in field, if
it had been conducted by a politick Generall, and (as he had at other times been) fortunat; which
was one John *Cazianer* a noble man of CROATIA, whom as one of great experience and fa-
mous for the late defence of VIENNA, king Ferdinand had made Generall of his armie: For
F Ferdinand by the aduise of his best friends, neuer used to aduenture his person vnto the danger of
him, sent for diuers companies of the garrison souldiours, which lay vpon the borders neere hand;
any battell, especially against the Turkes, by whom many Christian kings had in former time
been vanquished and slaine, but performed all his wars by his lieutenants: which he was thought
to doe, not so much for want of courage, as moued with the fatall mishap of so many Christian
kings. Mahometes Gouernour of BELGRADE, vnderstanding of this preparation made against
him, sent for diuers companies of the garrison souldiours, which lay vpon the borders neere hand;
he required aid of the gouernours of the Turkes prouince thereabouts; and was especially hol-
pen by *Vstref* Gouernour of BOSNA, who of all Solymans lieutenants in EVROPE, was able to
bring

bring into the field most good horsemen: he sent him *Amurathes* a famous captain with a great company of gallant horsemen, vnto whom were joynt certaine companies of *Bulgarians* of the wild and mountaine people of *DALMATIA*, entertained for pay; which rough and rude kind of people were gouerned and kept in order by certaine companies of *Ianizaries*, drawne out of the garrison townes as far as *BELGRADE* and *SAMANDRIA*: after them followed many out of *SERBIA* & *RASCIA*, some for pay, some for prey: The *Turks* receiued liberally paying to such as were willing to serue, two months pay beforehand. Neither wanted he aid of the *Hungarians* from *BUDA*: so that the *Turkish* gouernours on euery side putting to their helping hands, *Mahometes* had in short time gathered such an armie, as for number and strength was not much inferior to king *Ferdinands*, and resolved to expect the coming of his enemies at *EXEK*. *Cazzianer* was now come as farre on his way as *CAPRVNZA*, a towne vpon the riuer *Dranus*; he hauing before well and conueniently provided for the victualling of his armie, if they whom he put in trust and had taken the matter vpon them, had with like speed and diligence performed their charge: for they were the cheefe men of all the countrey, who all followed the direction of *Simon*, bishop of *ZAGRETA*: who enflamed with zeale about measure, or els for want of judgement deceived, had promised to serue the whole campe with plentie of victuall at a very low rate. VVhich thing the countrey people which were to bring in the victuall, some by wagon, some by boats alongst the riuers, many difficulties now arising, were not able to performe: which was not to be remedied, by reason of the neere nesse of the enemy, and also for that *Mahometes* with small galleies in both riuers, and his troups of horsemen pricking vp and downe the countrey, did either stay the countrey people from bringing of victuall, or els allured them for a greater price to bring it to his owne campe: where they receiued for it readie money. *Cazzianer* setting forward from *CAPRVNZA*, hardly came in ten daies to the castle of *VBRVZA*, which is about fortie miles distant from *CAPRVNZA*, being enforced to make short marches, by reason of the troublesome carriage of seuen great peeces of artillerie for batterie. The winter fort began euen then to misdoubt the want of victuall both for the reasons before alledged, and for that such victuall as was looked for, came not, although they had marched very softly; so that they were then enforced to spend such victuall as they had provided, not for the beginning, but for the difficulties of a long protracted warre. VVherefore *Cazzianer* writ sharply to the bishop, and the other which had taken vpon them the charge of providing victuall for the armie, commaunding them to vse all possible diligence and speed, and not to let the hope of a notable victorie to be lost through their negligence, for want of victuall rather than the valor of the enemy. In the meane time *Cazzianer* thought good there to stay, and to expect the coming of the victuall, sending before him *Paulus Bachitius* with a thousand *Hungarian* light horsemen, and certaine companies of *Italian* harquebusers, as farre as the castle of *ZOPHA*, to the intent, that he might of such prisoners as he could take, learne something of the enemies purpose. The *Turkes* in the castle of *ZOPHA* descrying the coming of *Bachitius*, and thinking the whole armie of the Christians had bene there at hand, set fire on the castle, which they thought they could not keepe, and by boats fled downe the riuer *Dranus*. Yet for all their hast *Bachitius* took some of them in their flight: of whom *Cazzianer* learned that which hee before knew by his owne espials, how that *Mahometes* and the *Turkes* lay encamped at *EXEK*, with a full resolution to giue him battell. *Cazzianer* setting forward againe, still keeping alongst the riuer *Dranus*, came in eight daies to the castle of *VALPO*: where by the way he was glad to stay seuen daies at the riuer *Craffus*, which falleth into *Dranus*, vntill such time as a bridge was made for the transporting of his armie, for that the riuer was not to be waded ouer: in which time *Cazzianer* entered oftentimes into counsell with the other capitaines, what course to hold for the better proceeding in that warre. VVhere diuers men were of diuers opinions, some said it were best to leaue *EXEK*, and to besiege a castle of the enemies thereby, called *VITVACH*: the others more wearie than the rest, were of opinion, That it were better there to stay, vntill the rest of the aid and the victuall which they daily expected, were come. But the greater number, which also prevailed, vied the first determination of going directly to the enemy at *EXEK*, for that longer delay would but breed further danger: and there was in the campe (as they said) both strength and victuall sufficient for the obtaining of the victorie, if they would make an end of their needlesse consultations, and not protract the warre vntill winter were come on: whereby they did nothing els, but cause the souldiors to thinke that they were afraid to meet the enemy, and secretly

cretly to steale away backe againe into their countries: VVhereas if they would like resolute men march on forward against the enemy, who at other times, trusting molt vnto his multitudes, and now hauing no great power, would neuer abide the sight of the Christian armie, bringing with it so much artillerie, but would forthwith forsake the place, and neuer shew his face: for as much as the Christian men at arms would (as they said) easily breake thorow and ouerthrow the naked *Turkish* horsemen, if they durst abide the field. The young souldiors, who as yet had neuer made proofe of the *Turks* manner of fight, did with such cheerefulness like of this resolution, that they thought two daies staying a long delay of so readie and easie a victorie. VVherefore it was resolved vpon presently to set forward, and therupon the armie was mustered: where, vpon view taken, there was found to be ten thousand horsemen (for diuers troups of Germans were come to the campe, after the time of the first setting forward of the armie): a more gallant company of horsemen, both for the strength of their horses, and goodly furniture of the men, had seldome been scene in an armie so suddenly raised. But the footmen, selected out of all the prouinces, was greatly diminished, being now in number scarce eight thousand strong: for many were sicke in the campe, others wearie of the long journey, lingering behind, were stolne away; and generally all they which were left, moyled with dirt and myre, by reason of the deepenesse of the rotten way, wet thorow with raine, and almost starued with cold, and thereto pincht with hunger, were thought scarce able to endure the hardnesse of the present warre. After that, commaundement was giuen, That euery souldior should carrie with him three daies victuall: and proclamation made, That no man should vpon paine of death take any *Turke* prisoner, although he yielded himselfe, or charge himselfe with any spoile before the battell were fully ended; for as much as the capitaines would afterwards deuide the spoile of the enemy amongst the souldiors. This proclamation thus made thorow the campe, they set forward towards *EXEK*: & the third day they came to a certaine valley, about three miles from *EXEK*, where they encamped. The next day a company of *Turkes* shewed themselves, which was by the great ordinance repulled. The day following the enemy sallied out of the towne and skirmished oftentimes with the Christians: in which skirmishes many were slaine on both sides, but more wounded of the Christians, for that the *Turkes* had polittickely mingled certaine *Ianizaries* harquebusers, and archers, with their horsemen: who vied to that manner of fight, sore gauled the Christian horsemen. For which cause the Generall forbade all such light skirmishes, as purposing to keepe his strength whole, against the generall day of battell: commaunding his cannoniers so to place the great ordinance, as might most annoy the enemy, if he should shew himselfe by troups within the danger of the shot: which was so well performed, that the *Turkes* sallying forth, receiued thereby great hurt, the deadly shott flying thorow the midst of their companies. The same day *Simon* bishop of *ZAGRETA* came into the campe with his horsemen, and a certaine prouision of victuall, whereby the feare of the want before conceived, was well eased. *Mahometes* perceiving, that the Christians were not longer to be drawne to those harmefull skirmishes, but that he must bring his men in danger of the great shot: to annoy them by another meanes, sent many small boats, manned with harquebusers and small peeces of ordinance, into the lake neere vnto the campe, so to keepe the Christians from watering there, and with those small peeces shot oftentimes into the campe. Neere vnto the valley where the Christians lay, was a hill, whereupon stood a village, wherein were placed certaine companies of *Turks*, to skirmish as occasion should serue with the Christians: for displacing of whom the whole armie was put in order of battell, and the great artillerie bent vpon them; that they should not with their light skirmishes, after the manner of the *Turks*, trouble the order of the armie. VVhich thing the *Turks* perceiving, and that they were not able to hold the place, set fire on the towne, and so retired to *EXEK*. The Christians keeping on their march, came to the top of the hill, from whence they might see *EXEK* stand about two miles off in a faire plaine, neere vnto the banke of *Dranus*: all which low ground betwixt the hill and *EXEK* was so subject to the castle, that it was thought a matter too full of danger to attempt that way to batter the castle, and to expose the armie to the inevitable furie of the enemies shot. VVherefore descrying a rising ground on the further side of the cite, equall with the top of the wals, they thought it best to remove their campe thither, and on that side to plant their battell against the cite. But to come to that place, was thought a matter of no small trouble; for they must set a compass three miles on the right hand thorow a Forrest by a foule and trouble some way, before they could come to the place they desired: for the armie was not so great, as

The *Turks* skirmish with the Christians.

The Christians come within the sight of *EXEK*.

to besiege the citie round; wherein were not (as is reported) about sixteen thousand men: neither was there such store of victuals in the campe, but that the armie was like soone to feele the want thereof, without a continuall supplie, which would hardly be had; the enimie still besetting every passage, and with their light horsemen scouring about all the countrey, of purpose to keepe them from victuall. For which cause, some were of opinion, That it were best for them there to stay where they were, vntill such time as both more aid and better store of victuals were come vnto them: but others of contrary mind, said the enimie was but barely stored with victuall himselfe, and therefore could not long hold out, which they said they vnderstood by certaine Christian fugitiues; and that *Mahometes* had put his cheefe substance into certaine boats, to be conueyed downe the riuer, as purposing to flie, and would not hold out the siege about three dayes: As for the forrest, they thought it would well ynough be passed thorow, if they would courageously set forward: Beside that, the time of the yeare suffered no delay, Winter comming so fast on, that except some notable thing were done quickly, they should be enforced by the very time of the yeate to returne with shame, without doing any thing. This opinion was best liked of, as more honourable and better becomming men of valour, than to lie still in one place: whereupon the next day the armie remoued, and in good order marched thorow the forrest: VVhich thing *Mahometes* quickly perceiuing, presently sent forth a thousand light horsemen, and certaine companies of the Ianizaries, harquebusiers, to trouble the Christians in their passage: who by a neerer and well knowne way ouertaking the armie, suddenly charged the reterward, wherein the Italians and Bohemians marched. The Bohemians quickly fled, and the Italians with much adoe endured the charge: but being relieued by the Carinthian men at armes, they notably repulsed the Turks, and put them to flight. So the armie with small losse passed the forrest, and came to the place they desired: where after they had encamped themselves, and in good order placed all things needfull for the siege, they in seemely order offered vnto the enimie battell. But he keeping himselfe within the towne, shot at the Christians with his great ordinance: and they to requite him, with two great pieces which they had placed vpon the rising of a hill, shot thorow both the wals of the towne and the bulwarke also, to the great terrour of the defendants. The Christians in the meane time hauing stood almost all the day in order of battell in the sight of the enimie, vainely expecting when he should come forth to giue them battell, returned at night into their campe: For *Mahometes* vpon great consideration kept in his soldiors, although they were most desirous to fight, vnderstanding right well of the want of victuall in the Christian campe; and beside that (as the fugitiues reported) being straightly commanded by letters from *Solyman*, that he should not vpon paine of a most shamefull death forsake the place, but to defend it to the last. Now the Christians desirous of battell, being thus delayed and deceived of their expectation, had in a few dayes spent the small store of victuals they had, and began to feele a generall want: neither was there any apparent meanes how they should be releued, so that euery man began to feare some generall mischeefe to ensue. VVhen *Balthasar Pamphilus*, a noble Hungarian, and a capitaine of great experience, sitting in counsell with the rest, entered into this speech.

The Turks skirmish with the Christians in passing the forrest.

Mahometes wisely refuseth to fight with the Christians, offering him battell.

Balthasar Pamphilus his counsell for releefe of the armie.

Captaines (said he) we doe all that we doe, vnadvisedly: for whilst we consult at large how we may overcome our enemies, the strength of our armie is in the meane time so weakened for want of victuall, that the souldiors are neither well able to stand on their legs, nor to hold their weapons in their feeble hands: and generally, euery they which are of greatest courage begin now to quail, and despairing of battell, see that they must miserably and shamefully perishe for want: wherefore in my opinion, we ought first and aboue all things most speedily to provide for this want, which so greuously pincheth vs: and presently to remooue hence vnto the castle of *HERMANDIA*, that with the prouision thereof, which is not like to be little, we may refresh our whole armie; and so releued, to proceed further as occasion shall require.

This castle was about ten miles distant from *EXEK*, whereinto many of the Turks had conueyed their wiues and children, and cheefe substance, being kept with a small garrison of towne Turks. Fast by the castle was a pretie little walled towne, without flankers; after the manner of the old fortifying: which towne and castle *Balthazer* said would easily be taken. This his counsell was well liked of all men, and he himselfe sent with certaine companies of souldiors to take the towne. VVherein fortune so fauoured him, that it was at his first comming surrendered vnto him: but when he had it, he found not therein any such store of corne or victuall as he had hoped for:

Balthazer taketh the towne of *HERMANDIA*.

for: yet he tooke there certaine vessels of wine, to the great reliefe of the weake souldiors. Vpon the newes of the taking of this towne, the campe remoued from *EXEK* about ten a clocke in the night, but so disorderly, that the souldiors scarce knowing their owne ensignes, seemed rather to haue fled for feare than marched for spoile: yet the Turkes for all that moued not out of *EXEK*, misdoubting some deceit, and loath to attempt any thing rashly in the night: VVhen the armie was come to the towne, the captains tooke order, that the victuall there found, was equally deuided amongst the souldiors, and the next morning batterie laid against the castle; which those few Turkes valiantly defended halfe a day, and then by composition yielded it. But when the castle was taken, there was found in it but two barrells of meale, and other two of miller. Then might a man haue seene the captains themselves hanging their heads as men stricken with a sudden feare, who in steed of a great prey & victuall to haue serued many daies, found nothing but a few women and children, and scarce so much victuall both in the towne and castle, as would serue the army two daies. Yet they dissembled the matter, and fed the souldiors with hope of better store, after the bridge were once repaired, that they might passe the riuer of *Bodrog*, which ran by the towne: which bridge the Turks had before (for defence of themselves) broken, by plucking vp of certaine piles, and taking away of the planks: wherefore the Carpenters being set on worke and euery man putting to his helping hand, the bridge was with continuall labour in three daies repaired. The fourth day, the wagons and smaller pieces of ordinance passed ouer the bridge, and after them six of the great pieces for batterie: but the bridge ouercharged with the seuenth, which was of a wonderfull waight, and much greater than the rest, began to breake: so that the captaines were enforced to breake that faire piece of ordinance, and so by pieces to carrie it away, that the enimie should not get so great a spoile. All things being thus well passed ouer, the piles were againe cut downe; and the planks stricke off, to the intent the enimie should not that way pursue them: and other way was there none, but to fetch a compasse about the great lake which was many miles about. Here the captaines began to consult, whether it were best to breake the great pieces of ordinance, that so they might more speedily march away, or not. Of which opinion was *Cazianer* himselfe, promising of his owne charge to new cast them. As for the scaling ladders, and such other like things prouided for the siege, they burnt, because they should not come into the enemies hand, or trouble themselves in their march: But most of the captaines were opinion, that it was not best so dishonourably to breake those goodly pieces, the greatest ornament and defence of their countrey; but to hold on their march thorow *POSSOGA*, vntill they came to *IUVANCHA*, where they should find great store both of corne and wine: which towne, with the castle of *GARA* fast by it, stored with all kind of prouision, they said would easily be taken before the Turkes could possibly come so far about the lake from *EXEK*: and that it were a great shame, so to returne without doing any thing. *Cazianer* thus perswaded, set forward, and with great toile (by reason of the deepnesse of the way and heauinesse of the great ordinance) came by night to *IUVANCHA*, which was but three miles off: where the Turkes hauing with incredible celeritie passed a long journey, arrived at the same time also. Neere vnto this castle was a little towne, out of which all the Turkes were fled: the townsmen being Christians, opened the gates and receiued in the souldiors; who there filled themselves abundantly with wine, and could hardly be driuen out thence by their captaines to the campe. The same night the Turkes burnt the same towne, and whatsoever the Christians had therein left. And euery man betooke him to his armour in the campe, for the enimie was now at hand: and in the dawning of the day began boately to skitish in diuers places with the Christians; but especially in that quarter of the campe where the Bohemians lay. VVherewith *Petrus Raschinus* Generall of the Bohemians being grieved, set vpon them with a troupe of his best horsemen, and enforced them to flie: But the Turkes after the manner of their fight, quickly returning againe, and relieued by the comming in of their fellowes, beset the Bohemians on euery side, and slew many of them. *Raschinus* the Generall fighting most valiantly, was there slaine with his followers. The Christian captaines purposing to retire home, placed on each side of the armie foure ranks of wagons for defence on both sides: in the vauward were placed the weake and sicke men, yet so, that in the front of the armie were certaine companies of lustie tall souldiors: but in the rearward was placed the greatest strength both of horse and foot. The armie thus marching as it were on both sides intrenched; as it oftentimes met with wooddie hills which hindered their way, so did the same sily serue the Christians, that the Turkes could not conueniently assaile them in their march,

The castle of *HERMANDIA* yielded to the Christians.

Cazianer is resolved with more heft, would haue broken his great ordinance.

The Turkes fore-
wound the Chris-
tians in their
retire.

match, both before and behind. Which thing *Mahometes* perceiuing, sent before certaine com-
panies of Ianizaries and nimble footmen, which knew the countrey and the passages well, with
certaine faulconets and other small pieces to take the straits whereby the armie was to passe, and
so to gaul them in their passage; and when they could keepe the place no longer, to flie backe to
another, and so from place to place: and in the open places he had his troupes of light horse-
men, which were euer busie in one place or another of the armie. By which meanes the Christi-
ans in their march receiued much harme, which grieved them the more, for that no great power
of the Turkes was any where to be seene together, but stragling companies; which as they were
commanded, sometime would come on with a fierce charge, and by and by retire againe, and
with their arrowes and faulcon shot, from places of aduantage assaile them. At one of these
straits somewhat bigger than the rest, *Paulus Bachitius* one of the Hungarian capitaines, in whom
the souldiours generally reposed their greatest trust, was slaine with a faulcon shot, with diuers
other of the valiant Hungarians; who seeing there a greater number of the Turks than they had
seene in other places, thought to haue done some good seruice vpon them: His death brought a
generall feare vpon the whole armie, for as much as both then and at other times, without him
they neuer had any good successe against the Turkes. Yet in that skirmish, the Hungarians to
revenge the death of their capitaine, did with such force repulse the enemye, that they caused him
after he had lost many of his men, to run away and leaue his small field pieces behind him. But
such was the weaknesse or cowardise of the Christian footmen, and the agilitie of the Turks, es-
pecially the Ianizaries, that they with their shot out of the woods, staid the Hungarian horse-
men from the pursuit of their fellowes, and recovered their small field pieces before they could
be carried away by the Christian footmen: wherewith they did againe forerun the armie, and
still trouble it as before. The Christians beset with these dangers, and almost spent for want of
viactuall, seeing no meanes to relieue their weake bodies, nor any small hope to comfort their
fainting spirits, did generally feare some extreame calamitie to ensue: and so much the more, for
that it was reported, that *Mahometes* still expected fresh supplies from *BELGRADE*, *SAMAN-*
DRIA and *NICOPOLIS*: and many of the Hungarian light horsemen stole away from them, as
carefull of their owne safetie: neither did they see any comfort in the dismaied capitaines, who
at other times were wont with cheerfull and couragious words to relieue the souldiours, if they
saw them any thing discouraged. But when they were come into a faire open field nere vnto
a towne called *GARA*, they were aduertised, That the enemye had in the woods before them
whereby they were to passe, cut downe great trees crosse the waies, so that neither their great
or dinance nor wagons, nor yet their horsemen could possibly passe that way but that they must
needs breake their order.

A generall feare
in the Christi-
an campe.

This once bruted thorow the armie, filled them all with heauinesse and desperation: and so
much the more, for that *Ladislaus Morcus*, and others which knew the countrey well, said there
was but two waies to escape: the one thorow the woods about ten miles space to *WALPO*,
which by reason of the trees cut downe crosse the waies by the Turkes was not to be passed; but
they must needs leaue behind them their great ordinance and carriages: the other towards the
castle of *ZENTHERZEBETH*, which was in *Ladislaus Morcus* his countrey, certaine miles di-
stant from *GARA*: by taking of which way, the enemye by reason of the straightnesse of the
passage, must of necessitie be enforced to giue ouer his pursuit. Yet for all that, it was in counsell
resolved vpon, to take the way thorow the woods to *WALPO*, for that there was there viactuall
enough, and in the castle of *WALPO* was kept money sent from king *Ferdinand*, sufficient to
pay the souldiours for all that winter. And so leauing the great ordinance behind them, and bur-
ning the powder and whatsoever else could not well be carried on horseback, to set forward with
all speed: As for the trees, they said, they would be well enough removed, and the way opened by
the pioniers and wagoners: wherefore euery captain was commanded to haue his souldiours in re-
dinesse to set forward vpon the signe giuen; which was by the sound of a shalme or hoboy, which
when it should be giuen, was referred to the discretion of the Generall. There were many which
wonderfully diliked of this resolution, and said openly, that the enemye was fewer in number
than their horsemen, and pinched almost with like want of viactuall: besides that, that the Turks
durst neuer in iust fight encounter with the Christian men at armes, but like theecues assaile them
vpon a sudden at some aduantage, and by and by be gone againe: and that the towne of *GARA*
where the enemye lay encamped, was not so strong but that it might be woon: wherefore all
things

The fearefull re-
solution of the
Christians to get
from the Turkes

A things were to be proued, and some great matter to be attempted of valiant men, pinched with
wants: for that to run away, would be not onely a dishonour vnto the capitaines themselves,
who ought alwaies to preferre their honour before their liues; but also dangerous to them, which
respected nothing but life. And if they should set forward in the night, many would be lost in
the woods; and valour in the darke could not be knowne from cowardise: besides that, the
Turkes (as they said) lay so nigh, that it was not possible to depart without their knowledge, es-
pecially if they should burne the powder, or breake the great ordinance. For which causes, they
thought it better to fight a battell with them, and not to beleue the false reports of new supplies
come vnto them; and that God would vndoubtedly giue them aid, which were readie to lay
downe their liues for their religion and glorie of the Christian name. After all this, they began
to consult what was now to be done with the sicke and wounded souldiours, which were before
carried in wagons or amongst the other baggage of the armie: for it was like, that so great a
multitude of sicke and wounded men, vnderstanding what was decreed concerning the depa-
rture of the armie, would as miserable forsaken men, fill the campe with lamentation and mour-
ning; which it was thought would be also increased by the weeping and wailing of them, which
should neuer afterwards see their brethren, kinsmen, fellowes or friends, so miserably and shame-
fully left behind and forsaken: the noise whereof, must needs come to the eares of the Turkes,
which lay within a small gun shot. Wherefore it was determined, that these sicke and wounded
souldiours should be carried vpon the wagon and cart-horses; and that such as were not able to
stay themselves, should be holden vp by other of more strength riding behind them vpon the
buttocks of the horse. In suite to colour the matter, they which were so desirous to go, said that
this their manner of departure grounded vpon good reason, was not to be accounted a shamefull
flight (as some would teame it) but a right honest and necessarie manner of retiring: for as much
as they were stronger than their enemies in horsemen, and equall also (if not stronger) in foot-
men, although they were sore weakned with sicknesse. Whilest these things were in counsell
directly discoursed, and the resolution set downe as is before said, the matter was brought to this
passe, that euery capitaine with troubled iudgement conceiued in himselfe seuerall cogitations, far
from the common good, and without regard of shame and dishonour, bethought himselfe how
he might betake himselfe to flight, the vncertaine hope of desired life. On the contrarie part,
Mahometes vsing most certaine spies; and aduertised euery houre of all the distresses of the
Christians, and thereby prelagging his future victorie; did by most diligent watch and troupes of
horsemen, besetting the passages farre and neere, most vigilantly attend euery motion in the
Christian campe: of purpose, that when the armie should rise and set forward, he after his wonted
manner might in the straits (fit for his purpose) set vpon them being deuided and dispersed
one from another; as they must needs in those troublesome passages: for he had so placed his
horsemen and footmen in the knowne tracts of those woods, that he had shut vp the Christians
as it were in a toyle. It was now almost midnight, and the armie taking no rest, so carefully ex-
pected the signe of setting forward; that euery little delay seemed to most men both tedious and
dangerous: so that many great capitaines vpon a cowardly conceit would stay no longer, but
hasted to depart, and to go before the rest, without any leaue of the Generall. The beginning of
this mischieuous departure is reported to haue been begun by the common Hungarian horsemen,
which knowing the passages and waies thorow the woods, made most hast to *WALPO*. *Ladislaus Morcus*
dishonourably following their example, went the other way to his castle *ZENTHERZEBETH*. After them followed in great hast the
Stirian horsemen, without regard of shame, led by *John Hanganot* their Generall, who was appointed to haue guarded the rearward.
Symon bishop of *Zagreb* fled in like manner, knowne by his great lantern wandring in the
wood, yet with lesse shame than the rest, because he being a clergie man, thought it not to be
long to his vocacion to put on armes, or to go into battell. In the meane time it was fearefully
told to *Abraham* that the Hungarian horsemen were fled, and that *Ladislaus* and *Hanganot*,
with the Stirian troupes were gone also; and that all the rest of the armie not expecting the ap-
pointed signall, vnder like manner vpon flying: With which report the cowardly and dis-
maied Generall was so terrified, that he presently got to horse, quite forgetting the signall. He
should haue giuen (for that he thought all the rest, as he afterwards said, to haue been gone be-
fore) and as he was, unarmed betooke himselfe to flight, leauing behind him for hast his tent sto-
red with plate and other rich furniture. In this tumult of them which so disorderly fled, *Ladislaus*
ninus

The vigilancie
of Mahomet.

The Christian
captaine shame-
fully fle, some
one way, some
another, in the
night.

The dishonora-
ble flight of *Cox-
ianus*.

that famous capitaine was called vp, and told by his seruants, that the Generall was fled, and gone to whom he answered againe, without doubt it cannot be so, that I should be so shamefully and perfidiously betrayed of him: and so as a man megged with long watching, and painfull labour, laid himselfe downe againe to sleepe. Not long after, *Mahometes* hearing the noise that was in the campe, rise with his Turkes to assaile his enemies: yet to be better assured what the enemy did, he thought it good to stay for day light, causing his men to stand still in order of battell, and with wonderfull silence to expect the signe of setting forward, which was giuen by the lost sound of a horsemans drum passing thorow euerie companie. For the old capitaine acquainted with many battels against the Christians, doubting of their fained flight, would not vnauidently be drawne into battell, but in a place commodious for his souldiours, as one before fully set downe (after his wonted manner) to performe that seruice, nor by the hazard of one set battell, but by dallying off the time with often skirmishes, when he could take the enemy at aduantage. The day appearing, *Lodronius* againe awaking, heard a certaine confused noise of the Turkes, and withall, saw himselfe forsaken of the greatest part of the horsemen: whereupon he complained in vaine, that he was betrayed: yet for all that he was nothing discouraged, but cheered vp the footmen, exhorting them to remember their former valour, and to resolve with themselves only with courage to overcome the danger, which hard fortune had at that time brought them in to; for that valiant men were rather to thinke of an honourable death than shamefull flight, whereby whether they should escape with life or not, was vncertaine: As for himselfe, who had been their happie Generall in many battels, he said he was resolutely set downe by repelling the enemy to bring them into place of safetie; or else valiantly fighting together with them to end his daies. As *Lodronius* was yet thus encouraging the footmen, the horsemen of *CARINTIA*, *SAXONIE*, *AUSTRIA* and *BOHEMIA*, who mindfull of their duetie, had in vaine expected the appointed signall from the Generall, came to *Lodronius* as vnto the most valiant capitaine, beseeching him, in steed of their treacherous Generall, to take vpon him the place: promising to doe whatsoever he commaunded, and to fight as men against those infidels for their religion and king, so long as they were able to hold vp their weapons. *Lodronius* would in no case accept of that honour so frankly offered, modestly protesting himselfe vnworthie thereof: Yet as a man of courage, and moued with the hard estate of such an armie, he with a solemne protestation promised to execute the place in the best manner he could, and so did as long as his fortune gaue him leaue.

gaue him leaue.
It is reported, that as *Lodronius* was encouraging the footmen, and earnestly inuaying against shamefull flight, an old German souldiour was so bold, as: bluntly, yet sharply to say vnto him: *Worthy Lodronius, thou canst neuer be thought to flie shamefully, with a horse of such a price vnder thee.* *Lodronius* perceiving the old souldiours meaning; alighted; and with this word flouted his horse: saying aloud, This day valiant souldiours, shall you haue me both your Generall and fellow souldiour, fighting on foot as one of your felues: see now that your deceit be not my expectation, but let vs either with glorious victorie or honourable death end this warre together; yet so, as that we die vntreuged. All his other horses he gaue away vnto such sickes and wounded souldiours as he best knew, amongst whom was one *Piccard* of *Cremona* a capitaine who was then in an extreame fit of an ague, and had hardly escaped the hands of the enemy. The first troups of horsemen and bands of footmen, were scarcely out of the campe with their colours, but the Turkes comming on with a hideous cry, assailed them on euery side; and many sharpe skirmishes were giuen vnto the horsemen as they marched, with such leuante, that the Christians sometime valiantly receiuing the enemies charge; and sometime charging them, as they repelled the proud enemy still busie with them. In these continuall skirmishes, *Antoni* *Brach* *Count*, Generall of the Cattinian horsemen, fighting valiantly was slaine, being for his braver amongst the Turkes to haue beene the Generall of the field. And by like misfortune were twentie horsemen of great name were slaine also; and their guidons taken. Amongst these were three noblemen, *Andreas Refschius*, *Christophorus Hernani*, and *Georgius Himmelberg*. In another place was made a most cruell skirmish with the Saxons horsemen and them of *Misnig* *Thuringia* and *Franconia*, who followed the Saxons enignes of the day, fighting most valiantly, was slaine about 36 worthy capitaines, lieutenants, or ancients; and *Chuenrich* a principall capitaine of the Saxons taken, who afterwards died in bonds amongst the Turkes. Amongst them which were slaine; *Sebastianus Metheus* and *Iacobus Schlemmigh* were of great nobility.

A lieue. In like manner the horsemen of AVSTRIA courageously resisting the enemy for a space, were in the end overthrowne: where amongst them was slaine two valiant noblemen, *Fettiaus* and *Hofschirchius*, with diuers other men of great place and reputation both in their own country and abroad. But the greatest slaughter was made amongst the Bohemian horsemen, vpon whom (being disordered by the Ianizaries harquebusiers) the Turkish troupes of the old garrison souldiours breaking in with their scimitars and heauie yron maces, made a most bloudie execution. The battell of footmen being fore gauled, and almost disordered in their march by certaine companies of Ianizaries and archers of the *Asapi*, who from a woodie banke of a marish discharged their shot and arrowes continually vpon them, yet neuer comming to handie blows, was on the other side so hardly charged by *Amurathes* with his troupes of horsemen of *Bosna*, that being nor able longer to keepe order, it was at last by him broken and cut in peeces: where the Turks with their swords and hatchets slew the poore Christians without mercie. *Ledronius* himselfe carried away with the breaking in and force of the horsemen, was driuen into a marish: where after that he being fore wounded, and almost fast in the deepe mud, had done the vttermost of that his last endeour; he by the faire enticacie of the Turks perswading him rather to yeeld, than there to be slaine, so yeelded himselfe, that he with three companies which were with him, after they had laid downe their weapons, were all saued as valiant souldiours: for now the mercilesse Turkes embred with the Christian blood, were wearie of slaughter, and began greedily to seeke after the spoile, hunting after them, who flying disperſedly, thought themselves to haue escaped the enemies hands; with such successe, that a great number of them was taken and led away for slaues; few of the footmen escaped, and almost all the rest which were not fled before the battell, were to be seene dead vpon the ground.

This shameful overthrow at EXAK was reported to haue exceeded the most grieuous overthrowes that the Christians had receiued in any former time: for the flower both of horse and foot there lost by the rashnesse and fault of an vnluckie Generall, rather than by the valor of the enemy, ruthfully perished; so that many provinces were filled with heauinesse, and mourning. For it neuer chanced before, as was to be seene by the vnfortunat battels of *Sigismund* the emperor, and king *Ladislaus*, that the Turks got such a victorie without some losse: so that they which fell almost vireuenged at EXAK, may seeme to haue augmented that losse by the great infamie thereof. *Mahometes* hauing thus almost without the bloud of his souldiors obtained so great a victorie, and taken the spoile of the Christian campe, pitched his tents in a little meddow, beinge cleaned of the dead bodies, and after he had merrily feasted with his captaines, commanded the cheefe prisoners, the goodly spoiles, and fairest ensignes to be brought vnto him: and openly commending the captaines who had that day done any good seruice, commanding diuers bags of money to be brought vnto him by the receiuers, he with his owne hand rewarded the souldiors, some with gold, some with siluer, according to their deserts: And causing all the prisoners which were not common souldiors to be brought forth, he diligently viewed them, and presently caused euery one of their names, and the office they bare, to be enrolled by his clerkes: and vnto such as brought in the heads, eares, or hands of the Christians with rings vpon them, he forthwith caused one reward or other to be giuen. *Ladronius*, when as by reason of his deadly wounds he was thought vnable to endure trauell, or to be brought aliue with the other prisoners to CONSTANTINOPLE, was slaine by his keepers, and his head afterwards sent thither. For as many noble gentlemen, and amongst others *Laurentius Streiberg*, and *Dietmarus Losenstaine* haue reported (who raunfomed afterwards, returned home againe to their wiues and children) amongst the prisoners which were together with the faire ensignes and other gallant warlike furniture (especially gilt armour and headpeeces) presented by *Mahometes*, his messengers to *Solyman*, three of the greatest captaines heads were in a siluer bason there seene, and knowne, which were the heads of *Paulus Bachitius*, the valiant Hungarian captaine, *Antius Macer* Generall, of the Carinthian horsemen, and *Ladronius* Generall of the footmen: which after the tyrant had looked aquint vpon, as abhorring that loathsome sight, hee with stern countenance commanded all the prisoners to be slaine. But vpon the intercession of the Iapizaries, who intreated for them, as valiant men, to whom they had at the time of their taking giuen their faith, and might afterwards doe him good seruice, he chaunged his countenance, and saued many of them. But *Calixtiner* flying to his owne castle, was of all men accused, as a wicked forsaker of his owne campe and ensignes, and commonly railed vpon, as the eternall infamie of his coun-

*The Christian
footmen over-
throwne.*

C *Ledronius* *flavus*

Three of the
great captains
heads presented
to Solyman as
Constantinople.

of carrier gas
usually based

Na

they

trety, and author of the publike calamitie: so that it was reported, that he durst neither go abroad nor shew his face for shame. He was so generally hated, that infamous libels, made against him and the other captaines which had shamefully fled as he did, were commonly sung in the streets by boyes in all the cities of *GERMANIE*. Wherewith he was so much grieved, that he requested of king *Ferdinand*, that he might safely come to the court, to answer whatsoeuer could be laid against him: which his request the king easily graunted, and when he came to the court received him with doubtfull countenance. But when the hearing of his cause was by the king somewhat longer protracted than he would haue had it, and he in the meane time kept vnder safe custodie; impatient of such delay, and halfe doubtfull whether he should be quitted or condemned, thought it better to flie than to abide the trial. So feigning himselfe sicke, and scraping vp by litle and litle with his knife a bricke pauement vnder his bed, and so in the night getting H out first one bricke, and after that another, at length brake thorow the vault, and with his theets letting himselfe downe, escaped, hauing post horses readie for him without the castle. Not long after, as he was a man of a hasty and vnconstant nature, despairing of his estate, he fled to the Turkes, *Mahometes* gladly receiuing him, and beside his great entertainment, promising him the gouernment of all *CROATIA*, in manner of a tributarie king, if he would faithfully serue *Solyman*, and helpe him in the subduing of the cities of *AVSTRIA*. After he had agreed vpon all the conditions of his reuolt, that he might returne to *Mahometes* with some more credit, he began boldly to deale with *Nicholaus Sirenius*, a noble man of *CROATIA*, and his deere friend as he supposed, to reuolt with him; assuring him, that *Solyman* would deale as kindly with them both; as he had before with king *Iohn* in the kingdom of *HUNGARIE*. *Sirenius* promised him he would, or at least made as if he promised to do what he desired, and so agreed as it were vpon the matter, promising to goe ouer with him to the Turke with a troupe of his best and most trustie horsemen. But *Sirenius* considering with himselfe the heinousnesse and impietie of so great an offence, changing his purpose, chose rather to deale treacherously with his old friend, fearing no such thing in his house, than to offend both against God and his prince. Wherefore after he had well feasted *Cazzianer* at his house, he as a most cruell host, caused him to be slaine, and sent his head to king *Ferdinand*: in reward whereof he receiued of the kings gift *Cazzianer* his castle, with all his substance.

In the meane time the Venetians, prouoked by the Turkes with diuers injuries both by sea and land (when as *Solyman* but a litle before hardly besieging *CORCYRA*, and with most barbarous K ciuelitie wasting the island, had broken the league, and euen then by his lieutenant *Cassimes Bassa* besieged *EPIDAVROS* and *NAVLIVM*, two of their cities in *PELOPONNESVS*) resolved without delay to make warres likewise vpon him, who for a small trespass would admit no excuse or recompence. Whereunto they were also animated both by *Charles* the emperor, and *Paulus* the great Bishop: who warned by the late and dangerous attempts of *Solyman* and *Barbarussa*, thought it more for the safetie of their estates, by giuing aid to the Venetians to keepe the Turkes busied farther off, than to suffer them to acquaint themselves too much with the ports of *ITALLIE* or *SICILIA*. Wherefore all the Winter following they laboured by their embassadours to set downe what number and what manner of ships, what souldiours, what money, was to be provided, and how to be according to their estates apportioned for the setting forth of a strong L fleet, against the next Summer to be sent into *GRACIA* against the Turkes. At last it was agreed amongst these confederat princes by their embassadours at *ROME*, that the emperor should furnish and set forth fourescore and two galleies, the Venetians the like number, and the bishop six and thirtie, to make vp the number of two hundred galleies; that the Venetians should lend into the bishop so many galleies readie rigged as he should desire to be furnished by him with martiners and souldiours; and that the emperor and the state of *GENOVA* should find sufficient shipping for the transportation of the land forces and victuall. The Generals also of this great fleet to be set forth, were at the same time appointed. *Andreas Auria* for the emperor, *Vincencius Capellus* for the Venetians, and *Marcus Grimmanus* patriarche of *ACQUILA*, for the Bishop; to whom was joyned *Paulus Iustinianus*, one of the cheefe Senators, a man of great experience in sea matters. It was also agreed, that *Ferdinand Gonzaga* viceroie of *SICILIE* should haue the commanding of the land forces, and that whatsoeuer was got from the Turkes in that expedition in *GRACIA*, the Islands, or *DALMATIA*, should be all faithfully deliuered to the Venetians, who had receiued so many injuries from the Turkes. The emperor also of his libera-

Cazzianer imprisoned, breaketh prison.

Cazzianer sheweth himselfe miserably, and his head sent to king Ferdinand.

The emperor, the Venetians, and the Bishop of Rome enter into a confederation against the Turkes.

A litle promised vnto the other confederats, that they should for reasonable price haue as much wheat as they would out of *SICILIA*, without paying any custome.

Solyman vnderstanding of this confederation and preparation made against him by these Christian princes, commaunded *Barbarussa* his Admirall to make readie his fleet to goe against these enemies, and to doe all the harme he could vpon the Islands subject to the Venetian state. Which thing *Barbarussa* with great care and diligence in short time performed: and so with a hundred and thirtie galleies in most warlike manner appointed, with the first of the Spring in the year 1538 departed from *HELLESPONTVS* directly to *CRETE*, where hauing passed the promontorie of *GYAMVS*, which at this day is called *SPARTA*, he vnadvisedly landed most part of his men, to haue surprised the citie *CANEA*, which was in auncient time called *SYDONIA*: For *Gritius* one of the Venetian Senators then kept the citie with a strong garrison, who from the wals and bulwarkes thereof so plagued the Turkes with great and small shot, and the falling out of two companies of Italians, that *Barbarussa* hauing lost many of his men, was faine to retire againe to his fleet in such hast, that he left behind him a thousand of his Turkes, which were gone further into the Island after bootie, who were afterwards all slayn by them of *CRETE*. After that, he attempted to haue taken diuers places in the Island, and was euery where notably repulld. With the citie of *CANEA*, whereof the Island now taketh name, and was in auncient time called *CYTHEVM*, he durst not meddle: but sayling almost round about the Island, tooke onely *CACILIA*, a litle towne before forsaken of the inhabitants, which he set on fire, and so departed from *CRETE*: for he was aduertised, that *Vincencius Capellus* the Venetian admirall, who was now come to *CORCYRA*, would in short time come to releue them of *CRETE*. *Auria* Admirall of the emperours fleet, passing the strait of *MESSANA*, came to *CORCYRA* also, and there joyined with the Venetians. The Christian fleet was then so great, that it was thought the Turkes durst not meet it at sea, but by all means shun to giue battell. For *Barbarussa* then lay with the Turkes fleet in the bay of *AMBRACIA*, expecting when the Christians should enter the straight entrance thereof, where he had on both sides placed diuers peeces of great ordinance, to haue sunke them in their coming in: for *Grimmanus* the Patriarch a litle before departing from *CORCYRA*, had with the great Bishops galleies begun to besiege *PREVESSA*, a towne vpon the promontorie of *ITACIUM* fast by that strait; and landing some of his souldiours, with three great peeces of artillerie, so battered the castle of *PREVESSA*, that he was like ynough D to haue taken it; had not the Turkes from *ETROIA* come to releue it with a strong power both of horse and foot. Wherefore the Patriarch shipping againe his men and ordinance, returned to the fleet at *CORCYRA* not repeating him of his journey, for that he had well viewed the straits of that bay, and all the enemies fleet riding at anchor within it. Vpon the returne of the Patriarch, and relation made what he had both done and seene, the great commanders of the Christian fleet entred into counsell, what course were best to take for their better proceeding in that great act on. *Gonzaga* the viceroy, General of the land forces, was of opinion, That it was best to land the souldiours and great ordinance, and with all their force to assault the castle of *PREVESSA*: which once taken, and their ordinance there placed, the enemies fleet might in the bay be utterly defeated, for that all passage to sea might easily be taken from them, by sinking of one of their great ships in the mouth of the strait, and by mooring there of three great galleons full of artillerie: so that if *Barbarussa* would desperately adventure to come out, he must needs bee sunke in the mouth of the bay. Whereunto *Auria* replied, That *Gonzaga* his counsell was in words and they glorious, but to be put in execution most dangerous: for that first to land the souldiours and great artillerie, hee said was a thing too full of hazard and perill: for it was to bee thought, that the Turkes in *ETROIA* would as they had before done, come with speed with their horsemen to releue the beleagued castle, whose force the Christian footmen could hardly abide: Besides that, if the fleet should by force of weather be constrained to forsake that coast, as it well might, *Auria* now commaunded fast on, after the souldiours were landed; from whence should they then get any victuall in the enemies countrey, or what releefe should they hope for; if they should hap to be distressed, being on euery side beset with their enemies; and their friends by E tempest driven from them. Wherefore he thought it best, if the enemies could not be drawn out of the bay to battell, to goe directly into the bay of *NAVLIVM*, to take that towne which was not greatly fortified, and so to ransacke and spoile all the townes euen to the bottoome of the bay of *CORINTHVS* which the Gracians in the fleet said might easily be done. By taking of which court

1538

Solyman sendeth Barbarussa against the Venetians.

Barbarussa landing in Crete, is repulld with losse.

The confederat princes fleet meet at Corcyra.

Gonzaga his opinion.

Auria of another opinion.

counsell it might so fall out, that *Barbarus* moved with the danger of his friends, would for shame come out and joyne with them in battell. This counsell of *Auria* was best liked both of *Capellius* and the Patriarch, being farre more desirous to fight with their enemies at sea, than at land.

*Auria braueth
Barbarus lying
in the bay of
Ambracia.*

*Barbarus re-
proued of coward-
ise by one of the
Turkes eunuchs.*

Auria hauing put in order his fleet, came to *PREVESA*, and so to the strait of the bay of *AMBRACIA*, where he so placed the whole fleet, which was in number two hundred and fiftie saile, that it might easely of the enemye be numbred. Which sight (as it was reported) wonderfully troubled *Barbarus*, who although he was of a courageous disposition, and such a man as greatly feared not either the valor or martiall discipline of the Christians, yet was he exceedingly moued with the sight of so great a fleet, so well appointed; for a greater had not of long time been scene in the Ionian sea. So that an eunuch of *Solymans* court, sent by him as *Barbarus* his companion, seeing him to delay the time, as a man halfe discouraged, did with most vnckeile and proud words take him vp, because he would not forthwith goe out of the bay and fight with the Christians which lay at the mouth thereof daring of them; wherein he was not (as he said) to regard his owne safetie, who as a coward could not endure the sight of the enemye, but the honour of *Solyman* his soueraigne, who would not take it well, to haue the glorie of his name stained with so shamefull a delay: for if he were a valiant and martiall man, as he professed himselfe to be, he ought neuer to despaire of victorie: And if it should so fall out, that fortune should frowne vpon them, and not answere to their desires, yet should not *Solyman* therefore want captaines and souldiours better than they, if they were ouercome, & the woods of *PONTVS* would afford him timber ynough to build twice so great and strong a fleet. And for a conclusion, the insolent Eunuch willed *Barbarus* to beware, that whilst he feared a most honourable death, (which was vncertaine, though the battell were lost) he drew not vpon himselfe the certaine danger of a most shamefull death by the displeasure of *Solyman*.

*Barbarus his
answere to Salee
concerning the
eunuchs speech.*

*Barbarus put-
teth out of the
bay of Ambracia,
and followeth
Auria.*

At which speech *Barbarus* turning himselfe about to *Salce*, one of the arch pyrats, a famous sea man, said vnto him: VVee must for ought that I can see, most valiant and faithfull captaine, aduenture this battell, although it be at too much disadvantage, least happily we perish by the complaints of this barking demie man. And so presently commaunded all his fleet to weigh anchor, at the same time that *Auria* had hoysed saile and was on his way toward the bay of *NAV-PACTVS*, thinking that the enemye durst not for feare haue come out of the bay of *AMBRACIA*. *Auria* keeping on his course, was come to *LEVCADE*, when the enemies fleet was descied out of the top of *Bondelmerius* great Galleon to be come out of the bay, and to make towards them, keeping close by the shore: which manner of course the craftie Turke misdoubting his owne strength, held of purpose, that if he should chance to be ouermatched by the Christians, hee might turne the prow of his galleys vpon them, and running the poupes aground, so to land his men and great ordinance, and from land as he might to defend his fleet: accounting it a lesse losse (if the worst should chance) to lose the galleys than the men.

*The order of the
Turke fleet.*

Auria somewhat troubled with this sudden comming out of the enemye, as with a thing which he then least expected, yet notably staied himselfe, and commaunded all the fleet to prepare themselves to battell, and to follow his Admirall galley. Now all the Turkes fleet was come into the open sea in such order, that *Barbarus* himselfe was in the middle battell, where his Admirall galley was to be scene with many purple flags and streamers flying gallantly in the wind: on his right hand was *Tabaches*, and *Salce* on the left, both men of great fame, euery one of them hauing almost like number of galleys, which were in all a hundred and fiftie: Vnto the middle battell were joyned the two wings, in such order, that which way soeuer the Admirall turned, they turning also, still represented the forme of a flying Eagle: so that (as *Auria* himselfe afterwards confessed) a more firme or orderly fleet could not haue been brought out by any expert captaine. Before the fleet, came about twentie nimble galleys, conducted by *Drogut* (or *Dragut*) an arch pyrat, famous afterwards for the great harme he did vnto the Christians. *Capellius* the Venetian Admirall came in his long boat to *Auria*, requesting him, That he with his galleys might giue the first charge vpon the enemye: to whom *Auria* gaue great thanks, and praising his forwardnesse, requested him to follow him, to whom he would in good time giue a sign what he would haue done. The foremost of the Turkes light galleys was now come to the great Galleon of *Bondelmerius*, which was the foremost of the Christian fleet, whereunto were sent also certaine galleys from *Salce*, to helpe to assaile that tall ship; which shooting a farre off, did no harme, neither

Bondel-

Bondelmerius them: who would not suffer one peece to be discharged, for he being an expert sea man, and loth to shoot in vaine, expected that they should come neerer vnto him, and then vpon the sudden to discharge all his great Ordinance vpon them. Neither was he deceiued in that his expectation, for the Turkes comming neere vnto him, were so ouerwhelmed with the great and small shot out of the Galleon, that they were glad to stay their course, and to retire. In the meane time *Auria* called backe againe the ships which were gone before, and caused his Galleon to be towed out; and by boats of purpose sent out, charged the captaines of the galleys to make themselves readie to fight, vpon signall giuen by the sound of the trumpet and the displaying of the Admirals ensigne: yet was not *Auria* of mind to fight with his galleys, without his ships: which thing the craftie enemye well perceiued; and fought by all means to joyne battell with the galleys before the comming in of the tall ships, which were as castles in respect of the galleys: for it was then such a calme, that the ships were not able to keepe way with the galleys, and the smooth water seemed to offer a fit oportunitie for battell; which so well pleased the Patriarch, that many heard him crying aloud to *Auria*, to giue the signall, and manuellled much why he deferred to giue battell. For he fetching a great compasse, and hovering about his ships, with his galleys kept such a course, that many thought he would vpon the sudden haue done some strange and vnexpected exploit vpon the enemye: but *Auria* held that strange course, of purpose to haue drawne the enemies galleys within the danger of his great ships, who thundring amongst them with their great ordinance, might haue easely sore beaten and disordered them; and opened a way vnto his galleys to haue gotten a most certaine victorie. But the craftie old Turke doubting by the strangenesse of *Auria* his course, to be circumvented with some finenesse, stayed his course, and lay still with his owne Squadron of galleys, warily expecting to what purpose that strange course of the enemye tended. In the meane time, both the wings of his fleet had a little before the going downe of the Sunne begun in diuers places to encounter with the Christians: Some were in vaine still assailing *Bondelmerius* his great Galleon; others with their great ordinance had sore beaten two tall ships, whereof *Buccanigra* and *Mongia*, two Spanish captaines, were imbarcked with their companies, that they were giuen for lost, many of the souldiours and mariners being slaine: Two other ships loded with victuals, the one of *VENICE*, the other of *DALMATIA*, were burnt by the Turkes, and some few of the men saued by their ship boats, and by swimming to the ships neere vnto them. In the shutting in of the euening, *Salce* tooke two galleys stragling behind the rest of the fleet, whereof *Mozenius* a Venetian, and *Bebiena* a Florentine, were captaines. After these galleys, was taken also the ship of *Aloysius Figaroa* a Spaniard, although his souldiours had for a time fought most valiantly. In this ship with *Figaroa* the father, was taken his sonne, a yong gentleman, and beautified with all the good gifts of nature, who afterwards presented to *Solyman*, turned Turke: and growing in credit in *Solymans* chamber, after three yeares miserable imprisonment, obtained his poore fathers libertie, and sent him well rewarded home againe into *SPAIN*. Whilist both the fleets were thus expecting how they might to their most aduantage joyne battell; suddenly arose a great tempest of thunder, lightening, and raine, with a fresh gale of Easterly wind: whereupon the Christians seeing the Turkes hoysing vp their small sailes, without delay hoysed vp both small and great to cleare themselves of the enemye, and with that faire wind returned againe to *CORCYRA*; so disorderedly and in such hast, sparing neither saile nor oare, that it seemed rather a shamefull flight than an orderly retreat. So that *Auria*, a man of so great fame at sea, as that he was called a second *Nephtine*, was that day accounted no captaine. It is reported, that *Barbarus* with the same wind pursued the Christians a while, and being not able longer to see what course they held, by reason of the darkenesse of the night, to haue stayed his course for the Admirals had caused their lights, which they vsed to carrie in the poupes of their galleys, to be then put out. VVhereat *Barbarus* heauily laughing, said oftentimes in the Spanish tongue: *Auria hath therefore put out his light, the better in the darke to hide his flight*: noting in him such a feare, as that hee without regard of honour sought onely how by flight to escape. When they were come to *CORCYRA*, they were all generally of opinion, That by the benefite of that sudden storme they had auoided a great danger. The emperials, especially the Genowayes, to excuse *Auria*, imputed the cause of so shamefull a flight vnto the Venetians, who would not from the beginning receiue any Spanish souldiours into their galleys, the better to haue withstood the enemye; and that *Auria* therefore doubting of the Venetians, refrained from joyning battell; and the rather, because that vpon the comming forth of the Turkes fleet, they had

*Auria his path-
eticke course.*

*The Christian
fleet (doubtfully
slept).*

*Barbarus lea-
sely as Auria.*

Barbarussa bra-
ueth the Chri-
stians.

Castronovum ta-
ken by the Chri-
stians.

hoysed vp their sailes tied vp to the yardes with small lines, which they might at their pleasure ca-
sily cut, and set saile to flie which way they would. Shortly after came *Barbarussa* with all his
fleet to the island of *Paxvs*, about foure leagues from *CORCYRA* Eastward, brauing the Chri-
stians as if he would haue fought with them, if they durst come out. Whereat *Gonzaga* the
Viceroy fretting, went to euerie one of the three great commanders, requesting them for the ho-
nour of the Christians, to repress that proud Turks insolencie. At last the matter was brought
to that passe, that the Venetians hauing taken in certaine companies of Spaniards, the fleet
should be deuided into foure squadrons, and so to giue battell: But this consultation was so long
protracted, that *Barbarussa* fearing the tempestuous Autumn weather, hoysed saile, and about the
seuenth of October returned againe into the bay of *AMBRACIA*. After the departing of *Barba-
russa*, the Generals of the Christian fleet directed their course into the bay called *SINVS RIZO-
NICVS*, to besiege *CASTRONOVUM* or new Castle, a strong towne of the Turks standing in that
bay, and bordering vpon the Venetian seigniorie: the inhabitants were part Dalmatians, part
Epirots, which had renounced the Christian religion, and some Turks, liuing most part by mer-
chandise: Vnto this towne the Christians laid siege, and in short time woon it, where they had
a great prey, and a wonderfull number of captiues of all sorts. Three daies after the taking of the
towne, the castle was also yeilded by the Turks garrison, couenanting in vaine to depart with life
and libertie.

This towne taken by common force, ought of right by the couenants of the league to haue
been deliuered to the Venetians; yet was it for all that by *Auria* and *Gonzaga* referred for the
emperour, and *Franciscus Sarmenus* with foure thousand Spaniards all old souldiours, left there
in garrison: *Capellius* the Venetian Admirall vrging in vaine the right of the Venetians. Which
thing so much grieued the Senat, who euer had the ambitious Spaniard in suspect, and now af-
fured of him as an euill neighbour to their towne of *GATARY*, that repenting themselves of
the league with the emperour, they decreed to sue to *Solyman* for peace: which they afterwards
easily obtained, for a short space, by *Laurentius Gritus* their dukes sonne, and by the helpe of *An-
tonius Rincus* the French kings embassadour; who then lying at *CONSTANTINOPLE*, in good
time told the great Bassaes, that the league the Venetians had made with the emperour, was
made without the consent of the greatest part of the Senat, and that warre taken in hand against
most of their wils.

W hilest these things were in doing, *Barbarussa* put to sea againe to haue relieved *CASTRON-
OVUM*; but being at sea, many of his gallies were by the violence of a sudden tempest driuen
vpon the *ACROCERAVIAN* rocks, and there cast away. It is reported, that he lost there twen-
tie thousand men, which with the broken pieces of his gallies were found almost all alongst the
coast of *DALMATIA*. This shipwracke being certainly known, *Capellius* would haue persuaded
Auria to haue presently pursued *Barbarussa* so distressed: which motion *Gonzaga* well liked, as a
man desirous by some notable exploit to recompence the disgrace before receiued at *LEVCADIA*.
But *Auria* for diuers causes not liking of the matter, was so set downe vpon his returne to *IT-
ALIE*, that he presently hoysed saile: leauing the Venetian Admirall in such a rage, that he dete-
sted himselfe for submitting himselfe to another mans power; and wished the captaines there
present, neuer to subject themselves to the commaund of a stranger, for as much as that Geno-
way, either vpon cowardise or malicious mind, as an old enemy to the Venetian state, would not
prosecute to manifest a victorie, but put vp so shamefull a disgrace as he had before receiued. But
of all this *Auria* made small reckoning, referring all that he both said and did, so far vnto the em-
perors commoditie, that *Valerius Vrsinus* a noble gentleman, then seruing in the Venetian pay,
merely said, That *Auria* had done nothing but wisely and politickly, in setting the Venetians to-
gether by the eares with the Turks, & opening a gate for a long war, whether the Venetians would
or not, so as the emperour himselfe could not haue better wished, and that without the losse of
one gallie. For it was thought by many, that the long wars betwixt the Turks and the Vene-
tians, would sort to the great good of the emperour; when as the Venetians worne out and spent
with those long and chargeable warres against so mightie an enemy, should be stripped of their
lands and territories, either by force, or some hard composition wrung from them by necessity.

CASTRONOVUM thus taken, and *Sarmenus* with a garrison of foure thousand Spaniards
there placed as is afore said, and the Christian fleet dissolued, *Solyman* tooke the matter so grie-
uously, that hee determined to besiege it againe both by sea and land; and in his furie, caused

NAVPLI-

Barbarussa seni-
or by Solyman to
besiege Castron-
ovum.

Castronovum
hardly besieged
by Barbarussa.

Castronovum
taken.

Sarmenus
slaine.

A NAVPLIUM and EPIDAVRVS, two of the Venetian cities in the country of *PELOPONNESVS*,
to be straightly besieged. Yet tooke he singuler pleasure, that *Barbarussa* his Admirall, in all re-
spects worse furnished, had driuen out of the Sea the great fleet of the Christians, which he before
that time had made too great account of. Wherefore in the beginning of the Spring, which
was in the yeere 1539, *Barbarussa* by his commaundement repaired againe his fleet, and notably
furnished it with all manner of warlike prouision; manning his gallies for the most part with *Ta-
nizaries* and other such select souldiours. With this fleet *Barbarussa* (Sommet now well come
on) departed out of the *HELESPONTVS*, and came to the bay *RIZONICVS*; at which time
also *Vlames* the Persian, then Gouernour of *BOSNIA*, shewed himselfe with his forces vpon the
mountaines as he had in charge from *Solyman*. *Barbarussa* before he entred the straits of the bay;
B sent before him *Dragut* and *Corsetus*, two notable pirats, with thirtie galliots, who landing their
men neere vnto *CASTRONOVUM* (as they were commaunded) were valiantly encountered by
Sarmenus with his Spaniards, and forced againe to their galliots, many of the Turks being slaine
and taken prisoners. After that came *Barbarussa*, with ninetie gallies, and three tall ships which
carried the artilerie for batterie and other necessarie prouision for the campe; where he spent
three daies in landing his great ordinance and casting vp trenches, which could not be done but
by night, by reason of the continuall shot out of the towne: wherewith the Spaniards had in that
three daies space slaine about a thousand Turkes; amongst whom was *Agus Hariadenus*, who
had made himselfe as it were a king at *TATORMA*, a citie neere *TRIPOLIS* in *AFRICA*; whose
death much grieued *Barbarussa*, as one of his most antient and best friends. At length *Barba-
russa* hauing cast vp his trenches, landed foure and fiftie great pieces of artilerie for batterie; wher-
C of he gaue a fourth part to *Vlames* to batter the towne on the North side, whilest he in the mean
time, in three diuers places battered the East side; and *Salec* from Sea with ten gallies, did morn-
ning and euening batter another part of the wall. W hilest *Sarmenus* was thus in so many pla-
ces assailed, and did what was possible to haue repaired the breaches; the Turks by force tooke
one of the towers, where after they had displayed their ensignes; they from thence with their shot
fore troubled the Spaniards. At the same time also, *Vlames* had made a breach, and was readie
on the other side of the citie to enter. In which extremities, *Sarmenus* seeing no meanes longer
to defend the citie, commanded the hurt souldiours to get them into the castle below, and the rest
with him to take the market place, there to die together like men: where the Turks straightway
D breaking in on euerie side vpon them, made a most bloudie and cruell fight, wherein the Spani-
ards ouerwhelmed with shot, and the multitude of their enemies, were slaine almost euerie man.
Sarmenus wounded in the face with three arrowes, and weatied with long fight, seeing *Sancius*
Fria a captaine readie to flie, sharply reproofed him, and catching him by the hand, made him
there to tarry by it, vntill they were there both together slaine. Many valiant captaines were
there lost, whose names for breuitie I omit. *Aloysius Arius*, and certaine other captaines, who
together with the wounded souldiours were got into the castle, seeing no meanes to defend the
place, yeilded themselves: whom *Barbarussa* according to his promise, took to mercie in sparing
their liues, yet carried them away into captiuitie to *CONSTANTINOPLE*. The dead bodie of
Sarmenus could not be knowne amongst so many heapes of the dead, although *Barbarussa* had
E caused most diligent search to be made for it, and offered great sums of money and libertie also,
to who fouer could discouer it; being desirous to haue sent his head for a present to *Solyman*.
Barbarussa proud of this victorie, began forthwith to gape after *CATTARYS* a citie of the Vene-
tians in the bottome of the same bay: and thereupon writ threatening letters to *Ioannes Bembus*
one of the Venetian Senators then Gouernour of the citie, presently to deliuer the citie; which
he would (as he said) otherwise assault by force. W hereunto *Bembus* answered againe by let-
ters, That in so doing, he should violate the league lately made with *Solyman*; and that he should
find him readie by force to repell his forces. W herewith *Barbadussa* displeased, sent certaine gal-
lies into the bottome of the bay; who discharging certaine great pieces at the citie, made shew
as if they had come to besiege it. At whom *Bembus* as a man of good courage, caused as many
F mo like pieces to be discharged; and shewed his men vpon the walls. W hich thing *Bar-
barussa* perceiuing, staid his course, and calling backe his gallies, returned to *CASTRONOVUM*.
vum, from whence (better appeased with presents afterwards sent from *Bembus*) he departed
out of that bay.

The long warres betwixt *Charles* the emperour and *Francis* the French king, were now well
pacified;

Alphonſus Vaſtus and Hanibald ſent embaſſadors from the emperor and the French king to the State of Venice.

Vaſtus his Oration to the Venetian Senat.

pacified, and ſuch friendſhip (at leaſt wiſe in ſhow) now growne betwixt theſe two great princes, that moſt men thought that all other quarrels laid aſide, they would now at length with united forces go againſt the great and dangerous enemy of Chriſtendome: VVhich opinion nor altogether of the wiſer fort beleueed, was yet at this time wonderfully confirmed by many extraordinary and rare courteſies then paſſing betwixt them, which concerne not this hiſtory: as alſo, in that two of their moſt famous captaines, *Alphonſus Vaſtus*, and *Hanibald*, were as it were with one conſent by them both ſent embaſſadors to *VENICE*, to haue drawing the Venetians into the confederation of that warre againſt the Turke. VVhich two renowned captaines coming to *VENICE*, moſt gallantly accompanied, were by *Landus* the duke, and the whole State, with great magnificence receiued, the people after their wonted manner flocking together in every place to behold them ſo noble captaines ſent from ſuch mightie princes; but eſpecially *Vaſtus*, whoſe ſame hauing many times before filled their eares, made them now the more deſirous to ſatiſſie their eyes alſo with the beholding of his tall and comely perſon. VVhich two famous captaines admitted into the Senat, for that purpoſe fully aſſembled, and audience giuen: *Vaſtus* aſſing from the dukes ſide, in theſe or like words, deliuered their embaſſage.

It is come to paſſe (as I ſuppoſe) by the great providence of Almighty God, and of all the diuine powers (moſt noble duke and honourable Senators) that two of the moſt mightie kings of *EVROPE*, who of late had of long time made mortall warres one upon another, touched with the Zeale of religion, are become great friends: Vndoubtedly to that purpoſe onely, that hauing made a firme peace; they may bring ſuch a generall quietneſſe to the long troubled and afflicted ſtate of Chriſtendome, as becometh their greatneſſe; and taking in hand a ſacred warre, to reuenge ſo many calamities received from the Infidels. That this might be made knowne vnto you (moſt noble Venetians) theſe mightie Monarchs haue ſent vs hether in good time to kinde in you the like Zeale, wherewith it is well knowne you haue alwayes for the honour of your State been enflamed: for you of all others, which are of ſuch power and valour at ſea, they wiſh for, as their fellows and confederates in this ſacred warre and hoped victorie, and thinke you worthe, which ſhould enioy the eſpeciall fruit of all that labour. For as much as the Chriſtian forces once renewed, and ſo great and ſtrong a fleet once aſſembled, every man ſeeeth that the Turkes muſt needs be too weake: although they brag, that they carried away the victory of ſlate at *ACTIUM*, when as they then eſcaped the victorious bands of our men, not by their own valour, but by the unexpected hap of a ſudden ſtorme. For all the powers of heauen and earth, and of the ſea alſo, will be propitious vnto vs, uniting ſo great forces, in the regard of our ſacred religion, and will ſo take away the hearts of the Infidels, that they ſhall learne to be overcome. As for our land forces, we are to hope nothing but well, for as much as vnto thoſe which the emperor of late brought into the field at *VIENNA*, and cauſed the Turkiſh emperor to ſtie, ſhall be toynd not onely all the horſemen and infanterie of *FRANCE*, a wonderfull ſtrength, but *Sigismund* alſo king of *BOHEMIA* will without delay bring forth his armies, wherewith he hath bene uſed in the quarrell of the Chriſtian religion happily to fight againſt the Infidels: ſo that it is not to be doubted of a moſt certain and aſſured victorie. Wherefore the victorious emperor and moſt Chriſtian king Francis moſt inſtantly requeſt you to enter into the like godly cogitations, conceived for the generall good of the Chriſtian name, and religiously to embrace the hope of a moſt true & glorious victorie: and further exhort you, by a wholeſome decree to auert your religious and courageous hearts from the friendſhip of the Infidels. For it may worthily ſeeme vnto your moſt honourable minds, a moſt foule and ſhamefull thing, to haue renewed your league, and to haue preferred an infamous and vncertaine peace before a moſt religious and iuſt warre: Neither doth it beſeeme this moſt wealthy State to be terrified from that which is good and right, with any charges of war, be they neuer ſo great: for if we ſhall once overcome, which is incident to this preſent and long wiſhed for aſſaſſion, we ſhall by the proſperous victorie, either by ſea or land, to your incomparable praife receiue all the ſpoiles by your former times receiued.

The anſwer of the duke to Vaſtus.

VVhereunto the duke in the name of the whole State anſwered, That there neuer happened M any thing at any time vnto the Venetian Senat more honourable, for the manner of the embaſſage, or for the publique ſecuritie of their eſtate, more to be deſired than the hope of ſuch a peace: alter that two moſt mightie kings by two ſuch famous captaines their embaſſadors, did conſiſt them of their attonement and aſſured peace, moſt glorious to themſelves, to their eternall praife, whole.

A wholeſome alſo to the Venetian ſtate, beſet with ſo many dangers, and wonderfully to be wiſhed for of all the other princes of Chriſtendome, if they would ſincerely & religiously with their forces by common conſent vnited, reſolve vpon that ſacred war: for then would not the Venetians be wanting to themſelves or the Chriſtian commonweale, but end the league they had with the Turke, not with a diſhonourable peace but with armes and victorie. VVherefore it was to be requeſted of Almighty God by prayer, That thoſe puiſſant kings would with religious and happy euent ſpeedily and ſeriously fulfill all that hope of peace, which they had by their mutuall diſcourſes and embracings in ſhew promiſed vnto the world.

In few dayes after certaine of the ſelect Senatours ſitting in counſell, after the manner of that State, called the embaſſadors vnto them and asked them, VVhether they knew any thing of the articles and capitulations wherewith league and confederation was to be concluded: and by the way, whether they thought the emperor in regard of that peace would giue vnto the French kings ſonne the dukedome of *MILLAN*, as was reported: VVhereunto *Hanebald* the French embaſſador anſwering nothing, *Vaſtus* ſaid, That he knew nothing more, but that the two great princes had agreed thereof betwixt themſelves, and that the emperor had deſired the peace, as one willing to helpe the afflicted and declining ſtate of the Chriſtian commonweale: which thing any man might ſee could not be effected or brought to paſſe, but that the emperor muſt in many things yeeld to the requeſts of the French king, and redeeme his good will: For the noble mind (ſaid he) worthe Senatours, can eaſily make light of the greateſt loſſe of his owne things, when it foreſeeeth a large way opened thereby to eternall fame and glorie. Theſe words were very glorious and gracious to the hearers: but they, as men of great experience, could not let it ſinke in their minds, that the emperor whom they had often deeply ſounded, would euer depart with the dukedome of *MILLAN*, which only thing the French king required, and had for the recouering thereof vnfortunatly ſtrien almoſt twentie yeares, to the trouble and diſquiet of a great part of the world. The nobilitie and authoritie of this embaſſage more moued the Senat than did the other former embaſſadors, *Didaco Mendoza*, a Spaniard, and *Guilhelmus Pellicerius*, a Frenchman, then both preſent: yet was it much ſuſpected by the Venetians, becauſe it contained no certaine reſolution, but onely the bare hope of a future peace: ſo that it was by many men ſuppoſed to be but a matter deuſed to deceiue others and to ſerue the emperours turne to his greater profit. Yet all the cunning ſeemed to reſt in this point, That the Venetians led on with the hope of this league, ſhould neglect the renewing of the league they had the yeare before taken with *Solyman*, which was now almoſt expired. Vpon which vncertainetie of other mens reſolutions, the graue Senatours thought too dangerous a matter to depend.

Vpon this queſtion of this new league and confederation to be made with theſe Chriſtian princes againſt the Turke, the Senat was wonderfully deuided: ſome fauouring the emperours requeſt, inueighed againſt the renewing of that ſhamefull league with the infidels, which they ſaid was nothing els, but as much as in them lay to betray vnto them the other parts of Chriſtendome, and eſpecially *ITALIE*, deſtitute of their helpe, and yet not to be obtained without great charges; and with many reaſons vrged the honourable confederation with theſe Chriſtian princes: others of a deeper reach, conſidering what infinit harmes they had from time to time receiued by falling out with the Turks, and ſuſpecting alſo the emperours drift, and joyning thereunto the conſideration of the great dearth then raiging in the citie, which was not to be relieved but out of *MACEDONIA* and *GRÆCIA*, the Turkes countries; the emperor hauing at that time as it were of purpoſe impoſed ſo great a cuſtome vpon all corne to be tranſported out of *SYRIA*, that the very cuſtome came to as much as both the price of the corne and the freight together: all which miſcheefes they ſaid were to be preuented by renewing the league with *Solyman*. This matter was with great heat debated in the Senat too and fro, either part hauing great fault: ſo that the Senatours ſpent almoſt whole VVinter nights in the court in diſcourſing and conſulting what were beſt to be done. But whatſoeuer was there ſaid or decreed, was forthwith by one of the factions or other made knowne, not onely to the embaſſadors preſent in the citie, but by letters alſo diſcouered into provinces far off: a thing neuer before in that ſtate knowne, which had euer vſed as it were with a religious ſilence to keepe ſecret whatſoeuer was there decreed. VVhich thing *Martius Foſcarius*, an old Senator and a man of great wildome, perceiving, ſaid openly, That the ſtate was betrayed by the multitude and corruption of voices, and muſt needs ſhortly periſh, if it were not ſpeedily committed to the graue and faithfull iudgement of ſome

Vaſtus his anſwer to the demand of the Venetian Senat.

The Venetian Senators diuerſly affected towards the confederation with the emperor and the French king, againſt *Solyman*.

Foſcarius a graue Senator.

Foetus disgraced by the multitude.

The Venetians find Aloysius Badoerius their ambassador to Solyman, to conclude a peace.

The most secret decree of the Venetian Senate made known to Solyman.

1540

A peace concluded between the Venetians and Solyman.

The traitors who revealed the secret of the Venetian Senate to Solyman, executed.

some few: for there was almost two hundred of them which gave voices; reducing that multitude to the number of fiftie, who for their experience and love toward their country, were holden for men of greatest gravitie and secrecie: so was the madnesse of many stayed by the discretion of a few. But *Foetus* shortly after fell into such hatred of the multitude, grieved to be as light headed men without discretion, so excluded out of the counsell, that he was by the voices of the multitude first thrust out of the counsell himselfe; and by them kept a great while after from all the preferments and honours of the citie: being indeed one of the greatest Senators, and a man of deepest judgement. Which disgrace turned afterward to his great honour and credit, as one that had foreseene much, after they were once found out and condemned which had traiterously revealed the secrets of the State.

But this long consultation concerning the confederation, came to this end: That the Senators doubting the union of those two great princes, and yet willing to expect the event, decreed forthwith to send three embassadours; whereof two should be sent to the emperor: and the French king to discover their designs, and the third, which was *Aloysius Badoerius*, a wise and well spoken man, was with all speed dispatched away to *Solyman*, to prevent the fame of the distrust to be conceived of the agreement of those great Christian princes; and if he could by any means, to spare for no cost, to save unto the Venetians their cities of *NAVLIVM* and *BRADAVRVS*, which *Solyman* required of them before he would graunt them peace. Which if it could not be obtained of the proud and craftie tyrant, than to yeeld unto necessity, and to conclude a peace with him vpon any conditions: which course the *Decemviri* thought to be most expedient for the State: yet concerning the yeelding vp of the cities, they gave him secret instructions and warrant, fearing forsooth the force and tumult of the headstrong multitude; who if they had knowne any such thing, would vndoubtedly thereupon have taken occasion to have crossed and overthrowne that most wholesome decree: for there was no doubt, that if they had delayed that matter, and sought for peace too late, but that *Solyman* would vpon another mans weakenesse and necessitie have encreased his insatiable desire, and not graunted them peace, being brought low & forsaken, except they would deliver unto him the islands of *CEREALENIA*, *ZACINTHVS*, and *CORCYRA*, a matter no lesse grievous than the destruction of the very citie of *VENICE* it selfe. So that the great embassadours *Vassius* and *Hanebald*, who came of purpose to have hindered the league with the Turke; by their great diligence wrought nothing more effectually, than that the Venetians the better foreseeing the danger of their estate, should as they did, make hast to conclude the same: for it falleth out in mens purposes and actions, That a good and happie successe otherwise well hoped for, is oftentimes marred with too much diligence and care. Neither was it any doubt, but that *Hanebald* was sent by the French king but for fashion sake, and secretly vnderhand by *Pellucarius* the old embassadour perswaded the Venetians to hasten the conclusion of peace with *Solyman*. Which as *Badoerius* their embassadour was carefully following the matter at *CONSTANTINOPLE*, and being loth to yeeld the strong cities which *Solyman* required, offering unto him in stead of them a great summe of money: *Solyman* tooke him vp with threatening words as a shamelesse dissembler, earnestly protesting, That he would neuer graunt him peace, without the yeelding of those cities; rehearsing unto him the most secret points of his embassage, and how that he was authorized from the *Decemviri* to yeeld them unto him: which thing the embassadour little thought *Solyman* had knowne. Wherefore *Badoerius* so shamefully reprooved, and standing in doubt of his life, seeing the greatest secrets of his embassage revealed to *Solyman* and his Bassaes, was glad to accept of peace, by yeelding unto him *NAVLIVM* and *EPIDAVRVS*, two cities in *PERIOPONESVS*, and with them *MAVLIVM* and *LABRANA*, two castles of *DALMATIA*, to the great greefe of the whole Senate: for graining whereof the common people ignorant of the secret decree of the *Decemviri*, and supposing that *Badoerius* had given away that which he had no authoritie to give; were so enraged against him at his returne, that it was much adoe to save the guiltlesse man from exile; and his goods from confiscation, although the traitors were then knowne which had discovered the secrets of the State unto the Turke. These were *Mapheus Lequius* a Senator, and *Constantinus Corbinius*, secretaries to the college of the *Decemviri*, and *Franciscus Kalerius*, one of the Senators base fonnies, the traitorous disperser of the Turkes money for the corruption of others: who with other his complices were for the same fact hanged in the market place, when as *Leonius* and *Corbinius* were a little before fled into *FRANCIA*. About

About the same time which was in the yeare of our Lord 1540, died *Ioannes Sepsius* king of *HUNGARIE*, *Solymans* tributarie; after whose death ensued great warres in *HUNGARIE*, and the lamentable subversion of that flourishing kingdom: for the better conceiving whereof, it shall not be amiss with as much brevitie as the plainnesse of the historie will permit, to open the causes and grounds of the endlesse calamities which afterwards ensued, and neuer tooke end, vntill that warlike kingdom was to the great weakening of Christendome vterly subuered.

King *Ferdinand* and this tributarie king *John*, had with like desire of peace and quietnesse, made betweene them a league; profitable to them both as their estates then stood, rather than honourable: yet most welcome to the Hungarians, who devided into factions, and hauing followed some the one king and some the other, enjoyed neuertheless their lands and goods by the benefit of this peace; the townes and castles being still kept by them in whose possession they then were at the making of the peace. In the capitulations of which peace, it was comprised, That *Ferdinand* should from thenceforth call *John* by the name of a king, whereas before he had both in his common talke and letters called him by the name of the Vayvod onely: It was also expressly set downe in the same articles of peace, and subscribed with the hands of diuers of the nobilitie of *HUNGARIE*, That if king *John* should die, king *Ferdinand* should succeed him in the whole kingdom of *HUNGARIE*: Which condition was suppressed and kept verie secret for feare of *Solyman*, who accounted of that kingdom as of his owne, gotten by law of armes, and bestowed vpon king *John* as vpon his vassalle: neither was it to haue been thought, that if he should haue knowne thereof (being of a haucie mind by nature, and not able to endure any injury) he would haue suffered that kingdom, got and defended with so great danger and cost, to be by the will of an vnthankfull man, transferred vnto his enemies.

This matter of so great importance, was (as it is reported) by *Hieronymus Lascus* embassadour for king *Ferdinand* to *CONSTANTINOPLE*, revealed vnto *Solyman* and the Bassaes, to bring king *John* into hatred. So much did this noble gentleman, for his rare vertues otherwise greatly to haue been commended, yeeld vnto his griefe, and desire of reuenge: when after the death of *Aloysius Grittus*, he fell from the friendship of king *John*, being (as is before declared) by him committed to prison, and hardly afterwards enlarged, at the request of king *Sigismund*. Whereupon *Solyman* being exceedingly angrie with king *John*, called him vnworthely doe these and turning himselfe about to *Lutzius Bassa* his brother in law, said, How vnworthely doe these two Christian kings weare their crownes vpon their faithlesse heads; who as shamefull deceiuers are not afraid, either for worldly shame or feare of God, for their profit to falsifie their faith! But king *John* vnderstanding thereof, and wonderfully fearing his owne estate, did by good friends and rich presents, pacifie *Solyman* againe, laying all the blame vpon king *Ferdinand*, as better able to beate it. Not long after, king *John* hauing set his kingdom in good order, and strongly fortified the citie of *BUDA*: being now farre stricken in yeares, at the earnest request of most of the nobilitie of *HUNGARIE* and other his best friends, married *Isabella* the daughter of *Sigismund* king of *POLONIA*, a gracious ladie, and of great spirit: which king *Sigismund* had long before married *Barbara* king *John* his sister, after whose death he married the ladie *Bona Sfortia*, the daughter of *Ioannes Galeacius* duke of *MILLAIN*, by whom he had this ladie *Isabella* whom king *John* now married. Which marriage *Solyman* liked well of, hauing many times by way of talke before condemned the single life of the king: but king *Ferdinand* liked thereof nothing at all, plainly foreseeing, that the Hungarians (if the king should chance to haue a sonne) would forthwith looke vpon him as their naturall king, and reject himselfe as but a stranger.

This young queene in short time (as he had feared) conceived with child; and was now verie big: when king *John* was enforced to make an expedition in person himselfe against *Maylat* (a Turkish child, big: when king *John* was enforced to make an expedition in person himselfe against *Maylat* (a Turkish child, famous for the death of *Aloysius Grittus*) and *Balas*, both Governours of *TRANSILVANIA*: whereof *Maylat* not contented with the name of Vayvod or Gouverneur, sought to make himselfe king. But *Solyman* detesting the impudent arrogancie of the faithlesse man, and hating him for the death of *Grittus*, and the Turkes slaine with him, aduertised king *John* of all the matter: so that him to be more circumspect whom he trusted with the government of so great and rich a country. So *Maylat* shamefully rejected of *Solyman*, and out of hope of a kingdom, fearing also to be thrust quite out of his government by king *John*, thought it best for his owne safetie, to raise vp all the province into rebellion, and to take part with king *Ferdinand*: which thing *Ferdinand* by his diuers agents secretly furthered to the vttermost. For these two kings, although

The Queene with child.

though they were at peace the one with the other, and in words and shew made semblance of friendship; yet in heart they envied and hated each other, as if they should presently have waged warre. At that same time king *Iohn* exacted of his subjects, and especially of them of *TRANSILVANIA*, a great summe of money, to pay the Turke his tribute, then two yeares behind: which thing serued *Maylat* and his complices, as a fit occasion to raise the people into rebellion; perswading them, that there was no reason to pay vnto the Turke such a tribute, as would serue well to wage ten yeares honourable warre against him: so that by that and such like persuasion, all the prouince was in an vprore, little differing from manifest rebellion. To appease these dangerous troubles thus arising, king *Iohn* sent certaine of his chiefe nobilitie and best capitaines with a great power into *TRANSILVANIA*, following after himselfe in his chariot, nor yet well recovered of his late sicknesse: These noble men entring in two places into *TRANSILVANIA*, and H scouring vp and downe the country, had in short time so vsed the matter, that what by force what by policie, the tumult was well pacified, and diuers of the chiefe offenders worthely executed. *Maylat* the ambitious author of this sedition, not able to hold the field against the king, and seeing himselfe beset on euerie side with his enemies, retired himselfe with all his wealth into a towne called *FoGARAS*, a place of great strength, which the kings power shortly after hardly besieged: the king himselfe then lying at *SIBYNIUM*, the chiefe cite of *TRANSILVANIA*, about a mile distant from *FoGARAS*, sicke of an ague, whereinto he was againe fallen through too much care and paines taken in traouelling in that hoar time of the yeare, the daies being then at the longest. Whilste he thus lay sicke at *SIBYNIUM*, and his armie fast by at the siege of *FoGARAS*, newes was brought vnto him from the court, That the queene his wife was deliuered of a faire young sonne: which was no sooner bruted abroad, but the Hungarians as men ouerjoyed, came flocking to the court where the king lay, discharging their pieces in triumph, with all other signes of joy and mirth they could possible deuise: the noble men came from the campe to reioice with the king, and all the armie was filled with gladnesse. And for the greater solemnitie of this so common a joy, a royall feast was prepared, which the noble men would needs haue the king to honour with his presence, though he were thereto vnwilling, being as yet but a little recovered: Howbeit yeelding to their importunitie, hee suffered himselfe to be ouerruled and brought to the feast by them, which was vnto him the merriest and the last that euer he made: for willing to shew his inward joy, and to content his nobilitie there present, he forgot himselfe, and eat and dranke more liberally than was for the health of his weake bodie: whereby the fea- K uer which had but a little before left him, was againe renewed, in such sort, as that he well perceived he could not long endure. Wherefore feeling his end to draw fast on, he made his will, appointing his young sonne to be his heire, whom he committed to the tuition of *George* bishop of *VERADIVM*, and *Peter Viche* a noble gentleman and his neere kinsman, vntill he came to age; requesting the rest of the noble men to preferre his sonne in the succession of the kingdome, before a stranger, telling them, That *Solyman* would vndoubtedly take vpon him the protection both of the kingdome and of his sonne, if they would in time send embassadours vnto him with presents, and promise for his sonne, that he should raigne as his tributarie as he had done before: and so presently after died.

This king was of a courteous and gentle nature, bountifull, and in all his doings just, of no fierce and rough disposition, as the Hungarians commonly are, but of a most ciuile behaviour, garnished with good letters, and thorowly schooled in the diuers chances of both fortunes, not measuring his actions by the strength of his power, but by the exact rule of discretion; for in time of businesse no man was more circumspect or vigilant than he, nor in time of recreation any man more courteous or pleasant. He vsed oftentimes to say, That the fauour and loue of valiant men gotten by bountie and courtisie, was the best treasure of a prince; for that courteous and thankfull men; did oftentimes in some one worthie piece of seruice, plentifully repay whatsoever had been bestowed vpon them: as for such as were vnthankfull, they did to their shame beare the testimonie of another mans vertue.

The kings death was kept secret vntill such time as the noble men had agreed with *Maylat*, M that he should take an oath of his faithfull alleagance to the king; and his sonne his lawfull heire, and so still to enjoy his former place and gouernment: which offer *Maylat* gladly accepted. Then calling together the counsell, it was decreed to send the same embassage to *Solyman*, which was appointed the old king yet liuing: So were presently dispatched away two most hono- ble

ble embassadours, *Ioannes Exechius* bishop of *QVINYVA ECLISIE*, and *Stephanus Verbe- Embassadours*
tius the Chancellor, a man of great yeares, carrying with them ten boles of pure gold curiously wrought, six hundred of siluer, gilt and engrauen; fortie pieces of purple silke and cloth of gold for Turkes gownes; and fiftie pound of coined gold, to be paid in the name of two yeares tribute. Which embassadours passing directly from *SIBYNIUM* ouer *Danubius* into *SERVA*, and so traouelling thorow *THRACIA*, came to *CONSTANTINOPLE*. In the meane time, the dead body of the king was with much heauinesse carried from *SIBYNIUM* to *ALBAROALS*, most part of the armie following it, and there with great solemnitie buried. After this the young child was christened and called *Stephen*, and there presently crowned with the antient crowne of king *Stephen*, who first erected that kingdome, & without which the Hungarians neuer accounted their kings lawfully crowned. Yet the royall dignitie was by the common consent of the nobilitie giuen vnto the queene, with condition, that in all publike writings the names of the sonne and of the mother should be joyned, and the kings money coined with the same inscription: but the chiefe authoritie rested in *George* the bishop; for he was treasurer, and had at his commaund the castles and strong holds: yet were the souldiors with their ensignes and furniture, at the deuotion of *Valentinus Thuracus*: In the middle between these two was placed *Peter Viche* the kings kinsman, and by the old king appointed for one of the tutors to his young sonne, suspected of neither part, honoured with the name of high Conitable. But because the name of this *George* the bishop was most famous in this wofull warre which we are about to write, I thought it worth the labour to speake something of his nature and disposition, that it may be knowne to C all posteritie by what pollicie this war was managed, and how this flourishing kingdome by the madnesse of the Hungarians came into the hands of the Turkes.

This *George* was borne in *CROATIA*, and brought vp from his youth in the house of king *Iohn*, where vertue and industrie neuer wanted reliefe; when as he vnadvisedly before, had entered into the orders of a monasticall life, and wearie too late of the straightnesse thereof, had forsaken his profesion. Wherefore being of a wonderfull pleasing nature, and still following king *Iohn*, driuen out of his kingdome and long liuing in exile, he woon such credit and commendation for his fidelitie, integritie, and readie counsell in the kings most doubtfull and dangerous affaires, that after *Sibacchus* that worthie bishop, was by the treacherie of *Aloysius Gritus* slaine at *BAXOVA*, he obtained the great bishopricke of *VERADIVM*. After that, when he had strengthened his credit with great wealth, he alwaies as a faithfull counsellor swaied and happily ruled both the court and kingdome, to the profit of the king. But he was of such a diuers and pliant nature, that performing in all actions all the parts of a most readie and excellent man, he seemed to be made of contrarie qualities, and borne to doe any thing: For in saying of his princely seruice, and performing the other ceremonies of the Christian religion, he shewed, or at leastwise counterfeited such a contrition in his deuout countenance and speech, that a man would not haue thought it could possibly be the same man, who in the most waightie affaires both of warre and peace, did most stoutly shew the wonderfull force of a most pregnant and courageous wit: For he vsed to keepe whole companies of most excellent and ready horsemen, and would oftentimes come forth into the battell armed: he would with often banquets and rewards win the hearts of the souldiors; and after the manner of great chieftaines, maintaine the honour and credit of his name, both with punishment and reward, as occasion required. Besides that, no man looked in to the wealth of the kingdome more diligently than he, no man did to more profit let to farme the customes, gold mines, feedings, and salt pits; no man could deuise finer meanes to raise money, of all others the readiest way to credit: in so much, that king *Iohn* would confesse himselfe to raigne by the especially industrie of that man: and king *Ferdinand* would many times say, That he envied at *K. Iohn* for nothing he had, but for one hooded fellow, which was better for the defence of a kingdome, than 10000 with helmets on their heads. Wherefore this bishop hauing taken vp on him the tuition of the young king, was still busied in all the waightie causes of the kingdome, both ciuile & martiall: he laboured with great care, that the Hungarians should agree together in loue and vnitie, and did what he might, prouidently to foresee that no tumult or rebellion should F anywhere arise, whereby the beginning of the kingdome, yet but weake, might any way be troubled. But king *Ferdinand* hearing of the death of king *Iohn*, thought it now a fit time for him to recouer againe the kingdome of *HUNGARIE*, which he had so long desired. Wherunto he was also the more prickt forward by the persuation of *Alexius Torso*, *Ferentius Gnarus*, *Petrus*
Ooo
Bachit,

Queene Isabella
deliuered of a
sonne.

The death of
king Iohn.

The honourable
saying of king
Iohn.

A young child
crowned king of
Hungarie.

George bishop of
Veradium one of
the kings tutors,
a notable man.

The fugitive
Hungarians per-
suade king Fer-
dinand to invade
Hungarie.

Bachit, Balbazar Pamphilus, Erancus Capolnates, Ianus Castellamphus, and Casparus Sereus, all G noblemen or gentlemen of great account in HUNGARIE; who in the former troubles follow- ing the part of king Ferdinand against king John, lined now in exile: these all with one consent told king Ferdinand, That now or neuer was the time when they might be againe restored vnto their countrey with honor; and that the warre might that Autumne be dispatched, if he would make hast: for as much as Winter comming fast on would stay the comming of the Turks, and such noble men of HUNGARIE as tooke part with the queene, did not very well agree together, being vnwilling to be commaunded by George the Apostata monke, who (as they said) with great cunning and dissimulation seducing the queene, and possessing the treasure, enjoyed all alone the power of a king: and that they, which for taking part with the right had long liued as banished men, might now safely returne into their countrey, and be honourably preferred by the queene; the Bishop (which all commaunded) assuring them thereof, if they would returne vnto the young kings court, vnto their friends and auncient houses. But they had as they said, before giuen their faith vnto him as to a verieous and faithfull prince, whom they had preferred before one that was an Hungarian borne: wherefore he should doe both vnadvisedly, and vnkindly, if letting slip the occasion presented; he should deferre to make warre. For what could be more dishonour to him so great a king, and also emperour elect, than by shamefull delay to forsake them, being noble and valiant gentlemen, which had followed his part, and were then ready with strong troupes of horsemen to doe him the best seruice they could?

The German capitaines in like manner perswaded him to take the matter in hand, who as martiall men, expecting some one preferment, some another, in the atchieue, were desirous of honour, pay, and prey, the chiefe comforts of their trauell and perill.

But Laschus the Polonian, who in matters concerning peace and warre, saw more than all they (as he that knew the disposition of many princes, and had seene the manners and fashions of diuers nations, hauing trauelled thorow a great part of the world, and oftentimes bene embassa- dour in the courts of the greatest princes) was of a contrarie opinion, and told king Ferdinand plainly, That the kingdome of HUNGARIE was to be obtained rather by policie than by force, by crauing it at Solymans hand, to hold it of him by tribute as king John did.

For (said he) that may by petition and faire entreatance be easily obtained of: that heroicall prince (who in his vaine humor oftentimes fondly seeketh after honour) which will neuer be got from him by force of armes. I thorowly know (said he) Solymans haughty mind, and the proud disposition of his Bassaes: he contemneth wealth, and is cloied with so many kingdomes: but they vpon their insatiable covetousnesse and exceeding pride, desire nothing, nor perswade him to nothing more than warre. Wherefore it is good to beware, that with the noise of this sudden warre you stir not up the Turks, which lie ready as it were expecting such an occasion, which cannot be withstood, but by the united forces of the Christian princes; which might by their generall consent be done, but that their eyes blinded with far all darknesse cannot see it, and the vnitie of the Christians now desperate, seemeth by God reserved to some better time: seeing that of late the Christian kings are fallen off, and cannot agree vpon the long expected peace. Is not (said he) the French king deceived of his hope? and as he would haue it thought, greatly dishonored with this late unkindnesse? which renewing his old wound, will reuiue in him an endlesse hatred. Away with all dissimulations, enemy vnto graue counsells, and let plaine truth, although vnpleasant vnto princes eares, preuent flatterie: Vndoubtedly, he being a prince of no base courage (as it oftentimes falleth out with men thorowly grieued) will in his anger as an enemy powre forth his gold, whereof he hath good store, to crosse the emperours designs, to trouble the assemblies of the states of GERMANY, to withdraw the minds of the princes, and with bountie to gaine them to himselfe: who mightily enuying the imperiall dignitie, woom to be indifferently giuen to them that best deserued the same, to be as it were inuested in the house of AVSTRIA; which in this perpetuall succession of so many emperours, hath as it were got a right by long custome. Wherefore they will secretly conspire together, and as notable lingerers by nature, will either giue no helpe at all, or else too late: at such time as the Turkes garrisons shall come flying to the succour of the young king. Neither is there any cause why any man should thinke that the gouernours of the Turks countries neere at hand, will for the approach of winter be slacke in this cause: for they vndoubtedly making an honest and honourable shew will take vpon them the defence of the fatherlesse child and widow, of purpose, to make an entrance to the secret desire they haue to gaine the kingdome to them- selves.

A selues: for if you shall once ioyne with them in battell, if the best happen, and fortune fauour our first attempts, truly you shall haue war without end, with such an enemy, which will bring with him wealth that will neuer be spent, power not to be overcome, and courageous souldiours sworne to our destruction: so will it come to passe, and I pray God I be a false prophet, that in seeking for the kingdome of HUNGARIE by warre, you shall at length be glad to fight for AVSTRIA it selfe and your owne kingdome also.

This speech so moued king Ferdinand, that although he purposed to goe on with the warre, yet he thought it good by an honourable embassage to proue Solymans mind and purpose also; which to doe no man was thought fitter than Laschus himselfe, author of that counsell, being vnto him very well knowne, and familiarly acquainted with all the great Bassaes of the court: which seruice Laschus refused not, but being furnished with all things needfull for such an embassage, departed from VIENNA towards CONSTANTINOPLE.

Yet for all that king Ferdinand persisting in his former purpose, made with all preparation for warre, trusting vpon the aid of the emperour his brother, and the comming ouer of the Hungarians, who euer thought it cause honest ymough for them to reuolt, if it so stood with their present profit. But before he would enter into open warres, he sent Nicholas countie of SALMA King Ferdinand

C offered to giue vnto the child the prouince of SERVSIA, as was before agreed betwixt the two kings expressly in the league, and to the queene a great reuenew, and whatsoever else she had in dowrie. But if he would forget that lawfull league, he threatened, that neither the emperour Charles his brother nor he wanted force wherewith to recouer by strong hand the kingdome, annexed to the house of AVSTRIA both by auncient right and the new consent of most of the Hungarian nobilitie. The countie SALMA being receiued at BUDA, hardly obtained to be admitted to the presence of the queene: for George the Bishop, and Viche, mistrusting her womanlike courage, said, she was not to be spoken withall, by reason she was so full of heauinesse and sorrow; and that they were of authoritie, as the kings tutors, and ready to giue him both audience and answer. Which opinion of her weakenesse, and want of judgement, the queene being

D a woman of an heroicall and royall spirit, tooke, as tending so much to her disgrace, that she said she would kill her selfe, if the embassadors were not permitted to come into her chamber (which was a darke roome hanged with blacke, as the manner is;) and she sitting vpon a low pallet negligently attired, as one that had no care of her selfe, wan and pale coloured, but as then shedding no teares, yet with voice and countenance so heauie, as might shew her teares to be rather dried vp with long mourning, than that her sorrow was any thing abated: for the desire of bearing rule had now so possessed her mind, that she contemned all the dangers of imminent warre, and for defence of her soueraignetie resolved with her selfe to call in the Turks. After the countie admitted to her presence, had with due reuerence and great protestation deliuered his message, she demurely answered, That such was the fortune of her sex and yeares, that being bereft of the king

E her husband, and perplexed with the dayly greeces both of bodie and mind, she could neither take nor giue counsell, but purposed in so weightie a cause to vfe the aduice of Sigismund her father, whose integritie and justice was such, as king Ferdinand needed no other iudge or arbitrator to end that controuersie: Wherefore she requested a conuenient time and space, wherein she might aske counsell of her father; to whose iust judgement she said she would stand, as she thought the nobilitie of HUNGARIE would also. Which small time of delay if it should be denied, and that they would needs forthwith make warre vpon her, she said, that the emperor and king Ferdinand his brother should surely win no great honour, if they should come to oppugne her a widow consumed with teares, and a young child yet crying in his cradle. The countie so sent away, when he was returned to king Ferdinand, told him, That the queene was altogether F in the power of the Bishop, and could neither say nor doe any thing, but what she had before received from him: for he only (as he said) commaunded all: as for the rest of the nobilitie, they shared amongst them the honours and preferments of the realme, and as men desirous of credit and gaine, had rather be the gouernours of the young prince, than the seruants and waiters of a great and mightie forraigne king: all which he said he had both heard and seene. Wherefore all

Laschus sent
an embassa-
dour from
king Ferdinand
to Solyman.

King Ferdinand
sends an em-
bassador to the
queen to demand
of her the king-
dome of Hunga-
rie.

The queene dis-
sues to the em-
bassador.

the hope was in warre, wherein such speed was to be vied, as that the queene with her sonne vnderprouided, and expecting the euent of their embassage from CONSTANTINOPLE, might be diuened out of BUDA before they could take vp armes or well aduise themselves, what to doe; and that the queene sought delay but to make her selfe the stronger, and in the meane time to call in the Turke, and so to make a more dangerous warre. Wherefore if euer he purposed to reigne in HUNGARIE, he should forthwith cast off all other cogitations, and make readie his forces with all speed possible.

King Ferdinand
inmadeth Hun-
garie.

Hereupon king *Ferdinand* furnished with money from *Charles* the emperour, without delay raised a great armie, which he sent downe the riuer Danubius to STRIGONIUM, which citie had all the reigne of king *Iohn* continued faithfull to king *Ferdinand*. The Generall of this armie was *Leonardus Velsius*, a nobleman of RASTIA; who for many causes thought it expedient first to open the way to BUDA, for almost in the middle of the way stood VITIGRADA, with a goodly citie vpon the top of an hill by the riuer side; which towne (but not the citie) *Velsius* after nine dayes siege tooke, with the losse of about two hundred of his men; all the garrison souldiours therein being either slaine or taken prisoners, with *Valentinus Litteratus* their capitaine. From VITIGRADA he passed over the riuer Danubius to PESTH, which he tooke, being forsaken of the enemy. With like successe he tooke the citie of VACIA, without losse and remouing thence, and crossing againe the riuer with his fleet, came and encamped before BUDA, to terrifie the citizens, and to discouer as farre as he could the purpose of the queene. Where *Perennis*, *Stephanus Rascaius*, and *Franciscus Francopanes* bishop of AGRIA, all men of great nobilitie amongst the Hungarians, revolted from the queene to king *Ferdinand*: the Bishop was reputed for a man of great integritie, and vpon meere conscience to haue gone over to *Ferdinand*; yet was he by letters from *George* the kings tutor challenged to haue revolted, in hope by means of *Charles* the emperour to be made a Cardinal. *Velsius* lay with his armie at the hot bathes about a mile and a halfe from the citie, as if he would rather besiege it, than assault it. The Germanes lying there, did fetch in bootie round about the country; which was taken in euill part by the Hungarians on their side; who seeing their owne cattell or their friends driuen away, the villages burnt, and the poore husbandmen bound and taken prisoners, fell together by the eates oftentimes with the Germanes. On the other side they of BUDA sending out their troupes of horsemen, skirmished with the Germanes, if they did but stirre out of the campe, and well defended the villages from the iniurie of the enemy: for *Valentinus Thuraccus*, Generall of the queenes power, had taken into the citie a wonderfull number of light horsemen. Whilist the armie lay thus encamped, it fortuned that *Balthasar Pamphilus*, a noble Hungarian, straying out of the campe euen to the gates of BUDA, desired the warders at the gate to giue him leaue to talke with *Valentinus* their Generall, for that he desired to see his old friend, and to confesse with him of certaine matters concerning the good of the common state. Which thing being graunted by the Generall, he was immediatly receiued into the citie with his troupe of horsemen. Shortly after returning againe into the campe, he reported how he had bene entertained by his old acquaintance in the citie: where viewing the garrison, the great artillerie and fortification of the citie, he perceiued it was not to be taken without a greater power, and in a more seasonable time of the year. Which thing so moued *Velsius*, by nature suspitious; and doubtfull of the fidelitie of a stranger, that he commaunded him in anger to void the campe, because he had without his leaue gone into the citie, and vpon his owne priuat insolencie had conference with the enemy, and by amplifying their strength, to haue discouraged the armie, by putting them out of hope of victorie. Wherefore *Velsius* neuer attempting to assault the citie, returned againe to VITIGRADA to besiege the higher citie (wherein the auncient crowne of king *Stephen*, wherewith the Hungarian kings were euer after him crowned, was kept) which citie he also tooke with something lesse losse than he had done the lower towne. Not long after he marched with his armie to ALBA REGALIS, the citie where the Hungarian kings were vsually crowned and buried, which by the meanes of *Perennis* was deliuered vnto him, and a garrison put into it for king *Ferdinand*. These things thus done, *Velsius* retired againe to STRIGONIUM, which he did the rather, because the Germanes and Hungarians, two rough nations, could by no meanes agree together; in somuch, as that *Velsius* the Generall in parting them was wounded in the thigh, and *Perennis* hurt with a stone; besides that Winter was now come farre on, and the souldiours cried out for pay. For which causes *Velsius* (being also sicke of the stone) billitted his souldiours for that Winter about

King Ferdinand
armie departs
from Buda.

Alba Regalis
yielded to king
Ferdinand.

A about in the countrey. Yet before that he new fortified PESTH, and left therein a garrison; because it was reported, that the Turkes vpon their frontiers were making preparation to come to aid them of BUDA.

At such time as king *Ferdinand* was leuying his forces for the inuasion of HUNGARIE, the queene by the counsell of the Bishop, had in good time craued aid of the Turkes lieutenants in the countries bordering vpon HUNGARIE, especially of *Vstref*, gouernour of BOSNA (a very aged man, and of great honour, who had married one of the daughters of *Baiazer*, the old emperour) as also of *Mahometes* gouernour of BELGRADE, and *Amurathes* who had the charge of the frontiers of DALMATIA: from whom she receiued one answer, That they might in no case without expresse commaundement from *Solyman* depart from the places of their charge. Besides that, *Mahometes* was by rewards overcome by *Lascus*, as he passed by BELGRADE to CONSTANTINOPLE, not to stirre or aid the queene. Wherefore she rejected by these great capitaines, certified *Solyman* by her embassadours what danger her selfe, her sonne, and the kingdome was in, crauing his speedie aid. *Lascus* was not yet come to CONSTANTINOPLE, being fallen sicke by the way, but had sent before *Ptolomus* his physition to the great Bassaes, and especially to *Lutis* his old acquaintance, vpon whom he had bestowed great gifts; and was in hope by him to haue obtained what he desired: but all in vaine, for *Solyman* who thought it much for his honour to defend his owne right, and that he had before giuen vnto king *Iohn*; thought also, that it would redound both to his great profit and glorie, if he should, as it were vpon charitie take vpon him the protection of the widow and fatherlesse child, in their so great distresse and danger. Wherefore calling vnto him the embassadours, the three great Bassaes standing by, he said, That he had of his meere bountie before giuen the kingdome of HUNGARIE vnto king *Iohn*, to descend to his posteritie, so long as they should retain the kind remembrance of so great a benefite; wherefore to declare his constancie, inseparable from his bountie, he said he would take such a course in the matter, as that the Germanes his enemies should not long reioice of the warres they had begun. And in token of friendship, and that he had taken vpon him the protection of the young king, he caused to be deliuered vnto the embassadours a royall robe of purple and gold, a buckler with the bosse most curiously wrought, a horsemans mace with a handle of gold, and a scimitar with the scabbard richly set with stones: and afterwards writ effectually to *Vstref* and *Mahometes*, his lieutenants, that they should without delay aid the queene, and not to make excuse, because it was Winter, threatening them, that if she tooke any harme through their default or negligence, it should cost them their heads. The queenes embassadours glad of their good dispatch, were scarce departed from the Turkes court, when *Lascus* came to CONSTANTINOPLE; and vnderstanding by his physition the successe of the Hungarian embassadours, proceeded for all that in his businesse, and deliuered his message, and vpon many reasonable conditions requested the kingdome for king *Ferdinand*. But when he in speaking had oftentimes made mention of *Charles* the emperour, as if he would with all the power of GERMANIE aid his brother; *Solyman* was so moued therewith, that he was presently taken away and committed to prison: the great Bassaes, but especially *Rustan*, *Solymans* sonne in law, a proud and furious young man, chiding him and shaking him vp as worthe of death, for offending with his libell speech the maiestie of so courteous a prince, and as it were mocking the king of kings, requiring friendship, when in the meane time his master most impudently made warres in HUNGARIE.

Vstref and *Mahometes*, the Bassaes aforesaid, hauing receiued such straight commaundement from *Solyman*, assembled their dispersed souldiours, and by shipping brought them downe the riuers Sauus and Dranus into Danubius, (for it is a hard matter to performe any great thing by warres in HUNGARIE, without the helpe of a great fleet, for conueying of the great ordnance, victual, and other such necessities of the armie, from one side of the great riuers to the other, as occasion requireth) but as then being the midst of Winter, and the North wind blowing so hard, Danubius was so frozen on both sides, that the middle of the riuer was scarce open: so that the Turkes not able to passe for the extremitie of the weather, nor daring, to returne for the straight command of *Solyman*, were enforced in their tents there to abide the hardnesse of Winter, to shew their readinesse. It is almost incredible to be spoken, with what patience and resolution the souldiours endured all the extremities of the time, in so bare a place, their horses which of all other things they hold most deare, staruing for cold and want of meat.

O o o iij

The

The queene cra-
ues aid of *Soly-
man* against
Ferdinand.

Solyman promi-
seth to protect the
queene and her
sonne against
Ferdinand, and
sendeth presents
to the young king.

Lascus king
Ferdinand his
embassador im-
prisoned by *Soly-
man*.

The queene joy-
neth her forces
with the Turkes
and burneth
Pacia.

Pesth in waire
besieged by the
Turkes.

King Ferdinand
sendeth the Lo.
William Rogendorff
with an ar-
my into Hunga-
rie.

Buda besieged.

Rogendorff
threateneth the
queene.

The bishop scorn-
fully answereth
Rogendorff.

Solyman the Magnificent,

The Spring at length comming on, right welcome both to the Turkes and the queene; *Matthias* hometes with his Turkes and wild Illyrians, and *Vstref* with his souldiours of *Bosnia*, entred in to *Hungarie*, with whom *Valentinus* Generall of the queens forces joyned also, with a strong power of Hungarians brought from *Buda*. And the queene to further the matter, sent presents to the Turkes Generals, victualled the campe, and furnished them with great ordinance, for the besieging of such cities as were holden by king *Ferdinand* and her enemies. They passing ouer *Danubius* tooke the cite of *Vacia*, being but badly defended for king *Ferdinand*, and putting many to the sword (after the manner of their barbarous-crueltie) burnt the cite. From thence they remoued to *Pesth*, which was so valiantly defended by *Barocius* and *Fotisus*, the one a Hungarian capitaine, the other a German, that the Turkes despairing of the winning of the cite, and norwell relieved with victuall by the queene, then fearing future want, passed againe ouer *Danubius*, and faithfully restoring the great ordinance without any more doing, returned againe into their owne countries: but in their retreating, the Hungarians by the leading of *Ferentius Gnarus* slew many of them, amongst whom was one *Achomates*, one of their best and valiantest capitaines.

King *Ferdinand* aduertised of the Turkes departure, returned again to his old hope of recouering the kingdome: perswading the emperor his brother, not to giue ouer the war so fortunately begun, especially now that the Turkes hauing forsaken the queene, were departed and gone: Wherefore the new forces lately before raised in *Austria*, *Bohemia*, *Silesia*, and *Moravia*, for the supply of *Vellus* his armie, were presently sent into *Hungarie* vnder the leading of the Lo. *William Rogendorff* steward of the kings house, who was then gone as farre as *Possone*. *Vnto* to haue relieved them of *Pesth*, vnto whom as a more auncient and honourable Generall *Vellus* gaue place: He, furnished with these new supplies, three moneths victuall, and great artillerie from *Vienna*, joyning with the old armie, marched directly to *Buda*, and laid siege vnto it. Ouert against the stately castle of *Buda* wherein the queene lay, was a great hill called *S. Gerrards* mount, so high, that the middle thereof was equall with the highest place of the castle, and from the top thereof they might looke into the streets of the cite, betwixt which hill and the castle was a great valley and a deepe ditch: vpon this hill, *Rogendorff* to beat the castle and to terrifie the queene, planted his batterie, and so shooke a new built tower thereof, that it was thought it would haue suddenly fallen; which if it had, yet was it supposed a dangerous matter to assault it, because it was walled about with a treble wall. But the sumptuous turrets and princely galleries of the kings pallace in the castle, which euerie man saw *Rogendorff* might haue beaten downe with his great ordinance, he spared: but whether of himselfe, or else commaunded by the king (as loath to destroy so goodly buildings, as could not without great charges be in long time againe repaired) was vncertaine. Wherefore by diuers heraulds sent vnto the queen, he wished her to breake in sunder those giues and fetters wherein the bishop vnder the colour of protection had fast bound her sonne and her, and to accept of king *Ferdinands* offer, who was readie to bestow vpon her a goodly seignorie, wherein she might most honourably liue at quiet, and bring vp her sonne in safetie: Which thing, if she as a simple woman, and ignorant of her owne danger, should refuse and obstinately contemne the perill wherein she stood, he would forthwith in most terrible manner beat downe the pallace about her eares. Whereunto the bishop in the queenes behalfe answered, That she was not such a foole as to exchange the kingdome of *Hungarie* for the principallitie of *Servisia*: and that she thought *Rogendorff* a yette doting and mad old man, who being once before well beaten in those ditches, came now againe like a foole to receiue his vtter destruction in full guerdon of his rash folly: Wherefore he should cease to terrifie valiant men, fighting with discretion for their naturall king and countrey against his drunken companie, for that they were nothing troubled with the noise of his great shot: But yet he said, that he would about all the rest by way of priuat courtesie, gently request *Rogendorff* to discharge his pieces with a little lesse noise, because he had a sow at home great with pigs, which terrified with the thundring of his guns, would farrow he doubted before her time, to the griefe of his guests. For the bishop was of a sharpe and taunting spirit, and such a contemner of the Germans, that when two of them were taken in the kings orchards burning certaine houses, he in derision caused two hogs to be hanged vpon the same gallows with them. Not long after, *Rogendorff* remoued his campe from the mount of *S. Gerrard* to a more convenient place for the battering of the cite, called the Iewes graues, neere vnto the gate called the Iewes gate. Which

fourth Emperour of the Turkes.

A Which thing the bishop seeing, after his quipping manner requested of *Rogendorff* to pardon him, in that he had of late wrongfully called him a doting old man; for that in remouing his campe into a mote commodious place, he seemed to be a proper wife man and of good discreti-
on, now that he had pitched his tents in a most fit place amongst the dead, both for himselfe being an old man and almost worne with vaine labour, and for his armie there condemned to die with him. *Rogendorff* thus encamped, begun in two places to batter the wals: *Perenus* and the Hungarians with the Bohemians neere vnto the gate called *Sabatina* in one place, and hee himselfe with the Germans betwixt the Iewes gate and the castle in another: which was done with such violence, that a great part of the wall was beaten downe, & another part thereof overcharged with earth, which the defendants had cast vp on the inner side for the strengthening thereof, was at the same time born quite out and so fell downe, to the wonderfull dismay of all that were in the cite. Which faire opportunitie to haue taken the cite *Rogendorff* let slip, either not well aware thereof by reason of the great smoke of the artillerie on both sides, and the dust arising with the fall of the wall which couered all; or else according to his naturall disposition, doing all things leasurely and suspiciously; so that a little delay bereft him of the present apprehension of so sudden a resolution: and the Germans, vfed more to standing battels than to assault, were not to be so easily brought on to assault the breach vpon the sudden, as were the Spaniards, Italians, or French. The wall was opened in that place almost two hundred paces in length, yet standing almost the height of a man, which might easily haue been scaled with short ladders; but night was now comming fast on, wherein the Germans would not willingly attempt any dangerous matter: so that the assault was deferred vntill the next morning. Whereas they of *Buda* in the meane time taking the aduantage of the enemies delay, with incredible diligence and labour in that night raised vp a new rampier in steed of the wall that was fallen, euerie man without exception putting his hand to the worke. In the morning the Germans comming to the breach, gaue such a fierce assault vnto the new made rampier, that *Otho Fotisus* desperately entered into a shattered house which joyned vnto the wall; and certaine other companies, one souldiour helping vp another, had almost recouered the top of the rampier, and were there readie to haue set vp their ensignes. When they of *Buda* with wonderfull constancie and resolution withstood the assailants, *George* the bishop encouraging them and fighting amongst them; who hauing laid aside his hood, was now to be seene with his helmet on his head, running too and fro as need required all alongt the rampier. At length the Germans seeing themselves to strue in vaine against resolute men, were enforced to retire. In this assault *Rogendorff* lost about 800. men. *Perenus* was also in like manner, but with lesse losse, repulsed at the other breach he had made at the gate *Sabatina*. After that *Rogendorff* attempted by vndermining to haue taken the cite, but was by countermines disappointed of his purpose. Yet for all this, they in the cite began to feeble the want of many things, so that it seemed they were not able to endure any longer siege; the common people pinched with hunger crying openly out in mutinous fort, that it was time to yeeld and make an end of those common miseries: but such was the authoritie of the bishop with his prouident foresight of all vrgent euents, that once shewing himselfe in the market place as if he would haue preached, he could turne the peeuish minded people which way he pleased.

E After all this, it missed but a little, but that this cite which could not by enemies force be woon, had by shamefull treason beene lost: there was at that time in *Buda* one *Bornemissa* a lawyer, who had in former time beene maior of the cite: this *Bornemissa* exceedingly hated the bishop for taking part with a bankerout Iew against him, and being full of malice, and desirous of reuenge, promised to *Renalins* (martiall in the enemies campe) to deliuer vnto him a blind posterne in *S. Maries* churchyard, whereby he might enter the cite: which gate acsered the citisens in time of peace to go thorow to the riuer. *Rogendorff* the Generall made acquainted with the matter, so liked thereof, that he in himselfe thought it not good, in a matter of so great importance, to vse at all the seruice of the Hungarians: Quite contrarie to that *Bornemissa* had requested of *Renalins*, who desirous to haue the matter brought to passe without the slaughter of so many guiltlesse people as was by him to be betrayed, would haue had it altogether performed by the Hungarians, who he was in good hope would shew mercie vnto their countrey men and kinsmen, and vse their victorie with more moderation than the Germans, who prouoked with many despights, and comming in by night, were like enough to make great effusion

A great breach
in the wale of
Buda.

The Germans
assaulting the
breach, are with
losse repulsed.

Bornemissa pra-
etiseth to betray
the cite of Buda.

effusion of blood. But *Rogendorff* after the manner of his nation, to be counted pollicke, ying G to keepe promise with no man, and hoping by excluding the Hungarians to haue all the glorie of the conceiued victorie wholly to himselfe; made as if he would haue vsed onely the Hungarians, and glosed with *Renalius*, whose son for the more assurance he tooke aspledge. For against the appointed houre, which was about midnight, hauing before giuen straight charge that no man should stir in the campe, he sent foure select companies of Germans with great silence vnto the posterne; at which time his sonne *Condi* stood with a strong troupe of horsemen, ready to haue entred, at such time as the Germans (receiued into the citie) should breake open the great gate, as was before agreed. Neither did *Bornemissa* faile to performe what he had as a traitor promised: but opening the posterne wee spake of, had with great silence receiued in most part of those German companies. But when he still asked softly of them as they came in for *Renalius*, he and heard them answere nothing but in the German language; although hee was otherwise a man of a bold spirit, yet then surprisid with a sudden feate (as it oftentimes chanceth in such additions to men deceiued of their expectation) he stood as a man amazed that knew not what to doe, & forgot to conduct the Germans: who altogether vnacquainted with the citie, knew not which way first to go; and stealing on softly in the darke, went on with no great courage, for feare of treason, still asking of them that followed, for him that should direct them. The Germans could not go so closely, but that they were by the clattering of their armour and the light of their marches, descried by the watch; who asking for the word, and they not giuing it, presently raised an alarm: but now all too late, the citie being as good as halfe taken, had the Germans well conducted resolutely gone on with the matter so well begun; but they ignorant of the way, and now delcied and chafed with their owne feare, ran backe againe to the posterne, in such halt, that one of them miserably wrong another, in striuing who should get out first; and their passage out much letted by the pikes and weapons which they which fled first had cast crosse the way to run the lighter into the campe. The first that set vpon the Germans was *Bacianus*, who had that night the charge of the watch; and after him *Vicche*, who kept the court of guard in the market place, and hearing the alarm, came thither with a strong companie both of horsemen and footmen. Many of the most valiantest Germans, who comming in first, were in flight become last, were slaine or taken, and amongst them many of *Bornemissa* his familiars and friends (as for himselfe, he was got out amongst the formost) from whom the bishop by exquisite torture wrong out the whole plot of the treason, and afterwards caused them to be severally executed K to the terrour of others. *Renalius* in the meane time complaining in the campe, That he was deceiued by the Generall: and *Bornemissa* wofully lamenting, That hauing worthily got the name of an infamous traitour, hee had thereby lost all his substance, and vndone his friends and kindred. The Generall *Rogendorff* (condemned euen of the common souldiors, for his foolish arrogancie and pride) was hardly spoken of thorow all the campe, as he that by too much insolencie had ouerthrowne the fairest occasion of a most goodly victorie: wherefore from that time he attempted no great matter, but set himselfe downe by long siege to tame his enemies, and so to win the citie.

Solyman vnderstanding of the queenes distresse in HUNGARIE, and with what desire *Ferdinand* (supported by the emperour his brother) thirsted after that kingdome; consulted with his L Bassaes of the purposes and power of his enemies, both there and elsewhere: and politickly resolved at one time, with his deuided forces, to withstand their attempts in diuers places, and those farre distant one from another, wherby the greatnesse of his power is well to be perceiued. First he sent *Solyman Bassa* an eunuch to BABYLON, to defend the countrey of MESOPOTAMIA, and the frontiers of his empire along the riuer Tygris, against *Tamas* the Persian king. *Mahometes* another of his great Bassaes, he sent into HUNGARIE to relieue the besieged queene: And after him *Vstref Bassa*, which was the fourth of his chiefe Bassaes, with another army to stay at BELGRADE, in readinesse to aid the other Bassa sent before him as occasion should require, if he should find his enemies too strong. Vnto *Barbarussa* he committed his naue, for the defence of GRECIA and EPHYRVS against *Auria*, who but a little before aided by the gallies M of SICILIA and NAPLES, had driuen the Turkes and Moores (which tooke part with the Turkes) out of CLYPEA, NEAPOLIS, ADRYMENTVM, RVSPINA, TAPSVS, and all alongst that coast of AFRICK which the Moores call MAHOMEDIA, except the citie of LEPTIS, and caused those cities to submit themselves to the government of *Auleasses*, king of TYNES. These

A These cities are at this day called CALIBIA, SVSA, MAHOMETA, MONASTERIVM, SPAXIA and AFRICA. And because *Solyman* vnderstood, that *Maylat* the Vayuod of TRANSILVANIA tooke part with king *Ferdinand*, he sent against him *Achomates* gouernour of NICOPOLIS, and commaunded *Peter* of MOLDAVIA, prince of VALACATA, to aid him: who afterwards accordingly came vnto him with thirtie thousand horsemen. He himselfe also doubting the purposes of the Christian princes, and especially of *Charles* the emperour, more than he had need, came to HADRIANOPLE, and in the countie thereabouts raised a third armie, to aid the two Bassaes sent before into HUNGARIE; keeping with him his son in law *Rustan*, whom he had made one of the foure great Bassaes of his counsell, hauing thrust out *Lustibinus*, whom the Turkes call *Luzis*, his brother in law; and exiled him into MACEDONIA for euill entreating and striking his wife, which was *Solymans* sister, as is before said, but was at this time done.

B *Mahometes* the Bassa desirous to doe his great Master the best seruice he could, entred into HUNGARIE with his armie about the middle of Iune in the year 1541, taking with him in his way the other *Mahometes* gouernour of BELGRADE, who gaue the shamefull ouerthrow vnto the Christians at EZER; joyning also with him the power of BOSNA, now commaunded by *Plamas* the Persian, for that *Vstref* the old Bassa was lately dead. The captaines of the Christian armie hearing of the comming of the Turkes; entred into counsell, Whether they should continue the siege, or els goe and meet them by the way and giue them battell. But the period of the Hungarian kingdome drawing fast on, and the ineuitable destinie thereof so requiring, the opinion of *Rogendorff* preuailed against the rest for the continuing of the siege, he seeming more willing to die than to crosse ouer the riuer to PESTH, or to retire to VICEGRAD or STRIGONIVM, as diuers would haue perswaded him: wherefore he removed from the place where he lay before, and encamped his armie on the further side of the citie at the foot of S. *Gerards* mount, where the hill lying betweene BUDA and the campe, and departing from the riuer leaueth a faire plaine toward the East; of purpose, that the Turkes which he knew would not goe far from the riuer and their fleet, should be enforced dangerously to passe by the mouth of his great ordinance, which he had aptly placed vpon the front of his trenches: for such was the nature of the place, that the campe lay defended on the right hand with the steepe hill, on the left hand with the riuer, and behind toward the citie with a strong bulwarke. Vpon the right hand, vpon a little rising ground he placed the lesser campe, wherein were the Hungarians which fauoured king

D *Ferdinand*, and then followed his ensignes. He made also a bridge from his campe into a little island which lay in the riuer, and with a fort well planted with ordinance commaunded both the riuer and the plaine, so to beat the enemies fleet comming vp the riuer, and themselves also as they should march alongst the plaine. He was about also to haue made a bridge of lighters and boats quite ouer the riuer, from his campe to PESTH, and in this order to expect the comming of new supplies from king *Ferdinand*, and to repell the enemy who was comming, and with long siege to wearie them in BUDA: for there was such store both of victuall and all other warlike prouision in PESTH, as would well haue sufficed his armie vntill Winter had beene sent. As soone as the Turkes were come nigh the citie, *Valentinus* as an embassadour from the queene met them with two thousand horse, and fully instructed both the *Mahometes* what the Christians did, what strength they were of, and how they might most conueniently encampe E their armie. Wherefore the Bassa marching on boldly forward, came within halfe a mile of the Christian campe, where he quickly entrenched himselfe round with a strong trench, filling a great part of the plaine with his tents. But the other *Mahometes*, gouernour of BELGRADE, a most pollicke captaine, tooke the higher ground towards the rising of the hill, neerer vnto the tents of the Hungarians than of the Germanes. Vnto these two armies thus encamped, belonged also two fleets, the Christian fleet consisted of foure and twentie galleots, about fourefore small pinnaces, and little lesse than a hundred ships of burden and other great boats: whereas the Turkes fleet was not thought to be past halfe so great. Neere vnto the little island, joyned as we haue before said by a bridge to the Christian campe, beneath in the riuer had the Turkes taken F another island called CEBELIA, oueragainst their owne campe; where casting vp a great bulwarke in the vppermost end thereof, and planting it with great ordinance, they from thence shot at the fort which the Christians held in the little island, and at their vessels passing too and fro in the riuer; as the Christians did at them likewise. This island of CEBELIA lieth somewhat more than fortie miles in length in the riuer Danubius, full of countrey villages, so commodious fly,

Bornemissa receiued in the Germans by a posterne, supposing them to haue bene Hungarians.

The Germans not conducted, are discovered and discomfited.

Solyman at one time maintaineth wars in diuers places of the world farre distant.

Mahometes Bassa commeth with the Turke armie to relieue Buda.

The order of king *Ferdinands* armie.

The Bassa entrenched his armie within halfe a mile of the kings armie.

fly, that if *Rogendorff* had at the first taken it and fortified it, before the coming of the *Turkes*, as the Hungarians persuaded him to have done, the *Turks* could by no means have encamped in the plaine, but must needs have forsaken their fleet, fetching a great compass about more toward the West, further off from the river: which would have turned to the *Turks* great disadvantage. But no man is so wise as to foresee all things, when as the very euill successe, be the plot neuer so well laid, shall of it selfe, beside the losse, leaue vnto the unfortunate man the note of the want of prouident foresight and discretion. But *Rogendorff* was not willing to deuide his forces, vntill he had some new supplie from king *Ferdinand*. VVhilest the armies lay thus neere one to the other, there were some light skirmishes made euery day, either by the horsemen or the footmen, and sometime one braue man challenging forth another hand to hand, whom he thought by his armour or some other signe of his worth, to be like to himselfe, which was so pleasant a sight to behold, that both the armies vpon a militarie courtesie, as if it had been so agreed, would many times for certaine houres forbear to shoot any shot, of purpose to see those gallants, with true prowesse to prooue their valour and manhood one vpon another with their speares and swords only. In which light skirmishes the Germane horsemen were oftentimes put to the worst, who mounted vpon great heauie horses, fitter for a set battell, could neither so readily charge the enemy, nor pursue him in his flight; as could the *Turks* with their nimble and readie light horses, so well acquainted with that manner of flying fight, that they would with wheeling about easily frustrate the first charge of the heauie horsemen, and by and by come vpon them againe with a fresh charge, & so often retire and come on again, vntill they had either wearied or ouerthrowne them. But the Hungarians acquainted with that manner of fight, as well as they, and also better armed, did easily encounter the *Turks*, and foile them, although they were in number more.

Skirmishes betweene the Christians and the *Turkes*.

Rayschachius for sorrow of his sonne slaine by the *Turks*, suddenly dieth.

There was amongst the Germane captaines a noble man called *Eckius Rayschachius*, whose son (a valiant yong gentleman) being got out of the armie without his fathers knowledge, bare himselfe so gallantly in fight against the enemy in the fight of his father and of the armie, that he was highly commended of all men, and especially of his father, who knew him not at all: yet before he could cleare himselfe, he was compassed in with the enemy, and valiantly fighting slaine. *Rayschachius* exceedingly moued with the death of so braue a man, ignorant how neere it touched himselfe, turning about to the other captaines, said, This worthie gentleman, whatsoeuer he be, is worthie of eternall commendation, and to be most honourably buried by the whole armie. As the rest of the captaines were with like compassion approving his speech, the dead bodie of the vnfortunat sonne rescued, was presented to the most miserable father; which caused all them that were there present to shed teares: but such a suddaine and inward greefe surprised the aged father, and stricke so to his heart, that after he had stood a while speechlesse, with his eyes set in his head, he suddenly fell downe dead. From that time the Generall commaunded, That no man should vpon paine of death go out of the armie to skirmish with the enemy without leaue, wherein he was so seuer, that he hanged vp one or two which presumed to transgresse his commaundement: which thing much discouraged his own men, and so encouraged the enemy, that they would sometime braue the Christians vpon the top of their owne trenches.

Many dayes had now passed since the coming of the *Bassa*, the *Turkes* and they of *Buda* daily encreasing both in strength and courage: when on the other side, faint courage, weak strength, troubled counsell, vncertain resolution, the ominous signs of an vndoubted ouerthrow, were easie to be seene; and hope it selfe, the stay of all human actions, especially of martiall affairs, almost lost: the onely things that held their fainting hearts, was the often letters from king *Ferdinand*, and the firme opinion they had conceived, That *Charles* the emperor would not in so great a danger faile to aid his brother, both with men and mony: and last of all, the firme resolution of the Generall, which farre passed all reason, the sooner to draw him to his end. The armies lying in this order, the *Turkes* from the higher ground, and out of *Capellia*, perceiuing the Germanes in the little island as carelesse men to keepe but negligent watch, agreed amongst themselves at one instant out of both their camps, to assaile diuers of their forts: and so in the breake of the day landed with their fleet so closely and suddenly to the Island, that they had slaine almost six hundred of the Germanes, before they were thorowly awake or could well arme themselves: wherewith the rest were put in such a feare, that they fled to the campe in such hast, that many of them fell beside the bridge and were drowned in the river. All the campe was wonderfully troubled with the suddenesse of the matter, the *Turks* with their hideous cries raising

The *Turks* suddenly assaile the Christians in the Island.

A sing the alarm in diuers places at once: yet for all that, certaine German companies in one of the forts nearest vnto the river, and the souldiers in the fleet, well declared their present resolution and valiant courage, in recouering againe of the island. For *Herbessulfus* the campe-matter, persuading them not to suffer the Christian ensignes and great ordinance to be so shamefully carried away of the *Turkes*; and *Marius* the Admirall at the same time landing diuers companies in the island with his pinnaces and great boats: they so contrariouly charged the *Turks*, then busied in the spoiling of the dead bodies and drawing away of the great ordinance, that they draue them againe to their boats, leauing vnto them as victors, both the island and the ordinance, hauing before their departure, receiued no lesse losse themselves than had the Germanes before.

B It was reported; that the *Turkes* fleet might that day haue bene quite ouerthrowne, if the Christians vying the victorie, and holpen with the course of that swift river, had contrariouly pursued them and landed with them: But many things after a manner is done are easily seene, which in the verie heat and hurle of the danger cannot well be foreseene; for as much as suddain accidents attended with great perill doe oftentimes hazle the minds of right wise and valiant captaines: yet sourse of the *Turks* pinnaces were suncke and threewaken, and many of the *Turkes* slaine or drowned in the river. Shortly after, the *Turks* more and more encouraged with the multitude of themselves, and the fearefulnesse they perceiued in their enemies, did at sundrie times so insolently trouble and assaile the campe of the Christians on euery side, that they left them almost no time of rest, one company still succeeding another: so that they were almost in C despaire, to be able long to defend their campe, the enemy still growing both in strength and courage. For the *Bassa* that lay at *Buda* still taking vnto him the sicke and wounded souldiers, sent continually fresh men in their steed: and *Valentinus* taking vnto him a companie of the *Turks* Janizaries harquebusiers, had downe *Perenus* with the Hungarian horsemen out of the upper campe. So that they in the nether campe were now hardly beset with their enemies on euery side: yet were they well holpen by the great artillerie from *Pesth*, which much troubled *Valentinus* and his horsemen in assailing the campe on that side.

Some report that *Valentinus*, not greatly angrie with the Hungarian banished men, but with the Germans, did by the way of priuat courtesie and friendship, by a faithfull souldior with *Perenus* speedily to prouide for the safetie of himselfe and the Hungarians with him; for that there D was a great beast comming, which would at one morrell deuoure them all. For *Solyman* aduertised of the doings of the emperor and king *Ferdinand*, thinking that they would haue come downe to *Buda* with a puissant armie, was resolved to be present himselfe at so notable a battell, and was therefore comming thither with his armie in all hast: VVherefore *Perenus* thus forewarned, said plainly to *Rogendorff* and the other captaines, That except they would presently rise with the armie and depart, he would now whiles he had yet time, make shift for himselfe and his countrey men. Their opinions diuersly deliuered, at last they all agreed that it was best the next night to passe ouer the river to *Pesth*: only the Generall vpon a fatall obstinacie said, He would not without king *Ferdinands* commaundement depart from *Buda*: and therefore sent countie *Salma* with a swift pinnace vpon the river to *Viana* to know his pleasure therein. In the E meane time vrged with feare, *Perenus* fretting at their long stay, it was resolved vpon, that they should the next night after the Moone was downe, passe ouer the river in foure conuoyes to *Pesth*: In the first, were to passe ouer the Hungarians, with the great ordinance: in the second, the German and the Bohemian horsemen: and in the other two, the footmen and the baggage of the armie. For it was not so easie a matter to make a bridge ouer *Danubius*, as they had at first supposed: for after they had begun it, and almost planked it, there rose such a wind and tempest, and the violent river became so rough, that the timber wherewith the bridge was fastened together was broken, the joints vnloosed, and many of the boats whereof the bridge was framed, their cables being broken, were carried away with the force of the streame. The first and second conuoy fortune so well fauoured, that they passed well ouer: for although they of *Buda* and F the *Turks*, seeing in the day time from their high places the fleet drawing together into one place, might haue some suspition of the matter, some guessing one thing and some another; yet could they foresee nothing of the sudden departure of the enemy: But that multitude of ships and boats now passing too and fro, could not long deceiue the attentue and vigilant enemy; and so much the lesse, for that two fugitiue Hungarians euen then discovered vnto the bishop,

Valentinus General for the queen in budapesth *Perenus* of the coming of *Solyman*.

The Christian armie departeth by night from *Buda*.

The Turkes
saile the Christi-
ans in their camp
at their depar-
ture.

A mischievous
practice of the
bishop.

Great slaughter
of the Christians.

the flight of the Germans; who presently certified the Bassa and the other *Mahometes* thereof, which without farther delay came almost with all their power to assault the Christians in their camp: the great ordinance was brought forth, and after the Janizaries & other footmen followed the horsemen, dismounted from their horses to do the better service; who all with a horrible cry assailed the trenches. Then began the Germans to quail, their flight being now discovered; yet did they with the Bohemians for a while notably resist the enemy. All the campe was filled with tumult and confusion, and especially at the river side, every man in that great feare striving to get aboard, without regard of order or shame: for the dead time of the night then covered with darke and thicke clouds, made all things more terrible; even unto them which were of best courage: the authoritie of *Rogendorff* the Generall (in the darknesse of the night, and for great da- mour both of his owne people and of the enemy, and the thundring of the ordinance) was no- thing: He (besides that he was then sicke in mind) lay in his bed wounded, by a wonderfull and fatal chance: for as he was writing letters to the king, a faulcon shot out of the enemies campe falling in his tent, and striking in sunder a chest which stood there, wounded him grievously in the left shoulder with a splinter of the same. The other captaines of the footmen, enuying that the horsemen were so well escaped, stood as men more carefull of themselves than of the com- mon danger, faintly resisting the enemy. The uppermost tents wherein *Perenus* lay, were first taken by *Mahometes* of *BELGRADE*, and *Valentinus*; and the German footmen chased all over *S. Gerrards* mount. They of *BUDA* also sallied out, and entered the campe on that side which was next unto the citie, and with wild fire burnt the tents a little before forsaken by the Germans. And the bishop at the same time caused a great steeke of straw standing by the kings stables neere unto the rivers side, to be set on fire; which gave such a light, that a man might have seene all over *Danubius* unto the wals of *Pesth*, as if it had been light day: whereby the great confu- sion of the Christian armie by land, as well as the shamefull flight by water, was of the Turkes plainly discovered. Then was the great artillerie from every place discharged vpon the flying fleet, as well from *BUDA* as the Turkes campe. And to encrease the feare, *Caslon* the Turkes Ad- mirall rowing with his light boats against the streame, set vpon the ships crossing the river to *Pesth*, where he tooke certaine boats loded with souldiours, and with his great ordinance sunk diuers others: so that the river was filled with dead bodies, and the miserable companie of soul- diours and mariners labouring to save their liues by swimming: for at such time as the Janizaries hauing slaine the first companies, were broken into the lower campe; and the rest of the Ger- mans flying ouer the bridge into the little island, were there slaine without mercie; by the Turkes pursuing them, many of them leapt into the river, and there perished. Three hundred saile of one sort of ships and other, were so confused and mingled together, that *Danubius* seemed that night to haue bene covered ouer, as if it had bene with a great bridge. But the Christian fleet seeing all lost, cleered themselves so soone as they could of the Turkes; and so bearing them backe with their great ordinance out of the pouples of their ships, got vp the river to *COMARA*. The rest of the land forces endured the same fortune in the campe, of whom the Bohemians died most honourably, slaine by the enemy in fight. Many falling into the hands of them of *BUDA* were saued, or slaine, as was their fortune to fall into the power of a mercifull or mercilesse man. But the sunne rising, plainly discovered the slaughter of the Christians and the victorie of the Turkes, not so well before knowne. There was about 3000 men of one sort and other, who in warlike manner had taken a little hill by *Saint Gerrards* church, and there stood vpon their guard, vntill such time as more than two thousand of them were slaine; the rest casting away their weapons yeeled in hope of life, and were referred for a spectacle more grievous than death it selfe.

At the same time *Caslon* with his victorious fleet comming to the shoare of *Pesth*, brought such a feare vpon them that were escaped thither, and might easily haue defended the wals (only with the cry of his souldiours and the thundring of the artillerie) that the horsemen for haile to get out, were like to ouerrun one another. The Germans had at that time so much forgot their wonted valour, and so trembled at the name of the Turkes, that as soone as they saw their white caps in their ships, they ran away as men dismayed, vnarmed, leauing behind them their place, their carriages, and whatsoever good thing they had elfe. Yet some of the Hungarian horsemen, more desirous of the spoile than afraid of death, staid behind rifling the merchants shops: for *Pesth* was become a notable rich matt towne for all kind of merchandise, merchants resorting thither

Pesth taken by
Caslon admiral of
the Turkes fleet.

Rogendorff a-
gainst his will ca-
ried away by his
physition and
chamberlaine to
Comara, there
died.

Solyman com-
meth to Buda.

Turkish crueltie

Solyman sendeth
for the young king
into the campe.

A thither from all other places of the troubled country, as to a strong and commodious citie, and of more safetie than the rest: But *Caslon* now entering without resistance, slew some of those greedy Hungarians; and ran thorow the towne with such barbarous crueltie and thirst of the Christian blood, that he spared neither man, woman, nor child; except some few such as either for their beautie or strength of bodie were reserved for the Turkes beastly lust or slavish laboure: so that in this warre it is reported, more than twentie thousand Christians were one way and other by diuers chances slaine. There was taken at *Pesth* in the campe, and in the island, six and thirtie great peeces for batterie, of wonderfull beautie; and of lesser field peeces a hundred and fiftie. As for shot, powder, armour, weapons, and victuall provided for *Winter*, such store was found, that the Turkes accounted it for the greatest part of their victorie. *Rogendorff* the vnfortu- nat Generall, at such time as the Turkes hauing woon the trenches were fighting in the midst of the campe, desiring rather to be slaine in his tent, than to liue after so great an ouerthrow, was against his will by strong hand carried about a little pinnace by his physition and chamberlaine to *COMARA*: where he shortly after, partly for the painefulnesse of his wound, but more for greefe of mind, died in a little country village called *SAMARIVM*, leauing unto the Germans a wofull remembrance of his accursed obstinacie and pride. *Solyman* still doubting the comming of *Charles* the emperour and king *Ferdinand* to *BUDA*, was comming with his armie from *HABRIANOPLA* in such hast, that he caused the Janizaries his best footmen, contrary to their man- ner, to march as fast as his horsemen: but vnderstanding by the way of the late victorie obtained by his captaines, he tooke more leisure, and came with a great power to *BUDA* in August, and there encamped on the other side of the citie, to auoid the noisome sauer of the dead bodies, which lay yet vnburied. Where calling vnto him the other armie, and making one huge campe of both, he highly commended all his captaines, but especially the two *Mahometes*. And vnder- standing that the victorie was especially gotten by the meanes of *Mahometes* gouernor of *BELGRADE*, he made him generall of all his European horsemen; one of the most honourable pre- ferments of the Turkish empire: the other captaines he rewarded according as they had deser- ued, and withall augmented their pay.

After that, he caused the prisoners, in number about eight hundred, to be brought out: who bound in long ropes, were in derision led all alongst the armie, ranged in order of battell, and af- terward by his commaundement slaine by his young souldiours: saying with seuerie contumacie, that they were worthe of such death, which by embassadours dissemblingly entreating of peace, had in the meane time craftily waged warre. Amongst these prisoners was one souldior of *BEL- VARIA*, of an exceeding high stature, him in despite of the Germane nation he deliuered to a little dwarfe (whom his sonnes made great account of) to be slaine; whose head was scarce so high as the knees of the tall captiue; with that cruell despite to aggravate the indignitie of his death: when as that goodly tall man, mangled about the legs a long time by that apish dwarfe with his little scimitar, as if it had bene in disport, fell downe, and was with many feeble blowes hardly at last slaine by that wretch, still heartened on by others, to satisfie the eyes of the princes, beholding it as their disport.

This barbarous and cruell execution done, *Solyman* sent his embassadours with presents to the young king, which were three beautifull horses, with their bridles of gold, and their trappings richly set with pretious stones, and three royall robes of cloth of gold, and vnto the cheefe of the nobilitie he sent rich gownes and chaines of gold. The embassadours which brought these pre- sents, in courteous manner requested of the queene to send the young king her sonne, attended with his nobilitie, into the campe, and without all feare to hope that all should goe well both with her and her sonne: for that *Solyman*, who exceeded all other kings, not in power and fortu- tune onely, but in vertue and vpright dealing also, was of such an hericall disposition, that he would not onely defend the child, whom in the right of his father he had once thought worthe his protection and fauour; victorie confirming the same, but would also augment his estate, with the largest bounds of his auncient kingdome: Wherefore he was desirous to see the young king, and to behold in him the representation of his father, and with his owne hand to deliuer him to be imbraced of his sonnes; that of his protection renewed, so happily begun, might be grounded a firme and perpetuall friendship with the *Orthoman* kings: and that he would alwayes account of her as of his daughter. But the cause why he came not to see her, which he did in courtiesed fire,

fire, was, for that by auntient custome the *Othoman* kings were forbidden that point of courtie, to visit other mens wiues in their houses. Besides that, *Solyman* (they said) was not so forgetfull of his modestie and honour, as to receiue into his pauillion the daughter of a king his friend and allie, and she the late wife of a king his friend and tributarie, and the faire young mother of a son, growing in the hope of like regall dignitie; for feare he should draw into any suspition the inuoluate name of her chastitie, which in queenes was to be guarded with an especiall and wonderfull care. Whereto the queene (a manifest feare confounding the tender fences in her motherly affection) answered very doubtfully: but the bishop perswading her, and instantly requesting her not to giue the Turks occasion to suspect that she had them in distrust, by her little and vnprofitable delay, sent her young sonne in princely swathing clothes, in a rich chariot, with his nurse and certaine great ladies in the campe, attended vpon with almost all the nobilitie to whom *Solyman* had sent presents. In his comming to the campe, he was for honours sake met vpon the way by certaine gallant troupes of the Turkes braue horsemen: and all the way as he passed in the campe, orderly stood the *Ianizaries* of *Solymans* guard. As soone as he was brought into the pauillion, *Solyman* courtteously looked vpon him, and familiarly talked with the nurse, and commaunded his sonnes there present to take him in their armes, and to kisse him, in certaine token of the loue they would beare him, whom they were in time to haue their friend and tributarie, when he was growne to mans estate: these were *Selymus* and *Bataçet*, begotten of his faire concubine *Roxalana*, bearing the names the one of his grandfather, the other of his great grandfather. As for *Mustapha* his eldest sonne by his Circassian wife, he then liued in *MAGNISTIA*, a great way off: who though he was a prince of so great hope, as neuer any of the Turkish kings had a sonne of greater, and was therefore exceedingly beloued of the men of warre; yet was he not so well liked of his father, brought out of fauour with him by *Roxalana*, as if he had traitreously gone about to take the empire from him, yet liuing, as did *Selymus* his grandfather from *Bataçet*: for which cause *Solyman* secretly purposed to take him away, as afterwards he did, and to appoint *Selymus* for his successor, as hereafter shall appeare.

But *Solyman*, at such time as the noblemen of *HUNGARIE* were dining merrily with the Bassaes, had commaunded certaine companies (to whom he had before giuen instructions what he would haue done) vnder the colour of seeing the citie, to take one of the gates called *SARATINA*, and the cheefe streets: which was done so quietly and cunningly, that a warie watchman standing there, and beholding the manner of the Turkes comming and going too and fro, could hardly haue perceiued how the gate was taken, vntill it was too late. For many of the Turkes walking faire and softly by great companies into the citie, as if it had bene but for pleasure, to haue scene it: and other some to colour the matter, walking likewise backe againe, as if they had sufficiently viewed the citie; by that meanes they without any tumult or stirre quickly tooke the appointed gate, with the market place and cheefe streets of the citie. Which so finely done, the captaine of the *Ianizaries* caused proclamation to be made in all parts of the citie: That the citifens should without feare keepe themselves within their houses, and forthwith as they would haue their liues, libertie, and goods saued, to deliuer all their weapons: which they seeing no remedie, did: and hauing deliuered their armes, and taken the Turkes faith for their securitie, they receiued them into their houses, as their vnwelcome guests. But such was the quietnesse and modestie of the Turkes, by reason of the severitie of their martiall discipline, that no citizen which tooke them into their houses, was by them wronged by word or deed. *Solyman* vnderstanding that the citie was thus quietly and without resistance taken, sent the child backe againe vnto the queene, although it was now almost night; but the cheefe noblemen he retained still with him: these was *George* the bishop and treasurer, *Petrus Vioche* the young kings high kinsman, and one of his tutors, *Valentinus Turacrus* Generall of the queenes forces, *Stephanus Verbetius* chancelor, and *Bacianus Urbanus* gouernour of the citie of *BUDA*. This sudden and vnexpected change exceedingly troubled all their minds, and so much the more, for that the great Bassaes with changed countenances began to picke quarrels with them, and as it were, straightly and impudently to examine them, and to call them to account for all that they had done. The queene seeing the citie so craftily surprisid, and the nobilitie injuriously detained in the campe, troubled with feare and greefe, by humble letters requested *Solyman* not to forget the faith he had long before giuen vnto her, and euen of late confirmed by his embassadours; but mindfull both thereof and of his wonted clemencie, to send backe vnto her the noblemen, who for their fidelitie and valiant ser-

The queene sends the young king her sonne to *Solyman* in the campe attended with the nobilitie.

Solyman courtteously receiueth the young king.

Solyman craftily taketh the citie of *BUDA*.

Solyman detaineth the noblemen of *Hungarie* in his campe.

A vice had well deserued both of him and her: this she did by *Rustemes Bassa*, whom she had loded with gifts, and amongst other things of great price had sent him a faire coronet of her owne of orient pearle, and a goodly jewell set with rich stone to send vnto his wife (*Solymans* daughter) for a present.

After that, *Solyman* consulted with his Bassaes foure dayes what order to take concerning the kingdom of *HUNGARIE*. In discoutse whereof his great Bassaes were of diuers opinions, *Mahometes* aduised him to carrie away with him to *CONSTANTINOPLE* both the child and all the nobilitie, and to leaue such a gouernour in *BUDA*, as by his wife and moderat gouernment, rather than by rigour, might put the people out of feare of seruitude and bondage, by defending them from wrong, and yet by little & little lay vpon them the yoke of the Turkish gouernment. But *Rustemes Bassa* (before corrupted, and a man in greater fauour than the rest, because he was *Solymans* sonne in law, and therefore farther from all suspition of flatterie) stood altogether vpon tearmes of honour, saying, That nothing could be more dishonorable vnto so great and mightie a monarch, who neuer had at any time with any spot or staine blemished the glorie of his name, than after victorie against all right and reason to breake his faith at once with a weake woman and sillie infant, whom he had before taken vpon him, to protect and defend. On the other side, *Mahometes* gouernour of *BELGRADE* (an old mortall enemy of the Christians, of all the rest best acquainted with the state of *HUNGARIE*, and for his great experience and approved valour then extraordinarily admitted by *Solyman* into counsell amongst the great Bassaes) disliked of both the former opinions, as too full of lenitie: and being asked his owne, deliuered it in mischievous manner as followeth.

I know (said he) most mightie *Solyman*, that he which in consultation of matters of so great consequence is to deliuer his opinion last, shall if he discent from the rest, be subiect to enuie and reprehension. And therefore it cannot be, but that I being of a quite contrarie opinion to them that haue before spoken, my speech must also be vnto your eares both vnpleasant and tedious. But I refuse not to be counted by my selfe, yea and presumptuous, if you will so haue it, rather than a smoother up of other mens sayings, as one of no iudgement; whilst I recount those things, which as the present case standeth, may wonderfully profit your designes & the imperiall state: for of right I may desire you to yeeld a little to my yeares, and (if I may by your good fauour so say) to that I haue already done: when as I now growne an old man in warres against these Hungarians, haue by experience learned those things of the state and strength of this kingdom, and the disposition of the people; which being here laid downe, may much auail for your better determination of this so waightie a cause as amitteth no repentance, if you shall now be ouerseene therein. You haue now within the space of these twentie yeares come in armes your selfe in person five times into this countrey, when I as no obscure captaine or souldior, was in all those warres and battels euer present, of purpose as I suppose to reuenge your iniuries, to enlarge your empire, and in breefe to assure you of a good peace, which could neuer be but by force of armes and victorie. And therefore you valiantly woon *BELGRADE*, the infamous dwelling place and receptacle of most outrageous theues and robbers, and in former time famous for the vnfortunate attempts of your auncestors: when as from thence the Hungarians in time of peace had at their pleasure, whilst your father was then occupied in the Persian warre, spoiled the borders of *SERVIA* and *ILLYRIA*. The same Hungarians about five yeares after, for that they had in cruell manner slaine your embassadours, you ouerthrew in battell, and slew their king: and possessed of *BUDA*, to manifest and make knowne by a notable demonstration the magnificence of your heroicall mind, euen vnto the remotest enemies of our name, did chuse out of the reliques of that vanquished nation, one whom you might grace with the honour of the regall crowne; although not borne of royall blood, or vnto you knowne for any other desert, than that he was a little before both your priuat and publike enemy, and coming against you with a strong power out of *TRANSILVANIA*, he had in the meane time lost his brother, a better man than himselfe, slaine with our sword. After that, rise up the Austrian king, a new enemy, to expulse this Hungarian, reigning by your courtiesse, & so you tooke in hand the third warre against the Germanes, which you so effectually prosecuted, that hauing forthwith restored the king, you carried the terror of your selfe not onely to the wals of *VIENNA*, but into the very heart of *GERMANIE*. But two yeares yet scarcely past, the same king (neuer long contented with peace or warres) supported by the power of his brother Charles, and in vaine besieging *BUDA*, defended by your garrisons, stirred you up againe to reuenge the iniurie, slaughter, and spoile by his sonliuous

The great Bassaes of diuers opinions for the disposing of the kingdom of *Hungarie*.

The Oration of *Mahometes* of *Belgrade* to *Solyman*, concerning the disposing of the kingdom of *Hungarie*.

fire, was, for that by auncient custome the *Othoman* kings were forbidden that point of courtisie, to visit other mens wiues in their houses. Besides that, *Solyman* (they said) was not so forgetfull of his modestie and honour, as to receiue into his paullion the daughter of a king his friend and allie, and the late wife of a king his friend and tributarie, and the faire young mother of a son, growing in the hope of like regall dignitie; for feare he should draw into any suspicion the inuoluntarie name of her chastitie, which in queenes was to be guarded with an especiall and wonderfull care. Whereunto the queene (a manifest feare confounding the tender fences in her motherly affection) answered very doubtfully: but the bishop perswading her, and instantly requesting her not to giue the Turkes occasion to suspect that she had them in distrust, by her litte and vnprofitable delay, sent her young sonne in princely swathing clothes, in a rich chariot, with his nurse and certaine great ladies in the campe, attended vpon with almost all the nobilitie to whom *Solyman* had sent presents. In his comming to the campe, he was for honours sake met vpon the way by certaine gallant troupes of the Turkes braue horsemen: and all the way as he passed in the campe, orderly stood the *Janizaries* of *Solymans* guard. As soone as he was brought into the paullion, *Solyman* courteously looked vpon him, and familiarly talked with the nurse, and commended his sonnes there present to take him in their armes, and to kisse him, in certaine token of the loue they would beare him, whom they were in time to haue their friend and tributarie, when he was growne to mans estate: these were *Selymus* and *Baiazer*, begotten of his faire concubine *Roxalana*, bearing the names the one of his grandfather, the other of his great grandfathers. As for *Mustapha* his eldest sonne by his *Circassian* wife, he then liued in *MAGNRSIA*, a great way off: who though he was a prince of so great hope, as neuer any of the Turkish kings had a sonne of greater, and was therefore exceedingly beloued of the men of warre; yet was he not so well liked of his father, brought out of fauour with him by *Roxalana*, as if he had traitorously gone about to take the empire from him, yet liuing, as did *Selymus* his grandfather from *Baiazer*: for which cause *Solyman* secretly purposed to take him away, as afterwards he did, and to appoint *Selymus* for his successor, as hereafter shall appeare.

But *Solyman*, at such time as the noblemen of *HUNGARIE* were dining merrily with the Bassaes, had commaunded certaine companies (to whom he had before giuen instructions what he would haue done) vnder the colour of seeing the citie, to take one of the gates called *SABATINA*, and the cheefe streets: which was done so quietly and cunningly, that a warie watchman standing there, and beholding the manner of the Turkes comming and going too and fro, could hardly haue perceiued how the gate was taken, vntill it was too late. For many of the Turkes walking faire and softly by great companies into the citie, as if it had beene but for pleasure, to haue seene it: and other some to colour the matter, walking likewise backe againe, as if they had sufficiently viewed the citie; by that meanes they without any tumult or stirre quickly tooke the appointed gate, with the market place and cheefe streets of the citie. Which so finely done, the capitaine of the *Janizaries* caused proclamation to be made in all parts of the citie, That the citizens should without feare keepe themselves within their houses, and forthwith as they would haue their liues, libertie, and goods saued, to deliuer all their weapons: which they seeing no remedie, did: and hauing deliuered their armes, and taken the Turkes saith for their securitie, they receiued them into their houses, as their vnwelcome guests. But such was the quietnesse and modestie of the Turkes, by reason of the securitie of their martiall discipline, that no citizen which tooke them into their houses, was by them wronged by word or deed. *Solyman* vnderstanding that the citie was thus quietly and without resistance taken, sent the child backe againe vnto the queene, although it was now almost night; but the cheefe noblemen he retained still with him: these was *George* the bishop and treasurer, *Petrus Vipohe* the yong kings nigh kinsman and one of his tutors, *Valentinus Turaccus* Generall of the queenes forces, *Stephanus Perbetius* chancellor, and *Bacianus Vrbanius* gouernour of the citie of *BUDA*. This sudden and v unexpected change exceedingly troubled all their minds, and so much the more, for that the great Bassaes with changed countenances began to picke quarrels with them, and as it were straightly and impudently to examine them, and to call them to account for all that they had done. The queene seeing the citie so craftily surprisid, and the nobilitie injuriously detained in the campe, troubled with feare and greefe, by humble letters requested *Solyman* not to forget the faith he had long before giuen vnto her, and cunen of late confirmed by his embassadours; but mindfull both thereof and of his wonted clemencie, to send backe vnto her the noblemen, who for their fidelitie and valiant ser-

The queene sends the young king her sonne to Solyman in the campe attended with the nobilitie.

Solyman courteously receiueh the young king.

Solyman craftily taketh the citie of Buda.

Solyman detaineth the noblemen of Hungarie in his campe.

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After that, *Solyman* consulted with his Bassaes foure dayes what order to take concerning the kingdome of *HUNGARIE*. In discourse whereof his great Bassaes were of diuers opinions. *Mahometes* aduised him to carrie away with him to *CONSTANTINOPLE* both the child and all the nobilitie, and to leaue such a gouernour in *BUDA*, as by his wise and moderat gouernment, rather than by rigour, might put the people out of feare of seruitude and bondage, by defending them from wrong, and yet by litte & litte lay vpon them the yoke of the Turkish gouernment. But *Rustemes Bassa* (before corrupted, and a man in greater fauour than the rest, because he was *Solymans* sonne in law, and therefore farther from all suspicion of flatterie) stood altogether vpon tearmes of honour, saying, That nothing could be more dishonorable vnto so great and mightie a monarch, who neuer had at any time with any spot or staine blemished the glorie of his name, than after victorie against all right and reason to breake his faith at once with a weake woman, and fillie infant, whom he had before taken vpon him to protect and defend. On the other side, *Mahometes* gouernour of *BELGRADE* (an old mortall enemy of the Christians, of all the rest best acquainted with the state of *HUNGARIE*, and for his great experience and approued valour then extraordinarily admitted by *Solyman* into counsell amongst the great Bassaes) disliked of both the former opinions, as too full of lenitie: and being asked his owne, deliuered it in mischieuous manner as followeth.

I know (said he) most mightie *Solyman*, that he which in consultation of matters of so great consequence is to deliuer his opinion last, shall if he dissent from the rest, be subiect to enuie and reprehension. And therefore it cannot be, but that I being of a quite contrarie opinion to them that haue before spoken, my speech must also be vnto your eares both vnpleasant and tedious. But I refuse not to be counted by my selfe, yea and presumptuous, if you will so haue it, rather than a smother vp of other mens sayings, as one of no iudgement; whilst I recount those things, which as the present case standeth, may wonderfully profit your designs & the imperiall state: for of right I may desire you to yeeld a litte to my yeares, and (if I may by your good fauour so say) to that I haue already done: when as I now growne an old man in warres against these Hungarians, haue by experience learned those things of the state and strength of this kingdome, and the disposition of the people; which being here laid downe, may much auail for your better determination of this so weightie a cause as amitteth no repentance, if you shall now be ouerseen therein. You haue now within the space of these twentie yeares come in armes your selfe in person fise times into this countrey, when I as no obscure capitaine or souldior, was in all those warres and battells euer present, of purpose as I suppose to reuenge your iniuries, to enlarge your empire, and in breese to assure you of a good peace, which could neuer be but by force of armes and victorie. And therefore you valiantly woon *BELGRADE*, the infamous dwelling place and receptacle of most outrageous theemes and robbers, and in former time famous for the vnfurmat attempts of your auncesors: when as from thence the Hungarians in time of peace had at their pleasure, whilst your father was then occupied in the Persian warre, spoiled the borders of *SERVIA* and *ILLYRIA*: the same Hungarians about fise yeares after, for that they had in cruell manner slaine your embassadours, you ouerthrew in battell, and slew their king: and possessed of *BUDA*, to manifest and make knowne by a notable demonstration the magnificence of your heroricall mind, euen vnto the remotest enemies of our name, did chuse out of the reliques of that vanquished nation, one whom you might grace with the honour of the regall crowne, although not borne of royall blood, or vnto you knowne for any other desert, than that he was a litte before both your priuat and publike enemy, and coming against you with a strong power out of *TRANSILVANIA*, he had in the meane time lost his brother, a better man than himselfe, slaine with our sword. After that, rise vp the Austrian king, a new enemy, to expulse this Hungarian, reigning by your courtesies, & so you tooke in hand the third warre against the Germanes, which you so effectually prosecuted, that hauing forthwith restored the king, you carried the terror of your selfe not onely to the wals of *VIENNA*, but into the very heart of *GERMANIE*. But two yeares yet scarcely past, the same king (neuer long contented with peace or warres) supported by the power of his brother Charles, and in waing besieging *BUDA*, defended your garrisons, stirred you up againe to reuenge the iniurie, slaughter, and spoile by his souldiours done.

The great Bassaes of diuers opinions for the disposing of the kingdome of Hungarie.

The Oracion of Mahometes of Belgrade to Solyman, concerning the disposing of the kingdome of Hungarie.

done: for that you thought it to stand with your honour to protect him with your power, whom you had G
of your rare bountie made a king, and then desired above all things to fight a noble battell with the
two brethren for the empire of the west. But they at such time as you with fire and sword ran thorow
their auntient kingdomes, endured not the noise of your comming. After that ensued a peace between
the Hungarian and the Germane, your Maiestie permitting and approouing it; at such time as you
made hast to goe against the Persians: but the Germane king so broke that peace that had not in good
time reneged his trecherie by the ouerthrow of a great armie of his at EZEK, you must of necessitie
haue beene sent for from BABILON your selfe, as but now you were glad to come in hast by long and
painfull iournies from CONSTANTINOPLE, to aid us in time, and as I verely hope, to make an end
for all; that all things set in firme order in HUNGARIE, the inconueniences of so many labours and
so great charge, siue times undertaken for another mans profit, might now at length take end: except H
(as I see some wish) you be in mind neuer to giue ouer the protection of the child & widow a matter
full of infinit labor & perill, not to be counteruailed with that glorious shew of honor, which by these (in
my opinion) too too wisemen is pretended to your haughtie mind, euer desirous of honor and fame. But I
as a blunt man vnderstand not this high point of wisdome, abounding with glorie, which in the very
course thereof cutteth in funder the sinewes of victorie, and is neuer by politticke Generals admitted
into their campes. In which doing, as I wish you more fortunat than your auncestours, who haue uni-
ted eightene kingdomes to this your empire, so would I not haue you more wise than they: for what
can be a more unwise part, than alwayes to play the unwise man? that is to say, alwayes to be carefull
of other mens affaires, and in meane time oftentimes to endanger his owne estate, his health, his
wealth, his honour. You haue satisfied (and that in my opinion) plentifully the duties both of cha-
ritie, fidelitie, and if it must needs be so, of honour and glorie also; if it be to be gotten rather by cour-
tesie, clemencie, and lenitie, than by the inuincible strength of wise policie, and the constant resoluti-
on of a martiall mind: for by these instruments, and none other, hath worthie vertue alwayes pro-
moted and supported the Othoman kings. Wherefore let those vaine shewes (as seemeth vnto me)
of counterfeite honour delight the minds of idle and slouthfull kings: assuredly, they neuer pleased
your armed auncestors, but after the enimie was quite ouerthrowne, the triumph made, and the tro-
phies of victorie erected. But let this be as best pleaseth your high wisdome and iudgement, where-
unto the greatest wits giue place. Truly I (if I well foresee the chances of war, and the assured events
of things) will not follow that manner of counsell which the pleasure of my mind perswadeth me vnto;
when as necessitie, which ruleth all things, presently forceth me and sheweth me a farre better K
course. The Hungarians about all other things notably warne vs not to trust them, who infamous
for their unconstancie, often reuolt, and trecherie, are still at variance amongst themselves; and their
banished men are continually setting on the Germanes to inuade the countrey; and the weake power
of the queene and the child is not such as may withstand so neere and so mightie an enimie: so that
another mans kingdome must of necessitie be defended by our helpe, which may not be lesse than a
strong armie, without our great perill. To be breefe, euery yeere to take in hand so long an expedition
of so great labour and tranell, with an armie furnished with horsemen, footmen, artillerie and a fleet
of ships for defence of another man, as commonly we doe, seemeth to me meere madnesse: Neither
doe I thinke it to stand with the maiestie of the Othoman emperours, thus to be mooued euery yeare
at the request of a puling woman, crying for helpe: except you thinke it more profitable and hono-
rable to maintaine a defenseue than an inuasive warre. Wherefore (in my opinion) it is best to turne
this kingdome (so often conquered and defended by law of Armes) after the manner of your aunce-
stors, into the forme of a Prouince: the queene I would haue sent to her father, and the boy her some
brought up in your Court at CONSTANTINOPLE, and there instructed in our religion: the mobi-
litie of the countrey I wish to be laine, and their castles rased; and the notable families which haue the
brauest minds, to be carried away out of all parts of the countrey into ASIA: as for the base multi-
tude, I would haue kept vnder with good garrisons, to till the ground, and inhabit the cities. By this
onely meanes (mightie Solyman) shall both the Hungarians perceiue themselves conquered; and the
Germanes glad to forbeare comming into HUNGARIE, vnlesse they will rashly and unfortunately
haue both STYRIA and AVSTRIA.

As I thinke
counsell.

Solyman entred
Buda the 30 of
August 1541,
and there first
sacrificed after
the Mahometane
manner.

But Solyman thinking it good to doe sacrifice before he would resolutely determine of so
great a matter, entred into BUDA with his two sons, Selymus and Baiazet, the thirtieth day of Au-
gust in the yeare 1541: and there in the Cathedrall church dedicated to the virgin Marie (being
before

A before by his priests purified after the manner of their superstition) sacrificed the first Mahome-
tane sacrifice in BUDA. Shortly after, he as it were moderating the opinions of his great coun-
sellors, prouided out of them all, both for his owne securitie and honour, and published a decree
the fatall doome of that flourishing kingdome, where vnder it yet groweth at this day: That
BUDA should from that day be kept with a garrison of Turks, and the kingdome conuerted into
a prouince of the Turkish empire; and that the queene with her young sonne should presently
depart the citie, and liue in LIPPA in a fertile and quiet countrey, beyond the riuer of Tibiscus;
which something to comfort her, was neere vnto the borders of her father Sigismund his king-
dome, to be safely conducted thither with all his wealth and jewells by his Janizaries: VV here
fore the queene and her sonne according to this decree, with teares and mourning, detesting in-
B her heart the tyrants perfidious dealing (which necessitie enforced her then to dissemble) depart-
ed from BUDA, constrained by the Turkes to leaue behind her all the ordinance in the castle
and citie, with all other the warlike prouision & store of victuall: The noblemen went with her
also, who although they went sorrowfull for this wofull and vnexpected change of things, yet
were they verie glad of their libertie and safetie, whereof they had for the space of three daies de-
spaired. Only Valentinus was kept in safe custodie in the campe, because he was a martiall man,
of greatest power amongst the Hungarians; and besides that, much hated of the Turkes for the
hard pursuit of Cason, and his hoisemen, slaine at STORAMBERG in AVSTRIA. Thus the roiall
citie of BUDA fell into the possession of the Turkes, whereupon not long after ensued the finall
ruine of that great kingdome, sometime the strong bulwarke of Christendome, but lost to the
C great weakening of the Christian common-weale; which may justly be imputed to the pride, am-
bition, and discension of the Hungarians amongst themselves, and the calling in of the common
enemie: the due consideration of whose onely comming, might well haue sufficed to haue set
them agreed.

Whilest these things were doing at BUDA, king Ferdinand expecting the euent of this war
at VIENNA, and hearing of the shamefull ouerthrow of his armie, and that the Generall dead-
ly wounded was fled to COMANA, and that Solyman (same encreasing the euill newes) was com-
ming towards VIENNA; sent Leonardus Velsius (who neuer liked of the siege of BUDA) to COM-
MANA to stay the further flight of the souldiours, and to gather together so well as hee could the
dispersed reliques of the scattered armie, and to comfort againe the discouraged men with the
D hope of new supplies, & of a pay. And somewhat to stay Solyman, who as it was thought would
suddenly come to VIENNA, he sent countie Salma and Sigismund Lithestaine, a noble and graue
counsellor, his embassadours, with presents and new conditions of peace to Solyman. The pre-
sents was a high standing cup of gold after the German fashion, curiously set with rich stones; and
a wonderfull globe of siluer of most rare and curious deuise, daily expressing the hourelly pas-
sing of the time, the motions of the planets, the change and full of the moone, the motion of the
superiour orbes, euery mouing by certaine wheeles, and waights curiously conuained within the
same, and exactly keeping due time and motion; liuely expressing the wonderfull motions and
conuerfions of the celestiall frame. A most curious and strange piece of worke, deuised and per-
fected by the most cunning Astronomers for Maximilian the emperour, whose noble mind ne-
E uer spared for any cost to obtaine things of rare and strange deuise. These embassadours passing
downe the riuer of Danubius, were at their landing, first receiued by Cason the Admirall of So-
lymans fleet, and by him brought into a rich tent the ground vnder their feet being all couered
with rich carpets: to whom Rustan Bassa sent such good cheere as the campe afforded, but es-
pecially most excellent wine, no lesse forbidden the Turkes by their law; than desired of the Ger-
mans. The next day after, the great Bassa feasted the embassadours, Solyman himselfe dining
not farre off in his pavilion: at which feast the Bassaes for the more courtisie, dined with the
embassadours, not sitting with their legs gathered vnder them flat vpon the ground, as their man-
ner was, but sitting in chaires at a high table, after the manner of the Christians: only Maho-
met, Gouvernour of BELGRADE, for his age and valour an extraordinarie guest, sat downe vpon
F a cushion beneath the Bassaes. Their cheere was onely rice and mutton, and that so plainly
and sparingly dressed, as if they had thereby noted our gourmandise and excess; who measure
not our cheere by that which nature requireth, but that which greedie appetite desireth; as if
their confited the greatest nobilitie: And the drinke for the great Bassaes themselves, right
calle to be had, was faire water out of the riuer Danubius. After dinner the embassadours were
brought

The doome of
Hungarie.

The queene des-
parcheth out of
Buda with her
sonne.

King Ferdinand
sendeth embassa-
dours and pre-
sents to Solyman.

The frugal
cheere of the
Turkes.

brought in vnto *Solyman*, each of them lead betwixt two Bassaes holding them fast by the armes, G as if it had been for honour sake; and so brought to kisse his hand. For the Turkes suffer no stranger otherwise to come vnto the presence of their superstitious emperours, but first they search him that he haue no weapon about him, and so clasping him by the armes vnder the colour of doing him honour, dissemblingly bereaue him of the vse of his hands, least he should offer him any violence: yet hath he alwaies as he sitteth in his thronelieing at hand readie by him, a target, a scimiter, an yron mace, with bow and arrowes. The great globe was also brought in by twelue of the embassadours seruants, which with the strangenesse thereof filled the mind of *Solyman*, and the eyes of his Bassaes with admiration: for *Solyman* was of so sharpe a wit, that he was not learned onely in such books as contained the lawes and rites of the Mahometane superstition, but had also curiously studied Astronomie, and especially Cosmographie; in which profitable and pleasant studies, he much recreated himselfe as his leisure serued. The embassadours desired, that he would giue the kingdome of HUNGARIE to king *Ferdinand*, almost vpon the same conditions that *Lascus* had before required it for him at CONSTANTINOPLE, paying him such yearly tribute as king *John* had vsually paid, and promising farther to draw *Charles* the emperour his brother into the same league: so that *Solyman* deliuered of all feare that way, might at his pleasure turne his forces vpon the Persian, which it was thought he most desired. Besides that, they said he should deale neither honorably nor indifferently, if he should present the young child before king *Ferdinand*, who beside his auncient right vnto that kingdome (which they were not now to vrge, as oppressed by his happy victories, but might in time be requied) had also a late interest by a league betwixt him and king *John*, wherein he had expressly covenanted by the soleme consent of the greatest part of his nobilitie, that king *Ferdinand* should succeed him in the kingdome. Wherby they excused him of the late warre, as iustly taken in hand against the queene and her sonne vsurping vpon his right; which king *John* knowing to be good, and moued with conscience, had by his soleme act acknowledged, though to the great offence and prejudice of *Solyman* his setter vp and defender, as also to the touching of himselfe in honour, to haue so vnthankfully and fraudulently dealt with his patron, to whom hee was by the oath of obedience bound. Wherfore they requested; That sith he being a prince of all others most mightie and magnificent, standing vpon his vpriight dealing both in peace and warre, had so lightly regarded the sic dealing of so ingratefull a man: he would rather accept of king *Ferdinand* so many waies injured, as his friend and tributarie, than to haue him his perpetual enemy. Concluding, that nothing could be vnto him for the good report of his iustice more commendable, or for the assurance of a perpetuall peace more profitable, or to the immortal praise of his bountie more honourable, than to call a king of a most auncient dissent, famous for his vertue and fidelitie, chosen for a king by the Bohemians, desired for a king by the Hungarians, emperour elect of the Roman empire by the Germans, and the naturall brother of the great emperour, his tributarie king of HUNGARIE. *Solyman* with cheerefull countenance accepting and commending of the presents, answered them two daies after by *Rustan* the Bassa his sonne in law, that this was his resolute condition of peace and friendship: If king *Ferdinand* would forthwith restore all the cities towns & castles which were before belonging to *K. Lewis*, and for euer after abstaine from HUNGARIE: and whereas he had bene so often prouoked by him to warre, and had therein bestowed to great charges, and taken so much trauell, he could for that be content with an easie paine (which should be for his greater honour) to impose an easie tribute vpon AVSTRIA: vpon which conditions he was content to enter into league with them: but if so be that those conditions seemed vnto them too heauie, and that they would rather make choise of warre than peace, hee would bring to passe by continuall warre, that such things as they had taken from the kingdome of HUNGARIE, should be required with the destruction of AVSTRIA. But the embassadours, although they were much moued at the proud demand of tribute for AVSTRIA, as that wherein the two brethren of mightie power, *Charles* the emperour and king *Ferdinand* were disdainfully abused: to keepe the best course of their negotiation, and to win some time in so hard estate of things; required a truce, vntill such time as king *Ferdinand* and the emperour his brother might be made acquainted with the matter. Which their request (the Turke perceiuing their drift and purpose) would in no case grant, for Winter was now fast comming on. It was lawfull for the embassadours, all the time they were in the Turkes campe, to view euerie part thereof; *Rustan Bassa* conducting them from place to place: where

The request of
the embassadours
in the behalfe of
king *Ferdinand*.

Solyman proud
answer to king
Ferdinand and
embassadours.

A where about all things, they most wondred at the perpetuall and dumbe silence of so great a multitude, the fouldiours being so readie and attentiu, that they were no otherwise commanded but by the beckning of the hand, or a nod of their commanders: They manieled also at the exquisite order and sweetnesse of the Turkes campe, finding therein nothing disordered or noisome; so that it seemed not the campe of such a rude and barbarous nation, but rather of them which were the authors of martiall discipline. The embassadours being rewarded and so sent away, *Solyman* commanded the old Gouvernour of BELGRADE to spoile the borders of AVSTRIA all alongt Danubius: *Cason* also Generall of the voluntarie horsemen, he sent into MORAVIA for like purpose; who neither of them did any great harme, by reason of the sudden rising of the great riuers, with the abundance of raine then falling in Autumne. After that, *Solyman* appointed one *Solyman* an Hungarian (who taken prisoner in his youth by the Turkes, had from that time followed the Mahometane superstition) gouernour of BYDIA: who by the vpriight administration of justice, and courteous vsing of the people, with *Verbetius* the old chancellor, should doe what was possible to put the people in hope of long peace and tranquillitie. Which things done, after he had staied about twentie daies at BYDIA, hee determined to retorne againe into THRACIA, because the raine of Autumne, and the cold of Winter, was now come in: and was also in doubt to be shut in with the rising of the great riuers, wherewith the countrey of HUNGARIE is in euerie place so watered, and on euerie side so compassed; that it is a hard matter to passe. By the way he set *Lascus* king *Ferdinand* embassadour againe at libertie, whom he had left in prison at BELGRADE: but he long enjoyed not that benefit, for shortly after returning into POLONIA, he died of the flux; which caused many to suppose, that he was poisoned by the Turkes. A man for his vertue and learning famous, worthe of a longer life, whose death the king himselfe much lamented.

As *Solyman* was returning into THRACIA, and was come to the riuer Dranus, it was told him, that *Stephen Maylat* Vayvod of TRANSILVANIA, who tooke king *Ferdinand* his part, a professed enemy of the Turkes, was taken; by the cunning of *Peter* of MOLDAVIA, and prince of VALACHIA, and that all the countrey of TRANSILVANIA was well pacified and yeelded to his obedience. Of which newes *Solyman* was passing glad, for he exceedingly hated *Maylat*: a martiall man of a froward nature, desirous of rule; and readie vpon any occasion to reuolt; forasmuch as he remembered *Gritus* his legat, and the Turkes by him slaine; and knew also, that the Transiluanians, an inuincible people, borne to trouble, and more delighting in vncertaine warre than assured peace, was by him stirred vp; whom he wished rather by gentlenesse to appease, than by force of armes and strong hand to subdue: But because we haue oftentimes before made mention of this *Maylat*, of whose taking *Solyman* so much rejoyced, it shall not be amisse in few words to declare by what finenesse he fell into the hands of this treacherous and bloudie man, *Peter* of MOLDAVIA.

This Moldauian by the commaundement of *Solyman* (as is aforesaid) had joyned his forces with *Achomates* Gouvernour of NICOPOLIS, against *Maylat*; which being vnited, were in number fiftie thousand horsemen, beside footmen, which after the manner of those countreies were not many, euerie man almost in the countrey be he neuer so poore, keeping a horse to serue vpon. *Maylat* beset with the multitude of his enemies, and finding himselfe too weake to encounter them, despairing also of aid from king *Ferdinand*, whom he knew to be buised in a greater warre; forooke the field, and fled againe into the strong towne of FOARAS, as he had done the yeare before, when he was ouercharged by king *John* his power: for there as in a most strong place both by nature and fortification, he had laid vp his greatest substance and provision for the wars, but especially the rich spoile he had long before taken from *Gritus*. *Achomates* comming thither with his power, and perceiuing the place was not to be battered or taken by force, but with much labour and long time: thought it best, to assay if he could overcome him by craft and deceit: Wherfore he sent a messenger vnto *Maylat*, to perswade him to yeeld himselfe vnto *Solyman*, and to make choise rather to be called of him his friend, than to be judged his enemy; of whom he might well hope of all goodnesse, which had giuen whole kingdomes vnto his enemies: promising, that he would vse the vttermost of his credit, which was not small, and labour for him as his friend; that he might seele the fruit of his clemencie and bountie; and still enjoy the gouernment of TRANSILVANIA, paying him some small yearly tribute, as he had before requested: for as much as he could take no course better, being beset with so many enemies,

The Turkes
campe well ordered.

Solyman returneth
towards
Constantinople.

Lascus set at
libertie by *Solyman*,
shortly after
died.

Maylat, the
Vayvod was able
to keepe the field
against *Achomates*,
the prince
of Moldavia, who
was at Fogaras.

enemies, than to make his peace vpon reasonable conditions, and that with as much speed as were possible: in which doing, besides that he should well prouide for his owne safetie, he should also saue both his wealth and honour; for *Solyman* was comming (as he said) with his victorious armie, who would with assured death reuenge his vaine hope of holding out the siege, if he should vpon a stubborn and obstinate mind then refuse to obey his commaund. Wherevnto *Maylat*, who foresaw that it was better for him to make a certaine peace, than to endure an vncertaine warre, answered, That he could be content to conlude a peace, so that it were not vpon any hard conditions; and would not greatly refuse *Solymans* commaund, which was wont to be both reasonable and just: wherefore vpon sufficient pledges he would come into the campe, in presence to agree vpon the conditions of the peace, and demanded to haue *Achomates*, his sonne, a valiant young gentleman, deliuered in hostage. Which thing *Achomates* denied, for that he had (as he said) before giuen him to *Solyman*, as the manner was, and therefore had ouer him no more power: but he promised for him, that was but one, to giue soute of his best capitaines. Which offer *Maylat* (misdoubting no deceit) accepted, and with a great and gallant reinue attended vpon, came into the enemies campe, where he was courteously and honourably receiued. But the parley, as it could not be conveniently begun immediately after their first salutation, so could it by no means be then ended, but was deferred vntill the next day: to the intent, that the treacherous Moldauian might take his well acquainted and well knowne guest, whom he had against that time invited to a solemne banquet. By that meanes, the next day about the middelt of dinner, fortune so fauouring the intended treacherie, *Maylat* who was off proud and cholericke a nature that he could not well brooke the least indignitie, was by occasion of some insolent speech of purpose ministred by the Moldauian guests, put into such a fret, that laying his hand vpon his sword, he in a rage slung from the table: at which time all the other guests starting vp also, laid hands vpon him and tooke him, fuming, and in vaine crying out, that he was shamefully betrayed. His followers were all forthwith stript of all their brauerie by the needie Moldauians, and their horses and armour taken from them. Whilest *Maylat* was yet furiously exclaiming of this treason, in came *Achomates*, who to seeme guiltlesse of the matter, with deepe dissimulation sharply reprov'd the false Moldauian, that he had in doing so foule a fact shamefully violated the lawes of hospitalitie, reuerenced of all nations, falsified the faith which he had giuen him for his safetie, and betrayed the liues of such notable captaines as lay in hostage for him. Wherevnto the Moldauian (as if it had been in contempt) scornfully answered, That he had vpon good cause taken *Maylat* prisoner, and so would in safetie keepe him for *Solyman*, vnto whom it onely belonged to iudge, whether he had justly or vnjustly detained him.

Maylat commeth into the Turkes campe.

Maylat treacherously taken prisoner by the Moldauian.

Transilvania giuen by Solyman to the young king.

Charles the emperor returneth out of Germany to invade Algiers.

Nor long after, the strong towne of *Fogaris* was deliuered, with the hostages; but whether by feare or by corruption of *Maylats* lieutenant, is vncertaine. So *Valentinus Turaccus*, and *Maylat*, two of the greatest noble men of *Hungarie*, sufficient of themselves to haue restored the Hungarian kingdome (first rent in sunder with ciuile discord, and afterward with the inuasion of the Turkes) fell into the hands of the enemy, not vanquished in battell, but deceived by treason. The towne being thus surrendred, almost all the countrey of *Transilvania*, was by *Solymans* consent deliuered to the young king, vnto whom all the people most willingly submitted themselves, and tooke the oath of obedience, remembering that his father had almost for thirtie yeares space with great iustice and quietnesse governed that prouince; and with manie presents honoured the young king lying in *Lippa*, with the queene his mother, and his two tutors, the bishop, and *Vicche*.

At the same time, *Charles* the emperor at the importunat sute of his subjects of *Spain*, had prepared a great force both by sea and land for the conquering of *Algiers*: from whence the Turkish pirats did so infest all that coast of the countrey, from *Gades* to the mountaines *Pirene*, that the Spaniards (all trade of merchandise being set apart) were glad to keepe continual watch and ward all alongst that coast for defence of the countrey. Wherefore although he well knew of the comming of the Turkes to *Bvda*, and how hardly he was by the Lantgraue and others spoken of, for leauing his brother so hardly bestead, to go against a sort of pirats in *Affricke*; yet persisting in his former determination, he departed out of *Germany* into *Italy*, where by the way hee was met by *Octauius Farnesius* his sonne in law, *Alphon-sus Vastius* his lieutenant, by the Venetian embassadours, next to *Verona*, and so brought to *Mil-*

A *MILLAIN*, where he was with great solemnitie joyfully receiued of the citizens, and vnder a canopie of gold brought vnto the pallace: he himselfe going in a plaine blacke cloake, and a homely cap in mourning wise; when as the women and vulgar people, vpon a curious simplicitie, expected to haue seene so great an emperour in his royall robes, glistering with gold and pretious stone, and the imperiall crowne vpon his head. His heauie countenance answerable also to his attire was much noted, as presaging the wofull ouerthrow which was the day before receiued at *Bvda*, but not yet knowne in *Italy*. From *MILLAIN* he departed to *Genoa*, where he was aduertised by letters from his brother king *Ferdinand*, of the ouerthrow of the Germans, of the victorie of the Turkes, and the comming of *Solyman*. Vpon which newes, *Vastius* and *Auria*, his two chiefe commaunders, the one at land, the other at sea, would haue persuaded him to haue deferred his intended expedition for *Africa* vntill the next Spring: and with such power as he had already raised in *Italy*, & brought with him out of *Germany*, to stay still in *Italy*, so to make shew vnto the Turkes as if he would haue returned and holper his brother: and in the meane time to assure himselfe of his state in *Italy* against the French, who (as it was thought) would be readie to take all occasion of aduantage, if any mishap should befall him, either by the force of the enemy, or violence of tempest. But he constant in his former resolution, answered them as they sate in counsell, that they had persuaded him for great reasons to stay in *Italy*; but that he was for farre greater to passe into *Africa*: for if he should then stay in *Italy*, it would be thought, that he was for feare of the Turkes fled out of *Germany*: which disgrace could no otherwise be preuented, but by the present prosecuting of his former determination for *Algiers*, and satisfying the expectation of his subjects of *Spain*; and so by sea valiantly to proue their better fortune, which had of late not so euill fauoured them at land, in hope that *Algiers* might be woon before the seas should grow rough and dangerous with Winter tempests: which if it should fall out according to his mind, hee would not, as he said, greatly care what the French could doe. Yet was it thought, that the dissembling friendship betwixt the French king and him, would not long endure: and the rather, for that there was a new grudge risen betwixt them about the death of *Antonius Rnco*, who for certaine yeares had lien embassadour for the French king at *Constantinople* to *Solyman*, and was a few moneths before sent backe againe by him into *France* to the king: but returning backe againe with new instructions from his master, for the confirmation of a further league betwixt the Turkish Sultan and him, he was by certain Spaniards of the emperors old souldiors, who had knowledge of his comming, belaid vpon the riuier *Padus* as he was going down to *Venice*, so to haue passed into *Egypt*, and slaine, together with *Cesar Fregosius*: or as the common report went, first taken and tortured, to get from him the secrets of his negotiation, and afterwards slaine. Which report so much touched *Vastius* in credit, that in purgation of himselfe, he offered the combat to any man of like qualitie to himselfe, that durst charge him with the truth thereof. But many were of opinion, that he was well and worthely taken away; for vndertaking so odious a charge, as to stirre vp the Turkes against the Christians, and to shew vnto them such opportunities as might best serue their purpose, by discouering vnto them the emperours desseins, to the great hurt of the Christian commonweale. But were it well, or were it euill; as *Paulus* the third of that name then bishop of *Rome*, meeting the emperour at *Lucca*, as he came from *Genoa*, could not, or would not determine; sure it serued as no small occasion to set those two great princes againe at odds, whereby the wished vnite of the Christian state was sore shaken, and a way opened for the Turke. The emperour at his comming to *Lucca*, was honourably receiued by the cardinals and bishops, and lodged in the court: the great bishop was before placed in the bishops pallace, whither the emperour came thither to talke with him, and the bishop to him once. But the bishop hauing nothing at all pretailed with the emperour, and the French embassadour, for the appeasing of the troubles euen then like to arise betwixt him and the French king: did what he might to persuade him to employ such forces as he was about to passe ouer with into *Affricke*, against the Turkes in defence of his brother *Ferdinand*, and of the countrey of *Austria*, if *Solyman* should happily pursue his late obtained victorie at *Bvda*. But hee still resolute in that fatall determination of inuading of *Affricke*, rejected that the bishops request also. So the great bishop hauing moued much, and preuailed little, in the greatest matters which most concerned the common good, taking his leaue of the emperour, returned by easie iournies to *Rome*.

The French kings embassadour slaine by the Turkes.

The emperour and the bishop of Rome meet at Lucca.

The

The emperor in the meane time with certain bands of Italians, vnder the leading of *Camillus Columna* and *Augustinus Spinula*, and six thousand Germanes, came from *LYCA* to the port *LYNE*, and there embarking his souldiours in certaine marchant ships provided for the purpose, and five and thirtie galleys, departed thence, commaunding the masters of the ships to direct their course to the islands of *BALBAES*: but after they had put to sea, they were by force of tempest suddenly arising, brought within sight of *CORSICA*: where after they had bene tossed too and fro two dayes in the rough seas, and put out of their course, the wind something falling, they put into the haven of *SYRACUSA*, now called *BONIFACIUM*. The dispersed fleet once come together into the port of *SYRACUSA*, and the rage of the sea well appeased, he put to sea againe for the islands *BALBAES*, now called *MAIORCA* and *MINORCA*: where in his course he met with a tempest from the West, more terrible and dreadfull than the first: wherein diuers of the galleys hauing lost their mastes and sailes, were glad with extreame labour and perill in striuing against the wrought sea to get into a harbor of the lesser island, taking name of *Barchinm Mago* the famous Carthaginensian, whose name it retaineth vntill this day. From hence the emperor with all his fleet passed ouer to the greater island, being wonderfull glad that *Ferdinand Gonzaga* his viceroy in *SICILIA* was in good time come with the Sicilian galleys and ships of *ITALIE*, in number a hundred and fiftie saile, wherein he had brought such store of bisket and victuall, as might haue sufficed for a long waire. *Mendoza* was also expected to haue come thither with his fleet from *SPAIN*, but he by reason of contrarie winds being not able to hold that course, altered his purpose according to the tempest, and so happily cut ouer directly to *ALGIERS*. So the emperor nothing misdoubting the careful diligence of *Mendoza*, and thinking that which was indeed alreadie chanced, and the wind now seruing faire, by the perswasion of *Auria* his Admirall hoysed saile, and in two dayes came before *ALGIERS*, and there in goodly order came to anker before the citie in the sight of the enimie. Whilist the fleet thus lay, two of the pyrats which had bene abroad at sea seeking for prize, returning to *ALGIERS*, not knowing any thing of the fleet, fell into the bay amongst them before they were aware: the bigger whereof *Viscontes Cicada* stemmed with his galley and sunke him, the other with wonderfull celeritie got into the haven. In the meane time *Mendoza* with his galleys had passed the promontorie of *Apollo*, now called the cape of *CASSINAYS*, and in token of honour saluting the emperor after the manner at sea, with all his great Ordinance, gaue him knowledge that the Spanish fleet was not farre behind. In this fleet was about a hundred tall ships of *BISCAY* and the low countries, and of other smaller vessels a farre greater number. In these ships besides the footmen was embarked a great number of braue horsemen out of all parts of *SPAIN*: for many noble gentlemen had voluntarily of their own charge gallantly furnished themselves with braue armour and courageous horses, to serue their prince and countrey against the Infidels. Over these choice men commaunded *Ferdinand* of *TOLEDO*, duke of *ALBA*, for his approoued valour then accounted a famous captaine. These ships going altogether with sailes, were not yet able to double the cape, as did *Mendoza* with his galleys, for now it was a dead calme: howbeit the billow of the sea went yet high, by reason of the rage of the late tempest, and did so beat against the plaine shore, that it was not possible to land the souldiours, but that they must needs be washed vp to the middle: which thing the emperor thought it not good to put them vnto, and so to oppose them seaficke and thorow wet against the sudden and desperat assaults of their fierce enemies. He also stayed for the coming of the Spanish ships for two causes: first, that he might with his united power more strongly assault the citie, and terrifie the enimie; then, to communicate the whole glorie of the action with the Spaniards, at whose request and forwardnesse and greatest charge he had vndertaken that waire. Which fatal delay of two dayes, although it was grounded vpon good reason, did not onely disturbe an assured victorie, but to the notable hurt of the whole armie, opened a way to all the calamities which afterwards ensued.

In the meane while the emperor sent a conuenient messenger to *Almagas*, otherwise and mote truly called *Assan-Aga*, or *Assan* the eunuch: who with a little flag of truce in his hand making signe of parley, and answered by the Moores with like, and his manners is, went on shore, and was of them courteously receiued and brought to *Assan*. This *Assan* was an eunuch, borne in *SARDINIA*, brought vp from his youth in the Mahometane superstition by *Barbarossa*, a man both politicke and valiant, and by him left for the keeping of his kingdome of *ALGIERS* in his absence with *Solyman*. This messenger brought into his presence, required him forth-

The emperor
driven by tem-
pest into Sicilia.

The emperor
commits to Al-
giers.

The emperor's
fleet out of Spain
and the low
countries.

The duke of Al-
ba.

Delay in great
allions hurtfull.

The emperor
sends a messen-
ger to Assan aga
governour of
Algiers for Bar-
barossa.

forthwith to deliuer the citie (first surprised by force and trecherie by *Horrucius*, and afterwards to the destruction of mankind, fortified by *Harademus Barbarussa* his brother) to *Charles* the mightie emperor, come in person himselfe to be reuenged on those horrible pyrats: which if he would doe, it should be lawfull for the Turks to depart whether they would, and for the naturall Moores to abide still, with their goods and religion wholly reserued vnto them vntouched; as in former time: and for himselfe, he should receiue of the emperor great rewards both in time of peace and warres, so that he would remember himselfe, that he was borne in *SARDINIA*, and was once a Christian; and accept of the fairest occasion which could possibly be offered for him to returne againe to the worshipping of the true God, and to enjoy the saubour and bountie of the most mightie emperor, and withall to reuenge himselfe of the cruell tyrant *Barbarussa*, for the vnnaturall villanie done vnto his person. But if he would needs dally on the time, and make prooffe of the strength of so great a preparation, he should vndoubtedly with the rest of his followers receiue the same reward of his obstinacie, which they had to the example of others receiued at *TUNES*. Wherunto the vngracious eunuch answered, That he thought him altogether mad, that would follow his enemies counsell: and with a grinning countenance asked him, Vpon what hope the emperor trusted to be able to win the citie? the messenger pointing with his finger directly to the fleet, told him, That which you see, with his great artillerie, and valour of his souldiours, both horse and foot: VVherat the eunuch scornfully laughing, replied, And we with like force and valour will defend this citie, and make this place, already famous for your ouerthrowes here twice, now the third time of all others most famous by the emperours discomfiture. It is reported, that there was in *ALGIERS* an old wretch, famous for her predictions, who had (as it was said) foretold the shipwrackes and miserie of *Didaco Verra* and *Hugo Moncada* to them of *ALGIERS*; and also prefixed a time when as the Christian emperor adventuring to besiege that citie, should there receiue great losse both by sea and land: The fame of which blind prophesie setting fitly to confirme the hope of good successe in the minds of the vulgar multitude, *Assan* so fed and augmented (although hee himselfe being a craftie wise fellow, beleued no such vanities) that he did therewith not only encourage his owne souldiours, but also strucke a terror into the minds of the weaker sort of his enemies, seeing themselves cast vpon so dangerous a coast vpon the approach of *VVinter*. There was in garison in the citie but eight hundred Turkes, and most of them horsemen, but such as whose valour and resolution farre exceeded their number. For *Assan* had lost many of his best men, some in fight against *Mendoza*; and other come at sea, slaine or taken by *Auria* in *CORSICA*; and in other places by the Rhodian, Neapolitane, and Sicilian galleys; but many more were by his leaue gone to aid the Moores against the Portingals: the other multitude did scarce make vp the number of five thousand; which were partly naturall Moores borne in that countrey, and partly such as were born in *GRANADO*; to whom was joyned many fugitiues out of the islands of *MAIORCA* and *MINORCA*, who in former time hauing entred into rebellion, and fearing condigne punishment, were fled to *ALGIERS*; and there revolted to the Mahometane superstition. But the captaines of the wild Numidians made vp a great number both of horse and foot: which lying stragling without the citie in the open fields, should night and day vex and molest the Christians. This brutish people, naturally enemies vnto the Christians, had *Assan* with rewards and hope of a rich spoile, allured out of the countreys thereabout to aid him: neither was it lawfull for any man to carrie his wife or children out of the citie into places of more safetie farther off, or to shew any small token of feare, paine of death: being by the imperious eunuch proposed to whosoever should but looke heauily for feare of danger, or speake a word fauouring of cowardise. The emperor by *Auria* making choise of a most conuenient place for landing his men, laid his galleys so close vnto his tall ships, that his armed souldiours might with ease come out of the high built ships into them, and so out of them into the long boats, to be forthwith set on shore: And such was the speedie diligence of them that had the charge of that matter, and the plentie of boats still readie to receiue the souldiours as fast as they could come out of the galleys, that the footmen were in a very short time all landed. The emperor hauing a little rested and refreshed his souldiours, deuided his armie into three equall battels, which was in number about twentie thousand footmen, besides horsemen, and others who of their owne voluntarie will thereto followed the emperours fortune. Vnto euery battell he appointed three field pieces, to terrifie the Numidian horsemen, which were still pricking vp and downe about them readie to charge, if

The scornfull
answer of Assan
the eunuch to
the emperor's
messenger.

The emperor
lands his ar-
mie at Algiers.

if they could take them at any aduantage. And so setting forward a few furlongs, encamped in a strong and conuenient place, neere vnto the citie betweene two deepe ditches, which the water falling from the mountaines had naturally worne so deepe, that neither horseman nor footman could well passe ouer, but by bridge: and fast by vpon the left hand was a hill, from the top whereof it seemed the citie might with great ordinance well be battered.

The description
of Algiers.

The citie of ALGIERS, sometime the royall seat of the great king *Iuba*, called of the Romans *Iulia Cæsarea*, is in forme of a triangle, situate fast by the sea towards the North, hauing a haven, but neither great, neither safe from the North wind. The houses farther off from the sea, stand in seemly order vpon the rising of a steepe hill, as it were vpon degrees, in such sort, that the windowes of one row still ouerlook the tops of the next beneath it, into the sea; most beautiful to behold. The emperor hauing deuised his campe into three parts, euerie nation by themselves, lying on the East side of the towne, was in great hope to win it: and the rather, for that whilst he assaulted it on that side, his ships and galleies from the North side, might in time of the assault with their great ordinance beat the enemy all alongst the wall: which still rising higher and higher according to the rising of the steepe hill, could not conueniently be defended with one bulwarke, as we see it may in plaine ground. Neerest vnto the rising of the hills, lay the Spaniards; in the midst, the Germans with the emperor; and in the plaine neerest vnto the sea, the Italians.

The Numidians
skirmish with
the Spaniards.

In the meane time whilst the great ordinance was landing, and the horses vnsipping, the Numidians with a hideous outcrie shewed themselves vpon the tops of the mountaines about the Spaniards, and from thence easily gauled them with their darts and shot: for they nimble running too and fro in the knowne paths of the rough mountaines, would suddenly and fiercely assaile them, but after the manner of their nation, skirmishing a far off, rather than neere at hand. In which manner of light skirmishes, all that day was spent vntill night with small danger, but much trouble to the Spaniards. And when night was come, these wild people, one companie still succeeding another in the place they had before taken, neuer left shooting; for wheresoever they saw any fire in the Spanish campe, thither came arrowes, darts, and stones flying as thicke as haile: for remedie whereof, the Spaniards were glad to put out their fires, and with silence to expect the day, that they might come neerer vnto them.

The Spaniards
put the Numidians
to flight, and
gaine the hills.

Wherefore as soone as the sunne was vp, the Spaniards by the persuation of *Auarez Sandes*, master of the campe, valiantly climbing vp the high mountaines, repulsed and put to flight the Numidians, and tooke the top of the hills, and there lay as it were incamped in the poore shepherds cottages. But the same day such a multitude of the wild people was flockt about them, that they were compassed in round, and glad to fight on euerie side in a ring. Yet this fiercenesse of this barbarous people, was by the valour of the Sicilian companies quickly repressed, whose pikemen glistering in their bright armour, made small account of the Numidians arrowes and darts, but orderly stepping forwards with their pikes, and the harquebusers close by their sides, easily repulsed their naked enemies. The Numidian footmen are for most part youths halfe naked, with long haire not vnlike the Irish, vsing no other weapons but darts: they fight mingled with their horsemen, trusting the one to the other, and are of a wonderfull swiftnesse and agilitie of bodie.

The description
of the Numidian
footmen and
horsemen.

Their horsemen vse long speares, armed at both ends, which they with a marvellous dexterity vse to the endangering of their enemy pursuing them: they vse also long and light targuets made of leather, wherewith they so cunningly defend themselves and their horses, both in their charge and retreat, that for a small trifle, in respect of the danger, they will giue a man leaue to cast: seu en darts at one of them, which they will all most surely auoid, either with their speares, or receive them without harme in their targuet. In the mean time, whilst this wild people thus skirmished all the day, at night a sudden mischance ouerthrew all the emperors hope: for as he stood beholding the vnsipping of his great ordinance, his horses, viestual, and other necessaries of the armie, a storme of wind and raine began about six a clocke in the afternoone, holding on all the night without intermission, with such rage, as if heauen and earth should haue gone together: wherewith the whole armie at land was wonderfully troubled; and a great part of the fleet at sea by force of tempest driuen aground, perished. That night three companies of the Italians, by the appointment of their Generall, lay without the trenches against the sudden assault of so vncertaine an enemy, who when they had all the night endured the vehement raine and extreame cold, were so overcome with the extremitie of the weather, that neither was their minds able to relieue their weake bodies, neither their feeble bodies their discouraged minds: for they could

neither

neither conueniently stand nor lie downe, all the ground being so mirie, that at euerie step they sunke vp to the calfe of the legge. Vpon these staruen companies, the Turkish horsemen and Moores footmen, who diligently obserued the watch of the Christians, perceiuing their distress, suddenly sallied out in the dawning of the day; and so fiercely charged them, their match and powder being now so wet that they could not vse their pieces, that they all fled, except a few pikemen, who made a stand, and were all quickly slaine by the Turkes: who so desperately pursued the rest in chase, that they followed them ouer the trench into the campe. This alarm being heard, *Camillus Columna* the Italian Generall came presently thither, being sent by the emperor, who with certaine companies issued out ouer the bridge against the enemy: who now in shew discouraged with the comming out of this new supply, did in deed, or at leastwise made as if they did disorderly retire for feare. At which time *Ferdinand Gonzaga*, vicetoy of *Sicilia*, a man of greatest account in the armie next vnto the emperor, comming in also, and angrie with them which had before fled; persued them as valiant men, to recompence their shamefull flight with a fresh charge, by driving the enemy home to his owne doore: which thing *Columna* said could not be done without great perill: But *Gonzaga* being a man of noble courage, desired to haue the disgrace which the Italians had receiued, salued some way, although it were with neuer so great danger: thinking also that it might happily fall out, that the enemy being put to flight, and hastily pursued, they might together with them enter the citie, without danger of the artillerie. So without farther delay, the rest of the Italian companies were fled forth of their trenches with great cheerefulness by *Augustine Spinula*, who so valiantly charged the enemies that they put them to flight, and pursued them so hard, that they came with them to the verie gates of the citie: where many shut out for feare of letting in the Italians together with them, escaped by knowne waies, some to another gate, and some into the mountaines. But then these barbarous people, with darts and shot from the wals, began to ouerwhelme the Italians which were vnadvisedly come within their danger, and with terrible outcries to terrifie them: and they which before were fled without the wals, returned againe to fight. They also which had shut the gate, sallied out againe, and hardly charged the Italians, who already galled with shot from the wals, and rent in funder with the great ordinance, fled most disorderly: for why, they were but raw souldiours taken vp in hast, little or nothing acquainted with the wars. At which time *Ascanio* also falling out, who was easily knowne by his countenance and rich attire, pursued the chase with his troups of Turks and Moores footmen. Only certaine knights of the *Rhodes* fought valiantly, and retired orderly: and *Spinula* with some other gentlemen making a stand at a little wooden bridge, somewhat staied the enemy and saved the liues of many. So the Italians which first charged most valiantly, being in the flight become hindermost, the enemy suiking them downe as they fled, couered the fields with their dead bodies by the space of halfe a mile, especially they which fled towards the sea: for there they were circumuented and slaine by the mercilesse Numidians, who beholding the shipwracke, were come downe to the sea side for prey. But the foremost companies of the Italians which first fled into the campe, fled in so much hast and so great feare, that none of the leaders in so great and sudden a perplexitie, remembered either the common safetie, or performed the ducie of an aduised captain: so that all seemed at once lost, both by sea and land. Only the emperor, armed with an inuincible courage against all the chances of fortune, and not to be dismayed with any mishap, was both vnto himselfe and others that day the greatest captain; for when as all was almost lost, he in good time staied the matter by comming on with the Squadron of Germans, whereof he sent before three ensignes to stay the flight, and with them as a sure and fresh supply to guard his campe beyond the bridge which was ouer the ditch, seruing his armie for a trench as we haue before said. But such a feare had possessed the minds of the flying Italians, and such was the fierce pursuit of the enemy, that those Germans (not before wont to turne their backs) as if they had been afraid of the Turkes white caps, or not able to abide their sight, or to hold vp weapon against them; by and by turned their backs, and shamefully fled for companie with the Italians. Then the emperor gallieping forth with his horse, and his sword in his hand drawne, reproving them of cowardise that fled, set forward with the German Squadron, and with a stout and manly courage spake to them these few words in their owne language: *When will you (fellow souldiours) shew your faces to your proud enemies; if now when you should fight for the honour of the Christian name, for the glorie of the German nation, for the safeguard of your owne liues, in the presence of your emperor, you feare a*

The Moores put
to flight the
Italians.

The Italians dis-
comfited by the
Moores shot, and
endanger the
whole campe.

The Movable
rage of the emper-
our in staying
the flight of his
armie.

few disorderd and naked Barbarians? Immediately when he had thus said, the Germans touched G with shame, and disdaining that it should be thought they needed any exhortation to performe the parts of valiant souldiors, issued out against the enimie: who moued with their comming, and seeing the Italian battell againe restored by the valour and trauell of certaine valiant and expert capitaines, stood still a while, and began to retire; whether it were because they feared the great artillerie & assault of the Germans, or that they thought they had done enough for that fall: when as for the full accomplishment of the victorie they saw the Christian fleet overcome with a most horrible tempest, miserably to perish before their faces; and many of their men, especially the Moores hastened to the sea side in hope of a more certaine prey, whereas was no enimie to be feared. For the blustering winds blowing from diuers quarters, as if they had conspired to raise a most horrible tempest, had made such a wrought sea, and the hugie billowes went so high, that H the ships by the violence of the weather, and rage of the sea, put from their anchors, fell foule one of another, and were so lost; or else driuen vpon the maine, were there beaten in pieces in the sight of the armie: so that all the sea-coast Westward, from ALGIERS to CERCEILLO, lay full of dead men and horses, and the ribs of broken ships. The Numidians beholding this miserable wracke, came downe by great companies from the mountaines, and without mercie slew all that came aliuie to land. In the space of a few houres was lost about an hundred and fortie ships, and all the small boats and catuels, which were in number many. Some of the gallies, when they had from midnight to the next day at noone, by the painfull labour of the marriners and skilfullnesse of the masters, rid it out; being no longer able to endure the rage of the tempest, and fearing to be eaten vp with the sea, with sailes and oares ran a ground: but the souldiors and marriners swimming to land in hope to saue their liues, and thinking that the greatest danger had been now past, were by the Numidian horsemen which ran vp and downe the sea side, slaine. There might a man haue seene free men of all sorts, with teares commending their liues and libertie to their owne gally-slaues; that by the speech and intreatie of them, which by the sudden change of fortune had but euen now shaken off their yrons, and with merrie hearts swam out to their libertie, they might be saued from the cruelty of the fierce Numidians. It was a most grieuous and wofull sight for diuers hard extremities; when as euery man according to the disposition of his mind and skill in swimming, standing doubtfull in most assured death, which to receiue or refuse, was by fatall destinie drawne to his end, and either drowned in the sea, or thrust thorow with the enemies lance: yet most made choise to abide the danger of the sea, and to expect the euent of the tempest, rather than to hasten their end by the enemies mercilesse hand. By that meanes it came to passe, that that barbarous crueltie of the enimie (as a thing most feared of the marriners and souldiors) saued many gallies, which by the appointment of the fearefull marriners and passengers should otherwise haue been run on ground. But after that, a notable gally wherein Iannettin Auria went, was seene to come neere vnto the shoare, and to be driuen vpon the sands by force of weather and the beating of other gallies. The emperor not enduring to see so valiant a young gentleman, capitaine of many gallies, slaine without helpe by the Moores in the sight of Auria his vncke; sent by and by one of his capitaines called Antonius of ARAGON, with three bands of Italians to the sea side: by whose comming the Moores were put to flight, and he with the rest in the gally saued; but so, that the sauing of him was the losse of L diuers other gallies. For many deliuered of the feare of the Numidians, and trusting to the rescue of the souldiors come downe to the sea side, desiring to saue themselves from the rage of the sea, ran their gallies on ground; and had not some bold capitaines (grieved to see so great a losse) run vp and downe the banks with their drawne swords in their hands, and by threatening death vnto the gally-slaues and marriners, staied their rowing, most part of the gallies had by the example of the other perished. Auria, not so angrie at himselfe as at the emperor (who, contrary to the obseruation of skilfull seamen, could not be dissuaded from taking in hand that great expedition in so suspitious a time of the year) with an inuincible courage strue against the violence of the tempest, and rage of the sea: insomuch, that being requested by some of his friends, to saue himselfe whatsoeuer became of the gally; he was so angrie thereat, that he commanded them to be bestowed vnder the hatches. Foure gallies also of *Virginus Virinus*, earle of ANOVILLARIA, and as many of the Rhodians, after his example rid it out, the reputation of their honour exceeding the feare of death. Certaine gallies also of SICILIA, NAPLES, and SPAIN, happily endured all the rage of the tempest: yet was there fiftene great gallies cast away; with the

An horrible tempest.

The Christian fleet perished by shipwracke.

A hard chiefe.

Many gallies lost by sauing of one man.

A the losse whereof, besides the losse of so many ships, the tempest still enduring, so great sorrow and deperation in the wofull expectation of the wracke of all, possessed the whole armie, that not onely the young souldiors regarding onely their owne liues, but euen the most valiant capitaines, carefull of the common estate, were vtterly discouraged: for neuer was armie in any memorie, ouerwhelmed with a greater concourse of calamities, when as all their victuals being lost in three daies, nothing was left to relieue them withall, and they wanted tents wherein to shroud and rest the souldiors spent with labour, hunger, cold, and wounds, in such perpetuall raine and so durrie a countrie. In which so great miseries, a wonderfull care heauier than the former fear exceedingly troubled the minds of all men, to thinke vpon that horrible wracke; when as hauing lost so many ships, & they poore men landed in AFRICA, were in doubt how euer to return again into B their native countries. Yet the notable courage of the emperor still kept the distressed men in hope, which neuer altogether forsaketh wretched men in the midst of their calamities: for he with a courageous heart & cheerfull countenance performed all the parts of a prouident & courteous Generall. For when he had againe made sure his campe against the assaults of the Barbarians, he commanded the wearied capitaines, especially the duke of ALBA (wonderfully wearied in the late skirmish) and dung wet, to spare themselves, and take their rest: he comforted the wounded men, and caused them to be carried and cherished in the tents which by chance yet stood (for the tempestuous wind had almost ouerthrowne them all) and so not sparing himselfe for any paines, being in his armour and thorow wet, wooon the hearts of all his souldiors the more. In this consist he lost about three thousand men, amongst whom was five of his forward capitaines, and C three knights of the RHODIANS: but many moe were hurt. The greatest losse was thought to be in losse of the ships and of the marriners, which was also encreased by the losse of a wonderfull deale of great ordinance; reckoned so much the greater, for that it would come into the hands of the Moores, to the common harme of the Christians, so soone as the sea would giue them leaue to diue for it. Shortly after, Auria (as he was to foresee a tempest, a wonderfull obseruer of the sea, of the heauens, and of the clouds) mistrusting that place, departed with the remainder of the fleet to the cape called METAFYSIVM; because it was a place of safer riding for his gallies, and better for the taking in of the souldiors: aduising the emperor to march thither by land. Which his counsell the emperor liking well of, to relieue the hunger of his souldiors, commanded first D after them the horses for seruice, to be killed; and deuised for meat amongst the souldiors: As for wood to make fire of, they had plentie of the planks and ribs of the broken ships, fortune as it were with that one poore benefit recompensing so many calamities. The next day the emperor departed from ALGIERS, with his armie deuised into three battels, the sicke and wounded men being receiued into the middle: and when he had marched feuen miles (the enemies horsemen still hovering about him) he came to a headie brooke, which the Moores call ALCARAZ: which was growne so high with the abundant taine and the checke of the wind and of the sea, that being but a shallow thing before, it was now to be passed ouer by a good horseman. Wherefore the emperor of necessitie there encamped, in such sort, that lying with his armie in forme of a triangle, two sides of his armie was defended with the sea and the brooke, and the other with E a strong guard of armed men, for he thought it not good to depart from the sea, a sure defence for his armie on the left hand, to seeke a fourth further of: many aduenturing to swim ouer, were by the violence of the streame carried away and drowned. Wherefore the emperor caused a bridge to be made ouer it, of the masts and saile yards of the broken ships, which were by chance there taken vp, and so passed ouer the Italians and Germans. The Spaniards marching higher vp the brooke, found a fountaine whereby they passed ouer. After which time the Turkes pursued them no further, being called backe againe by Assan their gouernour: as for the Moores and Numidians which still followed at hand, alwayes readie to skirmish, they were easily repulled by the harquebusiers, and field pieces appointed to euery nation: but vpon such sicke and wounded men as were not able to keepe way with the armie, they exercised all manner of crueltie: for there was none which in that small hope, possessed with feare of their owne sate, was greatly moved with the compassion of their fellowes miserie. The next day passing ouer another little F river, which the souldiors waded ouer vp to the breasts, they came in three dayes march to the rode where the fleet lay, and encamped in the ruines of the old cite TIPSANE vnto the sea side, which serued them in stead of a forresse against the Barbarians. The sea was now calme, the

The miserie of the Christian & moe.

The cheerefulnesse of this emperor comforteth the whole distressed armie.

His good meate in the emperor's armie.

The emperor departeth from Algiers.

He embarked
his armie.

Solyman the Magnificent,

Horses of great
price drowned by
the emperor's
command to
sink them for
the common foule
doore.

Two Spanish
ships full of sol-
diers driven by
tempest to
Aegiers.

Assan taketh the
Spaniards to
mercie.

The emperor
commits to the
sea.

wind laied, and the weather so faire that all men thought the souldiours might now well be embarked and transported into EVROPE; wherefore the emperor to the great joy of the whole armie commaunded every man to make himselfe readie to goe abroad, in such sort, that first the Italians, next the Germanes, and last of all the Spaniards should be embarked: but so many ships and galleies as is before said, being lost by shipwracke, it was thought that those which were left were not able to receive the whole armie, although it were crouded together as close as were possible. Wherefore the emperor commanded the masters and owners of the ships to cast all the horses overboard into the sea, reputing it an unmercifull part to preferre the safegard of those horses, although they were of great worth, before the life of the basest common souldiour or horseboy in his campe; which thing much grieved the minds of the noblemen and owners of those goodly beasts, not only for that they were (not without extreame necessitie) for the present deprived of such an inestimable treasure, but should for ever, as they said, lose the most notable race of horses in SPAIN: there, with greese and vaine compassion, was to be seene goodly horses of service, bearing high their proud heads, swimming all about the sea vnto the ships neereft vnto them for safegard, as if it had beene to the shore, and in the end wearied with long swimming to be there drowned. But scarce halfe the souldiours were yet embarked, when the East and North-east wind, and straightwaies after, diuers contrarie winds almost as great as the first, rose: whereupon the ships which had alreadie taken in the souldiours, not expecting any commaund, for feare of being driuen vpon the rockes, directed their course according as the wind carried them with full sailes alongst the coast: They were quickly out of sight and dispersed with the tempest, some into one countrey, some into another, carrying the same of that shipwrack, and the report that all was lost, into all the Islands of the Mediteranean and ports of ITALIE. The force of this tempest was so great, and the billow went so high, that some of the ships were in the sight of their fellowes swallowed vp of the sea. But amongst the rest two Spanish ships full of souldiours were by wonderfull mishap by contrarie winds driuen againe to AEGERS, and there set fast vpon that fatal shore, where the Numidian horsemen with a multitude of Moores following them, came running downe to the sea side, to kill them as they should come to shore: for the barbarous people thirsting after Christian blood, would not receive them to mercie, although they were readie to yeeld themselves, and cōueniant nothing but the safegard of their liues. At which their crueltie the Spaniards disdainig, with their weapons in their hands got to shore, and standing close together as desperat men, withstood them who had with their multitude quickly compassed them in round: yet in despite of what that barbarous multitude (without regard of humanitie or law of armes) could doe, they made way thorow the midst of them, from the place where they were cast on shore, vnto the very gates of the citie. But seeing the Turkes fallie out, they called vnto them, offering to yeeld themselves prisoners to Assan, without further resistance, if they would assure them their liues, which they were in good hope of, for that he was borne of Christian parents in SARDINIA, and was attended vpon with many renegate Spaniards. So Assan comming forth of the citie, gaue them his faith for their safetie, and beating away the Moores and Numidians, courteously saved them all, wisely making great account of so great a gaine as would redound vnto him by so many prisoners, joined with no small commendation of his clemencie in saving them. Of the Germans the third part neuer returned home, but were either lost with shipwracke, or els dead of the sickness ensuing to great miseries. The emperor perswaded (or rather overruled) by Anira to avoid the violence of the tempest, sailed alongst the coast of AFFRIKE Eastward to BVZIA, the castle whereof was kept with a small garnison of Spaniards: where the emperor landing, found some fresh victuall, though not much, yet such as did both him and the other noblemen no small pleasure. Whilest the emperor lay at BVZIA expecting fairer weather, a great ship of GENOVA, laden with victuall, chanced to come into the bay, to the great rejoycing of the hungrie souldiours: but such was the violence of the tempest, that her anchors came home, and she driuen vpon the flats, was cast away; yet so, as that part of the victuall which to shore, and halfe spoiled with the salt water, well relieved the encreasing want. In the meane time the emperor when he had long looked for the assuaging of the tempest, and was now out of hope of any new supplie of victuall, sent away Gonzaga with the Sicilian and Rhodian galleies: for the wind before at North was now come to North-west, and put them in hope to adventure againe to sea, rather than to stay there longer. So although with a troublesome yet a prosperous course they came in short time into the port of VRECA, now cal-

fourth Emperour of the Turks.

The emperor
arriveth in
Spain.

1542

The French king
tho more to trouble
the emperor,
soliciteth Salu-
mano to invade
his countrey.

led FARONAS: where *Muleasses* king of TVNES bountifullly releecued *Gonzaga* and his fleet with all kind of victuall and other necessaries. From whence they afterward departed, and landed all in safetie at DREPANVM in SICILIA. The blustering winds were now at length wearied of blowing, and the raging sea became calme, so that the skillfull sea men for feare of new dangers, and wearie of those that were past, thought it best to adventure againe to sea. Almost every houre they were reasoning in counsell, What course they were for most safetie best to take: when some were of opinion, that it was best to beare for SARDINIA or CORSICA: and other some would haue had them to haue kept alongst the coast of AFFRICA, and so directly for SICILIA. But the wind comming faire at East, the emperor directed his course to the islands BALBAES, and from thence at length arrived at the port of new CARTHAGE in SPAIN, greatly commended euen of his enemies for his wonderfull courage and constancie in passing thorow so many extremities, in such sort, as if he had triumphed over the malice of fortune.

About this time the dissembled friendship betwixt *Charles* the emperor, and *Francis* the French king brake out into open hatred. The king first thinking himselfe deluded by the emperor, who had long time fed him with the vaine hope of the restitution of the dukedome of MILLAN, when as he meant nothing lesse; and of late abused by the death of *Rinco* his embassadour, slaine by the Spaniards in passing downe the river Padus, as is before declared. In reuenge whereof he raised a great power in FRANCE, and at such time as most men thought he would haue invaded ITALIE, sent *Charles* his sonne with the one part of his forces into the low countreies, which were then gouerned by *Marie* queene of HUNGARIE, the emperours sister; and *Henrie* his other sonne with the other part of his forces to invade SPAIN, both yong princes of great hope. And not so contented, but desirous by all means to trouble and molest the emperor, as he did in the low countreies by setting on the duke of CLEVE: so by *Antonius Polinius* his embassadour, a man of great discretion, he earnestly solicited *Solyman* the great Turke, with whom he was then in league, to spoile the borders of SPAIN with his galleies, at the same that *Henrie* his sonne was besieging PERPENNA in SPAIN. For which practise he was of most men discommended, as too much fauoring his owne greese; and especially by such as affected the emperor. But how this matter, which drew vpon the French king no small enuie, was carried in the Turkes court, shall not (as I hope) be vnto this historie impertinent to declare.

After the death of *Rinco* slaine by the Spaniards, *Francis* the French king sent *Antonius Polinius*, a man of great dextetitie, his embassadour to *Solyman*: who passing by many by-ways to VENICE, and so ouer the gulfe to SIBINCVM, crossing ouer ILLYRIA, met with *Solyman* in MISIA, as he was comming from BVZIA: and there first offered vnto him the present sent from the king his master (for with empty hands no man might presume to come to those barbarous kings of the East) which present was a cupbord of plate, curiously wrought, in weight 600 pounds; and 300 rich garments of all sorts of silke and scarlet to be bestowed vpon the Bassaes and other great courtiers. *Solyman* after he had read the French kings letters, and heard what he had further to say, seemed to be greatly moued with the death of *Rinco*, and promised *Polinius* not to be wanting vnto the French king, by sea or land to giue him aid in his iust watres against *Charles* his enemy, for breaking of the league: but for as much as nothing could be well determined of such matters in his journey, of so great hast, he told him, that as soon as he was come to CONSTANTINOPLE, he should then haue answer by his Bassaes of all his demands. The embassadour about all things desired, that he would send *Hariadenus Barbarussas* with his fleet against the next Summer into PROVENCE, there to be receited into the French harbors, & to be employed against the emperor as occasion should require: and further, that he would request the Venetians, with whom he was able to doe much, to joine in league with the king his master against *Charles* the emperor, whose power began now to be dreadfull to their estate. *Polinius* was not slacke in his businesse, but all the way as he went fought to win the fauour of the Bassaes, still giuing them one present or other, & filling their minds with the hope of greater. But when they were come to CONSTANTINOPLE, in the latter end of December, *Solyman* promising what he had before said, aduised *Polinius* to returne into FRANCE with his letters, & to bring him certaine word back againe from the king of the determination of taking those wars in hand: & that he would in the meane time send *Tamuseinus* his embassadour to VENICE, who had been there diuers times before, & would provide to haue such a fleet in readinesse, as he desired. *Polinius* exceeding glad of that answer, with wonderfull speed returned back againe to the king, bringing with him as presents

Polinius the
French embassa-
dour receiveth
Solyman coming
from BVZIA, and
offereth vnto him
present from the
French king.

The request of
the French em-
bassadour to *Solyman*.

Polinus returneth into France.

Polinus sent backe againe to Solyman, cometh to Venice, and notably solicits the Venetians to take up armes with the French king against the emperor.

The craftie answere of the Venetians to the French kings embassadour.

Solymans embassadours cometh to Venice.

Polinus comming to Constantinople, findeth not the Turke so ready to send his fleet to aid the French king, as he had hoped.

from *Solyman* two goodly Turkish horses, and a sword richly set with stones of great price. The French king hating by his embassadour received *Solymans* letters and presents, and three dayes together discoursed with him at large of the manner of his proceeding in the Turkes court, in short time after sent him backe againe to *Solyman* with full instructions both of the time and places, and other circumstances of the intended warre. *Polinus* comming to *VENICE*, found not *Iunusbeius* there, as he had well hoped: yet to lose no time in expecting his comming, he with *Pellicerius* embassadour Legier for the French king, and other of the French faction, laboured the Senatours in the behalfe of the king. For it was thought likely ynough, that the Venetians still measuring all their counsels by their profit, would easily consent to that league, especially being requested thereunto by *Solyman*, and put in hope to haue the port towne *MARANVS* deliuered vnto them in reward thereof; which otherwise the French, in whose possession it was, threatened to deliuer to the Turkes, and to make them their euill neighbours, rather than to haue it taken from them by the Germanes. Wherefore *Polinus* hauing audience giuen him in the Senat, notably pleaded the French kings cause, grievously lamented the death of the embassadour slaine by the Spaniards, and bitterly enueighed against the ambition of the emperor, who as he said aspired to the whole monarchie of all *ITALIE*, not by true vertue and valour, but by meere craft and deceit, encroching still vpon the liberties of the free states, and by little and little imposing vpon them the yoke of bondage: In confirmation whereof, hee produced many examples, to them well knowne, requesting them, as ancient friends and confederats of the French, to joyne their forces with the kings, in which doing, they should assure themselves of such rewards of the vndoubted victorie, as they could not desire greater. Whereas if they should refuse so to doe, and would rather sit still and looke on as neuters, they should vndoubtedly, for time hauing decided the quarrell, grievously offend both, and might worthily expect of the vanquished, hatred; and of the conqueror, injurie: Besides that, in taking vp of armes they should highly gratifie *Solyman*, who prouoked with late injuries, had determined with a puissant armie to inuade *HUNGARIE*, and at the same time to send *Barbarussa* with a great fleet against the Spaniards their common enemies: for the imparting of which his designs, he would shortly send vnto them *Iunusbeius* his embassadour: As for the cunct of the warre, they needed not to doubt, when as they of themselves were strong ynough quickly to thrust the emperor out of the dukedome of *MILLAN*, being generally hated of the people, feeding his fouldiors with the spoile of the country, and on euery side beset both by sea and land by two of the greatest monarchs of the world. Whereunto the Senat delaying the time for certaine dayes, that *Iunusbeius* might in the meane time come thither, grauely answered, That the amitie they held with king *Francis*, ought to be vnto them an ornament, but no burthen: the like also they held with the emperor, whom they would in no case seeme to cast off, although they had bene by him over-raught: Wherefore the Senators and all the citisens generally were of opinion to preserve their peace, as they which in the hard times of war had endured great extremities, which would hardly be recovered with long peace: But if they did once see the ensignes displayed, and the wars begun, they would then take further aduice, whether it were good for them to thrust themselves into those warres or not, when as they were in league and friendship with three of the greatest princes of the world. In the meane time *Iunusbeius* arrived at *VENICE*, and was there honourably received. He requested, that the league before made at *CONSTANTINOPLE* by *Baderius* their embassadour, might by the authoritie of the Senat be confirmed: & so commended the French kings cause to the Senat, that he requested no more, but that vnto that amitie which they already held with the French, they would joine further courtesies, the rather for that *Solyman* had accounted him for his brother, and had vndertaken to aid him against *Charles* king of *SPAINNE*: but as to joine in league with him, or in his quarrell to take vp armes, he requested nothing. Which was quite beside the expectation of *Polinus* and *Pellicerius*, who by vrging of the matter, and by telling of all, had thought easily to haue persuaded the Senat to haue graunted what they requested, and therefore thought the Turke who had so coldly spoken in the cause, to be some way corrupted. But as it afterward appeared, there was such equitie and modestie in *Solymans* letters, who was otherwise of a proud and insolent nature, that he would not as then exact any thing of them, which should not stand with the good of their estate. Wherefore *Polinus*, hauing in vaine staid certaine daies at *VENICE*, was in one of their publike gallies transported to *RAVSVM*, and from thence trauelled by land to *CONSTANTINOPLE*, where he found all things more difficult than

than euer he dreamed of. For the great Bassaes said, There could no fleet be set out that yeare, by reason that he was come too late to sue for such a matter, the Spring of the yeare being now past, of all other times most fit for to take in hand so long a voyage. So that *Polinus* was about measure vexed with care and griefe, that he had so euill sped, and was come so out of season both to *VENICE* and *CONSTANTINOPLE*. *Dixius* also, one of the masters of the Rhodian gallies, was come to *CONSTANTINOPLE*, to carie newes into *FRANCE* of the comming of the Turkes fleet: who told *Polinus*, That the kings sonnes were with strong power far entred into the low countries, and had already inuaded *SPAINNE*, expecting nothing more than the comming of the Turkes gallies. Wherefore *Polinus* (as it easily chanceth to men deceived by trust reposed in any other mens promises, and bewailing the euill successe of their vaine trauell) wonderfully tormenting himselfe, cursed the froward and vnconstant manners of the Bassaes, called vpon the faith of *Solyman*; and besought the great Bassaes one by one, that they would not contrarie to their promise, forsake the king, who vpon the hope of the comming of the Turkes fleet, had now inuaded both the low countries and the kingdome of *SPAINNE*: for as much as by that delay, which was vnto them neither honourable nor profitable, was (as he said) betrayed the maiestie of his king, and a most assured victorie now as good as gotten, quite marred. In which his obtestations, he was so importunat and tedious, that he became vnto those proud Bassaes rather loathsome than gracious; insomuch that to end his sute, they thought it best sharply to take him vp, and so for that time to shake him off. And therefore sending for him and the other French gentlemen which followed him to the court, the great Bassaes then sitting in counsell, and *Barbarussa* with them for the honour of his place: as soone as they were come into the counsell chamber, *Solyman Bassa* the eunuch, turning himselfe about, spake vnto them in this sort.

Frenchmen (said he) this place for dispatch of most waightie affaires, appointed by the graue iudgement of our most mightie emperor to vs his faithfull seruants, doth (as it best becometh) receive vs, daily comming vnto it, void of loue and hatred: and withall doth notably put vs in remembrance, to speake our minds freely. Neither would I, that this franknesse of speech (the messenger of truth, and therefore the faithfull keeper of friendship) should be vnto your eares vnpleasing or troublesome: for sithence your king hath bene called the friend and fellow of the Othoman name, we may not now either forget the duties of loue, or loath your friendship: seeing that our emperor doth maruellously affect you, and is not a little desirous to strengthen you with his power, and by ouercomming your enemies to increase your power and honour. But in your demands is no equitie, no modestie, so that wee tearme you vnmodest and importunat: and others which fauour you not so well, call you plainly by your right names, vnreasonable and shamelesse men; who as too too forgetfull of your duties, doe most fondly trouble the lawes of amitie and friendship. For leagues are confirmed by like profit: by making euen the charge and mutuall dangers; but if neglecting your friends kinnesse and courtesie, you will make no requitall, they will quickly grow wearie of you: So happeneth it vnto you Frenchmen, who euer forgetfull and negligent in our dangers, but in your owne alwaies mindfull and diligent, haue shewed your selues friends vnto vs when need was, not in deeds and certaine aid, but onely in bare letters and embassages. Tell me I pray you, where euer you shewed any signe or token of your good will or aid? whereby the minds of our enemies might at the least wise haue bene kept in suspence of some doubtfull feare, when as *Charles* with all the power of the West came into *HUNGARIE*; and *Corone* and *PATRAS* were in the meane time shaken in *GRACE* with the enemies fleet; and last of all *TUNES* taken with so great a fleet? But all this we pardon you: yet this it is which is hardly to be endured, that you did not so much as once grieve at our so great iniuries as you ought to haue done; but sent your gratulatory embassadours vnto the bloudie common enemies, who had but euen then slaine so many of our people. At length our emperor came to *AVLONA* to your great profit, about to passe ouer into *ITALIE*: but neither then in the arrivall of your fleet appeared the good wils of the *Apulians* towards you, which were of you so vainly promised; neither did you so much as once move to inuade the upper part of *ITALIE*: so neither serving our turne nor well fitting your owne, you haue alwaies lost the occasion of the good successe of your affaires. But neither then, neither at any time afterwards needed we your counsell or united forces: for the Venetians to their paine felt both our forces, and our faith: as for the rest, warre, the notable remenger of our wrongs, most happily brought to passe, at such time as you of your owne voluntarie made peace with the common enemies, to inuade vs; and did as unkindly as impudently as it were blow wind in his sailes. But we, without your helpe, haue notably repressed

The strange oration of Solyman the eunuch Bassa to Polinus the French embassadour.

pressed so great assaults of our enemies: when as this same Hariaden Barbaruffa put to flight the fleet at AMERACIA, and happily flew the Spanish pirates of CASTRUM, and having again recovered our owne cities, tooke also from them some of theirs: wherefore we are bound, unto you for no desert, but we had rather forget these unkindnesses, than to faile you, whom we have once received into our friendship. For we performe our fidelitie in deeds: but it is his part to regard the time, to way the danger, to wait occasion; which will not rashly commit his actions to the hazard of fortune. You are come later than you should have done for the setting forth of our fleet: for Sommer now well spent, followeth the pestilent time of Autumne, so that marriners cannot in convenient time be taken up, or safely thrust into the gallies: for in long sailing, who would not thinke, but that such a companie of saylers usually sicke at the change of an unacquainted ayre, would be in danger of their lives? who would not feare shipwracke in their returne, when as this same Hariaden is so great a master at sea, H driven upon the Acroceranion rocks in the moneth of August, lost so many gallies? A fleet would be rigged in Winter, furnished and set forward in the Spring; in Sommer is safe sailing and making warre. Which that it may be so done, we will for the common wealth sake persuade the emperor: for the naue once lost, cannot upon the sudden be againe restored for much gold, whereof the Othoman emperor wanteth no store; heaped up by many ages. If thou be wise take these things in good part as friendly spoken: but whether the emperor will pardon thy boldnesse or not, let himselfe consider, truly we have satisfied both him and our selves in speaking to thee so plainly.

These things seuerely spoken by the eunuch Bassa, did so much the more trouble Polinus, for that they seemed to have been sent from the mouth of Solyman himselfe, who was thought to have heard all that was said. For behind the Bassaes as they fate in counsell, was a window with a brassen grate, and a curtain drawne before it, that the emperor when he pleased, might vnderceiue heare the complaints and sutes of all nations, and note the manners of his great counsellors; whose care for the administration of justice was so much the greater, for feare of his presence. Yet did not Polinus for this repulse, detesting the double dealing of the Bassaes, to give ouer his sute; but winning by gifts the fauour of the Capitaga or chiefe porter, a man euer of great authority in the Turks court, laboured by him to be brought to the speech of Solyman himselfe: who faithfully performed what he had vnderaken. So the French embassadour brought by him into the secretest place of the court, which few Christians had euer been, and so vnto the presence of Solyman, recomtend vnto him how all matters had before passed, and most earnestly besought K him not to faile the kings expectation of the fleet he had before promised, who at that present was invading his enemies in three places. Whereunto Solyman courteously and exprefly answered, That the opportunitie of sending out of his fleet was past; not by his will, which was alwaies immutable and firme, but by his late coming, and the time of the yeare half spent; but promised, the next Spring without doubt to send vnto the king, his friend and brother, twice so great a fleet as he had desired against Charles their enemy. With which answer, the embassadour dispatched away Dixius into FRANCE, vpon whose arrival, king Francis called backe againe Henrie his eldest sonne with his armie, from the siege of PERPENNIA in SPAIN.

The princes and States of GERMANY, at the request of king Ferdinand and the nobilitie of HUNGARY, about this time decreed with one consent, to take vp armes against the Turks, for the recouering againe of BUDA, and other the lost parts of HUNGARY. For besides the dishonour done to their nation at EXTER under the leading of CARLOTT, and againe at BUDA under the leading of the Lo. Rogendorff, they well saw, that if they did not speedily relieue the Hungarians ouerwhelmed with the calamities of the Turks forces, they should in short time be forced to fight for their religion, children, wives, and liues against the same migraue enemies at their owne doores. For presenting whereof, the princes and free cities of GERMANY sent forth a tie thousand footmen, and seauen thousand horsemen, amongst whom was MAURITIUS, after wards duke of SAXONY, then a young gentleman about twentie yeares old; But the Generall of these German forces, was IOACHIMUS Marquess of BRANDENBURG, a man more for the honour of his house than the valour of himselfe preferred to that place; yet so, that vnto him was joynted eight others, men of great yeares and experience, by whose counsell he was abetted. When they were come to VIENNA, king Ferdinand power met them: where besides such as were taken vp in AUSTRIA, HUGANOT, Gouernour of STRASSBURG, came in with ten thousand horsemen.

A horsemen. Vnto these the noble men of HUNGARY, Gasper Seredius, Andreas Bathor, and Petrus Perenus, a man of the greatest authoritie power and experience amongst the Hungarians, joynted themselves, with fifteen thousand horsemen; whiche also Paulus the third of that name then bishop of ROME, sent three thousand chosen footmen out of ITALIE, conducted to VIENNA by Alexander Vitellius, a most famous capitaine. The Marquess with this great army marched from VIENNA along the riuer Danubius, but so softly, that the Hungarian and Italian capitaines said plainly, That the best part of the Sommer, and fittest time for warres, was passed ouer in loitering and dallying out the time to no purpose: especially Iacobus Medicus, who had long before persuaded the king, to be readie to set forward his forces with the first of the Spring; before the Turks could either augment their garrisons, or put in any new forces; for that by such resolute and speedie inuasion, it was like enough hee might recouer both PESTH and BUDA. Which politike and wholesome counsell so well giuen, king Ferdinand too much crediting the great men of his court (liking nothing but what proceeded of themselves) rejected, expecting the full assembly of all his forces, before the setting forth of his armie. At length the Marquess was by soft marches come to STRIGONIUM (king Ferdinand himselfe staying behind at VIENNA) where it was commonly reported, That Solyman fearing to lose BUDA, was either in person himselfe coming into HUNGARY, or else sending downe the Generall of his European horsemen, who might neuer set foot forward to warre without sixtie thousand horsemen. Which newes so troubled the Germans, that they made no great hast forward, doubting how they should returne againe if they chanced not to get the victorie: Beside that, it was C thought, that the Marquess neuer purposed to fight a battell, or endanger himselfe or his armie for the kingdome of HUNGARY, but only to defend the bounds of AUSTRIA, and by shewing the strength of GERMANY, to terrifie (if he could) the Turks, if they not contented with HUNGARY, should also prouoke the Germans. But after it was by certaine espials from SAMANDRIA, knowne that all that report of the coming of the Turks great armie was but vaine, and that there was scarce a thousand Ianzaries and twise so many horsemen come to BUDA, and that the Turks fleet was both for number and strength farre inferior to the kings, they set forward againe with more cheerefullnesse, much encouraged by the forwardnesse of the Hungarians, especially of Perenus; assuring them, that if they would without delay march on, and spend no more time in vaine, they should not find at BUDA any such number of Turks as was worth the name D of an armie: for that Solyman vsing but euerie second yeare to make war, did that yeare take his rest, and was not like to vnderake any great expedition. For these reasons all men being readie cheerfully to set forward, the Marquess appointed to passe ouer Danubius: which this Perenus, HUGANOT and Medicus, all expert capitaines, liked not of; wishing him rather to hold on his way directly still on that side the riuer to BUDA, the chiefe citie of the kingdome. But it was the mind of the Generall and all his counsellors, first to besiege PESTH, which might be done with lesse labour and danger, and there hauing made prooffe of the enemies strength and purpose, to come to the siege of BUDA: for then would the souldiours with much more courage and cheerefullnesse endure the siege of BUDA, if they had by good fortune first beaten them out of PESTH: Which counsell was both best liked and followed, and the armie by two bridges with great and painfull labour made ouer Danubius (which was in that place deuided into two parts) transported: At the same time Medicus an Italian capitaine, Admirall of the kings fleet, came downe the riuer, and in despite of the Turks tooke the island of Saint Margaret, lying in the riuer a little aboue BUDA; and by force repulld the Turkes fleet vnto the suburbs of the citie. The Marquess to avoid the danger of the great shot from BUDA, after he was passed the riuer, set a great compass about, and so came to the North side of PESTH: for on the South it was defended with the riuer Danubius, running betwixt it and BUDA, and on the East and West the great ordinance on the one side from the castle of BUDA, and on the other from mount S. Gerard, did so securely stand vpon the hill, that no man could without most manifest danger there abide. For BUDA standing vpon the hill, and deuided from PESTH by the riuer, so overlooked it, and commandeth all the plain country about PESTH, that without perill no man can stir on any side of the citie, but Northward towards AOKA, covered by the citie from the shot out of BUDA. As the Marquess was coming thither, he was told by certaine fugitiues, that BALIS Gouernour of BUDA (who in that place succeeded Solyman the Hungarian renegate, lately before dead of the plague) had in garrison in BUDA two thousand horsemen; and that Iames the Persian Gouernour

Polinus by the
wishes of the
Captaga
brought to the
presence of Soly-
man himselfe.

Solyman answer
to Polinus.

The Princes of
Germanie joine
their forces with
king Ferdinand
against the Turk
in Hungarie.

The Marquess
of Brandenburg
commandeth so
Pesth, with his
armie.

uernour of BOSNA, was come vnto him with three thousand mo: whereunto *Amurathes* had also joynd another thousand which he brought out of DALMATIA: and that *Segemenes* was come thither also with a thousand Ianizaries from CONSTANTINOPLE: as for the rest of the footmen, that they were but wild countrey people, fitter for labour than for seruice in warres. They told him also, that the enemies fleet consisted of sixtie small pinnaces, ten gallies, and a few other great boates: and that *Solyman* had commaunded his capitaines in any case to defend BUDA and PESTH to the last man, without regard of any other place. And had proposed vnto the valiant, great rewards; and to the cowardly, extreame punishment: charging them further, that if need were, they should in time send for *Achomates* the Generall of his European horsemen to SOPHIA, to aid them. The Turks vpon the approach of the Christians, issued out at one of the gates of the citie, and skirmished with the Hungarians: but after they had sufficiently proued one anothers strength, and some few were on both sides slaine, they retired into the citie, and the Hungarians to the campe. The next day after, *Vitellius* going out of the campe nere the citie with five companies, to chuse a place for planting the batterie; the Turks at one instant sallying out at two gates of the citie, gaue him a hoat skirmish, where at the first, the fight was begun with like courage and force: but the Turks still sending forth new supplies both of horse and foot, first the Christian footmen, and after that the horsemen, not able longer to endure the force of the Ianizaries, were constrained disorderly to retire, hauing lost in that retreat foure of their capitaines and two ensignes: and had not *Vitellius* with one companie of horsemen setted together, valiantly repulsed the insolent Ianizaries, the losse had bene much greater. *Vitellius* exceedingly grieved with this losse, and perceiuing the manner of the enemies fight, encouraged his souldiors, purposing if he could to be fully reuenged: and aboue all others, requested *Perennis* to be readie to ioine with him as occasion should require. *Vitellius* lay encamped in the kings orchards, walled about as it were a mile, equally distant both from the great campe and from the citie: out of these orchards he went with twelue companies vnder their ensignes, commaunding the rest to stand still within the wals, in readinesse at all assaies: and so fetching a great compasse about, marched alongst the riuier side towards the citie: Neither did the proud enemy (brag of the former daies victorie) make any delay, but brauely sallied out at the east side of the citie, and couragiously charged them. But *Vitellius* warned of his former harme, and seeing his enemies come on as he desired, couered his shot with his pikes, and standing close, receiued the enemies charge: his shot still playing vnder the pikes, oftentimes vpon their knees: many of the Turks were there laid on ground, whilst they desperately fought to haue broken the order of the Christians. In the meane time, when many of the Turks horsemen and Ianizaries comming out of the gates, and diuers others beholding the fight were come ouer the riuier from BUDA, to be partakers of the victorie, had filled the hithermost banke; *Vitellius* in good time, of purpose by little and little retired, as if he had been overcharged: Then began the enemy to giue a great shout, and more fiercely to assaile the Christians: their horsemen also clapt behind them, to haue there charged them. Which thing *Perennis* diligently noting, and that the Turks in following of *Vitellius* were drawne a great way from the gates, he suddenly with his light horsemen clapt in betwixt the citie and the Turks at their backs, after whom followed also *Mauritius* (afterwards duke of SAXONIA) with a strong troupe of German horsemen, of purpose to haue shut them in for retiring backe againe into the citie. But then the Turks perceiuing the danger, and finding themselves shut in, stood as men more than halfe dismayed, bechinking themselves which way to take, and so began to retire. When *Vitellius* comming on couragiously with his pikemen and his harquebussiers, diuided into two wings, charged them fiercely; and the Hungarian and German horsemen breaking in amongst them on the other side, made great slaughter of them, and stricke such a feare amongst the flying Turkes, that many of them in running to the gate, thrust one another thorow with their pikes, diuers other were also by the horsemen driuen into the riuier, and there drowned. That day *Segemenes* lost aboue an hundred of his Ianizaries, and foure hundred others. The chiefest commendation for this piece of seruice was giuen to *Vitellius*, who had so well and so quickly reuenged himselfe of the Turkes: and next him to *Perennis*, who as a skilfull capitaine had so well awaited the time to entrap the enemy: neither is *Mauritius* the young Saxon prince vnworthie his due praise, who valiantly charging the Turkes, and hauing his horse slaine vnder him, was in danger to haue bene there lost himselfe, had not *Nicholas Ribische* one of his followers, couered him with his owne bodie, vntill

The Turke sally
out of Pesth, and
put the Christi-
ans to the worse.

The Turke sal-
ling out againe
are discomfited
by Vitellius and
Perennis.

Mauritius in
danger to be
slaine.

A such time as that hee was rescued by others, *Ribische* himselfe presently dying of his wounds. This little victorie so encouraged the Germanes, that the Marquesse commaunded the great ordnance to be presently brought forth, and the batterie planted, which was at the first placed: so farre off, that it did little harme, although the wall were both old and thin, not aboue fise foot thicke: and the ordnance laied either a little too low, or mounted too high, either shot short, or quite ouer the citie into BUDA: which fault once perceiued, the batterie was remoued neerer, and a faire breach soone made in the wall, with the continuall beating of fortie great pieces of artillerie. *Vitellius* was the first that offered to assault the breach, so that the Germanes would presently second him, which thing they all by holding vp of their hands promised courageously, but cowardly about by and by to breake that promise: for oftentimes it chanceth, That they which before the danger are readiest to promise their helpe, are in the very danger it selfe of all others most slacke. The Hungarians also for their parts promised not to be behind. The silence of the enemy at the breach and in the citie, was wonderfull, so that many thought he had bene fled backe ouer the riuier to BUDA: for *Segemenes* capitaine of the Ianizaries, an old beaten souldior, ordered all things with as little stir as was possible: He had receiued new supplies from *Plamas*, and had cast a deepe countermure within the wall against the breach, and on the inner side of the same had made a strong barricado, with gabions and wine vessels filled with sand and earth: behind which stood the Ianizaries, & next vnto them the Turkish archers, and last of all the horsemen who had left their horses to serue on foot. The signall for the assault once giuen, foure Italian capitaines ran desperately with their companies by the ruines of the wall to the breach: but whilst they there set vp their ensignes, and wondering at the enemies fortification, were readie betwixt hope and feare to leape downe, they were suddenly ouerwhelmed with a shoure of arrowes and bullets. Yet *Vitellius* still encouraging them, brought them still on, who did what they might to haue entred: but the Germane footmen with their Generall stood still vnder the wals, looking on, as men nothing moued either with the hope of victorie or danger of their friends: and the Hungarians not so much as once looking vpon the enemy, retired: two of the Italian capitaines, *Rufus* and *Fiolla* were there slaine, and *Carolus*, *Vitellius* his nephew, shot in the shoulder. The Turks with shot and stones still repulsed and beat downe the Italians, whereof the Germanes also standing still, felt part, and were more gauled than a man would haue thought men could haue bene, that did nothing: for there they still stood for shame, least if they should haue also first retired, they should haue incurred a second infamie as bad as the first. Which thing *Vitellius* perceiuing, would in no case depart from the breach, but wished rather to lose his men by whole companies, than to leaue the least colour of excuse to the Germanes, or that they should say they stayed longest, of whom he with greater anger than greefe complained, that he was forsaken and cowardly betrayed. In time of this assault one of the Turks was heard to speake aloud in the Italian tongue, *Why doe not you valiant Italians spare your selues, and giue place to those lasse Germanes. We all wish to spare you, and to beat the drunkenesse out of their most cowardly heads, that they should no more hereafter prouoke us.* At length the Germanes wearie of their hot standing and nought doing, got them farther off, after whom the Italians forthwith retired: but so disorderly, to be quickly out of the danger of the enemies shot, that if the Turks had at the same time sallied out at all the gates, it was thought that the whole campe had bene greatly endangered. In this attempt rather than assault, seuen hundred Christians were slaine outright, and many more hurt, who died afterwards of their wounds.

All this while the Marquesse and *Hugonot* the great commanders of the armie, kept themselves so farre from gunshot, that they were no where to be scene, vntill that *Tornielius* and *Fotiscu*, two valiant capitaines, finding them out, wished them for shame to shew themselves for the comforting of the armie. A little before night they consulted with the other capitaines, Whether they should forsake the siege, or continue it still: whereof most of the Germanes best liked to be gone, as the safest way: though *Vitellius* & some others spake earnestly to the contrarie. At which time a spie comming in, brought newes that *Achomates*, *Solymans* lieutenant of the European horsemen, had passed ouer the riuier SAUUS at BELGRADE, and was comming to DRANUS: while comming either cunningly fained, or vainly beleueed, caused the Germanes to make a short conclusion, and to resolute flatly to returne to VIENNA, fearing that if they should longer continue the siege, they should be stayed against their wils by *Achomates*. Which thing made many of the old Germane souldiors to hang their heads for shame, and the Hungarians to curse both the

A breach made
in the wals of
Pesth.

The breach as
sallied by the
Italians.

The Germanes
stand still, as loo-
kers on, whilst the
Italians giue the
assault.

The continuall
speech of a
Turke against
the Germanes.

The Germanes
and the Italians
retire with losse.

Ger.

Germanes and the hard fortune of their nation; vainly wishing for a Generall in courage answerable to the strength of that great armie. *Segemenes* perceiuing how much the Christian armie was discouraged by the last dayes euill successe, early in the morning, courageously sent out all the horsemen, and after them certaine companies of footmen, to relieue them in their retire; who in many places skitmished with the Hungarians, being nothing inferiour vnto them either in courage or skill: and the matter was brought to that passe, as if it had beene so agreed vpon, that many of the most notable and expert souldiours on either side encountered together hand to hand in the sight of the Italians and Germanes, the Hungarians mixt with the Turks, and the Turks with the Hungarians, with such fidelitie, that they regarded no other enemie but him whom euery one had singled out for himselfe, as if it had beene in a triumph for exercise hand to hand. It happened, that a notable captain of the Turks, desired to see *Vitellius*, who being shew- ed vnto him (for he was easie to be knowne by his armour) the Turke ran vnto him to embrace him for his honour, and so departed. About fise hundred horsemen so encountered one another hand to hand that day, of whom many were slaine or hurt. The night following the batterie was removed, and the armie matched towards the riuer to the fleet. The Turks perceiuing the Christians to be departed, sallied out of the citie on all hands, and with a great crie vpbraiding them of cowardise, hardly pursued the rereward of the armie. *Vlamas* was come ouer himselfe from *Buda*, and so eagerly followed the armie, that it could hardly haue escaped without great danger, had not *Vitellius* with his Italians made a stand, and requested the Hungarian & German horsemen to turne backe vpon the enemie: which they at his request did, and not onely repulsed the enemie, but also put him to flight, and in the chase slew many. After which time the armie passed on quietly; yet feuen hundred Germanes which were sicke and stragled behind the armie, were by the Turks horsemen miserably slaine in the sight of their fellows. The Germans thrice foiled by the Turks, first at *Exek*, then at *Buda*, and now at *Pesth*, returned full of heauinesse and greefe, as they which were now to forget the subduing of *HUNGARIE*, and to become carefull of *GERMANIE* it selfe. The armie comming to *VIENNA*, was there broken vp, and the Italians sent home into their countrey, who for most part died by the way, of infection taken in the campe in strange aire, and a most queasie time of the yeare.

But to couer the shame of this vnfortunat expedition, and to turne mens talke another way by some notable accident: *Petrus Perennis* the noble Hungarian was the man pickt out for the purpose to fill mens mouths. He, belayed with the enuie of the court, was for suspicion of aspiring to the kingdome of *HUNGARIE*, by the commaundement of king *Ferdinand* apprehended by *Liscamus*, a Spanish capitaine, in the castle of *STRIOONIVM* as a traitor, and presently deliuered to *Medices* the Admirall, to be conueyed vp the riuer to *VIENNA*. *Liscamus* at the time of his apprehension most couetously and vncourteously tooke from him his chaine, and a rich cloke lined with fables: which indignitie done to so noble a gentleman, so much offended the minds of the rest of the Hungarians, that about twelue thousand of them thereupon presently returned home to their owne dwellings, cursing the Germanes to the diuell. This *Perennis* was one of the greatest peeres of *HUNGARIE*; but of a most haughtie and magnificent mind, so that hee would sometime haue almost an hundred goodly spare horses fit for seruice led before him without his riders; & would sometime speake too liberally against the batennesse of king *Ferdinand*'s court, who polled by his courtiers, hardly maintained his state: which his surpassing magnificence and princely port was cause y enough for the other great courtiers to enuie at his estate, and to seeke his overthrow; who as men overcharged with the burthen of another mans vertue, whereof they neuer bore the least part, and alwayes gaining by the deprauing of other mens perfection, conspired together his overthrow; and oftentimes pointing at him with their fingers, would say, That he fauoured of a crowne. This notable man, as he had many worthie vertues, so was he not without cause, noted of ambition and vnconstancie: For after that king *Lewes* was lost, he disdaining the preferment of *John* the Vayvod to the kingdome of *HUNGARIE*, tooke part with king *Ferdinand* against him, in hope as it was thought to be next in honour vnto himselfe: but after he saw king *John* againe restored, and his state strongly supported by *Solyman*, and that all things stood doubtfull and tickle with *Ferdinand*; he with like leuitie fought meanes by *Abraham* the great Bassa to be reconciled to king *John*; which was hardly obtained of him by the intercession of *Solyman* himselfe (as is before declared) to whom he gaue his sonne as pledge of his fidelitie. After which time he liued in great honour and loyaltie all the raigne of king *John*: but

A notable skirmish, betwixt the Turkes and the Hungarians.

The Christians removing from Pesth, are assailed by the Turkes.

The Christian armie broken up at Vienna.

Perennis the noble Hungarian apprehended upon suspicion of treason.

The vncourtesie of *Liscamus* the Spaniard in the apprehension of *Perennis*.

A but after he was dead, and saw *George* the bishop the kings tutor, doing what he list to raigne like a king, he disdained his government, and sollicit by king *Ferdinand*, reuolted again vnto him, and furthered him in what he could for the obtaining of the kingdome. But now falling into the enuie of the court, mallice found out matter y enough to worke his confusion. First it was giuen out, That his sonne, who had many yeares beene detained in *Solyman*'s court, as pledge of his fathers faith, was euen then vnder the colour of a faigned escape come into *TRANSILVANIA*; when as he had secretly agreed with *Solyman*, that his father being a man much fauoured of the people, should by promising them all possible freedome, allure them to the Turkish subjection: in reward of which good seruice he should be made gouernor of the kingdome of *HUNGARIE*, and put in hope also to be made the tributarie king thereof, if it should fortune the young king to die: Besides that, it was accounted a thing very suspitious, that hee had the Winter before vled great kindnesse and friendship toward the Turkish captaines, by sending them great presents, and receiving the like againe: And last of all, his letters directed to certaine Hungarian captaines were produced, wherein he seemed to promise them, as his friends and followers, greater entertainment than agreed with his present estate: All which things king *Ferdinand* (of his owne disposition, not easily to be perswaded to conceiue euill of the Germanes his countrey men, were it neuer so apparant or true, but of strangers any thing quickly beleued, and therefore caused him (as is before said) to be apprehended. But *Perennis* as he was brought by *Medices* the Admirall to *VIENNA*, when he was come neere vnto the gate of the citie, and heard that *Philippus Tormellius*, with certaine other braue captaines of his acquaintance, were come to meet the Admirall; he requested that the close coach wherein he rid might be opened, and that he might haue leaue to speake to those noble and valiant gentlemen: Which thing was easily granted, for that the nobilitie and approoued valour of the man seemed vnto them which had the charge of him, vnworthie of such restraint of libertie or imprisonment, yea or of the least suspicion thereof. So he turning himselfe towards them, spake vnto them in this sort.

Wretched I, noble gentlemen (said he) whom despitfull enuie hath circumuented guilelesse: but much more miserable king *Ferdinand*, whom domesticall theues bereaues of substance, friends, and honour all at once. For so it commeth to passe, that by this inconsiderat wrong done vnto me, he shall utterly lose the loue and fidelitie of the Hungarian nation, and may therefore for euer not without cause despaire for the obtaining of the kingdome of *HUNGARIE*; sithence that it is not lawfull for me (inferiour to none of my nation in birth, and hauing for my good and faithfull seruice well deserved reward of a iust king) so much as to reioice for the deliuerance of my sonne from the captiuitie of the Turkes, but that by my sinister fortune, dreadfull death in stead of incomparable ioy must be presented to mine eyes. For will these malicious pick-thanks, guiltie of their owne cowardise, the wicked contriuers and witnesses of my wrongfull accusation, spare me, being laid fast and in durance, which neuer spared the kings honour? For euery man of what nobilitie soeuer, be he neuer so guilelesse, when he is once in hold, must be content to endure, not what he hath deserved, but what his hard fortune assigneth. Yet my vpright mind and cleare conscience, which onely thing God the most iust indge leaueth as a comfort to men in miserie wrongfully accused, admonisheth me of this take: and so will the Marquesse our Generall, to whom I before vpon a mistrust foretold, that such a danger would shortly befall me, and that I had rather be slaine guilelesse, than to withdraw my selfe from triall: which thing I told him at such time as I was souldard with mine owne strength, that I feared no mans force. I beseech you, doe me this honourable fauon, as a request king *Ferdinand* in my behalf quickly and honourably to proceed to the trial of my cause, and according to his owne princely disposition, and not the will of others, to discern betwixt his faithfull friends and faigned flatterers. Truly wee are too too vnfortunat captaines, if for a little euill successe we shall be so aduantaged as men that had overthrown their fortune. *Cazians* peradventure receiued the iust punishment hee had deserved for the shamefull forsaking and losing of the armie at *Exek*, when as he possessed with an vnquoth feare forgot the dutie of a Generall, more afraid of death than dishonour: for when he had voluntarily committed himselfe to safe custodie, he was so generally condemned of cowardise, that despairing to defend his cause, he brake prison, and as wickedly as vnfortunatly reuolted to the Turkes: But neither was I of late the Generall, neither were we vanquished, although we prevailed not, but honourably retiring, valiantly repressed the insolencie of the pursuing enemie. As for the kingdome of *HUNGARIE*, I might then well haue affected the same, and easily haue deserued it at *Solyman*'s hands,

The lamentable speech of *Perennis* to *Tormellius* and the other captaines, concerning his apprehension.

Perennis his request of the Admirall and the rest of the captaines.

when as king Ferdinand, after the death of king Iohn, was making his preparation for that warre: G
at which time my friends and followers at my deuotion, with the loue of the Hungarians towards me,
seeming of no small importance for the obtaining of the victorie, might haue ministered no vnreason-
able or vnreasonable hope to haue drawne a man into courses not altogether befitting a Christi-
an. wherefore I haue, and will so long as I liue, fight against the Turkes, if king Ferdinand shall
shew himselfe an indifferent iudge in this accusation, falsely surmised against me by the malice of
mine enemies.

When he had made an end of speaking, the Admirall courteously perswaded him to haue
good hope in the clemencie of the most iust king; and shortly after performed his request: for
he and Torniellus taking the king as he was hunting, entreated him to deale fauourably with Pe- H
renus: For all that, Perenus could not obtaine that his cause might be openly heard; but was
committed to safe keeping, there to remaine in perpetuall prison: but whether it was for the mis-
prision of new treason, or for reuenge of his old inconstancie, is vncertaine. Thus, three the on-
ly great princes left of the Hungarian blood, equally worthe of the kingdome, Valentine, Maylar,
and Perenus, snarled almost in like snares of enuie, cut off all hope of raising a king to their fediti-
ous and therefore miserable countrey men: when as Perenus lay too late bewailing his vncon-
stancie in perpetuall prison; and the other two fast in chaines neere vnto the Euxine sea, expe-
cted death the end of their miseries. This end had the wars, taken in hand against the Turkes by
the generall consent of the Germans in the year 1542; which many thought, might worthily
be compared with the greatest losses of those times: VVhen as king Ferdinand, hauing in vaine I
before conceiued of the strength of GERMANIE; had now as a weakie prince, and subject to in-
iurie, prouoked against him the Turkes, bold enough otherwise, but as then insolent for their
late victories.

1543

Polinus the French kings embassadour still following the Turkes court, ceased not by all
meanes to sollicite Solyman, with his gallies to aid the king his master in the inuasion of the do-
minions of Charles the emperour, in ITALIE, SICILIE, and SPAINIE. In which sute, he was
so crossed by Solyman the eunuch Bassa, then Vezier, that he was almost in despaire of speed: for
the malicious eunuch, being himselfe a great sea man, and enuying the honor of Barbarussa (who
was to be employed in that seruice) fought by keeping him out of all honourable actions, to di-
minish his former glorie; and concerning the present, protested openly as he sat in counsell, that
he saw no other cause why the Turkish emperour should to his great charge and the common
danger, send out such a fleet; but to serue Barbarussa his own turne. But Solyman hauing dilig-
ently heard, and deeply considered of that the Bassas had said; rejected their opinions, who would
not he should haue giuen the French king aid: and honorably decreed, according to his promise,
whatsoever should ensue thereof; to send his fleet vnto the king by Barbarussa. Two daies after,
the French embassadour before in dispaire, but now reuiued with that decree, was solemnly fea-
sted by Rustan Bassa, Solymans sonne in law; and by Solyman the eunuch Bassa: for so it was their
Great masters pleasure, both of them joying of him for the friendship confirmed betwixt the two
princes by sending this fleet. After which, diuers gifts were bestowed vpon the embassadour L
and his chiefe followers; and at such time as he was to take his leaue, Solyman gaue him great
and charge of his naue, that it might be safely kept, and so after the seruice done, againe returned;
and withall, deliuered him letters vnto king Francis, wherein after the glorious rehearfall of his proud
titles, he writ vnto him as followeth:

Solyman letters
to the French
king.

We haue vpon a brotherly bountie, granted vnto Polinus your embassadour, such and so great a
fleet as you haue desired, thorowly furnished for all assaies: whose direction we haue commaunded
Hatiaden our Admirall to follow, and by your appointment to proceed against the enemy. But you
shall doe well and friendly, the wars once happily ended, to send backe againe my fleet to CONSTAN-
TINOPLE. All things shall undoubtedly fall out according to your owne desire and mine, if you shall M
carefully take heed, that Charles the Spanishe king, your perpetuall enemy, doe not againe deceiue
you with the motion of a deceitfull peace. For then shall you bring him to a most indifferent peace,
when you haue before brought vpon his countries all the calamities of warre.

Polinus

Polinus taking his leaue of Solyman then lying at HADRIANOPLE, returned to CONSTAN-
TINOPLE, where he found Barbarussa with an hundred and ten gallies, and fortie galliots readie
to put to sea, which he had with incredible celeritie rigged vp and furnished. And so setting for-
ward the eight and twentieth of Aprill, in the year 1543, and passing the straits of HELESPO-
NTVS, he arrived first at CARSTVS in EVBEE; and from thence to MALLA, where he was by
contrarie winds cast into the bay of LACEDEMON, and there staid nine daies before he could
double the cape of METAPONTVM, called in auncient time TERNARVS: After that he came to
METHON, and from thence crossing the Ionian, came to the strait of MESSANA; where the
Turkish pirats being come with their galliots within the sight of RHODVM, began to land
their men. They of RHODVM seeing so great a fleet, and the Turkes already landing, fled out
of the citie for feare: but the castle was still kept by Didacus Gaetanus a Spaniard, who refused to
B haue any parley with Polinus the French embassadour; and with shot out of the castle slew cer-
taine of the Turkes: wherewith the rest being entaged, brake into the citie, and finding it desolat,
set it on fire; sore against the will of Polinus and Barbarussa, who sought to haue found out the
authors thereof, and to haue punished them accordingly.

After that, certaine pieces of great ordinance were landed and planted against the castle, which
with a few shot so terrified the captaine, already troubled with the crying out of his wife, that he
without any more ado yielded himselfe and the castle with all therein, into the hands of the
enemie: vnto whom with his wife and children, Barbarussa at the request of the French embas-
sadour, granted both life and libertie: the rest he shut vp in a church, and gaue the spoile of the
C castle to his souldiours. There was in the garrison of the castle about seauentie Spaniards, but ma-
ny more citicens, which were all carried away prisoners. One of the captaines daughters, a young
gentlewoman of exceeding beautie, had with her good grace so warmed the withered affection
of the old pirat Barbarussa, that he now fitter for the graue than for marriage, became amorous
of her person: so that taking her from her father, and cutting her into the Mahometane superstition,
he made of her as of his wife: Insomuch, that certaine moneths after, he welcomed and
bountifully entertained the captaine as his father in law, comming to see his daughter at the port
called PORTVS HERCVLIS in TVSCANIE, where the Turkes fleet then lay. Barbarussa sayling
alongst the coast of ITALIE, came to OSTIA, in the mouth of the riuier Tiber, and brought
such a feare vpon the citie of ROME, that the citicens were readie generally to haue forsaken the
D citie; had not Polinus by his letters to Rodolphus the cardinall, then the great bishop Paulus his le-
gat in the citie; in part staid the sudden tumult. The bishop himselfe was then at BVXETVM; a
towne betwixt CREMONA and PLACENTIA, traouelling (in shew) with the emperour; to haue
made a peace betwixt him and the French king: but labouring in secret to haue bought of him
the dukedome of MILLAN, for Octauius his kinsman, the emperours sonne in law. Polinus
his letters written to the cardinall at ROME, and sent by the Gouernour of TERRACINA,
were to this effect.

The fleet which is by Solyman sent for the defence of FRANCE by Barbarussa his Admirall, is The French em-
by his appointment at my commaund: so that it is not to hurt any but our enemies: wherefore make
E it knowne to the Romans, and others dwelling alongst the coast of the Popes territorie, that they feare
of us no hostilitie: For the Turkes will neuer violat the faith of their emperour solemnly giuen vnto
me: and you know most assuredly, that the French king desireth nothing more, than that the estate of
ROME might not only be kept in safetie, but also flourish most gloriously, and be therefore preserved
from all iniurie. Fare you well.

In like manner he also comforted vp them of NAPTUNIUM and OSTIA, so that they
brought vnto the Turkes all manner of victual; and sometimes for foure sheepe or a couple of
oxen, redeemed a good prisoner taken in some place of the kingdome of NAPLES. Yet for all
this, the Romans did not so much credit the embassadours promise in the behalfe of the Turkes
good dealing, but that many of the weaker sort fled out of the citie into the country by night,
although the chiefe magistrates did what they might to haue staid them: VVhen Barbarussa
had thus liued three daies in the mouth of the riuier of Tiber, and there watered, he passed alongst
the coast of ETRVRIA and LVCA, without doing any harme; and so sailed directly to
MARITIMA: Where leading him with his fleet for a while, expecting the French kings
farther

Rrr ij

Solyman com-
meth with a
great army into
Hungarie.

The castle of
Walpo treache-
rously yielded, &
the traitors insti-
tly rewarded.

Solyman com-
meth with his
army to Strigo-
nium.

farther pleasure; we will againe returne vnto *Solyman*, who at the same time that *Barbarossa* was spoiling the frontiers of the emperours dominions in *ITALIE*, came with a great armie into *HUNGARIE*, for the more assured possession of that kingdome, wherafter he saw king *Ferdinand* so much longed. And because he would make all sure before him, he sent *Amurathes* Gouverneur of *DALMATIA*, and *Vlamas* the Persian gouernour of *BOSNA*, to besiege *WALPO*; a strong town scituate vpon the riuer *Dranus*, not far from *EXER*, famous for the ouerthrow of the Christian armie vnder *Cazzianer*: after whom followed also *Achomates* the great commander of his European horsemen. This towne (part of *Perennis* his possessions) was against all these forces kept and worthily defended by *Perennis* his wife (her husband then lying in prison at *VINNA*) and her friends, by the space of three months: but was at last by the treacherous souldiors deliuered to the enemy, together with their Generall; whom when they could by no means persuade to consent to the yeelding vp thereof, but that he would needs hold it out to the last, they tooke him perforce, and so deliuered him with the towne to the *Turkes*: who receiued him with all courtesie, and vsed him honourably: but those traitorous souldiors, whether it were in detestation of their treacherie, or for the spoile of them, were all put to the sword; the just reward of their treason. The rest of the citizens were by the *Turkes* taken to mercie, and well vsed. The bishop and chiefe men of *QVINOVA ECLASIA*, a famous citie not far off on the other side of *Dranus*, hearing of the losse of *WALPO*, and terrified with the greatnesse of the *Turkes* armie, fled for feare, leauing none but the meaner sort of the people in the citie, who willingly yeelded the same vnto the *Turks*. The next towne of any strength was *SOCRISIA*, belonging also to *Perennis*, which for a while held out against the *Turks*, for that diuers gentlemen of the countrey which were fled into the citie, encouraged the citizens to stand vpon their defence. But after much harme done on both sides, when they were no longer able to hold out, they retired into the castle in hope to haue so saued their liues and libertie by yeelding: but *Amurathes* was so offended with them, that he would come to no reasonable composition, or promise them any thing more than that they should at their pleasure come forth: and so as they came out at the gate, slew them euerie mothers sonne, thereby to terrifie others from making like resistance.

Solyman vnderstanding all these things, gaue those townes which were taken, to *Amurathes* the Generall: and hauing put all things in readinesse, departed from *BUDA* with all his armie to besiege *STRIGONIUM*; which was then kept by *Liscanus* and *Salamanca*, two proudcouetous Spaniards, with a garrison of thirtene hundred souldiors, whereof some few were Spaniards and Italians, and the rest Germans. *Paulus* bishop of *STRIGONIUM*, got himselfe out of the citie betimes, despairing of all mercie if he should haue fallen into the power of *Solyman*, by whose intermission he had been once before reconciled to king *John*; and had againe reuolted from him to king *Ferdinand*. The castle of *STRIGONIUM* was scituate vpon a high hill, ouerlooking *Danubius* running vnderneath it, the wals were built euen without any flankers; after the old manner of building before the inuention of guns: For which cause, *Vitellius* and *Tennellus*, two expert capitaines (the yeare before sent from the king to view the place, and the manner of the fortification) were of opinion, that the citie could hardly be defended, if it were besieged by any strong enemy: being subject also vnto a hill not far from the gates of the citie, against which inconueniences, the old garrison souldiors which wintered in *STRIGONIUM*, cast vp new bulwarks and fortifications, and after the manner of windie headed men, making great boast before the danger, what they would do, seemed to with for the coming of *Solyman*. But after that the barbarous enemy had with his tents couered the fields and mountains round about the citie, and withall brought a gallant fleet vp the riuer, all those brags were laid in the dust; & every man began to grow doubtfull of his owne safetie: for that they being but few (although men of good worth) were to withstand the infinit number of such enemies; as oftentimes vied most desperately to expose their liues to all manner of dangers. This their feare was also increased by the coming of certaine messengers from *Solyman*, who vnderstanding of what the garrison consisted, sent vnto the citie three of his owne guard, one a Spaniard, another an Italian, and the third a German, all renegade Christians; that euerie one of them might without an interpreter, speake vnto their countrey men in their owne language: These men admitted into the citie, offered great rewards and large entertainment in the name of *Solyman*, to such as would in time yeeld; denouncing all torture and extremities vnto them which should endure the summons of the cannon. Whereunto it was answered by the capitaines, That those faithfull and valiant sould-

ors,

The stout answer
of the capitaines.

ors, who had reposed their last hope in their armes, were neither to be wooen by gifts, nor terrified with threats. With which answer the messenger returned, and the same day the *Turkes* great ordinance was planted vpon the hill before the gate of the citie, and the weakest parts of the wals round about the citie, so well pickt out by the *Turks* to be assaulted; as that they could not more skilfully or commodiously haue been chosen out of them which had within most diligently viewed euerie thing: so that it is to be thought, that the Christians wanted not onely fortune against the *Turks*, but also faith amongst themselves. *Salamanca*, distrusting the fortifications of the suburbs, retired into the citie, contrary to that he had before vainly boasted. *Achomates* Generall of the European horsemen, laid siege to that part of the wall which was next to the bishops gardens: *Vlamas* the Persian besieged the towne neere vnto the gate towards *BUDA*: The *Alapi* or common souldiors were by their capitaines brought on to dig trenches and cast vp mounts, as was thought most conuenient. It is incredible to be spoken with what furie the great ordinance was discharged, without ceasing; in somuch that the towne with a great part of the wall neere vnto it, shaken with continuall batterie, fell downe with such violence, as if all had been shaken with a most terrible earthquake: neither was any man able to stand vpon the wals, but that the *Janizaries* with their harquebusiers out of their trenches and from their mounts, would most certainly fetch him off: and many which stood within farther off, were with the *Turkes* arrowes falling from high, as if it had bene out of the ayre, grievously wounded. But that which most troubled the defendants, and did them greatest harme, was the stones, which beaten in sunder with the great shot, and not to be auoided, did with their peeces kill or maim the souldiors neere hand: With which dangers they were enforced to forsake the vttermost wall, and to cast vp new fortifications within, that they might with lesse danger defend the place. Neither in the enemy wanted courage to assaile the breach: thise they desperately attempted to haue entered, and were alwaies with losse repulsed. In which assaults amongst others, *Bul-tacer* Sanzacke of *SELYMBRIA*, a man of great account among the *Turkes*, was lost. Whilest the defendants were thus busied, many of the souldiors and mariners which came vp the riuer, with all things necessarie for the armie from *BUDA*, went on shoare and lay in the suburbs of the citie, in such securitie, as if there had been no enemy nigh: which thing they in the citie perceiving, suddenly sallied out vpon them fearing no such matter, and slew many of them, before they could arme themselves, and draue the rest to their fleet: so that betwixt fighting, and flying there was about two hundred of them slaine. *Zymar* a Persian, Admirall of the fleet, in rescuing of them which to saue their liues fled vnto the riuer, was shot thorow with a small shot, and slaine. Whilest these things were in doing, and the *Turkes* hauing in many places sore shaken the wall, did with greater force daily assaile the citie, and the defendants with their continuall losses and out of hope of all reliefe were more and more discouraged: an old Calabrian engineer, which had long time serued king *Ferdinand*, fled out of the citie to the *Turkes*, who being courteously entertained by *Solyman*, and examined by the Bassaes of many things concerning the strength and state of the citie, satisfied them in all that they desired; and farther, directed them in planting their batteries in places most conuenient for the speedie taking of the towne. In the meane time, whilest the *Turkes* were with restless labour battering the wals, and working in their mines, it fortuned that a gilt brassen croffe which stood vpon the top of the steeple of the Cathedral church, was by the continuall shooting of the *Turkes* thereat, at length beaten downe: at the sight whereof, it is reported that *Solyman* after the superstitious manner of that nation, taking the chance as a token of his good lucke, cried out presently, *STRIGONIUM* is woon.

Liscanus and *Salamanca* fearefully consulting of the euent of the siege, and secretly conferring together, resolved to saue themselves, and to giue vp the towne. *Liscanus* was no great souldior, and yet by continuall spoile growne exceeding rich, and therefore thought it but follic to buy the name of a resolute capitaine at too deare a price, with the losse of his life and wealth. The like feeling was also in *Salamanca*, who preferred the safetie of himselfe and of that which he had got in long seruice, before all credit and honour, were it neuer so great. This their purpose was not kept so secret, but that it was noised abroad amongst the common souldiours, of whom almost the third part was now either slaine, or with wounds or sicknesse growne weake: yet were they all of opinion generally, That they were still strong ynough to defend the towne. But the vnder capitaines and auncients vsing to flatter their Generals, liked well of the motion, to yeeld vnto

R r r iij

Solyman

The terrible batt-
erie of the *Turks*
at Strigonium.

The *Turks* re-
pulsed thise as
the assaults of the
breach.

A fugitiue Chris-
tian discouers
the strength and
state of the citie
to the *Turks*.

*Salamanca goeth
out of Strigonium
and saileth with
the Turks about
the yeelding vp
of the same.*

*Strigonium yeel-
ed to the Turks
by Liscanus the
Spaniard.*

*Liscanus the co-
uetous Spaniard
merrily strips
of all his wealth
by Halis, capitaine
of the Ianzaries.*

*Solyman entred
into Strigonium,
and there striketh
up the Mahometane
superstition.*

Solyman vpon reasonable conditions, rather than to expose themselves to most certaine death, which should nothing better king *Ferdinands* cause. Not long after, an Aunient was by night let downe ouer the wall: and hauing by an interpreter received the Turks faith, called forth *Salamanca*, that he might vpon better conditions goe thorow with them for the yeelding vp of the towne. Who without further delay comming out, went to *Achomates*; commaunding before he went them which defended the water tower next vnto the riuer side, a place of great danger, for safegard of their liues to get themselves into the cite: who terrified with that newes, and hastily retiring, were by the vigilant Turks which lay at the siege thereof, perceiued, who suddenly breaking in, slew such as were not yet gone, & possessed the castle. But *Salamanca* being brought before the great Bassas, when he had stood vpon many nice tearmes, and required many things to haue bene graunted him, obtained no more, but that they should without delay yeeld vp the cite, and put themselves wholly to the mercie of *Solyman*. So the Spaniard being there stayed, himselfe writ to *Liscanus*, how he had sped; willing him forthwith, if he loued his owne salerie, to yeeld the cite, without standing vpon further tearmes. *Liscanus* vpon receipt of these letters coming forth to the souldiours, declared vnto them the necessitie of yeelding vp of the towne, and what hope there was to escape with life and libertie. But whilest the souldiours filled with indignation, stood as men in doubt what to doe, *Halis* commander of the Ianzaries came vnto the gate, and with cheerefull rather than sterne countenance required to haue it opened vnto him according to the agreement made by *Salamanca* in the campe; which was forthwith opened by *Liscanus*, and the keyes deliuered vnto him: the Ianzaries entring peaceably into the cite, possessed themselves of the wals and fortresses round about, commaunding the Christian souldiours to giue place, out of whom they chose all the beardless youths, and commaunded the rest to cast downe their harquebusers and other weapons in a place appointed, which they all for feare did, expecting nothing but some cruell execution to be done vpon them by the barbarous enimie. Which their feare was the more encreased by a strange accident, then vnlookily chancing: For whilest the souldiours did as they were commaunded, with their harquebusers cast their flasks full of powder also, one of them suddenly tooke fire of a match, which was by chance cast in amongst them with fire in it, which firing the rest, blew abroad all that heape of weapons amongst the Turks, which so filled them with anger and feare of some sudden trecherie, that they fell vpon the Christians, & slew diuers of them: vntill such time as *Halis* perswaded that it was a thing happened rather by chance than mallice, commaunded his Ianzaries to stay their furie. This tumult appeased, *Halis* caused proclamation to be made, That all such Christian souldiours as would serue *Solyman* in his warres, should haue such place in his armie as their qualitie required, with bountifull entertainment: yet of all the Christian souldiours were found onely fewentie, which carefull of their liues, accepted the offer; fearing that the Turkes would vpon such as refused exercise their wonted crueltie. *Halis* entertaining them courteously, sent them away with the other youths whom he had before culled out, downe the riuer to *Bvda*: the other souldiours he tooke into his protection, and vsed their labour to helpe the Turks to make cleane the castle. But *Liscanus*, who to saue his gold, had made shipwrack of his honour and reputation, was glad to giue vnto *Halis* the faire chaine of gold, which he had most couetously and insolently before taken from *Perennis*; when as *Halis*, who would otherwise haue taken it from him by force, by way of militarie courtesie, now craued it of him, as a strange kind of ornament amongst the Turks: with which gift he was in hope to haue saued the rest of his coine. But fortune fauoured not so much the couetous coward: For when he was about to depart away with his horses of seruice, which he kept very good, and had cunningly stuffed the saddles full of gold, thinking so slyly to haue coueyed it; the Turke laughing at him, tooke from him his horses furnished as they were, saying, That he which was to goe by water, needed no horses. So was the couetous wretch at once quit of the great wealth which he had in long time euill gotten. The captaines, with the rest of the souldiours dispoiled of their armes, were conueyed ouer the riuer of *Danubius*, and so travelled on foot to *Possonium*: where the countie *Salme* by the commaundement of the king apprehended *Liscanus*, *Salamanca*, and some other of the captaines for suspicion of treason, and committed them to safe custodie, there to answere for their cowardly yeelding vp of the cite.

Solyman entred into *STRIGONIUM* the tenth of August in the yeare 1543, and there conuerting the Christian churches into temples for the Mahometane superstition, first sacrificed for his victorie, as he had before done in *Bvda*: and after with all speed so strongly fortified the cite,

as if he would thereby for euer haue taken from the Christians all hope of recouering the same againe; deriding the slouthfull negligence of the Germans, who possessed of it foureteeen years, had neglected all that time to fortifie it. Not long after, *Solyman* leauing *Osfainus* a valiant capitaine gouernour of *STRIGONIUM*, and sending his Tartarian horsemen to spoile the countrey on the left hand, as farre as *ALBA REGALIS*; went himselfe to besiege the castle of *TATTA*, called in auntient time *THEODATA*. The garrison souldiours terrified with the losse of *STRIGONIUM*, and the sight of the Turkes armie, vpon the first summons yeelded the castle without resistance, and were so suffered quietly to depart. That castle after the manner of the Turkish discipline (who with few and those very strong holds keepe their prouinces in subjection) was by *Solymans* commaundement presently rased downe to the ground. *Torniellus* Generall of the Italians, caused *Hanniball*, capitaine of the castle, to haue his head stricke off for his cowardly yeelding vp of the peece he had taken charge of: thereby to admonish others, which had the charge of strong places, not to refuse an honourable death in defence of their countrey, for feare of an ignominious death attending their cowardise.

TATTA thus layd in the dust, *Solyman* marched with his armie towards *ALBA*, surnamed *REGALIS*, for that the kings of *HUNGARIA* by an auntient custome vsed to be there crowned, and also buried. *BVDA*, *STRIGONIUM*, and *ALBA REGALIS*, three principall cities of the kingdom of *HUNGARIA* stand in manner of a triangle, almost equally distant one from another, about a hundred miles in compasse. *BVDA* and *STRIGONIUM* are situate vpon the riuer of *Danubius*; but *ALBA* standeth more into the land, strongly seated in the midst of a great lake, but not so wholesomely, especially in the Summer time, the Winter waters then decreassing, and grosse vapours arising with the heat of the Sunne. From the cite thorow the marish or lake vnto the firme land, lie three broad and high causeyes (in manner of the strakes of a cart wheele) well built with faire houses and gardens on either side, and a broad way in the middle whereby men passe in and out of the cite. At the end of euery causey towards the land were cast vp strong bulwarkes, which the citisens vsed not to watch but in dangerous times of watre: so that by these bulwarkes, the houses of the suburbs standing vpon these causeys, were safe from the danger of the enimie, the lake filling vp all the spaces betwixt the causeys: which, what for the depth, what for mud, flaggs, and bulrushes growing in it, was not by horse or man to be passed thorow. And the cite it selfe standing in the midst of the lake, compassed round about with a strong wall, and a deepe ditch alwayes full of water, was hardly to be besieged: for which causes a great number of the countrey people vpon the coming of *Solyman*, fled into it with their cartell, as vnto a most sure hold. In the cite lay in garrison two companies of Germans, and two hundred horsemen, vnto whom were joyned five hundred Hungarian horsemen, such as in time of peace liued by robbing, and are by an infamous name called *Vsarous*: vnto these, the Italian countie *Torniellus*, who with his Italians was come as farre as *IAVARINUM*, or *RAB*, sent foure captaines with their companies, such as were most forward in that seruice: after whom followed *Barocius*, capitaine of the kings guard, with a companie of horsemen, appointed by the king for Generall. Who was no sooner come into the cite, but news was brought of *Solymans* approach. Whereupon he in hast called together the other captaines; with *Birrous* then maior of the cite, and other the cheefe citisens, to consult with them, What was best to be done for the defence of the cite, but especially, Whether the suburbs of the cite, standing vpon those three broad causeys, were to be destroyed or not: that so the cite standing in the midst of the great marish, might both with lesse labour and danger be defended. This question was seriously debated, and great reasons alleaged on both sides: at last the citisens cried out with one voice against the matter, and said, That they would neuer suffer those goodly suburbs, wherein were so many churches and faire buildings as might compare with the cite it selfe, to be so shamefully destroyed, to the vtter vndoing of so many rich citisens: for what could be (said they) more dishonourable or lamentable, than to the encouraging of the barbarous enimie, to shew such a token of extreame feare; and with their owne hands to burne and destroy those stately buildings, which might by strong hand be well enough defended against the enimie, if they did not play the shamefull cowards. Of which opinion with the citisens was also *Osfainus Seroactus* an Italian capitaine, al- leading that both the cite and the suburbs might both with like danger be defended: forasmuch as they were equally fortified with the benefit of the marish; and if the worst should happen, the defendants might yet safely enough retire into the cite. At last standing vp as one thrust forward,

A cowardly capitaine worthily rewarded.

Solyman goeth to Alba Regalis.

The description of Alba Regalis.

The citisens of Alba will not suffer the cite to be destroyed.

Generall of the Germans for his soldiours. *Solyman* the eunuch Bassa, offered vnto *Rufus* honorable entertainment, if he would haue serued *Solyman*: which when he refused as bound to king *Ferdinand* by oath, in honour of his valour he gaue him a rich cloake wrought with flowers of gold. The embassadours returning into the citie, and telling how they had sped, deliuered the citizens of a great feare. Shortly after the citie being yeelded, *Achomates* by open proclamation in the market place, commaunded the Italians and Germans to make themselves readie against the next day to depart, and to take good heed that no Hungarian went with them: hee also straightly charged the citizens to keepe their houses, vntill the strange souldiours were departed. At the time appointed, the Italians and Germans set forward, conducted by *Homares* with a companie of the Turks horsemen, who faithfully defended them against the Tartares, running vp and downe the countrey after spoile: neither was any thing taken from them but their dages, which the German horsemen after a new fashion carried at their saddle bowes; these the Turks greatly desired, delighted with the noueltie of the inuention, to see them shot off with a firelocke without a match. But after the departure of *Homares*, they were in their trauell set vpon by the Hungarians, with whom they had many hoat skirmishes, and had hardly escaped vnspoiled, had they not been rescued by the kings souldiours lying in garrison in the castles as they passed alongst the countrey. The few which remained, after many troubles came at last to *VIANNA*, more like ghaosts than men.

Solyman entring quietly into the citie, first visited the sepulchers of the Hungarian kings, and gaue out proclamation, That the Hungarians should feare of him no harme; for that he was not come to conquer them, but to deliuer them from the bondage of the Germans, and so to restore againe that entire kingdome vnto *Stephen* the right heire of king *John*. But within three or foure daies after, he called out the chiefe citizens into a field not farre off; wherein the bodies of condemned men were woont to be buried, as if he would haue there taken an oath of them for their fidelitie: whither, after they were all assembled in the best manner they could, as to some solema feast, the cruell tyrant (without regard of his faith or promise) caused them all to be slaine: Howbeit some report, that he caused them onely to be put to death which bare office in the citie, at such time as they reuolted from the obedience of the queene and the infant king, vnto *Ferdinand*, and had then brought in German souldiours; and that he sent the rest into exile to *BUDA* and *BELGRADE*. So *Solyman* leauing *Balibei* gouernour of *ALBA REGALIS*; and *Mahomet* sometime gouernour of *BELGRADE*, his lieutenant generall for the whole gouernment of that kingdom, returned againe toward *CONSTANTINOPLE*; Winter now beginning to approach: after he had that Sommer wooon *STIGONIVM* and *ALBA REGALIS*, two of the chiefe cities of *HUNGARIE*. All this while king *Ferdinand* had raised no power worth the speaking of, to withstand so mightie an enemy; onely at *VIANNA* lay seauen thousand Germans and foure thousand Italians, at such time as *Solyman* departed from *ALBA REGALIS*, which were shortly after discharged.

Whilest *Solyman* thus lay at the siege of *ALBA REGALIS*, he sent his Tartarian horsemen which serued him to small purpose in the siege, to spoile the countrey round about: these cruage people doing much harme, were in diuers places circumtented by the Hungarians; and about three thousand of them slaine: one of them being taken prisoner, had found in his knapsacke halfe a child, of about two yeares old, the loathsome remainder of his barbarous feeding; *Barbarussa* all this while lying with his fleet (as we haue before said) at *MARSUS*, fretted exceedingly; that he had to his dishonour vnderaken to long a voyage by sea, to please him which was not able (as he said) to direct his owne desires to any certain resolution; but shamefully suffered the best time of the yeare for service, negligently to passe away without any thing doing; the blame whereof would (as he said) be imputed to him at *CONSTANTINOPLE*: and that *Solyman*, who desired to aid the king his friend and confederat, and by all means to annoy his enemies, would take in euill part to haue reported, that he had with so great charge set out to great a fleet, and so far off, to helpe his friend hardly beset with his enemies, and yet had done nothing: besides that, he tooke on like a Turke; that he who in time of service, would negligently let slip the least opportunitie, should now blenish his former credit and estimation, by lying still all that Sommer in the harbour of *MARSUS*, where his souldiours grew idle with doing nothing. Wherefore *Polinius* going to the king, told him of the proud Turkes great discontentment for lacke of imployment; and returning to *Barbarussa*, brought word from

the king, that he should lay siege to *NICA* a citie of *PROVINCIA*, then holden by the Duke of *SAVOY*. This citie standing vpon the sea, was by one of the French kings for a great sum of money pawned vnto the duke: which money king *Francis* had many times offered to haue repaid, but could neuer get the citie out of the dukes hands. Vnto which seruice, the French king sent also his fleet of two and twentie gallies and eigheteene ships, wherein were embarked eight thousand footmen, and victuall for many daies. This fleet departing from *MARSUS*, keeping close by the shoare, came to the port called *MONOC*; whither two daies after came *Barbarussa* also with an hundred and fiftie gallies. From thence *Polinius* by commandement from the king, writ vnto the State of *GENVA*, That they should not feare of that great fleet any hostilitie, which was not to hurt any but them of *NICA*, and not them neither if they would yeeld themselves. For more assurance whereof, he obtained of the Turks diuers *GENVA* captiues, which had long time been chained in their gallies, and courteously set them at libertie, and sent them home without ransom. After that, he friendly exhorted the citizens of *NICA* to yeeld themselves againe vnto their ancient and lawfull prince, renowned for his bountie and power; rather than to aduenture their state to all extremitie for that poore and distressed duke, who betwene the emperor and the French king, despoiled of the greatest part of his dominions, saw no other end of his miseries, but to leaue that little which yet remained, as a prey to the one or the other that should first lay hand thereon. Whereunto the magistrates of the towne answered, That they knew no other prince or soueraigne, but *Charles* their duke: wherefore he should desire farther to sollicit them by letters or messengers, whom they would make no other account of, but as of their enemies. Wherefore the Frenchmen and Turks landing their forces, laid siege to the towne in three places. The citizens had but a little before newly fortified their wals, by the direction of *Paulus Simeon*, capitaine of the castle, and one of the knights of the *RODAS*, a man of great experience; who long before taken at sea by pirats, had sometime serued *Barbarussa*, and therefore perswaded the citizens as resolute men to withstand the Turks. Which, that they should more constantly performe, he tooke their wiues and children, and weaker sort of the people into the castle; and from thence furnished the citizens with all things necessarie for their defence. The citie was at once in diuers places battered by the Turks and French, both by sea and land: so that at last the Turks had beaten downe one of the new built bulwarks, and made so faire a breach, that with their ensignes displayed, they attempted to haue entred: whose forwardnes *Leo Strozza* (then seruing the French king with a band of Italians) imitating, sought to haue entred also; but the citizens standing valiantly vpon their defence, manfully repulsed both the Turkes and Italians, and caused them with losse to retire. In this assault were slaine about an hundred Turkes; and of *Strozza* his souldiours two and twentie. Presently after, *Barbarussa* with all his force began afresh batterie, in such terrible manner, that the citizens seeing their wals in diuers places opened, and the few souldiours they had, sore wounded, and no hope to be in conuenient time relieved; began to parley with the French Generall from the wall, concerning the yeelding vp of the citie; vpon condition, that they might in all respects liue vnder the French king as they had done vnder the duke: for performance whereof, the Generall gaue them his faith. But *Polinius* fearing least the Turks should violate this composition, and for greefe of the losse of their fellows, or for hope of the spoile breake into the citie, entreated *Barbarussa* to recall his souldiours, and to cause them to goe about his gallies. For which cause not long after, the Ianizaries, as men deceived of their hoped prey, were about to haue slaine both *Polinius* and *Strozza*, as they came from talking with *Barbarussa*.

The citie thus yeelded, they began to consult for the taking of the castle; the performance whereof consisted first in the assailing of the castle it selfe, and then in defending of the citie from the sudden sallies of them in the castle; and likewise in defending of them which besieged the castle, so that no enemy should come to raise the siege: of which two things, *Barbarussa* put the French to choice which they would take, shewing himselfe readie either to besiege the castle, or to keepe the field. The French standing in doubt of which to make choice, the proud old Turke scorned their slow resolution, and them also, as men vnfit for the readie accomplishment of any martiall exploit; caused seuen pieces of batterie, whereof two were of wonderfull greatnesse, to be placed in a trice in place most conuenient, and the same quickly entrenched and fortified, to the great admiration of the French: with which pieces he had quickly beaten downe the battlements of the wals, and centenell houses, so that no man was able to shew himselfe vpon the wals.

The

Solyman entred into Alba Regalis.

Solyman caused the chiefe citizens of Alba Regalis to be slaine.

Solyman returned to Constantinople.

Nica in Provinces besieged by the French and the Turkes.

The citizens came parley, and after yeeld the citie.

The castle besieged.

The Frenchmen likewise on the other side did with their great ordinance continually batter the castle: but with long shooting they came to such want of shot and powder, that *Polinus* was glad to request, that he might either borrow or buy some of *Barbarussa*: whereat the Turke fretted and fumed exceedingly. That they should in their owne country stand in need of his provision, who at *Marsilles* had better fraughted their ships with wine, than with necessities for the warres. For the rough and seuer old Turke could not forbear to taint them, and oftentimes complained, that he was deluded with the hope of great matters which *Polinus* had promised at *Constantinople*; and that in such a rage, that he would threaten to lay hands vpon *Polinus*, who had brought him from *Constantinople* thither, whereas he must either lose his honour, or hauing spent his shot and powder, expose himselfe and his fleet to all dangers. Wherefore being exceeding angry with the French, he suddenly called a counsell of his capitaines & other cheefe officers, giuing it out, That he would presently return toward *Constantinople*, seeing that among these cowardly and vnskilfull men (as it pleased him to reame them) he found nothing readie or according to promise. Yet for all that, when he had chased his fill, by the faire entreatance and large promises of the French Generall and *Polinus* together, the wayward old man was perswaded to change his mind, and to continue the siege. But he was yet scarcely well pacified, and his mind set againe vpon the siege, but letters were intercepted from the great capitaine *Alphon sus Vastius*, to *Paulus* capitaine of the castle, wherein he requested him to hold out a while against the enimie, vntill that he, who had already sent before his light horsemen, might come also himselfe with his men at armes, who were vpon the way along the Alps by the sea side, and would in two dayes with the slaughter of the Turkes put him and his castle out of all feare and danger. Which thing once bruted in the campe, such a great and sudden feare came vpon the Turks and Frenchmen, the night following (the more to terrifie them) proceeding by chance very rainie and tempestuous; that they all forooke their trenches and great ordinance, and laying downe their weapons, by narrow pathes climbing ouer the top of the high mountaine, came downe headlong to the sea side to the fleet. But the day appearing, and no enimie to be seene, they were ashamed of that they had done, and came againe to the siege. Not long after, when as the castle in all mens judgement was hardly to be battered, and standing vpon a firme rocke, was not but in long time with hard labour and doubtfull successe to be vndermined, it was generally thought good to raise the siege. The Turkes vpon their departure brake into the citie, and when they had taken the spoile thereof, set it on fire.

Barbarussa retiring with his fleet to *Antipolis*, came to anker at the Island *Lerina*, called of the marriners *Margarita*; at which time *Vastius* and the duke of *Savoy*, with *Auria* his fleet arrived at *Villa Franca*: in the entrance of which haven, the galley wherein *Vastius* went, was like to haue bene lost. Foure other galleys by force of sudden tempest were driuen vpon the rockes, and so suddenly beaten in peeces with the surge of the sea, that the galleys had not leisure to strike off their yrons, but were there all drowned, and all the ordinance lost. *Polinus* vnderstanding this distresse of the enimie, sent one *Petrus Angelus* to *Barbarussa*, to shew him the occasion offered, and to perswade him with all speed to hast thither with his fleet, as to a most assured victorie. *Barbarussa* seemed to like well of the motion, and promised to goe, yet he moued not, letted as it was thought with the contrarie wind, which then blew hard at East, and with the roughesse of the sea. But the wind being fallen, and the sea become calme, and he contrarie to his wonted manner making no hast, set slowly forward, and being a little on his way, came againe to an anker, and went no further; the Sanzackes and other capitaines first matuellling, and afterward laughing thereat, scoffingly said, That *Barbarussa* did but reason to deale kindly with *Auria* as his brother and friend of his owne profession, for that he had some yeares before receiued the like friendship at his hands, in letting himselfe escape at *Hippona*, which he now honestly paid him againe. Whereunto *Barbarussa* both then and afterwards at *Constantinople* answered no otherwise, but, That he being an old commander, and halfe blind, saw more in the matter than all those greene capitaines with their sharpe sight. Not long after, he returned againe towards *Marsilles*, and put into the haven of *Tolon*, called in ancient M time *Tarenta*. *Vastius* and the duke comming to *Nice*, commended the capitaine of the castle, and wondering at the cunning manner of the Turkes fortifications, preferred them in that point before the Christians. *Barbarussa* lying with his fleet at *Tolon*, and by the kings officers entertained with all possible courtesie, deliuered siue and twentie galleys to *Salac* the famous py-

rat, and *Assanes* his nigh kinsman, who passing the bay of *Narbon*, rifled certaine townes in *Spain*, standing vpon the sea coast, and about the promontorie of *Venus*, called of the marriners *Crem*, tooke great prize, and in the haven of *Palamos* tooke one marchant ship and a galley: with which prey they passed ouer to *Alouers*, as they were commaunded, there to winter, and with the first of the Spring to returne againe to *Barbarussa* in *Province*. That Winter *Barbarussa* repairing his fleet, was furnished with many necessities by the Genowayes, and especially by *Auria* himselfe, who vnder the colour of redeeming of prisoners, willingly furnished the Turke with such things as he wanted: for although he professed himselfe one of the emperours capitaines, yet would he not shew an enemies mind by the vnseasonable deniall of a little sea furniture, least in so doing he should haue hurt his native country of *Genoa*; which he saw then subject to the iniurie of so great a fleet so nigh at hand. But leaue we now *Barbarussa* to Winter in *Province*, and with the course of time turne a little out of the way, to see in *Mulass* king of *Tunes* the small assurance the greatest haue in highest place of worldly honour.

This Mahometane king once before thrust out of his kingdome by *Barbarussa*, and restored againe by *Charles* the emperour (as is before declared) hearing of his comming with this great fleet, and imagining nothing lesse than that he should come to the aid of the most Christian king, doubted (not without cause) least it was prepared against himselfe. Besides that, diuers great cities of his kingdome, namely *Constantina*, *Mahemedia*, and *Mahometa* (called in ancient time *Cyrtha*) *Leptis*, and *Adruventum*, were then holden by the Turkes; *Barbarussa* his fauourits: wherefore fearing the worst, about the same time that *Barbarussa* was sayling alongst the coast of *Italy*, he passed ouer into *Sicily*, to haue met the emperour at *Genoa*, and to haue obtained of him greater aid against the Turkes. At his departure out of *Affricke*, hee committed the tuition of his kingdome to such valiant men as hee supposed would haue bene vnto him most faithfull: First he appointed *Mahometes*, then *Maniphart*, to gouerne the citie; and *Corsus* otherwise called *Fares*, his old seruant, to keepe the castle; leaving *Mahometes* his brother and *Fares* his sonne, with *Touarres* a Spaniard (captaine of the castle of *Gyletta*) as pledges, the one of his brothers, the other of his fathers faith: but vnto *Amida* (his sonne) he committed the leading of his men of war for the defence of his kingdome against the Turkes and Numidians. As hee was passing out of *Sicily* to haue met the emperour at *Genoa*, he was by contrarie winds driuen first to *Cateta*, and afterwards to *Naples*, where he was by the viceroy honourably entertained, and a house appointed for him richly furnished. The Neapolitanes wondering at the strange attire of the people, with the manner of their feeding, and curious plentie of all manner of sweet perfumes: for into euery dish they put in odors of exceeding price; so that it was well knowne, that a peacocke and two seifants, dressed after the manner of the kings kitchin, cost aboue an hundred ducats: so that not onely the dining chamber, when they were carued vp, but all the house was so filled with the strange and fragrant smell, that all they that dwelt neere thereabouts, were partakers of the pleasure of that vnusall and delicate perfume. From *Naples* he was about to haue trauelled by land to the emperour, being then in conference with the Pope at *Buxetum* (fearing to aduenture the sea, possessed by his enemies fleet) had not the emperour by his letters willed him to stay still where hee was. But whilest he made his abode at *Naples*, and carefully attended what course *Barbarussa* would take, who furnished with so great a fleet was departed from *Nice*, disappointed of his purpose; he was by certaine messengers aduertised out of *Affricke*, That *Amida* his sonne was risen vp against him, and possessing himselfe of the kingdome, had slaine his capitaines, polluted his viues, and taken the castle of *Tunes*. With which newes he being exceedingly troubled, determined without delay to passe ouer into *Affricke*, and though late, yet as he might, to remedie his domestical troubles, in hope to oppresse that rebellion in the beginning; and his sonne also, before he could gather any strength to rest vpon. Wherefore he with all the hast hee could opened his cofers, and entertained souldiours, the viceroy giuing leaue to all such banished men as would to come and giue their names, to passe ouer as souldiours into *Affricke*: vpon report whereof, such a number of malefactors & condemned persons came flocking to *Naples*, that it was thought a sufficient armie might haue bene made of such kind of men; euery one of them chusing rather to enter into pay, and blot out the infamie of banishment, and proue the fortune of warres, than to liue wandering vp and downe in the woods, and in danger euery houre to be hanged. Of these infamous men, one *Ioannes Baptista Loffedius* (a man well borne, but of a

Barbarussa in his rage threateneth to lay hands on *Polinus*, and to returne forthwith to *Constantinople*.

The Turkes and French giue ouer the siege of the castle of *Nice*, and set fire on the citie.

Barbarussa departed by the Turke capitaines.

His answer to their taunts.

Mulass fearing the coming of *Barbarussa*, departeth from *Tunes* into *Italy* to craue aid of *Charles* the emperour.

Costly dishes.

Amida riseth against *Mulass*, his father, and usurpeth the kingdome of *Tunes*.

Muleasses returneth into Affrick to Giletta.

fiere and couetous disposition) vnderooke the leading: he couenanted with *Muleasses* to haue three moneths pay before hand, leuied eightene hundred men, which he presently shipped; and keeping the greatest part of their pay to himselfe, passed ouer with the king into *AFRICK*, and landed at *GVLETTA*. But how *Amida* rise vp against his father, and what was the end of that bloudie rebellion, shall not be amisse briefly to rehearse. There were certaine noble men of great authoritie about *Amida* when *Muleasses* departed, which at their pleasure ruled the young prince, who easily harkened vnto their counsell, and followed the same: the chiefe of these was one *Mahometes*, sonne of *Bohamer*, who in the raigne of *Mahometes*, *Muleasses* his father, was *Manipher*, whom *Muleasses* (possessed of the kingdome) put shamefully to death by cutting off his priuities, because he had by hastie marriage deceiued him of *Rhamana*, a maiden of incomparable beautie, the daughter of *Abderomen* captaine of the castle, whom he most passionately loued: for which cruell fact, *Mahometes* his sonne had of long time conceived a deadly hatred against *Muleasses*, which he had many yeares dissembled, that he might as occasion serued be the more cruelly reuenged. Next vnto him was another *Mahometes* turnamed *Adulzes*, whom *Muleasses* was wont commonly to call his worst seruant. These two with a few others conspiring together, gaue it out, that *Muleasses* was dead at *NAPLES*, and before his death had most irreligiously (as they accounted it) reuolted to the Christian religion. With which report they perceiuing *Amida* moued, came vnto him and perswaded him quickly to enter into his fathers seat, least *Mahometes* his younger brother then lying in hostage with the Christians at *GVLETTA*, should by the fauour and helpe of *Touarres*, whose garrison was euer readie, be preferred before him. For *Mahometes* was eightene yeares old, resembling his grandfather in name, fauour, and disposition, and therefore of the citizens of *TVNES* best beloved: wherefore *Amida* came in post hast out of the campe to *TVNES*, to lay first hand vpon his fathers kingdome. The people which as yet had heard nothing of the kings death, receiued him with doubtfull countenance: and as many stood maruelling that he was so rashly come into the citie without his fathers commandement, *Mahometes* (appointed by *Muleasses* to gouerne the citie) came out and sharply reproued him as guiltie of high treason, perswading him to returne againe vnto the campe: and seeing him stay, by force of the multitude thrust him out of the citie. *Amida* deceiued of his expectation, got him out of the way into the pleasant country of *MARTIA*, betweene *VICA* and the ruins of old *CARTHAGE*. But *Mahometes* Gouernour of the citie, after he had repulsed *Amida*, got him with all speed by water to *Touarres* at *GVLETTA*, to know of him more assuredly, if any such euill newes were brought from *SICILIE* of the death of the king; and to complaine of the rashnesse and intollerable presumption of *Amida*. Where straying somewhat long in discoursing with the captaine, and afterwards returning to the citie, he was suspected to haue practised with the captaine, to make *Mahometes* (the pledge in *GVLETTA*) king in his fathers stead; for so the common voice went. The Moores are by nature a faithlesse people, vnconstant, hastie, suspicious, desirous of newes, which true or false, they for the time interpret as serueth best their factions, whereunto they are exceedingly giuen: So at the first there rise in the citie a doubtfull rumour of the making of a new king; the suspicion whereof more and more encreasing, set all the citie on an vprore. By occasion whereof, certaine of the citizens to whom the verie name of *Muleasses* was odious, speedily certified *Amida* (then in the gardens of *MARTIA*, sighing and grieuing at his hard fortune) how all stood, and that now was the time to doe himselfe good. He reuiued with that vnexpected newes, and encouraged by the perswasion of *Bohamer* and *Adulzes*, and other his followers; resolved to take hold vpon that good offer of fortune which would not alwaies frowne, and to follow his good hap. So in hast returning to *TVNES*, and entring in at the gate which he then found open, ran presently to the gouernours house; and finding him not at home, cruelly slew all his household, and with his bloudie companie went presently to the castle: where *Fares* the captaine seeking to haue kept him out, and boldly laying hands vpon his horses bridle to haue thrust him backe, was by a desperat Ethiopian, one of *Amida* his followers, thrust thorow with a sword and slaine: ouer whose bodie yet sprawling, *Amida* forcing his horse, brake into the castle with his friends; and finding *Mahometes* gouernour of the citie, presently slew him also. And so by this meanes *Amida* in the space of an houre (a little before, a man in despaire) obtained the citie, the castle, and the kingdome together. After that, he murdered his younger brethren; and embred with bloud, without shame polluted his fathers concubines. *Muleasses* landed (as we haue before said) at *GVLETTA*,

Amida thrust out of Tunes.

Amida returneth, and possesseth the kingdome.

GVLETTA, with such forces as he had brought with him out of *ITALIE*; was aduised by *Touarres* the Spaniard, not to adventure with such a handfull of men to go to *TVNES*, before he were well assured of the good disposition of the citizens towards him: And was the more earnest with *Lofredius* not to go, because the Viceroy had expressly written, that he should in no case go any further than *GVLETTA*, except the king according to his promise, had a good strength of Numidians to ioyne with him. But certaine of the noble men amongst the Moores, which vnder the colour of friendship were fled out of the citie, and had after the solempne manner of their nation put their swords vnto their throats, and sworne to be faithfull vnto him, wonderfully pricke forward both the king and *Lofredius*, two hastie of themselves, to their owne destinie, bearing them in hand, That *Amida* vpon the first sight of his father, would forsake the citie, and betake himselfe to flight: so without more staying, *Muleasses* with ensigne displayed set forward towards *TVNES*, *Lofredius* cheerfully following him, *Touarres* requesting them in vaine to be ware of the Moores treacherie. *Muleasses* marching still forward, was come so nigh the citie, that they might from the walls descrie him: when suddenly a strong troupe of Moores sallied out of the gate with a terrible crie, and fiercely assailed him, whom the kings horsemen valiantly receiued: many falling on both sides. *Muleasses* in this hoat skirmish, fighting courageously against his enemies, was wounded in the face and bled exceedingly; which discouraged them about him, that they doubting of his life, turned their backs and fled: when presently a wonderfull number of horse and foot, suddenly issuing out of the oliue gardens, had beset *Lofredius* and his souldiours round: vpon whom the Italians discharged certaine field pieces, but after they had once discharged them, they had no leisure to charge againe: for the barbarous enemy came on so thicke and so fast, that the Italians seeing themselves too weake, and compassed in round, let fall their weapons as men discouraged, and cast themselves into the lake, so by swimming and taking hold of the little boats to saue themselves from the enemies sword: which boats stood those distressed men in great stead, for being furnished with small pieces, they did beat backe the Moores, who eagerly pursued them euen into the lake with their horses. *Lofredius* as a man amazed with the sudden comming of the enemy, tooke the lake with his horse, and was there vnhorset by the enemy and slaine, as were diuers with him. Some few there were that fought courageously, chusing rather honourably to die in the midst of their enemies, than shamefully to be strangled in the stinking lake. *Muleasses* soiled with his owne blood and with the dust, flying amongst the rest, was knowne and taken: nothing more bewraying him than his odorous perfumes. In this conflict thirteene hundred Italians were lost: the rest which escaped *Touarres* relieued, and shortly after shipped them ouer into *SICILIE*, from whence they travelled home to *NAPLES*, but so poore, as well shewed the miserie of their fortune. *Amida* hauing thus obtained the victorie, was more carefull of nothing than to make his father vnfit for gouernment, which he did by cutting the sight of both his eyes with a hoat penknife: the like crueltie he vsed vpon *Nahsar* and *Abdallas* his brethren, then taken with his father. After that, he certified *Touarres* captaine of *GVLETTA*, That he had taken a few youths prisoners, which he would deliuer vnto him; and that he had bereft his father of his sight, who had deserved a worse punishment, as he that had long before done the like to his brethren; but had yet left him his life, as an example to other tyrants, and to shew that he dealt not altogether vnmercifully with so perfidious a father: Last of all, he confirmed (vpon certaine conditions) the same league which his father had with him: which he well saw was to great purpose, especially in that newnesse of his kingdome. Neither did *Touarres* refuse the same, as standing with his present profit: for vpon this agreement, *Amida* was to giue him certaine money to pay his souldiours, and to deliuer him the prisoners he had taken, with the ensignes and bodie of *Lofredius*: For more assurance whereof, he gaue *Schites* his sonne, then nine yeares old in hostage; yet vpon condition, that if an assured peace could not be agreed vpon, but that they must needs enter into warre, then *Touarres* should forthwith restore him his sonne *Schites* in safetie. These capitulations, although they seemed not vnreasonable, and were of them well liked; yet *Touarres* thought it not altogether agreeing with the honour of the emperour, that he should enjoy the kingdome who by most horrible treason and detestable villanie had thrust himselfe thereinto without the emperours leaue. Wherefore he entred into a new deuise, to call in the rightfull heire, who might at the emperours pleasure (offended with the iniurie done by *Amida*) raigne in *TVNES*.

There was in exile amongst the Numidians one *Abdamelech*, euer since the time that *Rosses*

Muleasses going to Tunes, by the way ouerthroune

Lofredius slaine.

Muleasses taken.

Amida put out his fathers and brethrens eyes.

Touarres sent for Amida his elder brother.

Amida fled to *Barbarussa*. Him, because he was *Muleasses* naturall brother, *Touarres* sent for, putting him in hope of the kingdome, supported by *Anemfcha*, a great prince amongst the Numidians, who had all that long time courteously entertained him. Neither was *Abdamelech* slow to accept the occasion presented, especially encouraged thereunto by the Numidian prince his good friend, and the predictions of the Astrologers, who had foretold him, That he should die king of *Tynas*. Which vaine kind of diuination hauing in it no manner of assurance, yet causeth great minds oftentimes to vnderake great attempts beyond reason, which falling out with more hap than they were with reason foretold, giueth some credit to that vanitie, and causeth those cold prophets to be of some accounted as great wisards. And to worke this feat, such a time was offered, as a better could not be wished: for *Amida* hauing set all things in order as he pleased in the cite, and casting no perill, was gone to *Biseria*, to take order for his customes, which was there great: vpon fishing. Wherefore, *Touarres* to keepe his promise, sent backe *Sebites*, *Amida* his sonne, in a boat to *Tynas*, and receiued *Abdamelech*: who trauielling most part by night, was secretly come to *Gvletta*, and there resting himselfe and his horses a few houres; to prevent the fame of his comming, posted in haste with a troupe of his Numidian followers to *Tynas*, and passing thorow the cite, went directly to the castle, which he entered without resistance of the warders, supposing him to haue bene *Amida* come from *Biseria*: for *Abdamelech* had after the manner of the Moores couered his face with a scarfe, as if it had bene to haue kept him from the Sunne and the dust, and by that happie sleight got into the castle, before it was knowne who he was. The warders perceiuing their error, began as men amased now too late to betake themselves to their weapons, for in making resistance, they were quickly slaine by the Numidians which came in with *Abdamelech*: who thus possessed of the castle (the cheefe strength of that kingdome) let in his friends, which were many in the cite, by whom he was presently saluted king, the rest of the citifens either well liking of the matter, or at least not daring for feare to stirre. But as in these worldly things, for which men so vainely toyle, is no assurance: so this new king shortly after fell sicke and died, when he had reigned but six and thirtie dayes, and was afterwards royally enterred. After whose death, his mightie friends, with the cheefe of the citifens (persuaded and encouraged by *Touarres* the Spaniard) chose *Mahometes* his son, a child scarce twelue yeares old, to reigne in his fathers place: appointing *Abdalages Maniphas* (brother to him whom *Amida* slew) *Abdelchirinus Mesuar*, *Schyrius* (a great man in their Mahometane superstition) & *Perellus* a Christian knight, to be his directors and gouernours: which foure sway- ed all at their pleasure. But *Abdelchirinus* tendering the welfare of his country, and deuiling out of season how to set vp one of the royall blood, that were of himselfe able to gouerne the kingdome, saying, That it was not for the common good to be ruled by a child: was for his labor by his other three fellows suddenly slaine, with all his kindred and knowne friends. After whose death the other three erected a manner of Triumvirat gouernment, euery one of them laying hand vpon one part of the state or other, as liked him best. *Amida* thus shut out of *Tynas*, and hauing lost his kingdome, wandered vp and downe to *Leptis*, *Cyrapolis*, and many other places, crauing aid of euery man to recover his kingdome, miserably rent in sunder (as he said) by most wicked men, who insolently triumphed ouer the boy king. Which they of *Tynas* knew well to be true, and daily complained of the death of *Abdelchirinus*, whom they called the faithfull counsellor and father of his country. Whilist *Amida* is thus trudging vp and down, crauing helpe of this and that prince, proouing his friends, and sounding his subjects affection towards him; *Muleasses* growne miserable with long imprisonment and the calamitie of his disaster fortune, obtained of the young king his nephew so much fauour, as that hee might sometime goe out of the castle to the church: vnder colour whereof hee tooke sanctuarie, a place in *Tynas* holden in such reuerence amongst the Moores, as that it was a most inuiolate refuge to all such as fled thereunto. Not long after, at such time as *Bernardinus Mendoza*, the Admirall of *Spain*, came to *Gvletta* with the Spanish fleet, *Muleasses* at the request of *Touarres* was conueyed out of the Sanctuarie to the lake, and so by water to *Gvletta*, there to be present at the consultation there holden for the vtter subuersion of *Amida*, and the driving out of the Turks out of such cities as they yet held alongst the sea coast in *Affrica*. *Muleasses* had hardly before escaped the hands of certaine of his enemies in *Tynas*, who fought after his life, preferred by an old woman, who moued with pitie, hid him from their furie vnder a great heape of garlike: and had he not now in good time escaped to *Gvletta*, he had againe fallen into the hands of his mer- ci-

Abdamelech by policie obtaineth the kingdome of Tynas.

Abdamelech dierly, and Mahometes his sonne is chosen king in his place.

Muleasses at the request of Touarres is sent to Gvletta.

A mercilesse sonne *Amida*, who shortly after recouered againe his kingdome, and would not as he said himselfe haue spared him for the reuerence of any sanctuarie. For the citifens of *Tynas*, wearie of the euill gouernment of such as were in authoritie about the yong king, and not a little offended with the king himselfe, for espousing *Melucca* his cousin, one of *Muleasses* his daughters, secretly encouraged *Amida* by letters to repaire to the cite, promising to aid him in recouering his kingdome. Whereupon he came in such haste, that the yong king had scarce time to get out of the cite: and *Amida* entring without resistance, and holpen by his friends, easily obtained againe the kingdome, and exercised most exquisite crueltie vpon his enemies: of whom he caused some to be torne in peeces, and deuoured of fierce multitudes, kept hungrie for that purpose. *Perellus* he caused, to be tortured, his secrets to be cut off, and himselfe afterwards burnt to ashes in the market place.

Amida recouers the kingdome of Tynas, and taketh sharp revenge vpon his enemies.

But *Muleasses* stayed not long at *Gvletta*, offended with the couetousnesse of *Touarres*, who (as he said) had not faithfully restored such things as he had before put him in trust withall, but had auariciously in his miserie deceiued him of part of his rich household stuffe, with certaine notable pretious stones, & some of his treasure: whereof the blind king so greuously complained to *Charles* the emperour, that for deciding the matter, they were both commaunded to repaire vnto him into *GERMANIE*: where in conclusion to end the strife, *Touarres* was discharged of his gouernment, and *Muleasses* sent into *SICILIE* there to be kept of the common charge of that rich island. *Muleasses* by the way comming to *ROMA*, was honourably feasted by Cardinal *Fernesus*: at which time he shewed himselfe both in his apparrell and behauiour not forgetfull of his better fortune: and being brought vnto the presence of *Paulus* the great bishop, would doe him no greater honour but to kisse his knee, accounting it too great an indignitie to haue kisse his foot. He was of stature tall, and of a princely disposition, vnworthie of so hard a fortune, had he not in like manner before vnmmercifully dealt with his owne brethren.

Muleasses disdaineth to kisse the Popes foot.

Barbarussa wearie of his long lying to so small purpose in *PROVINCE*, requested the French king either thorowly to employ him, or els to giue him leaue to depart: offering if he so pleased, to spoile all alongst the coast of *SPAIN*, from the mountain *Pyrenies* to *CADIZ*. But he not ignorant what hard speeches ran of him already in all parts of Christendome, for bringing in the Turkes, was loth to leaue vnto the memorie of all posteritie the foule remembrance of so wofull a slaughter: besides that, he was aduised to disburden his country of such troublesome guests, who roving about, did much harme in the prouince where they lay, and as it was reported, now and then snatcht vp one countrey peisan or other, and chained them for slaves in their galleies. Wherefore in supplie of the Turkes that were dead, tickling gaue vnto *Barbarussa* all the Mahometane slaues in his galleies, to the number of about foure hundred, and furnishing him with all kind of prouision, and bestowing great gifts vpon him and his captaines, sent him away: and with him *Seraza* with certaine galleies, his embassadour to *Solyman*. So the Turkes departing out of *PROVINCE*, kept alongst the coast, vntill they came neere vnto *SAVONA*, whither the Germanes sent diuers presents and fresh victuals to *Barbarussa*, which he tooke so thankfully, that he protested not to hurt any of their territorie. From thence he kept a right course to the island of *ELBA*, belonging to the duke of *FLORANCE*, oueragainst *POPLONA*; where vnderstanding that one of the sonnes of *Sinan* his old friend was there kept prisoner, he writ vnto *Appianus* gouernour of the island for his deliuerance to this effect:

1544

I know, that a young man a Turke serueth thee, the sonne of *Sinan* surnamed the Jew, a famous captaine, taken of late at *Tynas*: him I would haue thee friendly to restore: which gift I will make thee vnderstand to be vnto me most acceptable: for this our great fleet in passing by you, shall faithfully forbear to use any hostilitie. But if thou shalt in this so small a matter refuse to gratifie me, expect vpon the coast of thy countrey all the harmes which an angrie enemy can doe.

Barbarussa his letters to Appianus, Gouernour of Elba.

Whereunto *Appianus* shewing his men vpon the wals, in token that he was not afraid, answered, That the young man was become a Christian, and therefore might not in any case be deliuered to the Turkes: but that he would in any other thing gratifie him in what he could, and for his sake vse the young man as his sonne. And to mollifie the vnkindnesse of his answer, he sent him fresh victuall with other presents. But *Barbarussa* offended with the answer, landed his men round about the island, and commanded them to make what spoile they could: which they performed

Appianus glad
to deliuer the
captive whom
Barbarussa re-
quired.

Sinan the Jew
dieth for ioy.

Barbarussa in his
returne toward
Constantinople,
dids much harm
vpon the coast of
Italie.

performed accordingly, hunting the island people vp and downe the rockes and mountains like Hares, vntill that *Appianus* not without cause doubting the viter spoile of the island, redeemed his peace by deliuering the young man to *Salec* the pyrat, who brought him to *Barbarussa* gallantly apparrelled after the Italian manner, of whom he was joyfully receiued, as the sonne of a most valiant captaine, his old friend: and thereupon *Barbarussa* stayed his souldiors from doing any further harme vpon the island, and gaue *Appianus* great thanks for him. This young man *Barbarussa* honoured with the commaund of seuen gallies, and afterwards sent him to his father then lying at *Svetia*, a port of the red sea, Admirall for *Solyman* against the Portingals, who greatly troubled those seas. But the old Jew, ouerjoyed with the sudden and vnexpected returne of his sonne, whom he had for many yeares before giuen as lost, in embracing of him fainted, and so presently for joy died.

This man for valour was accounted little inferiour to *Barbarussa*, but for discretion and iust dealing farre beyond him, nothing of so furious and wayward a disposition as was he. *Barbarussa* departing from *Elea*, came into the bay of *Tilamon* in *Tuscany*, and in short time took the citie, which he spoiled and burnt, but especially the house of *Bartholomew Telamonius*; whose dead bodie but a little before buried, he caused to be pluckt out of the graue, & his bones to be scattered abroad, because he being Admirall of the bishop of *Rome* his gallies, had in the island of *Lesbos* wasted *Barbarussa* his fathers poore possession: and marching by night eight miles further into the land, surprised *Montenym*, and carried almost all the inhabitants away with him into captiuitie. The like mischeefe he did at the port called *Portus Herculis*, but purposing to haue taken *Orhateello*, and there to haue fortified, he was by *Luna* and *Pitellus* (two valiant captaines before sent thither, the one by the State of *Siena*, and the other by the duke of *Florence*) repulsed. So though disappointed of his purpose, yet hauing done great harme, and put the whole countrey of *Tuscany* in exceeding feare, he departed thence and landed againe at *Igilum*, now called *Gigio*, an island about twelue miles distant from *Portus Herculis*, where he quickly battered the towne, and caried a wonderfull number of all sorts into miserable captiuitie: keeping on his course, he passing the cape *Linar*, & comming oueragainst *Cantymelle*, had burnt that citie for the same reason he did *Tilamon*, had he not been otherwise perswaded by *Strozza* the French embassadour, fearing to draw the French king into further oblique. From thence he came with a direct course to the island of *Ischia*; where landing in the night, he intercepted most part of the inhabitants of the island, as they were flying into the mountains: and in reuenge of the hatred he had conceived against *Vastius* at the siege of *Nice*, he burnt *Forino*, *Pansa*, and *Varranym*, three cheefe townes of that island: but *Pithacusa*, the dwelling place of *Vastius*, standing vpon a broken rocke, somewhat distant from the sea, he durst not aduenture vpon. Then scraping along the island *Prochita* with lesse hurt, because most part of the inhabitants were before fled to *Pithacusa*, he put into the bay of *Ptoli*, and sent *Salec* the pyrat with part of his fleet to make proofe if the citie of *Ptoli*, might from sea be battered. *Salec* drawing neere the citie, shot into it with his great ordinance, and by chance slew one *Saiuedra*, a valiant Spaniard, vpon the wals, and put the citizens in a great feare least the whole fleet should haue landed, they themselues as then vnprouided: but the viceroy came presently with a power both of horse and foot from *Naples*, which *Barbarussa* discouering from sea as they came downe the mountaines, called backe *Salec*: and leauing the Island of *Capri*, and passing by the promontorie *Athenym*, was about to haue seized vpon *Salernum*, when a tempest suddenly arising, dispersed his fleet, and driue him beyond the promontorie *Palinurus* vpon the coast of *Calabria*, where he did exceeding much harme, especially at *Carrato*. From thence he departed to the island of *Lipari*, betwixt *Italy* and *Sicily*, which island he miserably spoyled, and with fortie great pieces so battered the citie, that the citizens were constrained for feare to yeeld, whom he carried away all prisoners about the number of seuen thousand, of one sort of people and other, and burnt the citie. So loaded with the rich spoile of *Italy* and the islands vpon the coast, he returned towards *Constantinople* with such a multitude of poore Christian captiues, shut vp so close vnder hatches amongst the excrements of Nature, that all the way as he went almost euery houre some of them were cast dead ouer boord: euery man detesting the endlesse hatred betwixt the emperour and the French king, the very ground of all this and many thousand other most wofull and vnderferued calamities of their poore subjects. With this rich prey and an in-

A finite number of captiues, *Barbarussa* arriued at *Constantinople* in the beginning of *Autumne*, in the yeare 1544: where he was honourably receiued of *Solyman*, and highly commended for his good seruice both by sea and land.

Solyman triumphing at *Constantinople* of the good successe he had in *Hungarie*, in the midst of all his glorie, was aduertised of the death of *Mahomet* his eldest sonne, whom of all his children he held dearest: whose dead bodie was shortly after brought from *Maconesia*, and with wonderfull solemnitie, and no lesse mourning, buried at *Constantinople*. How entirely *Solyman* loued this his sonne, well appeared by the great sorrow he conceiued of his death; and not contented to haue built him a stately tombe, erected also in memoriall of him a Mahometane church, called the church of *Mahomet* the lesser: for the difference of *Mahomet* the great, who woon *Constantinople*. Whereunto he also annexed a monasterie and a colledge, with many things mo after the grosse manner of their superstition, for the health of his soule, as he vainly supposed. After that, *Solyman* according to his wonted manner, which was but euery second or third yeare to take in hand some notable expedition, ceased from warres by the space of two yeares: in which time many of the great princes and worthie men of that age died; amongst whom was *Francis* the French king. *Hariadenus Barbarussa* that famous Turke of whom we haue so often spoken, who being of great yeares and no lesse fame, left this life in the yeare 1547, and was buried at a house of his owne called *Besiktas*, neere vnto *Bosphorus Thracius* on *Eyrops* side, not farre from the mouth of *Euxinum*, about foure miles from *Pera*, where he had but few yeares before at one time sold about sixteene thousand Christian captiues, taken out of *Corcyra*: and to make famous that place appointed for his buriall, he of his owne cost built there a Mahometane temple, there yet with his sepulchre to be seene: that place was in auncient time called *Iasonium*. About which time also, died of conceit that famous captaine *Alphonsus Daulus Vastius*, taken away by vntimely death when he had liued but fortie five yeares. At which time, *Charles* the emperour by his embassadour *Gerardus Veltunich*, concluded a peace with *Solyman* for five yeares, wherein king *Ferdinand* was also included: which peace was afterwards before the expiration thereof, by *Solyman* (at the request of *Henrie* the French king) broken.

Solyman had now almost three yeares taken his rest, when it fortuned that *Ercazes Imirza* king of *Sirvan*, moued with the often injuries of *Tamas* his brother the great Persian king, fled to *Solyman* at *Constantinople*, to craue aid of him against his brother. *Solyman* glad of such an occasion to worke vpon, entertained him with all courtesie, and promised to take vpon him his quarrell, and to protect him against his vnnatural brother. And when he had made all things readie for so great an expedition, passed ouer into *Asia*: and after long and painefull trauell entred at last with a puissant armie into *Armenia*, and there in the borders of the Persian kingdom, first besieged the citie of *Van*, which after ten daies siege was yeilded vnto him, vpon condition, that the Persian souldiors there in garrison, might with life and libertie depart with their armes as souldiors: which was at the first by *Solyman* granted, and so the citie surrendered. From thence *Solyman* sent his chiefe commanders with a great part of his armie, to burne and spoile the enemies countrey, which they for a time cheertfully performed; and running farre into the countrey, strue as it were amongst themselues who should doe most harme: where *Imirza* amongst the rest, for whose sake *Solyman* had vndertaken this warre; was as forward as the best to waite and spoile his brothers kingdom, sparing nothing that came to hand; the best and richest things he got, he presented to *Solyman*, to draw him on still in that warre. But that serued not his turne to recouer againe his kingdom of *Sirvan*: for *Tamas*, without shewing any power to withstand the Turks, had after his wonted manner, caused his people to withdraw themselues far into the mountaine country, leauing nothing behind them in that wast countrey to relieue them, but the bare ground: so that the farther the Turks went, the more they wanted, in without hope of better successe than such as they had before to their losse made proofe of, in their former expeditions into that great kingdom. The conceit whereof so much pierced nor the common souldiors onely, but euen the captaines themselues; that to make an end of that long and vnprofitable warre, taken in hand for another mans good, they consulted amongst themselues, either to kill *Imirza*, or else to disgrace him with *Solyman*: VVhich they so cunningly wrought; some suggesting false suspicions of his treacherous dealing in the proceeding of that warre; and others with like craft, vnder colour of friendship giuing him warning in secret of the danger

Barbarussa arriued at Constantinople.

Mahomet Solyman's eldest son dieth.

The death of that famous pirat Barbarussa.

Vastius dieth.

1548

1549

Van yeilded to the Turkes.

danger he was in: the one filling Solyman's head with distrust, and the other *Imirzas* with feare. G briefly to shut the matter vp in their owne tearmes, *They persuaded the hare to flee, and the bounds to follow.* *Imirza* doubting some sudden mischief, fled for succour to an old acquaintance of his, one of the princes of *CHALDEA*, who most treacherously sent him in bonds to *Tamas* his brother, his most cruell enemy, who glad to haue the author of all his troubles with the Turks, deliuered into his hands, cast him in prison: and that *Solyman* nor any other should in his behalfe further prosecute the warre, or by his meanes hope for victorie, caused him to be in prison murdered. In this expedition against the Persian king, *Solyman* was occupied a yeare and nine moneths; all which time the Turks endured great troubles, and were oftentimes hardly distressed by the Persians: vntill at last *Solyman* himselfe wearie of that tedious warre, wherein he had got neither honour nor profit, thought it best so to make an end; and thereupon returned againe to H CONSTANTINOPLE in the yeare 1549.

Imirza murdered in prison.

Solyman returned to Constantinople.

1550

Dragut a famous pirate of the Turks, possessed certain cities in Africke.

In the meane time it fortuned, that one *Dragut Raïses* a notable pirat of the Turks, had craftily surprisid the cite of *AFRICA* in the kingdome of *TUNES* (called in auncient time *APHRODISIUM*) and also *LEPTIS PARVA* (and now of the Moores called *MAHAMEDIA*) and there settling himselfe, as in a place both commodious and of good assurance, exceedingly troubled the Christians both by sea and land, especially such as traded in the Mediterranean. So that the emperour, moued as well with the manifold injuries done by that arch-pirat vpon the frontiers of his dominions, as by the daily complaint of his poore subjects, commaunded the Viceroy of *SICILIE*, and *Auria* his Admirall, to leaue a sufficient power in time to repress that pirat, before he grew to farther strength. Whereupon, they with a strong fleet well manned and thoroughly appointed for that purpose, and aided by the knights of *MALTA*, passed ouer into *AFRICKA*; and landing their forces, by the space of three moneths besieged the cite before possessed by the pirat, which with continuall batterie they had at length made faultable. And hearing that *Dragut* was coming with a new supply to relieue it, they with all sceleritie assailed it both by sea and land, and in the space of a few houres tooke it by force the tenth day of September in the yeare 1550: in which assault many of the enemies were slaine, and the rest taken. *Auria* hauing thus dispossessed the pirat, and aduisedly considering that the cite was not without an infinit charge to be holden by the Christians, among so many of the infidels, rased it downe to the ground, carrying away with him seauen thousand captiues and all the spoile of the cite. And not so contented, did all the harme he could with fire and sword all alongst that coast of *AFRICA*, to the intent that the Turks should there find no reliefe; and tooke 12 prisoners out of *MONASTERIUM*, a towne not far from the cite of *AFRICA*: and so hauing done that he came for, returned againe into *SICILIE*. *Dragut* thus at once thrust out of all he had, with a few of his friends fled to *Solyman* at *CONSTANTINOPLE*, and so incensed him with the grievous complaint of the wrong done vnto him by the Christians; that in reuenge thereof, he resolved to make warre both vpon the emperour and king *Ferdinand*, notwithstanding that the five yeares league he had before taken with him at his going into *PERSIA*, was not yet expired. So with cheerful words and courteous entertainment comforting vp the desperat pirat, the Spring following (which was in the yeare 1551) he furnished him with a great fleet in most warlike manner appointed, to reuenge the iniurie done to him by *Auria* in *AFRICKA*. With this fleet in number one hundred and fortie saile, *Sinan* one of the Turks great Basses, accompanied with *Dragut* the pirat, by the appointment of *Solyman*, departed from *CONSTANTINOPLE*; and cutting thorow the seas, arrived at length in *SICILIE*, where they suddenly surprisid the roying and castle of *AVOUSTA*, which they presently sacked. Departing thence, they came to the island of *MALTA*, and there landed their men in the port of *MARZA*, otherwise called *MOXA*, not neere vnto the castle, which they battered with certaine pieces of great ordinance, but so as was to no great purpose. At which time diuers companies of the Turks, running farther into the island, made hauocke of whatoeuer came in their way. After they had thus few daies in vaine battered the castle, and saw themselves both there valiantly repulsed, and in other places by ambushes and such like meanes cut off by the souldiours and inhabitants of the island, they remoued thence to the road of *S. Paul*, where they landed their ordinance, with purpose to haue besieged the cite; but perceiving by a little, what small hope there was to preuaile, and seeing diuers of their men dying thorow the extremitie of the heat, they forsooke the island and went to *GAYLES*, now called *GOZA*, a little island about thirtie miles in compass, five miles distant from *MALTA*.

Malta attempted by the Turks.

A Westward, subject vnto the knights of the religion, and there landing their men, miserably spoiled the island, and whatoeuer they light vpon, and carried away with them of one sort or people and other six thousand and three hundred captiues into most wofull bondage. With which bootie they put againe to sea, and sailed directly to *TRIPOLIS* in *BARBARIE*, called of old *LEPTIS MAIOR*, which cite *Charles* the emperour had before given to the knights of *MALTA*, and was at that time by them kept. This cite was the marke whereat the *Bassa* and the pirat shot; for taking whereof they landed their forces, and by long and winding treaches approached as neere the same as they could: which they did not without great losse of their people; for they of the castle hauing good store of great ordinance, and most expert canoniours did with continuall shot annoy the Turks, that they were oftentimes enforced to retire; yet with much troublesome labour and no lesse perill they came at last within eight hundred paces of the wals: where the *Bassa* caused his gabions made of thicke plankes, to be placed in the night, and his batterie planted. And the next day (which was the eighth of August) the cannon began to play, which was againe answered from the castle with like, and etierie houre some of the Turks slaine, the great shot still flying into their trenches, so as that day fouite of the best canoniours in the armie were slaine, with certaine other men of good account also: and the cleark general of the armie, a man of great estimation and welbeloued of the *Bassa*, had his hand shot off; and many other of the *Ianizaries* and common souldiours either slaine or hurt: moreover they brake one of their best pieces, and dismounted fouite others, which for that day made them to leaue the batterie. The next night the *Turkes* approached yet neerer vnto the castle, vpon whom the Christians in the breake of the day sallied out euen vnto their verie trenches, and afterwards retired. With the rising of the sunne (which the *Turkes* hatte in great reuerence) they renewed their batterie with greater force than before; yet with such euill successe, that the *Bassa* was almost mad for anger: for about the etening the fire by mischance got into their powder, wherewith thirtie of the *Turkes* were burnt, many hurt, and one piece broken. At length the *Turkes* were come so neere, that they had planted their batterie within an hundred and fiftie paces of the wall, which they continued with such furie, that they had made a faire breach euen with the ditch: but what was beaten downe in the day time, the defendants repaired againe by night, in such sort, as that it was not to be assaulted. Yet in conclusion, a traitorous souldior of *PROVINCIA*, before corrupted by the *Turkes*, found meanes to flee out of the castle into the campe, where he declared D vnto the *Bassa* the weakest places of the castle, by which it might be most conueniently battered and soonest taken: and especially one place aboue the rest which was against the gouernours lodging, which standing towards the ditch, and hauing vnderneath it sellars to retire the munition into, could not if it were once battered well be repaired againe or fortified. Which the *Bassa* vnderstanding, caused the batterie there to be planted, laying the pieces so low, that they did easily beat the sellars and vaults in such sort, that in short time the wals were so shaken, that the rampiers aboue thorow the continuall batterie, began greatly to sinke: which so amased the souldiours, seeing no conuenient meanes to reparaire the same, that setting all honour aside, they requested the Gouernour, That sithence the matter began now to grow desperat, and that the place was not longer to be holden, he would in time take some good order with the enemy for their E safetie, before the wals were farther endamaged. With which motion, *Valler* the Gouernour (an ancient knight of *DAUPHINIE*, and one of the order) was exceedingly troubled: which *Peisieu* another of the knights perceiving, he as a man of great courage, and of all others there present most ancient, in the name of the other knights declared vnto them, That the breach was neither so great nor so profitable for the enemy, but that it was defensible enough, if they would as men of courage reparaire the same; saying, That it was more honourable for worthe knights and lustie souldiours, to die valiantly with their weapons in their hands, fighting against the infidels for the maintenance of their law and Christian religion, than so cowardly to yeld themselves to the mercie of those, at whose hands nothing was to be looked for but most miserable seruitude, with all kind of crueltie: and therefore persuaded the Gouernour to hold it out to the F last. For all that, he ouercome with the importunitie of such as would needs yeld, who with all vehemencie vrged the imminent danger wherewith they were all like to be overwhelmed, and finding himselfe bereft both of heart and fortune, and forsaken of his souldiours; without farther consideration, consented that a white ensigne should be displaid vpon the wals, in token that they desired parley: when a *Turke* presenting himselfe, they requested him to vnderstand of the

The Turke fleet arriveth at Tripolis in Barbarie.

Tripolis battered by the Turke.

the Bassa, if he could be contented that some of them might come to intrate with him of some good order to be taken for the yeelding vp. of the castle. VV hereunto the Bassa willingly consenting, two of the knights were forthwith sent out, to offer vnto him the castle with the artillerie and munition; so as he would furnish them with ships to bring them with bag and baggage safely to M A L T A. VV herunto the Bassa briefly answered, That (forasmuch as they had as yet deserved no grace, presuming to keepe so small a place against the army of the greatest prince on earth) if they would pay the whole charges of the armie, he would condescend to their request; or if they would not thereunto consent, that for recompence all they within the castle should continue his slaues and prisoners: notwithstanding if they incontinently and without delay did surrender the place, he would exempt out of them two hundred. VV hereupon the messengers returning in dispaire, were staied by *Dragut* and *Salla Rais*, with flattering words and faire promises, That they would so much as lay in them, persuaide the Bassa to condescend to a more gracious composition: fearing indeed that the besieged through dispaire would resolue (as their extreme refuge) to defend the place euen to the last man. VV herfore they went presently to the Bassa, to declare vnto him his oversight in refusing them who voluntarily would haue put themselves into his hands, whom reason would he should with all courtesie haue receiued: for that after he had the castle and the men in his power, he might dispose of them as he should think good. The Bassa liking well of his counsell, caused the messengers to be called againe, and with fained and dissembling words told them, That at the instance of *Dragut* and *Salla Rais* there present, he did discharge them of all the costs and charges of the armie, swearing vnto them (the better to deceiue them) by the head of his lord and his owne, inuolably to obserue all that he had promised vnto them: which they (too easily) beleued, and forthwith went to declare the same vnto the Gouernour and others within the castle. The Bassa, the better to come to the effect of his desire, after these messengers sent a craftie Turke, whom he charged expressly to persuaide the Gouernour to come with him into the campe, for the full conclusion of the giuing vp of the castle, and for the appointing of such vessels as should be needfull for their safe conduct to M A L T A; and that if he made any doubt to come, he should make shew as if he would there remain in hostage for him: but about all things, to consider of the strength and assurance of the besieged, and of the disposition of all things there. VVhich the subtil Turke so finely handled, that the Gouernour by the counsell of those who had persuaided him to yeeld, notwithstanding the reasons of warres and dutie of his office forbad him in such manner to abandon the place of his charge, resolu'd vpon so small an assurance of the Bassa, and gaue eare to the miserable end of his fortune. So taking with him a knight of his household (to send backe vnto those of the castle, to declare vnto them how he sped in the campe) vnder the conduct of the Turke that was come to fetch him, he went straight to the tent of the Bassa: who by the Turke that went first in, was aduertised of the small courage of the defendants, which he assured him to be no better, but that if he thought it good, he might bring them to such order and agreement as he would himselfe. Vpon whose persuation calling in the Gouernour *Vallier*, after he had rigorously reprobued his rashnesse, said vnto him, That forasmuch as he had once giuen his word, if he would pay the charges of the armie, he was content to let them go with bag and baggage, otherwise he would discharge but two hundred. VVherat the Gouernour greatly moued, answered, That that was not according to his last promise vnto the knights before sent. But when he saw it would be no better, he requested him that he might againe returne to the castle to know the minds of the rest: which the false Bassa would by no means grant, but only permitted him to send backe the knight that he had brought with him, to make report of these hard newes to the besieged: as for the Gouernour, he was sent to the gallies with yrons on his heeles. VVhen they of the castle vnderstood what had passed betwixt the Bassa and the Gouernour, they began exceedingly to feare the mischief then at hand: yet tooke no other resolution, but to returne the said knight to the Bassa, to know whether they should expect from him no better answer. VVho as soone as he was come before him, the capitaine of the castle was brought in, of whom the Bassa asked, VVhich of the two he would chuse, either to pay the expences of the armie, or else both he and all the rest to remaine his prisoners? VVherunto the Gouernour answered, That a slaue had no other authoritie than that which by his master was giuen him; and that hauing lost (besides his libertie) the power to command, if any thing were yet reserved in him, could not counsell him to command others to agree vnto any thing, but that which was concluded with them which were before sent.

Hard conditions
offered by the
Bassa to the
besieged.

More easie con-
ditions offered by
the Bassa, which
he consumeth by
his oath.

The warre an-
swer of the Go-
uernour to the
Bassa.

A sent. Which thing the Bassa hearing, for feare that such a resolute answer should come to the knowledge of the besieged, and cause them to become desperat; hauing taken counsell with his other capitaines, hee tooke the Gouernour by the hand, and with a smiling and dissembling countenance told him, That he would without any doubt let them depart as he had promised; and that therefore without fearing any thing, hee should cause them all to come out of the castle. But the Gouernour, because he had bene before deceiued, would not trust to his word, but said vnto him, That he might command him that was come from the castle, for that he knew they would now doe neuer a whit the more for him. So the Bassa turning towards the other knight, commaunded him forthwith to goe vnto them in the castle, and to cause them to come forth, swearing againe as before, by the head of his great lord, and his owne, That they should all be deliuered and set at libertie, according to the conuentions first agreed vpon. VVhich the knight beleueing, went to report to them this good newes: which they receiued with such joy, that without further care or consideration of their mishap to neere, they ran in preale with their wiues children and best moueables, striding who should first get out. But they were no sooner issued, but they were by the enemies spoyled of all they had, and taken prisoners: part of the knights were sent to the gallies, and the rest to the Bassa. Who being by the Gouernour put in remembrance of his faith twice giuen, answered, That there was no faith to be kept with dogs, and that they had first violated their oath with his great lord, vnto whom at the giuing ouer of the R H O D E S, they had (as he said) sworne neuer more to beare armes against the Turkes. The castle was forthwith taken and spoiled, and about two hundred Moores of that country that had serued the knights, cut in peeces, and thereupon a great peale of ordinance discharged, with great cries and shouts in signe of their victorie. Thus the strong castle and auncient citie of T R I P O L I S in B A R B A R I E was deliuered to the Turkes the fifteenth day of August, in the yeare 1551. VVhilst the Bassa lay at this siege, the lord of A R R A M O N T, who had many yeares lien embassadour from Francis the French king at C O N S T A N T I N O P L E, and was now sent againe by Henrie the second, came to the Turkes campe, being requested so to doe by the Great Master of the R H O D E S, to haue dissuaded the Bassa from that siege: wherein he nothing preuailed. Yet now greued to see how the faithlesse Turke, contrarie to his oath, most villanously entreated the Gouernour and the other knights, lying at his feet as men halfe desperat, was so bold as to put him in mind of his promise, confirmed by his oath; D which if he would not keepe, that yet at the least according to his own voluntarie offer, he would release two hundred of them: but he excused himselfe as before, saying, That no faith was to be kept with dogs, which had first broken their owne faith. Yet afterwards he condescended, that two hundred of the eldest and such as were most vnfit for seruice (amongst whom was comprehended the Gouernour and certaine other old knights) should be set at libertie, who were forthwith sent aboard the French embassadours gallies, and by him transported to M A L T A: where they were but hardly welcome, for that they had so cowardly surrendered a place, which they might much longer haue defended. The next day after the castle was deliuered, which was the 16 of August, the proud Bassa for joy of this victorie made a solemne dinner, wherunto he inuited the French embassadour, and *Vallier* the late Gouernour: which they refused not to come E vnto, in hope to recouer some more prisoners. This great feast for the more magnificence was kept in the castle ditch against the breach, where were set vp two stately pavillions, the one for the Bassa, and the other for the embassadour and his companie, where he was honourably feasted with wonderfull plentie both of flesh and fish and good wines, which they had found in the castle; which seruice was done with musike of diuers sorts, and officers in number about a hundred, apparelled for most part in long gowns of fine cloth of gold, stuffed or fringed; and the other of veluer or damaske. The Bassa was no sooner set downe, but all the ordinance of the fleet was discharged with such a noise and thundering, that it seemed the heauens and skies did shake. The table being taken vp, the embassadour and the late Gouernour *Vallier*, entred into the pavillion of the Bassa, and beside the two hundred men which he had promised, obtained twentie more, F vpon the embassadours promise, That he should for them cause to be released thirtie Turkes taken at M A L T A, at the landing of the armie there. The Turkes hauing in their hands an ancient gunner of the castle, called *Iohn de Chabas* borne in D A V P H I N E (to the end that this triumphant feast should not be vnfrustrated of some cruell sacrifice of the Christian blood) for that he had in the time of the siege shot off the hand of the darke generall of the armie, brought him into the towne,

The castle yeelded.

The shamelesse
answer of the
faithlesse Bassa
to the French
embassadour.

The Turkes tri-
umph for the
winning of Tri-
polis.

A famous full
cure of the Turke.

Temisware and
Zolnok taken by
the Turke.

George bishop of
Veradivm mur-
dered in his owne
house.

Agria besieged
by the Turke.

The Turke give
over the siege of
Agria.

towne, and when they had cut off his hands and his nose, put him quicke into the ground to the wall, and there for their pleasure shot at him with their arrowes, and afterward to make an end of him cut his throat. The Bassa shortly after departing out of BARBARIE, left *Dragus* the pyra Gouvernour of TRIPOLIS, honouring him with the title of the Sanzacke of that place: from whence he many yeares after grievously molested the Moores neete vnto him by land, and the Christians by sea. The same yeare 1551, *Solyman* notwithstanding the fite yeares peace before taken with king *Ferdinand* at his going into PERSIA, sent *Achomates* his lieutenant in EVROPE with a great power into HUNGARIE, who with *Haly* the Bassa of BYDA invaded the vpper part of HUNGARIE, and first tooke the citie of TEMESVARE, and contrarie to their faith given, slew the garrison souldiours: after that they tooke also the castle of ZOLNOK, forsaken by the Christians, and certaine other small castles. But laying siege to ERSAM, they were partly by the valiantnesse of the defendants, and partly by the coming on of Winter enforced to forsake the siege, and to get themselves into their wintering places.

Queene *Isabell*, king *John* his widdow, seeing the Turkes dayly encroching vpon that little they had left her, and that she was not able by any meanes to defend TRANSILVANIA against them; by the aduise of *George* bishop of VERADIVM her old counsellor, agreed with king *Ferdinand* to deliuer vnto him the government of the countrey, with all the royall dignitie of HUNGARIE, for which she was to haue of him CASSOVIA, and a yearely pension of an hundred thousand ducats. Which agreement made and thorowly concluded by *Baptista Castallius* (an Italian, whom *Charles* the emperour had but a little before sent to aid king *Ferdinand*) the queen returned into POLONIA, her native countrey: and so king *Ferdinand* by that meanes obtained almost all the prouince of TRANSILVANIA, and what els the queene had in HUNGARIE. But the bishop, a little before made a cardinall, being suspected by *Baptista* the Italian, that he favoured the Turkes faction more than king *Ferdinand*, and by that meanes sought to get the government to himselfe, was by the Italians deuice suddenly murdered in his owne house at VERADIVM: an end good ynough for so trouble some a prelat.

Haly the Bassa of BYDA proud of the good successe he had the yeare before, vnderstanding that diuers of the cheefe Hungarians had withdrawne themselves into the castle of AGRIA, purposed in himselfe with all his power to besiege it, and there to take them. So aided by *Achomates*, *Chasan*, and other of the Turkes Sanzackes and captaines by *Solymans* appointment ready at his call, he came with an armie of fure and thirtie thousand Turkes, and the 10 of September in the yeare 1552, encamped round about the castle: where after he had placed his artillerie, he began a most furious batterie. But doubting to preuaile that way, he attempted also to vndermine the castle, omitting nothing that could be deuised for the taking thereof: but all in vaine, for the Hungarians by the good direction of *Stephanus Dobus* their captaine, courageously endured the siege, and very manfully repulled the enemy. At length, the nine and twentieth of September the enemy with eight and twentie ensignes of select souldiours gaue a fresh assault to the castle, and were by the defendants enforced shamefully to retire: at which time foure and twentie barrels of gunpowder by mischance caught fire, and besides that it blew vp diuers captaines and souldiours, did much harme in the castle, to the great dismay of the defendants. After that, the Turkes with incredible pertinacie the twelfth of October fiercely assaulted the castle from morning vntill night, and for desire of reuenge and hope of spoile left nothing vnattempted for the gaining of the place; but were by the greater valour of the Hungarians beaten backe, and with great losse enforced at last to giue ouer the assault. Thus the Bassa nothing preuailing by force, attempted by great promises and large offers to haue bought them out: which he vnderstanding to be nothing regarded, and his letters scornefully burnt, brought on his souldiours again, and gaue vnto them in the castle a most furious assault, but with no better successe than before: for hauing lost many of his best souldiours, he was enforced to retire. So after he had in vaine six weekes besieged the castle, he was glad to raise his siege, and to retire to PISTVM. After whose departure there was found twelue thousand great shot, wherewith he had battered the wall. In this siege six thousand Turkes were slaine, and of the Hungarians but three hundred. King *Ferdinand* glad of this victorie, made *Stephanus* the worthy captaine, Vayuo of TRANSILVANIA, and bountifully rewarded the other captaines and souldiours as they had well deserved.

Henrie the French king, who together with his kingdome had as it seemed receiued the hereditarie quarrels of *Francis* his father against *Charles* the emperour, had by his embassadour the lord

A lord of ARAMONT so wrought the matter with *Solyman*, that the more to trouble the emperour, he sent a great fleet into the Tyrrhenum or Tuscan sea, which in the yeare 1553 and the yeare following, did great harme vpon the coasts of CALABRIA, SICILIA, SARDINIA, as also in the islands of ELBA, CORSICA, GERBE, and MAIORCA, and such like places on the frontiers of the emperours dominions: yet were the Turkes in most places notably againe repulled by the people of those countreies. The same yeare *Solyman* seduced by *Roxolana* (sometime his faire concubine, but then his imperious wife) and *Rustan Bassa* his sonne in law, most vnaturally murdered his eldest sonne *Mustapha*, the mirror of the Othoman familie: Which tragicall fact, the like whereof both for the trecherous contriuing and inhuman execution hath seldome times bene heard of, I haue thought good here in due time to set downe, in such sort as it is by most credible writers of that time reported.

Solyman after the manner of the Othoman kings, who to auoid the participation of their soueraignetic, vfe not oftentimes to marrie (but otherwise to satisfie their pleasure with such beautiful concubines as it pleaseth them to make choise of, out of the fairest captiues of all nations; most daintily brought vp for that purpose in the court) had by a Circassian bondwoman a sonne called *Mustapha*; who for his wonderfull towardnesse and rare perfection was amongst the Turkes had in such expectation and admiration, as that they in nothing accounted themselves more happy, than in the hope laid vp in him: whose noble carriage was such, as that thereby he so possessed the minds of all men in generall, but especially of the men of warre, that he was reputed the glorie of the court, the floure of chiuallrie, the hope of the souldiours, and joy of the people. Whilest he thus grew, encreasing both in yeares and fauour: it fortuned with *Solyman* as it doth with men delighting in change, that he became amorous of *Roxolana*, of some called *Rosa* (but more truly *Harathya*) by condition a captiue, but so graced with beautie and courtly behauiour, that in short time she became mistresse of his thoughts, and commaundresse of him that all commaunded: And that which more established her in possession of his loue, she had in time made him father of foure faire sonnes, *Mahomet*, *Selymus*, *Baiazet*, and *Tahanger*, and one daughter called *Chameria* married to *Rustan* or *Rustemes* the great Bassa. In this height of worldly blisse nothing troubled her more than the exceeding credit of *Mustapha*, *Solymans* eldest sonne by the Circassian woman; who honoured of the greatest, and beloued of the rest, stood onely in her light, embarrassing her and hers (as she thought) of the hope of the empire, which shee now D about all things sought to bring to one of her owne sonnes: which the better to compass, she vnder the colour of great good will and loue, procured that *Mustapha* the young prince and his mother should as it were for their greater honour and state with a princely allowance be sent into CARAMANIA to gouerne that great country, far from the court. Which was no great matter for her to bring to passe: for that the Turkish emperours vsually send their sonnes after they come to any yeares of discretion vnto such prouinces as are farre from the court, attended vpon with one great Bassa and some graue doctour of their law, so to acquaint them with the manner of government; the Bassa instructing them in matters of ciuile policie, and the doctour in matters concerning their superstition: and yet by sending them a farre off, to keepe them from aspiring to the empire by the fauour of the court (a thing by the Turkish emperours not vnworthely feared, euen in their own and beloued children.) *Roxolana* hauing at once thus cunningly rid the court of the great competitor both of her loue and of the empire (things of all others enduring no parteners) rested not so, but began straightway to plot in her malicious head the vtter destruction of him, to whom all others wished all happinesse. This she saw was not to be brought to passe without some complices: wherefore after she had in her secret conceit discarded many, of whom at first she had reasonable good liking; at last she made choise of *Rustan Bassa* her sonne in law, vpon whom she would set vp her rest. This *Rustan* was a man basely borne in EPYRVS, altogether composed of dissimulation and flatterie, euer seruing his owne turne, were it neuer so much to the hurt or greauance of others; by which meanes he, although none of the best souldiours, was yet by many degrees growne vp to be the greatest man in the court, and *Solymans* sonne in law: F him she probably thought to wish the succession of the empire to one of her owne sonnes, his wiues full brethren, rather than to *Mustapha* her halfe brother. Beside that, she was not ignorant how that *Rustan* as one carefull of the emperours profit, the readiest way to preferment, had abridged the pensions and fees of the officers and seruitors in court: which he perceiving to please the emperour, proceeded so farre therein, that he attempted to haue cut off, if it had bene possi-

T r r

Roxolana con-
spireth with Rus-
sian Basha her
sonne in law
against Mus-
tapha.

Roxolana sai-
neth her selfe
religious.

Solyman mani-
fisteth Roxolana

Solyman sendeth
for Roxolana.

She excuseth her
sickness, and refus-
eth to come.

Solyman mani-
fisteth Roxolana.

ble, some part of *Mustapha* his princely allowance: for which doing, she knew how odious he was to all the courtiers (whereof he made small reckoning) but especially to *Mustapha*, in so much that it was thought he would not forget so notorious an injurie, if euer he should obtaine the empire. Hereupon the brake with *Russian* vpon the matter, whom she found readie yonought of himselfe, to doe what in him lay to further her mischievous desire.

To begin this intended tragedie, she vpon the sudden became very deuout, and being by the fauour of *Solyman* growne exceeding rich, pretended as if it had beene vpon a deuout zeale, for the health of her soule, after the manner of the Turkish superstition to build an Abbey with an Hospitall and a Church: which so godly a purpose she imparted to the Muphti or cheefe Mahometane priest, demanding of him, If such workes of charitie were not acceptable vnto God, and auailable for her soules health. Whereunto the Muphti answered, That those workes were no doubt gracious in the sight of God, but nothing at all meritorious for her soules health, being a bondwoman; yet very profitable for the soule of the great emperor *Solyman*, vnto whom as vnto her lord both she and all she had appertained. With which answer of the great priest she seemed to be exceedingly troubled, and thereupon became wonderfull pensif and melancholie, her cheerefull countenance was replete with sadnesse, and her faire eyes flowed with teares; her mirth was mourning, and her joy heauinesse. Which thing *Solyman* perceiuing, and fortie to see his loue vpon conceit so to languish, sent her word to be of good cheere, and to comfort her selfe, promising in short time to take such a course as should ease her of all her griefes: which he forthwith did, solemnly manumising her from her bond estate. So great a fauour obtained; *Roxolana* with great cheerefulness began those meritorious workes by her before intended; as if she had thought of nothing but heauen, whereas indeed her thoughts were in the depth of hell. When she had thus a good while busied her selfe in paving the way to heauen, as was supposed, *Solyman* not able longer to forbear the companie of her, in whom his soule liued, after his wonted manner sent for her by one of his eunuchs, who should haue brought her to his bed chamber: to whom she with her eyes cast vp to heauen, demurely answered, That her life and whatsoever els she had, was at her dread souveraignes commaund, but againe to yeeld her bodie vnto his appetite, she might not in any case do, without the great offence of the high God, and manifest breach of his sacred lawes, which permitted her not now voluntarily to yeeld him that, being free, which he before without offence might commaund of his bondwoman: and because she would not seeme to vse this as an excuse, she referred her selfe in all things to the graue judgement of the learned and reuerend Muphti, with whom she had before at full conferred. This she did, presuming of the souverainetie she had ouer that great Monarch, whom she right well knew she had so fast bound in the pleasing fetters of his affection towards her, as that she was sure ynough of him without a keeper. *Solyman* raiued with her loue, and well the more for her deniall, sent for the Muphti, requiring his judgement in the matter; who before instructed in all points, agreed with that *Roxolana* had said, agrauating the heinousnesse of the fact, if he should proceed to enforce her as his slaue, whom being now free, he might not without great offence touch vnmarrried. Whereupon *Solyman* more and more burning in his desires, became a fresh suter to her for marriage, whom he had so often before commaunded: which his sute easily obtained (as the marke she had all this while aimed at) he with all speed to the great admiration of all men, and contrarie to the manner of the Mahometane emperors, solemnly married her; appointing for her yearly dowrie five thousand Sultanyms. But here before we proceed any farther, stay a while and take the view of that faire face whereon this great Monarch so much doted; as it is by the skilfull workemans hand most liuely expressed.



Frontis nulla fides, nulla est fiducia forma:
Pectore dum seuo, dira venena latent.
Philtra viro miscet fallax, miserumq; coegit
Sanguine natorum commaculare manus.

RICH. KNOLLEVS.

To fairest lookes trust not too farre, nor yet to beautie braue:
For hatefull thoughts so finely maskt, their deadly poisons haue.
Loues charmed cups, the subtile dame doth to her husband fill:
And causeth him with cruell hand, his childrens blood to spill.

This woman of late a slaue, but now become the greatest emperesse of the East, flowing in all worldly felicitie, attended vpon with all the pleasures her heart could desire, wanted nothing she could wish; but how to find means that the Turkish empire might after the death of *Solyman*, be brought to some one of her owne sons. This was it that had (as we haue before said) long troubled her aspiring mind; and in the midst of all her blisse, suffered her yet to take no rest. Noble *Mustapha*, *Solyman*'s eldest sonne, and here apparant of the empire, although *Mustapha* was yet still before her eyes present; his credit, his valour, his vertues, his person were all bar to her desires; he was the onely cloud that kept the sunne from shining on her; if

T t t ij

Rustan the great
Bassa forthwith
the deuiser of
Roxolana.

any meanes might be taken away, then wanted nothing that she desired. Which to bring to G
passe, the wicked woman laboured cunningly by little and little to breed in *Solyman* head no
small suspicion of *Mustapha*. That he being a young man of a haucie spirit, desirous of foueraign
tic, generally beloued, and swelling with the immoderat fauor of the men of warre, which were
all at his deuotion, left nothing else to be expected of him, but when he should (as did his grand-
father *Selymus*) lay hand vpon the empire, and worke his aged fathers destruction: This mis-
chieuous plot by her deuised, was not a little furthered by *Rustan* the great Bassa, by whom pas-
sed all great matters: who nothing omitted, that could be slyly deuised for the disgrace or con-
fusion of the young prince. For he, as a great secer, craftily told all them that were sent gouer-
nours into *SYRIA*, that *Mustapha* was secretly suspected by his father of aspiring to the king-
dome; and therefore charged them particularly, carefully to obserue all his actions, with the H
manner of his life and gouernment, and by their letters diligently to aduertise him of whatsoever
they should see or heare; bearing them in hand, that the more suspiciously or odiously they
should write of him, the more gracious and acceptable it would be vnto the great Sultan. Where-
fore he by these men, oftentimes certified of the princely disposition, courage, wisdom, valour,
and bountie of *Mustapha*, whereby he had woon all mens hearts; saw plainly, that he would at
length be vndoubtedly preferred to the empire: yet durst he not for all that, aduenture to temper
with *Solyman* about that detestable conspiracie against the innocent prince, but still deliuering the
letters to the malicious woman, left the rest by her vngracious head to be wrought. And she still
as occasion best serued her purpose, ceased not with pleasing allurements and flatterie (wherein
she was most excellent) to infect *Solyman*'s mind, that whensoever he should chance to haue any I
speech of *Mustapha*, she might take the fitter occasion to bring forth those letters. Neither was
she in her drift deceived, but hauing found a fit opportunitie, with teares trickling downe her
cheekes (which to serue their turns subtle women seldome want) she told the emperor in what
danger he stood, recounting amongst other things, how *Selymus* his father had by such meanes
deprived *Baiazet* his grandfather, both of his life and empire together: and therefore most in-
stantly besought him, as if it had altogether proceeded of a carefull loue; by that example warned
to looke to himselfe. But these light arguments of suspicion, seemed as they were indeed vnto
Solyman scarce probable; so that she little preuailed thereby. Which thing she well perceiving,
and inwardly grieved thereat, conuerted her cruell mind to other mischieuous deuises; and sought K
by all meanes how to poyson the young prince: neither wanted there wicked men (as it were)
vowed to all kind of mischiefe and villanie) readie to haue performed what she desired, had not
Gods prouidence withstood so horrible a practise. For whereas certaine rich apparell was by
her sent vnto him in his fathers name, he fearing the worst, would not touch it before he had
caused it to be worne by one of his seruants; by which curious warinesse (as it was thought) he
for that time preuented the treason of his wicked stepdame; and made her malicious practise ma-
nifest to the world. Yet rested she not so, but was still plotting new deuises tending all to one
purpose: for being growen to that height of honour and power as neuer was woman in the
Othoman court, and by the meanes of *Trongilla* a Jew (as it was thought) hauing bewitched
the mind of the Turkish emperor, she still grew more and more in fauour, and obtained that
her sonnes might by turnes be still present in the court: of purpose, that by their daily presence L
and continuall flatterie, they should more and more procure their fathers loue; and if by chance
Mustapha should come thither, she might haue the better meanes to dispatch him: if not, to ex-
pect some other fit time, when she might by some one or other meanes take him away. But *Mu-*
stapha neuer coming (for why, the emperors sons life not without their fathers deale to go out
of the prouinces assigned vnto them, but to come to *CONSTANTINOPLE*, but after the death of
their father to receiue the empire, attended vpon with a number of souldiours) she easily deuised
another practise: that her sonnes should wait vpon their father, not in the citie only, but in the
prouinces also; so that *Tribanger* (whom she named *Cronchbacke*, alwaies followed his father in the
campe. Certaine yeares thus spent, and she still hammering her mischieuous deuises at length
fortune fauouring her wicked desire, got from the Bassa which had the gouernment of *Musta-*
pha and the prouince of *AMASIA* (for as we haue said, euerie one of the kings sons hath with him
one Bassa, which is as it were his lieutenant in administration of justice and martiall affaires) cer-
taine suspicious letters; wherein was contained, that there was a speech of a marriage to be made
betwixt *Mustapha* and the Persian kings daughter; which thing he thought good to keepe know-
ledge

Mustapha in
danger to haue
been poysoned by
Roxolana.

A ledge of to the Counsell, that if any harme should ensue thereof, he might be out of all suspicion.
These letters being brought to *Rustan*, he thought he had now as good as halfe brought to end
the long desired ruine of *Mustapha*: so making no stay, he opened the matter to *Roxolana*, and
afterwards both together went to the court, and declared all the matter to the emperor; in do-
ing whereof, they forced both their vngracious wits to fill his head, yet doubtfull with sus-
pition, and to possesse his mind with the feare of his owne most dutifull sonne: saying, That he
as a proud and ambitious young man, rauid with the desire of so glorious an empire, sought
against the lawes both of God and nature, to take his father out of the way, that so he might with
more speed satisfie his aspiring mind. And to giue the more credit to this their most false sugge-
stion, they warned him of the alliance by him purposed with the Persian king, the ancient ene-
mie of the *Othoman* emperours; wishing him to beware, least *Mustapha* supported by the
strength of *PERSIA*, and the fauour of the Sanzacks and Ianizaries, whose loue he had by boun-
tie purchased, should in short time when he feared least, together depriue him both of his life and
empire. With these and such like accusations, they so preuailed with the aged man whom they
neuer suffered to rest in quiet; that he at length resolved to worke his safetie (as he supposed)
by the death of his owne sonne, in this sort.

Roxolana and
Rustan together
poysoned
Mustapha.

In the year 1552 he caused proclamation to be made almost in all the prouinces of his em-
pire, That for as much as the Persians without resistance with a great armie inuaded *SYRIA*, bur-
ning and destroying the country before them, he to repress that their outrageous insolence,
was enforced to send thither *Rustan Bassa* with an armie: which according to his appointment
C was in short time raised. Now when all things were in readinesse, as if it had bene for such a
warre as was pretended, he commaunded *Rustan*, with as much secrecie and as little tumult
as was possible, to lay hands vpon *Mustapha*, and to bring him bound to *CONSTANTINO-*
PLE: which if hee could not conueniently effect, then, by any other meanes to take him out
of the way.

Solyman sendeth
Rustan Bassa
with an armie to
take Mustapha.

With this wicked and cruell charge *Rustan* with a strong armie marched towards *SYRIA*.
Mustapha vnderstanding of his coming, without delay with 7000 of the best horsemen in all
Turkie made towards *SYRIA* also: whereof *Rustan* hearing, and perceiving that he could not (as
he desired) conueniently execute the cruell commaund of the vnnaturall father, forthwith turned
his backe, and treading the same steps he came, returned with his armie to *CONSTANTINOPLE*
D with such speed, that he endured not to behold the very dust raised by *Mustapha* his horsemen,
much lesse his presence: giuing it out, That he certainly vnderstood, that the prouince was in
quiet (as indeed it was) and that he thereupon returned. But vnto *Solyman* he told another tale
in secret, which he maliciously had deuised: That he by most apparent signes and manifest pre-
sumptions had perceiued the whole armie so enclined towards *Mustapha*, that if hee should
haue attempted any thing against him by plaine force, hee should haue bene vtterly forsaken,
and had therefore in so dangerous a case left the matter as it was to his graue further direction.
This tale suspiciously told, raised in the wicked and vnnaturall father (nothing degenerating
from the naturall crueltie of his aunccestors) new and great suspicions, whereof to disburden his
disquieted mind, he conceiued with himselfe a most horrible deuice. Wherefore the year fol-
lowing, which was the year 1553, he raised a great armie, giuing it out, That the Persians had
E with greater power than before inuaded *SYRIA*, and that therefore he for the loue of his coun-
treys and defence of his empire, was determined to goe thither with his armie, and in person him-
selfe to repress the attempts of his enemies. Wherefore the armie being assembled, and all things
necessarie orderly provided, he commaunded to set forward, and in few dayes after followed
himselfe: who coming at length into *SYRIA*, presently by trustie messengers commaunded
Mustapha to come vnto him at *ALBPO*; for there he lay encamped. And yet for all these shad-
dowes, the matter was not so closely by *Solyman* conceiued (although he was exceeding carefull
thereof) but that his mortall and deadly hatred against his sonne was perceiued by the Bassaes
and other great men about him: insomuch, that *Achmat Bassa* by a secer and trustie messenger
F gaue him warning thereof; that so he might in time the better provide for the safeguard of his life.
Neither could *Mustapha* himselfe but maruell, that his aged father without any apparent reason
should come so far with so great an armie: yet trusting to his owne innocencie, though wonder-
fully troubled and perplexed in mind, he resolved (although it were with the extreame danger of
his life) to obey and yeeld to his fathers commaund: for he thought it more commendable and
honou-

The malicious
deuise of Rustan

Solyman goeth
himselfe with an
armie to kill his
sonne.

He sendeth for
Mustapha.

Mustapha per-
plexed in mind.

His talk with
his doctor.

honourable to incur the danger of death, than living, to fall into the foule suspicion of dilloy-
altie. In so great a perplexitie of mind, after he had with himselfe much discoursed too and fro
what course hee were best to take, at length he boldly and resolutely asked the doctor whom
(as we haue before said) he had alwaies with him in his court, Whether the empire of the world
or a blessed life were of man more to be desired: to whom the doctor frankly answered, That
the empire of the world, to him that would enter into the due consideration thereof, brought
with it no felicitie, more than a vain shew and vter apparance of good, nothing being more fraile
or vncertaine than worldly honour, bringing with it feare, vexation of mind, tribulation, suspiti-
on, murder, wrong, wickednesse, spoile, ruine and captiuitie, with infinit mischeefes of like nature
not to be desired of him that would attaine to true felicitie, by which meanes the blessed life was
to be lost and not gained: But they vnto whom God had giuen the grace, rightly to consider and
weigh the fragilitie and shortnesse of this our estate (which the common sort deemeth to be the
onely life) and to strue against the vanities of this world, and to embrace and follow an vpright
kind of life, had vndoubtedly a place assigned for them in heauen, and prepared by the great God
where they should at length enjoy life and blisse eternall. This answer of the great doctor won-
derfully satisfied the troubled mind of the young prince, foreseeing as it were the approach of his
owne end: and so staying not any longer discourse, forthwith set forward towards his father, and
making great hast, came at length to his fathers campe, and not farre off pitched his tents in the
open field. But this his so hastie comming the more encreased the suspicion in the mind of his
wicked father: for by a signe giuen he caused the Janizaries and cheefe men in the armie to goe
as if it had bene for honours sake to meet *Mustapha*; which they all without delay presently
did at his commaund, and so all together set forward. In the meane time, he the most craftie var-
let with troubled countenance (for he could notably dissemble) as a man halfe dismayed came
in halt into *Solymans* pavillion, and falsely told him, That the Janizaries and almost all the best
souldiours of the armie were of themselves without leaue gone to meet *Mustapha*, and that he
feared what would ensue thereof. VVhich newes so troubled the old tyrant, that he became pale
for feare, and going out of his tent, and finding them gone, easily beleeued all to be true that the
false Bassa had told him. Neither wanted *Mustapha* strange warning of his end so neere at hand,
for the third day before his setting forwards towards his father, falling asleepe in the euening, he
thought he saw his prophet *Mahomet* in bright apparrell to take him by the hand and lead him
into a most pleasant place, beautified with most glorious and stately pallaces, and most delicate
and pleasant gardens; and pointing to euery thing with his finger, to say thus vnto him, Here
rest they for euer, which in this world haue led an vpright and godly life, following vertue
and detesting vice: and after that turning his face to the other side, to haue shewed him two great and
swift riuers, whereof the one boyled with water blacker than pitch, and in them appeared (as he
thought) numbers of men wallowing and tumbling some vp, some downe, crying horribly for
mercie; And there (said he) are punished all such as in this fraile life haue been the malicious wor-
kers of iniquitie, the cheefe of whom (as he said) were emperours, kings, princes, and other great
men of the world. *Mustapha* awaking, and troubled with this melancholic dreame, called vnto
him his doctor: and hauing told him all the matter, asked him what the same might signifie: who
standing a great while in a muse (for the *Mahometanes* are exceeding superstitious, attributing
much vnto dreames) full of sorrow and greefe, at length answered, That this vision (for so it plea-
sed him to tearme it) was vndoubtedly to be feared, as presaging vnto him the extreame perill of
his life, and therefore requested him to haue great care both of his life and honour. But *Mustapha*
as he was of a notable spirit and courage, regarding nothing that answer, stoutly replied: What
shall I suffer my selfe to be terrified and overcome with childish and vaine feare? why rather hast
I not courageously and resolutely to my father? and so much the more boldly, because I know
assuredly I haue alwayes (as reason was) reuerenced his maiestie, that against his will I neuer tur-
ned mine eyes or foot against his most royall seat, much lesse affected his empire, except the most
high God had called him to a better life, neither then without the generall good liking & choise
of the whole armie, that so I might at length without murder, without blood, without tyrannie,
well and iustly reigne, and in loue and peace inuioleat liue with my brethren: for I haue set
down with my selfe, and chosen, if it be my fathers pleasure so, rather to die in his obedience, than
reigning many yeares, to be reputed of all men, especially my competitor, a rebell or traitor.

Hauing

A Having thus said, he came vnto his fathers campe, and pitching his tents (as we haue before said)
suted himselfe all in white, in token of his innocencie, and writing certaine letters (which the
Turkes when they are about to go to any place of danger, vse to write, and alwaies to carrie with
them, for they are wonderfull foolish in their superstition) and putting them in his bosome, at-
tended vpon with a few of his most trustie followers, came with great reuerence towards the
tent of his father, fully resoluving to haue kissed his hand, as their vsuall manner is. But when he
was come to the entrance of the tent, remembering that he had yet his dagger girt to him, hee
entered not vntill he had put it off; because he would not come into his fathers sight with
any weapon, if happily so hee might cleere himselfe of his fathers needlesse suspicion. So
when he was come into the more inward roomes of the tent, he was with such honour as be-
longed to his state cheerfully received by his fathers eunuchs. But seeing nothing else prouided
but one seat whereon to sit himselfe alone, he perplexed in mind stood still a while musing, at
length asked where the emperour his father was? VVhereunto they answered, That he should
by and by see him: and with that casting his eye aside, he saw seauen Muts (these are strong
men, bereft of their speech, whom the Turkish tyrants haue alwaies in readinesse, the more le-
cretly to execute their bloudie butcherie) comming from the other side of the tent towards him:
at whose sight stricken with a sudden terrour, said no more, but *Lo my death*; and with that, ari-
sing, was about to haue fled: but in vaine, for he was caught hold on by the eunuch and Muts,
and by force drawne to the place appointed for his death: where without further stay the Muts
cast a bow string about his necke, he poore wretch still struiuing, and requesting that he might
speake but two words to his father before he died. All which the murtherer (for no addition is
sufficient significantly to expresse his vnnaturall villanie) both heard and saw by a trauers from
the other side of the tent: but was so farre from being moued with compassion, that thinking it
long till he were dispatched, with a most terrible and cruell voice he rated the villaines enured to
bloud, saying, *Will you neuer dispatch that I bid you? will you neuer make an end of this traitor, for
whom I haue not rested one night these ten yeares in quiet?* VVhich horrible commaunding (spee-
ches yet thundering in their eares, those butcherly Muts threw the poore innocent prince vpon
the ground, and with the helpe of the eunuchs forcibly drawing the knotted bow string both
waies, by the commaundement of a most wicked father strangled him. With like barba-
rous crueltie, he shortly after caused *Mahomet* his nephew (*Mustapha* his sonne) to bee stran-
gled also.

This vnnaturall and strange murther committed, he presently commaunded the Bassa of
AMASIA *Mustaphaes* lieutenant to be apprehended, and his head in his owne presence to bee
strucke off. VVhich done, he sent for *Tzihanger* the crooked, yet ignorant of all that was hap-
pened; and in sporting wise, as if he had done a thing worth commendations, bid him go meet
his brother *Mustapha*: which thing *Tzihanger* with a merrie and cheerfull countenance hastened
to doe, as one glad of his brothers comming. But as soone as he came vnto the place where he
saw his brother lying dead vpon the ground strangled, it is not to be spoken how he was in mind
tormented. He was scarcely come to the place where this detestable murther was committed,
when his father sent vnto him certaine of his seruants to offer vnto him all *Mustaphaes* treasure,
E when his father sent vnto him certaine of his seruants to offer vnto him all *Mustaphaes* treasure,
Tzihanger filled with extreame heauinesse for the vnmerefull death of his welbeloued brother,
spake vnto them in this sort. *A wicked and vngodly Cain, traitor (I may not say father) take
thou now the treasures, the horses, the seruants, the iewels and the prouince of Mustapha. How
came it into thy wicked, cruell and sawge breast, so vngrationally and contrarie to all humanitie;
I will not say the reuerence of thine owne bloud, to kill thy worthie, warlike and noble sonne, the mir-
ror of courtesie, and prince of greatest hope, the like of whom, the Othoman family neuer yet had, nor
neuer shall? I will therefore my selfe provide that thou, nor none for thee shall euer hereafter in
such sort shamefully triumph ouer a poore crooked wretch.* And hauing thus much said, stabd
himselfe with his owne dagger into the bodie, whereof he in short time died: which so soone
F as it came to the old Tygers eares, it is hard to say how much he grieved. His dead bodie
was by his fathers commaundement carried from ALEPPO in SYRIA to CONSTANTINO-
PLE, and afterwards honourably buried on the other side of the hauen at PERA. For all this
bloudie tragicke, his couetous mind was not so troubled but that he could forthwith command
all *Mustaphaes* treasures and riches to be brought to his tent: which his souldiours in hope to haue
the

*Mustapha com-
meth to his fa-
thers tent.*

*Mustapha most
cruelly strangled
in his fathers
sight.*

*Mahomet Mu-
staphaes sonne
strangled also.*

*Solyman offereth
to Tzihanger all
Mustaphaes
treasure and
wealth.*

*Tzihanger for
sorrow killeth
himselfe.*

*Mustapha com-
meth to his fa-
thers campe.*

*The exceeding
treachery of Ru-
stan against Mu-
stapha*

*The melancholic
dreame of Mu-
stapha, com-
ming to his fa-
ther.*

the same given them for a prey, willingly hasted to performe. In the meane time, the souldiors which were in *Mustaphaes* campe, not knowing what was become of their master, seeing such a multitude of souldiors thrusting into their campe without all order; to repecte their tumultuous insolencie, stept out in their armour, and notably repulst them, not without much bloudshed.

At length, the noise of this stirre was heard by the rest of the kings souldiors, who seeing the tumult to increase more and more, ran in to helpe their fellowes; so that in short time there began a hoat skirmish and cruell fight on both sides, insomuch that two thousand were slaine and mo wounded: neither had the broile so ended, had not *Achomat bassa* a graue captaine, and for his long experience of no small authoritie amongst the souldiors, kept backe the lanizaries and staied their furie; and turning likewise to *Mustaphaes* souldiors, by gentle and mild words and courteous persuations, in this manner appealed their rage. *What my brethren* (said he) *will you now (degenerating from your auntient loyaltie for which you haue bin for so many ages commended) impugne the command of the great Sultan our dread soueraigne? Truly I cannot sufficiently maruell what thing should moue you, whom I haue hitherto proued to haue been most worthy and valiant souldiors, in this ciuile conflict to draw those weapons against your fellowes and brethren, which you haue most fortunately used against the enemies of the Othoman kings: except you meane thereby to make your selues a ioyfull spectacle vnto your enemies, who grieuing to see themselves ouercome by your victorious weapons, may yet reioice among themselves to see you turne the same one vpon another. Wherefore my sonnes, for your auntient honours sake, be carefull that you doe not by this your insolencie lose the reputation of your wisdoms loyaltie and valour, for which you haue hitherto been above all others commended: reserue these your weapons which you haue now too too much used amongst your fellowes, against your enemies, of whom you may get more praise and honour. This speech of the old Bassa, so mollified the stout souldiors, that they freely permitted all that was in *Mustaphaes* tents to be carried to *Solymans*: but as soone as the death of *Mustapha* was blowne into the eares of the Ianizaries and the rest of the armie in *Solymans* campe, another tumult rose among them worse than the first. They were quickly all vp in armes againe, and with a great noise confused with teares and lamentation, as they were in rage and furie, brake violently into *Solymans* pauillion with their drawne swords: which strucke the tyrant into such a feare, that destitute of all counsell in himselfe, he was about with the extreame perill of his life to haue fled: but being holden of his friends, and making a vertue of necessitie, vpon the sudden aduertured to doe that which at better leasure he would scarcely haue thought vpon: for going forth out of his tent, but with a pale and wan countenance he spake vnto the enraged souldiors thus. *What broile is this? what stirre? what so great insolencie? what meane your inflamed, fierce and angrie lookes? know you not your soueraigne? and him that hath power, to commaund you? Haue you so resolved to staine the auntient and inuincible honour of your selues and your ancestors, with the blood of your lord and emperour? VVhilest he was yet thus speaking, the souldiors boldly answered, That they denied not, but that he was the man whom they many yeares before had chosen for their emperour: but in that they had by their owne valour got for him a large and mightie empire, and in like manner preferued it; that was therefore of them done, that he should for the same gouerne them vertuously and iustly, and not to lay his bloudie hands without discretion vpon euerie iust man, and most wickedly embrue himselfe with innocent blood: and that they came thither armed, they did it (as they said) moued with iust cause, to reuenge the vnworthie death of guiltlesse *Mustapha*; and that for that matter, he had no iust cause to be angrie with them. VVherefore they required, that they might publickly cleere themselves of the treason whereof they were accused by *Mustaphaes* enemies, and that the accuser might be brought forth to iustifie his accusation: protesting, that they would neuer lay downe their weapons, vntill the accuser made his appearance in iudgement, and commenced his accusation judicially, vpon paine to endure the like punishment if he failed in prooffe. VVhilest these things were in doing, the hauntnesse of the late committed fact caused euerie man to shed teares, so that *Solyman* himselfe seemed to be forie for the murther so lately by himselfe committed: wherefore he promised vnto the souldiors whatsoeuer they required, and did what he could to appease their angrie minds. For all that, they in the meane time, least he should craftily slip away and deceiue them of that he had promised, and of the expectation of such things as they had required, with a manuellous care and diligence all kept watch and ward.**

A bloudie tumult betwixt the souldiors of *Solyman* and *Mustapha*.

The tumult appeased by *Achomat bassa*.

The Ianizaries up in armes against *Solyman*, for the vnworthie death of *Mustapha*.

The stout speech of *Solyman* to the Ianizaries.

The fierce answer of the Ianizaries to *Solyman*.

Solyman yeeldeth vnto the Ianizaries.

Solyman to appeale this furie of the Ianizaries, depriued *Rustan Bassa* of all his honours, and tooke from him his seale whereof he had the keeping, and deliuered it to *Achomates bassa*. But *Rustan* worthily stricken with feare and horrore, seeing himselfe now in no safetie in his owne tents, fled secretly to *Achomates*, asking his counsell what were best for him to doe; and what course to take in so doubtfull and dangerous a case? To whom the Bassa answered, That it were best for him to vnto the great emperours aduise, and to doe what he commaunded. VVhich answer well satisfied *Rustan*: and so he which of late gaue other men access vnto the emperour at his pleasure, was now glad by his old acquaintance and friends to prester this poore sute, To know his pleasure what he would haue him to doe. From whom he received this answer, That he should incontinently without farther delay get him out of his sight, and out of the campe: which the Bassa said he could not conueniently doe, being by his displeasure and the souldiors rage disurnished of all things necessarie for his departure. VVhereunto *Solyman* sent him answer againe, That he could giue him neither longer time nor delay; and that it were best for him without more adoe to be gone for feare of farther harme. VVhereupon *Rustan*, guiltie in conscience of most horrible villanie & treacherie, accompanied but with eight of his most faithful friends in steed of his late world of followers; posted in hast to *Constantinople*, and there (not without danger of his head) with *Roxolana* and other the complices and contriuers of the treason against *Mustapha*, in great feare expected the euent of his fortune.

This young prince *Mustapha* thus shamefully murdered by his owne father, was for his rare vertues generally beloued of the Turkes; but of the souldiors most for his martiall disposition, and readinesse for the effusion of Christian blood. The opinion they had conceiued of him was such, and their loue so great, that they neuer thought there was any in the *Othoman* family, of whom they expected so much for the enlarging of their empire: insomuch, that euer since, when in their priuat or publicke actions they faile of any great hope, they vse this prouerb euen at this day taken fro him, *Gietti Sultan Mustapha*; Sultan *Mustapha* is dead: as who should say, our hope is all lost. *Achomates bassa* the great champion of the Turkes, a man of exceeding courage, not ignorant of the small assurance of the great honors of that state, at such time as he received the seale from *Solyman*, boldly told him, That as he did then frankly bestow it vpon him, so he would at one time or other, to his no lesse disgrace take it from him: to whom *Solyman* solemnly promised with an oath not to displace him so long as he liued. For all that, he had not long enjoyed that honour, but that *Solyman* falling in dislike with him, and willing againe to promote *Rustan bassa* to that great honour, greater than which there is none in the Turkes court, which by reason of his oath he could not doe so long as *Achomates* liued: To saue his oath, and to prester his sonne in law (whom he had indeede displaced onely to please the tumultuous Ianizaries) resolved to haue *Achomates* put to death. Of which his purpose *Achomates* altogether ignorant, and one morning after his wonted manner comming into the Diuane in all his honour, vpon the sudden received word from *Solyman*, that he must presently die, and forthwith was the hangman readie to haue strangled him, as was giuen him in charge: whom the stout Bassa thrust from him with his hand, with countenance and cheere, in shew no more troubled than if the matter had nothing concerned him. And looking a good while round about him, espied at last an honest man whom he had before many times pleased, whom he most earnestly requested for all the kinnesse shewed vnto him, to doe him that last fauour as to strangle him with his own hand, which should be vnto him the greatest good turne that he could possibly deuise, detesting nothing more than to die with the hand of the executioner. VVhich thing when he after much intreatie had vnderaken to performe, *Achomates* willed him, that he should not at one twitch strangle him outright, but letting the bow string flake againe, giue him leaue once to breath, and then to dispatch him: which his request was by his friend accordingly performed; and he in that sort strangled: wherein it seemeth that he was desirous, first to tast of death, and not to die all at once. Immediately after whose death, *Rustan bassa* was againe restored to his place of chiefe Visier, and had the great seale deliuered vnto him: which honour he enjoyed about six yeares after; and so at last died of the drop sicke. This was the end of these two great Bassas *Achomates* and *Rustan*, who in that time swaied that great empire vnder *Solyman*, and of whom we haue so much spoken: It is reported, that *Solyman* hauing appointed *Achomates* to die, should say, It is better for his great heart once to die, than to die a thousand times, in seeing his honour taken from him and bestowed vpon another.

The

1554 The Turkes gallies by the sollicitation of the French before brought down into the Tuscan G
sea, did much harme vpon the coasts of CALABRIA and SICILIA in this yeare 1554, as they
had the yeare before, and so did diuers yeares after. At which time also *Pandulphus Contarenu*
the Venetian Admirall scouring alonght the seas, carefully looking to the frontiers of the Vene-
tian citate, chanced to meet with the Basia of CALIPOLIS (who the yeare before had rifled cer-
taine Venetian marchants) in reuenge of which injurie he set vpon him, and after a great spoyle
made both of the Turkes and their gallies, he rancked DIRRACHIVM, then one of the Turks
port townes in DALMATIA.

555 The next yeare 1555 the same Bassa recovered his strength, but not daring to be too busie with the Venetians, surpris'd the Islands of P L Y M B I S and E L B A, subject to the duke of F L O R E N C E, and withall sent letters to *Solyman*, to perswade him to take vp armes against the Venetians, as they which had broken the league.

1556

At the same time *Haly the Bassa of BUDA* by *POLOI* departed the King came to *BABOZA* in *HUNGARIE*: and was in good hope by the like finessne to haue taken the towne and castle of *ZIGETH*, a place of great importance: but failing of his purpose, he came the next yeare 1556 with a great armie, and the 13 day of Iune encamped before the towne, wherein was Gouernour *Marcus Horwath* a valiant capitaine, with a garrison of notable souldiors. Shortly after he began a most terrible batterie: during which time the Christians sallying diuers times out, slew many of his men, who for all that vsed such diligence, that the twentieth of Iune they woon the vttermost wall, and after fise hot assaults were in hope at the sixt to haue woon the castle also: but the Christians perceiving the danger, resolutely sallied out, and hauing slaine eight hundred of them, draue the rest againe from the wall: yet the Turkes gaue it not so ouer, but with a great number of carts laboured to haue filled vp the marish and ditches about the towne: which their attempt was by the industrie of the defendants also defeated. The Bassa perceiving how hardly the towne would be woon by force, attempted to haue persuaded them to haue yelded it vp by composition: but sayling therein of his purpose, began againe the twelfth of Iulie to assault the citie, which assault he maintained fise dayes together without intermission, still sending in fresh men in stead of them that were wearied or slaine: yet was the citie for all that by the valour of the Christians notably defended. So when he had in vaine proued the vttermost of his forces, he raised his siege the one and twentieth day of Iuly, and departed: but within fix dayes after he returned againe from the citie *QVINGVBECLISTE*, and assaulted the citie afresh, but was at length glad to giue ouer the siege and be gone, when he had lost of his best souldiors about two thousand, and of the defendants slaine but a hundred and twentie. After his departure there was ten thousand great shot found, wherewith he had battered the towne and the castle, which was for this time thus worthly defended. The Turks in the meane time after their wonted manner ceased not to doe what harme they could in the *Tuscane* sea, and had againe miserably spoiled the Island of *CORSIKA*: for withstanding of whom, the bishop of *ROME* exacted of his people a great subsidie, and finely stript the Iewes of their money, and seized vpon their rich merchants goods in his territorie: at whose earnest sute *Solyman* in their behalfe writ vnto the bishop as followeth.

Sultan Solymán most mightie Emperour of Emperours; the sonne of *Selym*,
Emperour of Emperours, to whom God giue eternall victorie: to Pope
Paulus the fourth, greeting.

Solymans letter to the Pope, in behalfe of the Jews marchants.

Most excellent and most mightie Lord of the professors of the Mesſias Ieſu and lord of Rome, the Almightye keepe thee. At ſuch time as thou ſhalt receiue our ſeale, thou ſhalt vnderſtand by our letter, that certaine Hebrewes haue come vnto vs, complaining that they are oppreſſed of thee with too greuous exactions, when they come to traffike at ANCONA. This burden I requeſt thee to take from them, and to reſtore againe vnto them their goods, that thereby they may be able to pay vnto vs our tribute : which if thou (as I hope thou wilt) ſhall doe, thou ſhalt feele our fauour: For

** The ninth of wall from CONSTANTINOPLE the laſt of the bleſſed month * Ramelebuch in the year of our*

great Prophet Mahomet nine hundred threeſcore and foune.

Italy Bassa besie-
ged Zigueth a-
gain.

Haly Bassa greeted with the late repulse he had received at Z I O T H, came again the next year,

A yeare, and besieged it, at which time king *Ferdinand* sent *Nicholaus Polwiler* and the countie *Serinus* with a power raised in *Svevia* and *Avstria*, to recouer *Babozza*, a castle betwixt *Zigeth* and *Stiria*, before surpris'd by the *Turks*: of whose comming the *Bassa* hauing intelligence, rise with his armie and departed from *Zigeth*, which he had for certaine moneths hardlie besieged, and not farr from *Babozza* met with *Polwiler* and *Serinus*; who joining battell with him, after a hard and sharpe fight ouerthrew him and put him to flight. This victorie with the comming downe of yong *Ferdinand*, king *Ferdinands* sonne, Archduke of *Avstria* with new supplies, so terrified the *Turkes* in that part of *Hungarie* alongst the riuer *Dranus*, that they for feare forsooke *Babozza*, *Sammartin*, *San-Laurence*, and diuers other small castles which they had before taken, and fled to *Quinque Ecclesia*.

The Gouernour of ZIGETH encouraged herewith, falling out with his garrison, slew many of the Turkes in their flight towards QVINQVE ECLESIAE; and meeting by chance with a troupe of horsemen which were bringing the Turkes pay, ouerthrew them, tooke the mony, and so with an exceeding rich prey returned to his castle. At which time also Adam the Gouernour of RAB, otherwise called FAVRINVM, hauing burnt the suburbs of ALBA REGALIS, and driven away many thousands of cattell, at a towne called STAN ouerthrew five hundred Turkes, and as many fugitive Christians, and so with a great prey and little or no losse at all of his men returned.

Henrie the French king at the same time in warres with *Philip* king of SPAIN, and troubled with the losse of his armie ouerthrowne not farre from S. QVINTAINS (at which time the Duke *Montmorencie* constable of FRANCE and Generall of the armie with his sonne and diuers other of the nobilitie of FRANCE were taken prisoners) by his embassadour *Michaell Condignar* solicited *Solyman* to haue by sea inuaded NAPLES and SICILIA, so to haue withdrawne the Spanish forces out of FRANCE, to defend their owne frontiers. VVhich thing *Solyman*, offended with the insolencie of the embassadour, refused to doe: yet neuerthelesse commaunded his aduenturers all alongst the coast of AFFRICK, to infest those seas, and to doe what harme they could vpon the coast of ITALIE and SICILIA; which they so diligently performed, that the viceroy of SICILIA was faine for defence of those countries to lie in readinesse with his gallics in the ports of CAIETA and NAPLES.

D In the meane time the *Guife*, lord Grand Prior of the knights of *S. Johns* in *FRANCE* (and brother of *Francis* the duke of *Guife*, Generall of the French kings armie in *ITALIE*, who vpon the ouerthrow receiued at *S. QVINTINS*, called out of *ITALIE*, shortly after tooke *CALLIS*) Admirall of the gallies of *MALTA*, went out toward the East with foure gallies well appointed to lie in wait for the Turkes, and by fortune met with two great ships laded with the Turkes marchandise, which he tooke; and by and by after light vpon foure of the Turkes gallies, with whom he had a great fight: yet at length hauing sunke one of them and burnt another, he tooke the other two. After which victorie returning towards *MALTA* to haue repaired his gallies and cured his wounded men, he was met with foure other great gallies of the Turkes: who desirous to reuenge the losse of their fellowes, set vpon him, and he seeing now no remedie, that hee must needs fight courageously, encountered them. But for as much as he had in the two fights before lost some of his men, and 72 of the knights in the gallies lay sore wounded, hee by the counsell of the captaines retired towards *MALTA*: but by the way one of his gallies was taken by the Turkes, with 52 knights of the Order: yet with the rest and the prizes before taken, he recovered the island of *MALTA*, where he stayed that Winter, and the next Spring layd iudged *FRANCE* to be partaker of those troubles, which beginning shortly after, haue but of late taken end.

The immoderate fortune of the great Sultan *Solyman*, was not in any thing more contrarie to his desire, than in the proofe of those his children, of whom the world held the greatest expectation. *Mustapha* his eldest sonne, the mirrour of courtisie and true hope of the whole Turkish nation, the suspitious tyrant had most unnaturally caused to be murdered in his owne presence, to the griefe of all his subjects in generall, as is before declared; a poore *Turkhangen* was dead for sorrow; and *Mahometes* his eldest sonne by his best beloved the faire *Roxolana*, was departed this life also. So that now remained ynto him onely *Selymus*, the youngest heire of so great an empire, and *Baiaxet* his yonger brother, the lively image of his father; both men grown, and the sonnes of the same *Roxolana*; but so farre differing the one from the other both in feature

Henry the French
king solliciteth
Solymán to in-
duce the king of
Spaine his terri-
tories.

The Guise, lord
Grand Prior in
France, admirall
of Malta, taketh
certaine of the
Turkes gallies.

Q Solymán in no-
-thing more un-
-fortunate than in
-the prooffe of his
-children.

Baiazet Soly-
mans younger
sonne seeketh to
aspire unto the
empire.

of bodie and disposition of mind, as if they had not bene of the same kindred and line. *Selymus* the elder brother most like vnto his mother, was in the secret determination of the aged emperour his father appointed heire of that most mightie empire. *Baiazet* much resembling his father, was on the other side strongly supported by the care and entire loue of his mother: which whether it proceeded of a secret commiseration of his Ineuitable destinie, or that he had by loyaltie or other meanes so wooon her fauour, is not knowne; but euery man saw, that if it had lien in her power, she would vndoubtedly haue preferred him before his elder brother *Selymus*, and haue placed him in the empire: but the must needs giue way to her old husbands will, firmly and irremouably set downe, that the destinies so permitting, none should raigne after him but his eldest sonne *Selymus*. Of which his purpose and resolution *Baiazet* being not ignorant, began most circumspectly to looke about him, if he could by any meanes frustrate that forcible necessitie, and exchange his certaine destruction with an empire: in which his deepe and dangerous cogitations he was not a little comforted by the fauour and loue of *Roxolana* his mother, and of *Rustan* the great Bassa his brother in law, who together had in any other matter been able to haue overruled the aged emperour. Whereupon he resolutely set downe himselfe, rather to end his dayes by making proofe of his good or bad fortune, than vpon the death of his father (which by course of nature could not now be farre off) to be as a sacrifice basely butchered by some vile hangman of his brothers. *Baiazet* so resolved, and now already fallen out with his brother *Selymus*, tooke occasion vpon the generall discontentment of the people and others, for the vnworthie death of *Mustapha* their late joy to begin those stirres which he had before with himselfe plotted, and so to make a head, whereunto he might afterward joyne the bodie also: for why that worthe *Mustapha* had left behind him so great a desire of himselfe, that now it wearied many to liue after him, they had so placed all the hope of their good fortune in him; vnto whom nothing was more desired than to reuenge the wrong done vnto him, or els to run the same hard fortune with him: Other some guiltie of the immoderat affection they had borne vnto him yet liuing, and fearing to be called to giue an account thereof, thought any state better & more assured than that wherein they presently stood, and therefore sought all occasions of new stirres, and how to set all on a hurly burly: onely a captaine was wanting, *Mustapha* could not be againe reuiued, yet might he be strongly suppoed to liue. This deuice pleased *Baiazet*, as best fitting his purpose, being not ignorant of this disposition of the people. Wherefore by certaine of his most faithfull and trustie followers he found out a certaine obscure fellow of a notable audacitie which should take vpon him the name and person of *Mustapha*, whose stature also and countenance and proportion of bodie differed not much from *Mustapha* himselfe: He, as if he had by chance escaped, first began to shew himselfe in that part of *THRACIA* which is about *CONSTANTINOPLE*, and lieth toward *Danubius*, not farre from the countries of *MOLDAVIA* and *VALACHIA*, and was for that cause both fittest for rebellion, and also best stored with horsemen, who of all others most honoured *Mustapha*. Hither he comes as if it had bene from a long journey, slenderly accompanied, and as if he had bene desirous at the first not to haue bene knowne: his followers being demanded (as it chanced) who he was, did rather fearfully giue them that asked occasion to ghesse, than plainly to tell them, that it was *Mustapha*: neither did he himselfe much deny it: whereby the people became more and more desirous to know him. Whiche beginning thus layd, he afterward began to reioice of his fortunate comming thither, and to giue God thanks for his safe arriual there amongst his friends: he tels them, That at such time as hee was sent for by his father, he durst not come into his sight, or commit himselfe vnto him in his furie, but by the counsell of his friends to haue with great promises persuaded one that was marvellous like vnto himselfe, to goe in his stead; by whose danger hee might make proofe of his fathers mind towards him: who before he was admitted to the speech of his father, was without hearing miserably strangled, and so cast out before his pauillion: at which time there was many (as he said) which perceived the deceit, but the greater part remained in error, deceived with the lineaments and countenance of the miserable dead man, who was much altered with the terrible paines of death, and supposing it to haue bene him indeed that was slaine. Which thing as soone as he vnderstood, he thought it not good longer to stay, but presently to flie and to provide for his owne safetie: and so flying with a few of his owne followers, thereby the more secretly and safely to escape; and hauing passed about *PONTVS* by the people of *BOSPHORVS*, was now come thither, where as he was in good hope to find much helpe and comfort

A counterfeite
Mustapha set up
to make a head of
rebellion.

The craftie deu-
ising of the suppo-
sed *Mustapha* to
deceiue the peo-
ple.

A fort in the fidelitie of his friends, whom he requested not now to forsake him, or to make lesse account of him disgraced by the malice of his stepmother, than they had before in time of his prosperitie. For that he was amind to reuenge the iniurie done vnto him, and by force of armes to defend himselfe: for what else had he now left? being by no other meanes preferred but by the death of another man: that he had sufficiently proued how his father stood affected towards him, and that he now liued by his mistaking, not by his kindnesse. The cause of all which his troubles was his stepdame, who (as he said) with her mischanciments led the silly old man (now almost doating for age and mad for loue) whither she would at her pleasure, and by her agent *Rustan bassa* forced him forward headlong into all kind of mischief: but that God be thanked he wanted not his friends, by whose help he would find a way out of these miseries, and take reuenge of his enemies: for why, he had as yet courageous hearts, and the Ianizaries, with the greater part of his fathers family on his side, & that great multitudes of people would flock vnto him vpon the brute of his name: so that they which did now mourne for him as dead (in number many) would by heapes run to help him being aliue: so that they there present would only courteously receiue him as a guest, and protect him now distressed, vntill such time as his well-willers & friends might repaire vnto him. And this at last he gaue out, not in secret, but openly vnto all men wherfoeuer he came. The same things did they also report, whom he made the people to beleue to haue been the companions of his flight: which was also confirmed by diuers of good account and authoritie, whom *Baiazet* had before delt withall to that purpose. So a great number of men altogether vnkowne to *Baiazet*, were by that meanes seduced: for this matter was so cunningly wrought, that many euen of them that had knowne *Mustapha* aliue, and seene him laid dead before his fathers pauillion; yet list not greatly to beleue that which they knew, but easily suffered themselves to be persuaded, that this was the true *Mustapha*. But the companions and followers of *Mustapha*, in whose minds the liuely countenance and remembrance of him was thoroughly engrauen, nothing could deceiue: yet blinded partly with feare, partly with griefe and desire of reuenge, and wishing rather to aduerture any thing, than longer to liue without *Mustapha*, were the first men that came to offer their seruice to this counterfeite *Mustapha*: and would not suffer other men to doubt but that this was the verie *Mustapha*, which it was falsely reported to haue been slaine. As for the deceiuer himselfe, he either kept with him, or entertained them that came, some with faire promises, some with courteous speeches, and many also with money and rewards, which he made them to beleue he had refered of the reliques of his better fortune: for *Baiazet* had before notably provided, that nothing should in this behalfe be wanting vnto him for the countenancing of his credit. So within the space of a few daies, such a multitude of men was resorted vnto him, as might almost haue made a whole armie. When *Solyman* vpon the sudden was aduertised by the fearfull messengers and letters of the Sanzacks thereabouts, what a danger was like to ensue by the concourse of so great a multitude of people vnto this counterfeite *Mustapha*: he presently suspecting (as the truth was) that this was not done without the priuie of one of his sonnes, thought it not a thing to be neglected: and therefore by his letters reproved the Sanzacks there by, that they had suffered the matter to run so farre, and had not in the beginning as their duetie was suppressed the same; gileuously threatening them, if they did not with all speed send vnto him in bonds that counterfeite companion with the rest of his complices. Whiche that it might be the easier by them performed, he promised to send one of the chiefe Bassaes, namely *Partau Bassa* (who had married the widow of *Mahomet* the eldest sonne of *Roxolana* of whom we haue before remembred) and with him a strong power of the soldiours of the court: but if they would haue themselves excused, that they should of themselves dispatch the matter before the comming of that aid. This *Partau* lead after him certaine squadrons of soldiours, not so many in number as notable for their fidelitie: for *Solyman* had caused the most faithfull of his colonels, captaines, and corporals to be called out; wisely doubting least his soldiours, either led with affection, or corrupted with reward, might take part with him against whom they were sent. For the common sort of the Ianizaries, standing in suspence at the fame of *Mustapha*, and the expectation of some great noueltie, fauoured that broile, and wished all on a hurly burly: neither was the matter in deed without danger. The Sanzacks after they had receiued this straight charge from *Solyman*, considering how much it stood them vpon to make a speedie dispatch, began now now to encourage one another to bestirre themselves, to make all the speed possible, and with all their power on euery side to oppose themselves against the attempts of this

Solyman angry
with the San-
zacks for not
suppressing the
supposed *Mustapha*, sendeth
Partau the
great Bassa a-
gainst him.

new found *Mustapha*: labouring to stay such as were coming vnto him, and to disperse such as were ready to come by shewing vnto them the greatnesse of the danger, and threatening them with all extremities. In the meane time *Partau Bassa* came on with his armie, and was not now far off: when (as in like case it oftentimes falleth out in things not yet sufficiently confirmed, and by celeritie pretended) the souldiours of the counterfeit *Mustapha* seeing themselves better on euerie side, began to feare, and at first some few to slip away; but afterwards, all, without regard of shame or of their promise to forsake their captaine, and flie euerie man whither he thought best. The captaine seeking likewise to haue made shift for himselfe, was with the chiefe of his countsellors and followers taken by the Sanzacks and deliuered to the *Bassa*, who with a strong guard sent them all in bonds to *CONSTANTINOPLE*: where *Solyman* by most exquisite torments drew from them all the secret deuises of his young sonne *Baiazet*, and that he had purposed after such a head made by this supposed *Mustapha* as he thought conuenient, to haue vpon the sudden joynd himselfe with a great power, and so as should best serue for his purpose, to haue gone directly to *CONSTANTINOPLE*, or els against his brother *Selymus*. But whilest hee goeth somewhat too slowly about his businesse, his vnrripe counsels were by his fathers celeritie oppressed. Of all which matter *Solyman* now thorowly assured, caused the supposed *Mustapha* and his companions at midnight to be drowned in the sea; thinking it not good to haue these things commonly knowne, and to haue his domestically wounds yet bleeding, laid open to the view of his neighbour princes. Neuerthelesse being mightily offended with *Baiazet* for so great an offence, he ceased not to cast in his mind how to be reuenged vpon him; which his wife *Roxolana* a woman of great wisdom was not ignorant of. Who after a few daies, at such time as the old mans furie was ouerpast, falling of purpose into talke with him about the matter, she laid together in her sons behalfe, and alleadged the vndiscreetnesse of youth, the necessitie of the fact, and the example of his auncestors in like case, that it was so provided for by nature, that euerie man should be carefull of himselfe and his, and that all men did indifferently shun death, that young men were by euill counsell easily seduced and made to forget their dutie. That it were reason he should forgiue him this first fault; which if he amended, then was it a great gaine for the father to haue saued his sonne: but if he should againe fall into relapse, there would not want time to punish him sufficiently for both faults. And that if so be he would not pardon him for his owne sake: yet he would vouchsafe to pardon him for hers, entreating now for him for whom she had before groaned, and not to be cruell vpon him one of the pledges of their loue, in whom rested the blood of them both: for in what wofull case should she be, if of those two sons (all that God had left her) the fathers seueritie should bereaue her of the one? Wherefore she requested him to moderat his anger, and to preferre his clemencie before his just indignation: forasmuch as God himselfe of all power and might, did not alwaies deale with sinners in seueritie, but for most part in mercie; whereas otherwise all mankind would not suffice his wrath. And would mercie in any place be more fitting, than in the father towards his child? She promised further, that *Baiazet* should from thenceforth remaine in most dutifull obedience towards his maiestie; and vpon his so great clemencie, to conuert the feare wherein he now liued into a world of dutie and deuotion. Honourable minds (she said) were retained with nothing more than with kindnesse and courtesie, that the remembrance of that his fatherly forgiuenesse, should be a stay vnto him for euer doing the like againe: at last that she would promise for him, and take vpon her, that he should euer afterwards satisfie his fatherly expectation in all kind of dutie and loyaltie. Which words mingled with teares and other womanly gestures, so wrought with *Solyman*, being otherwise too much in her power, that he resolved to forgiue the fault; yet so, that he should come and submit himselfe, and receiue from him his charge. This carefull mother foresew no time, but by letters secretly aduertised *Baiazet*, not to feare to come vnto his father at such time as he should be sent for: assuring him that there was no danger, for that his father was by her meanes appeased, and he againe brought into his father. With which good newes *Baiazet* well comforted, resolved to go at such time as he was sent for: yet full of feare, and oftentimes looking backe vnto his brother *Mustapha*, whose dreadfull example sufficiently warned him what a danger he aduentured himselfe vnto. Yet he came to the place appointed for the parley, which was in a common Inne at a place called *CARISTRAN*, a few miles from *CONSTANTINOPLE*: for such is the suspitious manner of the Turkish tyrants of these times, not to suffer any of their sonnes that be men growne, to set their foot within the gates of *CONSTANTINOPLE*.

A NOBLE, as dangerous for soliciting the souldiours of the court, and so consequently for the altering of the state. *Baiazet* was no sooner lighted from his horse, but his fathers guard were presently ready to receiue him, commaunding him to lay aside his sword and dagger; which thing although it be an vnuall matter in others that are admitted to the presence of the Turkish emperour, yet might it then in the mind of his guiltie soune raise a great feare. But his kind mother (who had before foreseene in what feare and perplexitie he would come) had conuayed her selfe into a chamber, fast by the entrie of the same house as *Baiazet* was to passe, where out at a little casement covered with a thin linnen cloth, she called vnto him in pasing by in these few words: *Corcama oglan Corcama* (which is as much as to say) feare not my sonne, feare not: with which short speech *Baiazet* was not a little both comforted and encouraged. But as soone as he was come into his fathers presence and had done his dutie, *Solyman* commaunded him to sit downe by him: then began the grim fire grievously to reprove him of rashnesse, and want of discretion in taking vp armes, which he could not otherwise conceiue of, but as taken vp against himselfe. And admit they were as he would haue it, and the best that he could make of it, taken vp against his elder brother: yet was it neuerthelesse a great presumption and most wicked fact. Neither was there any want in him, but that the whole state of the Mahometane religion (which at this day resteth vpon the *Orhoman* family) had by his domestically discord bene sore shaken, and brought in perill of vtter ruine, to the great injurie, reproach and contempt of his maiestie, a most deftable and horrible crime, which could not with condigne punishment be reuenged. Yet for all that, he had determined to pardon him, and to shew himselfe rather a kind father than a seuerie judge; so that he would from thenceforth leaue the care of future things to God: forasmuch as none of these things are done by our appointment, but that kingdomes and monarchies are bestowed as pleaseeth him; So that if it were his destinie to enjoy the empire after his death, he should be most sure thereof as of a thing that would of it selfe come vnto him, and was not by any mans power to be kept from him, as that which was by God ordained for him: but if it were otherwise appointed by God, then were it a mad thing for him to labour in vaine to strue against the will of God, and as it were to fight with God. Wherefore he should now as one well warned, cease to rage and storme, and not to molest his quiet brother, or trouble him his aged father: for that if he should againe fall, and raise new stirs, it would assuredly fall vpon his owne head, neither would any place of mercie be found for his second offence, and that hee should then find him not as now his gentle father, but a most seuerie and reuenging judge. Which when he had said, and *Baiazet* had thereunto briefly answered as the time would permit, rather craving pardon for his trespass than excusing that was not to be excused, and promising from thenceforth to liue most loyally at his commaund; *Solyman* according to the manner of that nation called for drinke, which he commaunded to be giuen to *Baiazet*, who not daring to refuse it although he had rather haue so done, dranke thereof what he thought good, doubting least that should haue bene his last: of which feare his father forthwith deliuered him by drinking a good draught of the same cup. So *Baiazet* though guiltie, hauing with better successe spoken with his father than had his brother *Mustapha*, returned againe to the former place of his charge.

E This happened in the yeare 1555, from which time *Baiazet* so long as *Roxolana* his mother liued, behaued himselfe with all dutifull and brotherly kindnesse both towards his father and his brother; and that rather for to keepe her fauour, and not to cut off the hope which he had only in her affection towards him, than for any confidence he had in his fathers kindnesse, or for any loue he bare to his brother; the regard of her being the onely thing that kept his fierce nature in quiet. But she dead about two yeares after, he as a man bereft of all hope of long life, and discharged of all bonds of dutie, fell to his former course, and began more grievously than before to reuiue the old grudges betwixt him and his brother, sometime seeking by secret practises to haue him made away, and other some times by open force entering into his prouince which was not farre off, there euill entreated such of his brothers followers as he light vpon, for their masters sake, omitting nothing which he thought might tend to the disgrace of him whom of all other he wished dead. He had also certaine of his fauourites at *CONSTANTINOPLE*, by whom he cunningly wrought by all meanes to gaine the loue of the souldiours of the court, and doubted not as occasion serued to passe ouer thither himselfe; and there to lutke in secret with such as were of his faction, and priuie to his designements. Of all which things *Solyman* had knowledge, but especially

Mustapha and his companions drowned by night.

Roxolana intreathes Solyman for Baiazet her younger sonne, and obtaineth his pardon.

Baiazet goeth to his father in feare.

Roxolana comforteth her sonne Baiazet.

Solyman reproveth Baiazet of dissoluitie, and afterward pardoneth him.

Baiazet returneth to his charge.

especially by letters from *Selymus*, wherein he was also aduised to haue care of his owne safetie; for that he was farre deceiued, if he perceiued not, that these preambles of *Baiazet* his wicked intentions, would at last turne vpon his head, who regarded neither God nor man, so that he might alone raigne vnto whose vntuly desires his fathers welfare was no lesse a barre than was his brothers, and that therefore through his sides was his life shot at: which treason had (as he said) bene of long time plotted, and now occasion sought to haue the same performed: wherefore he should take heed that he were not by such trecherie ouerwhelmed before he were aware thereof: That for himselfe he could easily beare with the injuries of his brother *Baiazet*; yet could not chuse but be moued with the greatnesse of his fathers dangers. By which meanes *Solyman* hated against *Baiazet* was still more and more encreased. Wherefore he by letters put him in remembrance of his dutie, how courteously he had vsed him, and againe what he had on his part promised; that there would not alwayes be place for forgiveness; that he should therefore cease to wrong his brother and trouble his father; that he had but a short time to liue; and that after his death God would assigne vnto each of them their fortunes. But all this was to no purpose with *Baiazet*, fully set downe to hazard whatsoeuer, rather than as a beast to haue his throat cut by his brother: which thing he as plainly saw would betide him in the raigne of *Selymus*; as if it had bene euen then in execution. Yet he answered to his fathers commands not impertinently, but his deeds agreed nor with his sayings, neither did he alter any thing of his intended purpose. Which thing as soone as *Solyman* perceiued, he thought it best to take another course, and to remoue his sonnes both further from himselfe, and also further the one from the other. Wherefore he gaue them to vnderstand, That it was his pleasure, that both of them within a certaine prefixed time should depart out of their gouernments (*Baiazet* being then Gouernour of *Cy-tai*, and *Selymus* of *Magnesia*) and that now *Baiazet* should remoue to *Amasia*, and *Selymus* to *Iconium*. *Selymus* was without imputation and altogether in fauour with his father: yet because no occasion should be giuen *Baiazet* to fall into extremities, if he should haue bene remoued alone, *Solyman* to seeme indifferent, commaunded them both to remoue: vnto which commaund it was adioyned, that the farther they were off, one from another, they should be so much the neerer in mind and brotherly loue: for as much as neerenesse of dwelling of the Great, did many times hinder their good agreement, whilest by frowardnesse of officers and seruants many things are on both sides done to the grieuing of their masters: and that they should in any case doe as they were commaunded, and that he which stayed longest, should not be free from the suspicion of contempt. *Selymus* made no long stay, as he that knew a great part of all this to be done for his sake: but *Baiazet* hung backe, and being gone a little on his way, stayed, complaining the vnluckie prouince of *Amasia*, stained with the blood of his late brother the noble *Mustapha*, to be assigned vnto him as ominous, and that he could be better contented with any prouince whatsoeuer than that, where the deadly remembrance of the miserable end of the neereft to him in blood, should be euer before his eyes, to the wounding of his heart: Wherefore he requested, that he might at least winter in those places, or els there from whence his brother was now departed: but *Solyman* would in no wise hearken vnto him. Now *Selymus* gone before certaine dayes journeys with such troupes as his father had sent him beside his owne, for feare of *Baiazet*, who yet stayed loitering and trifling on the time, suddenly returning and fetching a compasse about, shewed himselfe at his brothers backe, marching towards *Prusa* in *Bithynia*, the auncient seat of the Turkish kings; which he did not without the prinitie of his father, who liked not of the lingering of *Baiazet*: for what if he hauing gained the good will of the *lanizaries*, should haue gone either to *Prusa*, or directly to *Constantinople*? what a danger might haue growne thereby to *Selymus*, yea vnto the whole state in generall? In this common feare *Solyman* thought it best for *Selymus* there to stay, from whence they might most conveniently helpe one another, if *Baiazet* should (as was feared) turn himselfe vpon either of them. Yet was not *Selymus* so strong as to aduventure to joyne battell with his brother, whom he knew *Selymus* behind him, and that he had got nothing by his long delay, but that his brother should be the vndoubted heire of the empire, if his father should die, which was then by reason of his sickly constitution of bodie daily more and more feared: he writ vnto his father, accusing his brother that he could not more manifestly in any thing declare how maliciously he was affected towards him, than by taking that indirect course, to no other purpose but to aspire vnto the empire, and to

Solyman admonisheth Baiazes of his dutie.

Solyman remoueth his two sons further asunder.

Baiazes unwilling to goe to Amasia, seeketh delays.

A haue a short cut ouer to *Constantinople*, if he should haue any newes of his fathers death, which he still gaped after: which his longing, if his fathers longer life should delay, then by the secret ministers of his treason to dispatch him, and by the murdering of him to possesse himselfe of the empire: and yet neuertheless, this man as a most dutifull and obedient sonne, to be of him much made of, and as it were put in his bosome: Whereas he on the contrarie part meaning well, into whose conceit neuer any such thought came; but was euer at commaund, was not had in any regard, but cast off and contemned, whose greatest request was but to shun an vnfortunat ominous prouince. After that, he conuerted his stile to prayers, requesting againe of his father to gratifie him with some other prouince, if it were but that from which his brother was departed, or with any other whatsoeuer, so that it were more luckie than that of *Amasia*: for answer whereof he said he would stay where he was, to the end that finding fauour in his request, he should not haue need further to retire: but if he should not obtaine his request, that then he was ready to goe whether soeuer his father should commaund. It was not altogether for nought that *Baiazet* found fault with *Amasia*; being the manner of the Turks, of the smallest things of all to diuine vpon the greatest. But *Solyman* vnderstood the matter otherwise: who not ignorant of his sonnes teares, knew right well, that he in them sought for nothing els but a more commodious place for him to raise new stirres in, than was *Amasia*, so farre distant from *Constantinople*. So *Baiazet* by many delays did what he could to frustrate his fathers appointment, ceasing not in the meane time to augment his strength with new souldiours, to prouide armour, money, and whatsoeuer els, serving for defence of himselfe and the impugning of his brother.

C Which *Solyman* tooke in no other part, than as intended against his owne person: yet would he seeme as not to haue any such vnderstanding of the matter: for why the warie old fire would not by taking knowledge thereof, driue headlong his sonne, who was already running too fast of himselfe. Besides that, he was not ignorant that the eyes of all nations were bent vpon this discord of his two sonnes: and therefore he desired by all meanes, that these grudges might bee with as little stirre as was possible appeased. Wherefore he answered *Baiazet* courteously, That concerning his gouernment of *Amasia*, he could not alter it, as resolutely set downe as well for his brother as himselfe, and that therefore they should doe well to goe both to their appointed places, as he had before commaunded. As for the rest, they should be of good comfort, for that he would take such order, as that neither of them should haue just cause to complaine.

D *Partan* *Solyman* to be sure that his two sonnes should goe to their appointed prouinces, sendeth *Partan* and *Mehemet*, two of the Chiefest Bassas to see them brought thither.

Partan *Solyman* to be sure that his two sonnes should goe to their appointed prouinces, sendeth *Partan* and *Mehemet*, two of the Chiefest Bassas to see them brought thither.

E *Baiazes* sendeth *Partan* *Edissa* backe againe to his father.

Solyman maketh preparation against *Baiazes*, and sendeth aid to *Selymus*.

The *Tanzaries* unwilling to goe against *Baiazes*.

swords? was it not against the emperours sonne, and happily the heire of the empire? Wherefore this warre might (as they said) well ynough be let alone, as altogether vnneccessarie, and not they to be enforced to embroe their hands one in anothers bloud, and to pollute themselves with such impietie: as for that which *Baiazet* did, was to be holden excused, as proceeding from necessitie. Which speeches of the Ianizaries being brought to *Solyman*s cares, he forthwith declared them to the Muphti (whom in all matters of doubt they fle vnto, as vnto a most sacred Oracle) demanding of him, How he was to be entreated who of himselfe presumed whiles he yet liued, to leue souldiors, raise an armie, ransacke townes, and trouble the state of the whole empire? and what also he deemed of them that were his followers and tooke part with him; and last of all of them also that refused to beare armes against him, and said that he had in so doing nothing offended? Whereunto the Muphti answered, That both the man and his part-takers were all worthie of death; and that such as refused to take vp armes against him, were as prophane and irreligious men, to be accounted intestable. Which the great priests answer, was published vnto the people: and by the cheefe Chiaus sent to *Baiazet*, to see if he might be therewith moued. Within a few dayes after there came to *CONSTANTINOPLE* one of the Chiaus (whom *Baiazet* had intercepted, being sent from *Solyman* to *Selymus*) by whom *Baiazet* gaue his father to vnderstand, That he was in all dutie his, and that he had not taken vp armes against him, neither refused to be vnto him in all things obedient: but that he had onely to doe with his brother and with him to fight for his life, by whose sword he must needs die, or els he by his, for that a mischeefe was to be by one of them performed; which quarrell he was resolved to trie whiles he yet liued, and that therefore he should doe best not to meddle in their quarrell, or giue aid to either: But if so be he would needs (as the report was) passe ouer the sea to aid *Selymus*, he should not thinke easily to get him into his hands, for that he knew right well, if the worst came, how to escape and saue himselfe; and would (before he could get ouer into *ASIA*) make such spoile with fire and sword, as neuer had *Tamerlane* or other the cruellest enemy of the Turks that euer was. Which message did not a little trouble *Solyman*. And withall it was reported, that the towne of *AXVAR*, where one of *Selymus* his sonnes ruled as Sanzacke, was already taken by *Baiazet*, and shamefully sacked. But *Selymus* hearing that his brother was going toward *AMASIA*, and now on his way as farre as *ANCYRA*, being out of all suspicion of danger which he feared vpon the way, so long as his brother was yet lingering in those quarters, halted now towards *ICONIUM*, which was with a strong garrison kept for him, for amongst other cares wherewith *Solyman* was vexed, it was not the least, That *Baiazet* intercepting *ICONIUM*, should get into *SYRIA*, and from thence into *EGIPT*, an open countrey, and not yet thoroughly established vnder the Turkish gouernment, neither forgetfull of the old gouernment of the Mamalukes, and therefore desirous of change; from whence it would haue beene an hard matter to haue driuen *Baiazet*, especially the Arabians being alwayes readie and at hand at euery light stirre, where any hope of prey was: out of which prouince also in case of extremitie he might easily transport himselfe into any of the Christian kingdomes. *Solyman* therefore tooke great care, that this passage, which might seeme the last refuge of *Baiazet* his deuices, might be stopped: and concerning the same had giuen commandement vnto most of his commanders in *ASIA* to be alwayes in readinesse to aid *Selymus* whensoever he should call. With them *Selymus* lay encamped vnder the wals of *ICONIUM*, attending euerie stirring of *Baiazet*, resolved there to expect farther aid from his father, and not by vn timersly fight to commit his safetie to the hazard of one doubtfull battell. But *Baiazet* on the other side, not vn mindfull what a matter he had taken in hand, slept not thereupon, but first entertained a valiant sort of horsemen which the Turks call *Chiuirs*, and are supposed to be of that people, which were sometimes called *Gordij*, men for their knowne valour famous. He yet lay in the plaine and open fields by *ANCYRA*, of the commodities of which citie (which were indeed great) he made great vse: In the castle thereof he bestowed his concubines and children; of the rich marchants he tooke vp money, to be repaid with the vse vpon the good successe of the warre; and from thence he tooke whatsoever was needfull for the arming and furnishing of his men. Besides his owne familie, which was very great, and those *Chiuirs* which he spoke of, many repaired vnto him, which had beene in former time beholden to his mother, his sister, and *Rustan* the great Bassa; many also of the reliques of the valiant *Mustapha*, and *Achomates* the great Bassa, valiant men and expert souldiors, who desired to reuenge the vnworthie death of their lords and masters, euen with their owne. Neither was there wanting an exceeding

Baiazet his message to his father requesting him not to intermeddle betwixt him and his brother.

Selymus departs toward *Iconium*.

Baiazet staies at *Ancyra*, and there vaileth his forces.

A rablement of such as wearie of the present state, desired some new inuouation and change. The commiseration also of the state of the vnfortunat *Baiazet*, easily drew many to take part with him, whose whole trust was in his valour: they fauoured the young prince, liuely resembling his father: when as in *Selymus* appeared no likenesse of himselfe, but the expresse lineaments of his mothers face and bodie, a woman whilest she liued generally hated of all the people: he went heavily as ouercharged with his greafe paunch, blub cheeked, and exceeding red faced; so that the souldiors in sport would say, he was fed with greene mault: he was altogether giuen to his ease, and spent his time in drunkenness and sleepe, neither was he courteous of speech, nor willing to deserue well of any man; for he would not (as he said) offend his father by being popular, so was he onely of his father beloued, and of all other men hated: of all kind of men, he most disliked of them that set all their hope in a bountifull and couragious prince. The same souldiors were also wont to call *Baiazet*, *Softie* (that is to say) a man giuen to quiennesse and studie; but after that they saw him take vp armes, and for the safegard of himselfe and his children readie to aduenture any thing, they began to admire him as a man of valour and courage: and to aske among themselves, Why his father should reject him of such worth, the expresse image of himselfe, and preferre before him that gorbellied sluggard in whom no sparke of his fathers valour was to be seene? That his entring into armes was no fault, being thereunto by necessitie enforced, for, had not *Selymus* their grandfather done the like? whereof no better example could be found; whom the force of necessitie constrained not only to take vp armes against his brother, but also to hasten the death of his father; and by so doing, purchased vnto himselfe and his posteritie the empire: which so gotten, if *Solyman* did not vnjustly possesse, why might not his son vie the same course? why should he so rigorously reuenge that in his sonne, that was so lawfull in the grandfather? Although there was (as they said) great difference betwene that *Selymus* and this *Baiazet*; for that this man intended no harme against his father, but wished him long to liue; neither yet against his brother, if he might by his leaue but liue, if he would but once cease to doe him wrong: that it was alwaies accounted lawfull to repell force by force, and to shun present death, if the destinies would so permit. By such affections and motiues, *Baiazet* his power increased daily: which being now growne almost to the greatness of a full armie, hee thought it not best to vse longer delay, but to march forthwith against his brother to fight with him one battell for his life, state, and empire: accounting it some commendation (although in vain) to haue attempted so great an enterprise. His purpose was (as *Solyman* feared) to get into *SYRIA*, which if he could bring to passe, he then doubted not of the rest. *Selymus* strengthened with his fathers power, lay waiting for his comming before *ICONIUM*, well appointed of all warlike prouision: his armie was exceeding strong, and in it many notable commanders, martiall men of great experience, whom his father had joyned vnto him; who all lay couered with their great ordinance planted in places most conuenient. But *Baiazet* nothing terrified therewith, as soone as he came within sight of his brothers armie, exhorted his souldiors in few words to play the men, for that now was come the time they wished for, and place for them to shew their valour in: wherefore they should shew themselves couragious and valiant, and he would make them all rich and fortunat: He told them, that their fortune was now in their owne hands, to frame itenerie man as he would himselfe; so that if any of them were wearie of their present state, there was the field wherein they might exchange it with better, and therein lay downe the miseries of their former liues: that of him they should if they ouercame, expect riches, promotions, honours, and whatsoever else, the rewards of valiant men: That with the victorie of one battell, all their desires should be satisfied, were they neuer so great: which victorie was by the valour which rested in them to be gotten, and his brothers armie, the heartlesse followers of a heartlesse captaine, ouerthrowne; for as for his fathers souldiors that were with his brother, they were in bodie present, but in mind altogether on his side: That it was onely *Selymus* that withstood his welfare and their felicitie, whom they should therefore valiantly seeke for in field as their common enemy; and not to be afraid of his multitude, forasmuch as victorie was still present, not with the most, but with the best: Besides that, he willed them to remember with what a chieff enemy they were to fight, who thirsted after nothing more than their bloud: And to conclude, he willed them all, not to looke vpon his words but his deeds; and said, If as you shall see me fighting for your profit, you shall likewise fight for mine honour, I dare then assure

The description of *Selymus*.

Baiazet and his quarrell generally fauoured of the souldiors.

Baiazet his purpose.

Baiazet goes against his brother.

The battell be-
tweene Baiazet
and Selymus.

Fortie thousand
Turkes slaine.

Baiazet goeth
to Amasia.

sure you of the victorie. Which said, he with great courage charged the enemy, and fighting G himselve long time amongst the foremost, and there performing all the parts of a valiant souldior and worthy captain, was for his notable valour no lesse commended of his enemies than of his owne souldiors. The battell was bloudie and terrible, and many fell on both sides. But after that they with wonderfull obstinacie had a great while fought with doubtfull victorie, so that for- tie thousand Turkes lay there dead vpon the ground; at length the victorie began to incline to that side whereon stood the greater strength, the juster cause, and better counsell. Many of the enemies being slaine, and many of his owne people also lost, Baiazet was enforced to retire; which he did so leifurely, and without shew of any feare, that it seemed to the beholders, he had well neere as well gained as lost the field: neither durst Selymus pursue him, but stood still fast in the same place, neuer more glad of any thing than to see his brothers backe. But Baiazet after H he had in contempt of his fathers commaund thus run his owne course, and satisfied his owne desire, though disappointed of his purpose, and not able to performe the journey by him inten- ded into SYRIA: turned now his course, and began in good earnest to go to AMASIA his ap- pointed prouince.

Solyman speedily aduertised of the euent of this battell, forthwith passed ouer into ASIA: for as the great Bassaes his counsellors thought it not conuenient for him to go ouer the strait before the victorie: so after it was certainly knowne, they thought it not good longer to stay, least the ouerthrow of Baiazet might giue occasion to such as secretly fauoured his quarrell to shew them- selues and so to raise greater troubles. Besides that, the fame of his passage ouer, would (as they said) much auaille both to the discouragement of Baiazet, and the terrifying of his friends: and therefore it was by them thought good, hastily to pursue him, now ouerthrowne, and not to suffer him to gather courage by the example of his grandfather Selymus, Solymans father; who had been more terribly vanquished then when he stood in his whole strength, and might seeme by that meanes to haue especially preuailed, for that he was at first vnfortunatly ouerthrowne. Neither were these things without reason foreseene: for it is almost incredible what admiration and loue, this battell (although vnfortunat) did get to Baiazet; men wondered that he durst with so small a power, and as it were but a handfull of men, encounter with his brother farre better appointed, and also supported by his fathers strength: not fearing either the disadvantage of the place, or the furie of the great artillerie; and to haue behaued himselve in the battell not like a young souldior, but like an old and expert commaunder. Selymus might at his pleasure boast K of himselve as they said (to his father) for the victorie: but Baiazet was the man that deserued to haue overcome: and that Selymus might to any thing ascribe the victorie, rather than to his owne valour.

These and such like speeches, as they made Baiazet gracious amongst the people generally; so doubled they his fathers cares, and encreased his hatred, to wish him the rather dead. For why, he was resolutely set downe, not to leaue any other heire of his empire than Selymus his eldest son, al- waies loyall and obedient vnto him: whereas the other he abhorred as stubborne and rebellious, gaping after the empire whilst he yet liued; of whom he was therefore so much the more to stand in dread, by how much he was reputed to be of more valour; and for the aid he had now so open- ly giuen to Selymus. For these causes he passed ouer the strait into ASIA, with purpose not to go L far from the sea coast, but as it were a far off with his fauourable aspect to countenance Selymus his proceedings: doubting by comming too neere with his armie, to endanger himselve by the sudden reuolt of the Ianizaries, which he aboue all things feared.

I my selfe (saith the author of this historie) saw him departing out of CONSTANTINOPL the first of Iune in the yeare 1559, when as within a few dayes after I my selfe was also sent for thither: for the Bassaes thought it not amisse to haue me in the campe, and to vse me courteously as their friend, for which cause I was assigned to lodge in an Inne in a village neere vnto the campe, where I lay very well. The Turkes lay in the fields round about: but lying there three moneths, I had good leisure and opportunitie to see the manner of their campe, and in part to know the order of their martiall discipline. So I attiring my selfe in such apparell as the Christi- M ans commonly vse in those places, went vp and downe with one or two companions at my plea- sure vnknowne. First I saw the souldiors of all sorts most orderly placed, and that, which he would scarce beleue that knoweth the manner of our warres, there was in every place great silence, and as a man may say, dumbe quietnesse, no brawling, no insolencie, no not so much as a word or laughter

Augerius Buf-
bequius epist.
3. legationis
Turcice.

The order of the
Turkes campe.

A laughter passing in sport or drunkennesse. Besides that wonderfull cleaneinesse, no dunghills, no excrements that might offend either the eyes or nose, for all such things the Turkes doe either burie or carrie them farre out of sight. They themselues so often as they are enforced to discharge the burthen of nature, dig an hole with a spade and burie it, so is all their campe without filth. There was not to be seene any drinking or feasting, no dicing (the great shame of our wars) the losse of money or time at cards or dice, the Turkes know not. I met onely with a rough Hunga- rian and his companions, a souldior, who heauie himselve, to the Turke rather howled than sung: a dolefull dittie, containing the last words of a fellow of his, dying of his wounds vpon the greene banke of Danubius, wherein he requesteth the riuier, because it ran to the place where hee was borne; to carrie newes to his friends and countrymen, that he died an honourable death and not B vnreunited, for the encrease of his religion, and honour of his countrey: whereunto his fellows fighting bare a foot: O happie and thrice happie wight, would fortune with thee change wee might. For the Turkes are of opinion, That no mens soules goe more speedily to heauen, than of such valiant men as die in battell; for whose welfare their maidens dayly make prayers and vovves. I would also needs goe through their butcherie, where their beasts were killed, to see what flesh was to be sold; where I saw but foure, or at most fife weathers hanging readie dressed, and that was the butcherie for the Ianizaries, which I deemed to be in that campe not fewer than foure thousand. I marvelled that so little flesh should suffice so many men: but I was answered, That few of them did eat flesh; for that most part of them had their victuals transported from CONSTAN- C TINOPLE. Then I demanding what it was, they shewed me a Ianizarie sitting by, who in an earthen dish had killed a turnep, an onion, a head of garlike, a parsnep, and a cucumber, all fau- ced with salt and vineger, or more truly to say with hunger, whereon he fed as sauerly, as if they had bene feilants or partridges: his drinke was the common drinke of all liuing creatures, euen faire water. By which frugall kind of diet they prouide both for the health of their bodies, and the sparing of their purse: and that I marvelled the more at, it was the time that their great fast, or to speake after our fashion, their Lent was at hand: at which time with vs Christians, euen in well ordered cities, much more in camps, all rings with playing, dauncing, singing, crying, quaffing, carousing, and in breefe, with madding and phrensie. So that it is not vainly reported, That a D Turke sent about that time embassadour into GERMANIE, comming home, reported, That the Christians on certaine dayes did riot and became mad; vntill they, besprinkled with a certaine kind of ashes in the church, came to themselues againe, and so recovered; and that it was a won- derfull thing to see, how much they were changed by the efficacie of that remedie, that they seem- ed not to be the same men: meaning indeed the disordered manners of the Christians at Shrouetide, and the ceremonies vsed on Ashwednesday: which thing they to whom it was told, so much the more marvelled at, for that the Turkes haue many medicines which cause madnesse, but few or none which presently caseth the same. And they vpon those dayes that goe before their great fasts, change nothing of their wonted manner of life to the worse: but rather contra- riwise prepare themselues to abstinence, by taking somewhat from their vsuall fare, the better to endure the sudden change of their fast: which they so precisely obserue, that vpon their fasting dayes they will not so much as tast a cup of water, or wash their mouthes with water all the day E long, before the starres appeare in the skie: which maketh their fasts, especially in Summer when the dayes be long and hot, to be vnto them very tedious.

Whiles I thus lay in the campe, there came vnto me one Albertus a learned man with cer- taine presents from the emperour to Solyman, which were, certaine gilt plate; and a most curious clocke, which was carried vpon an Elephant like a castle; and some crownes to be dispersed a- mong the Bassaes: which Solyman would needs haue presented vnto him in the campe in the sight of the whole armie, to make it the better knowne what friendship was betwene him and the emperour, and that he needed not to feare any danger from the Christian princes.

But to returne againe to Baiazet, from whom we haue a while digressed: he after the battell at I CONIUM had retired himselve to AMASIA, the place of his gouernment, as though he would haue now there quietly liued, if his father would so giue him leaue. He had now satisfied his youthfull desires and greefe, and seemed willing from thenceforth to satisfie his fathers better expectation: and therefore ceased not by letters and fit men to proue his fathers mind. Neither did Solyman shew himselve strange from such a reconciliation: at first he easily gaue the messen- gers audience, read his sons letters, and courteously returned answers; so that it was commonly reported

The opinion the
Turkes haue of
them that die in
their warres.

The sparing of
the Ianizaries.

The precise man-
ner of the Turkes
in their fasts.

Presents sent fr-
the emperour Fer-
dinand to Soly-
man.

Baiazet goeth to
Amasia, and see-
keth for his fa-
thers fauour.

Solyman disem-
bleth with Baia-
zet.

reported in the campe, that the father and the sonne would agree, and that the old man would pardon the youthfull pranke alreadye past; so that he would from thenceforth remaine dutifull. But all this was by the counsell of the Bassaes nothing but deepe dissimulation in the craftie old sire, vntill he had shut vp Baiazet, and so got him aliue into his hand: for it was feared, least he despairing of pardon, should with such a power breake into the borders of PERSIA (now the only place left for his refuge) as might preuent the watchfull diligence of his lieutenants vpon those frontiers: whom Solyman charged by continuall letters for to stop all the passages into PERSIA, as that there should not be any cranie for Baiazet to flee out by. In the meane time, if any came within his reach that were suspected to haue taken part with Baiazet, or fauored his proceedings, those he caused to be tortured and secretly made away, and amongst them some whom Baiazet had of purpose sent to excuse themselves. For Solyman fearing least Tamas the Persian king (more mindfull of his old quarrels than of the late enforced peace) should hardly with much doo suffer his sonne to be got out of his hands if he should flee thither, and so againe raise along and dangerous warre; did therefore what he possibly might to oppresse him before he should come thither. Which his purpose although it was couered with all secrecie, yet was it not hidden from some of Baiazet his friends, by whom he was oftentimes warned not to trust his father, but to beware of treason, and in any case speedily to provide for his owne safetie. But Solyman thinking he had now so provided as that he could by no means escape, and happily the more to deceiue his sonne, appointed to returne with his armie to CONSTANTINOPLE the day after their Easter day. But Baiazet vpon the very feast day hauing performed the solemnities thereof, commaunded all his things to be trusted vp at AMASIA, and so set forward vpon his vnfortunate journey towards PERSIA, knowing right well, that he went to the auntient enemy of the Othoman familie, but yet fully resolu'd to make prooffe of any mans mercie, rather than to fall into the hands of his angrie father. Now were they all set forward, except such weakelie soules as were not thought able to endure the labour of so long a journey, amongst whom was left Solyman, Baiazet his youngest sonne, but then newly borne: which guiltlesse babe, with his mother, Baiazet thought better to leaue vnto the mercie of his grandfather, than to take him with him; a poore companion of his wofull and miserable flight: whom Solyman as yet vn certaine of his fathers fortune, commaunded to be nursed at PERSIA. Baiazet so gone from AMASIA, vied such celeritie in his trauell, that almost in euery place he preuented the fame of his comming, and light vpon many that were appointed to haue stayed his passage, before they were readie or aware of his comming. The Bassa of SEBASTIA he thus deceiued: There was two wayes, whereof the one of them being intercepted, would greatly hinder his journey; and that the Bassa had alreadye taken: wherefore he sent certaine, as if they had bene fugitiues, to tell the Bassa that he was alreadye gone the other way. Which the Bassa beleeuing, left the place he had before taken, and rising with all his power to pursue him the other way; whereby it was told him he was gone, lest that way free and open for him to passe by.

Baiazet decei-
ueth the Bassa of
Sebastia.

The Bassa of Er-
zurum deceiued
by Baiazet.

The Bassa of ERZURUM he deceiued also by another not much vnlike shift: from whom when he was not farre distant, and knowing that in passing through his countrey, he was to endure great danger, he set vpon him with a wile, sending vnto him certaine of his followers with commendations: who afterwards lamentably complaining of the young princes calamitie, to moue the Bassa to pitie, at last requested that he would giue him leaue to shoo his horses in his territory, telling him, That he came vnprovided of all things, and therefore desirous in that fruitfull countrey to refresh his horses a day or two, and to new shoo them. Whereunto the Bassa courteously answered, That he would not let him to take whatsoever he needed. But whether it was for the compassion he had vpon the state of Baiazet, or for the secret loue he bare him, or that he thought by that meanes the easilier to entrap him, is doubtfull, and happily preuented by Baiazet his quicke speed, had not as yet sufficient time to draw together his souldiours. He sent also vnto Baiazet certaine small presents, seeming to be glad of his welfare and comming: who neuertheless kept on his way, resting no part of the day; and but a little of the night. The Bassa of ERZURUM vnderstanding that Baiazet came still on, made what hast he could also, and joynd his power to the rest of the Bassaes which followed after: for many Bassaes and Sanzacks hearing that Baiazet was fled from AMASIA, pursued fast after him, being charged by Solyman vpon paine of their heads to bring him backe either aliue or dead: but all in vaine, by reason of his speedie departure, and for that he made more hast to flee than they did to follow. Yet it cost no

man

A man deeter than this Bassa of ERZURUM, of whom we haue now spoken, whom Solyman for this cause displaced: and Selymus afterwards slew with two of his sonnes, young striplings whom hee had before in despite shamefully abused against nature. Yea Selymus himselfe and Mehmet the great Bassa, with the Berglerbeg of GRACIA, followed also after Baiazet, though it were a far off. This his departure grieved Solyman aboue measure, assuring himselfe (as the truth was) that he was fled into PERSIA: wherewith he was so much moued, that he could scarcely containe himselfe, but would needs haue gone with all his power in all hast against the Persian, to haue terrified him at hand from relieuing his rebellious sonne. But these his raging fits his graue counsellors moderated, by declaring vnto him what danger he should aduenture himselfe vnto, by reason of the doubtfull faith of his best souldiours: And what if Baiazet (as he was a desperate and sudden man) should in the meane time turne about about PONTUS and the fens of MACOTIS, and so fetching a compasse come to CONSTANTINOPLE, and proclaiming a general libertie in his absence, possesse himselfe of the empire. By which wholesome persuasion Solyman staid his so hastie a journey: but Baiazet all the way as he went writ vpon the gates and doores, That he would giue double pay to all such as should follow him: which caused Solymans captaines to haue their owne souldiours in distrust, and the more for that they might oftentimes heare amongst them, speeches of great good will and loue towards Baiazet.

Solyman much
grieved with the
flight of his son.

After long flying, he was at length come to the riuer Araxis, which separated the Turkes kingdome from the Persian; which hauing passed ouer, and yet not so in safetie, he left certaine of his followers vpon the banke of the riuer to keepe the Sanzacks, who still eagerly pursued him: from passing ouer: whom the Sanzacks easily repulsd, & so passing the riuer, entred a great way into the Persian kingdome, vntill such time as that they were met withall by certaine of the nobilitie of PERSIA with great troupes of horsemen; who demanding of them what they meant, and what they sought for in another mans kingdome, were answered by the Turkes, That they pursued their kings fugitiue sonne. To whom the Persians replied, That they did not well, contrary to the league with their lord and master, to come in armes beyond the bounds of their owne kingdome; and that there was a strong league betwene king Tamas and Solyman, which it behoued them to regard: as for Baiazet, their king would consider what was conuenient for him to doe, and not in that point forget himselfe: in the meane time they should doe well to get them out of that countrey wherein they had nothing to doe. Whereupon the Turkes forthwith left this pursuit and retired.

The anger prou-
oked by the Bas-
sa and San-
zacks.

But by and by came messengers from the Persian king to Baiazet to salute him, and to demand the cause of his comming, and also to see what strength he brought with him; which as some account was about twentie thousand. To whom Baiazet declared, That he by his brothers iniurie and fathers hard dealing driuen out of his countrey, was fled vnto the sacred maiestie of the Persian king, as his most assured refuge; who as he well hoped, in compassion of mans instabilitie, would not reject him so distressed, and otherwise destitute of all helpe. Whereunto the Persian replied, That he had done verie vnwisely to come vnto him that was in league and amitie with his father, whereof one condition was, That they should account the enemies of the one the enemies of the other; and the friends of the one the friends of the other. Which law to breake, he accounted a thing vtterly vnlawfull: neuertheless seeing the matter was so fallen out, he was welcome as vnto his friend, who in his behalfe would leaue nothing vnattempted, to reconcile him to his father, which he despaired not to bring to passe. So Baiazet meeteth with the Persian king, but in an euill houre, although at their first meeting there was great welcome, friendly countenance, cheerfull looks, mutuall kindnesse, often conference, and great feasting one of another; things whereby the secret thoughts of hollow hearts are best concealed: there was also a motion made of a straighter bond of alliance, and one of the Persian kings daughters promised to Orchanes one of Baiazet his sonnes; and he put in hope that the Persian king would neuer rest in quiet, vntill Solyman had made him Gouverneur either of MESOPOTAMIA, BABYLON, or ERZURUM (which governments were by the Persians greatly extolled) and that he might there liue without feare of his brother, faire from him and his father also; where if any thing should fall out otherwise than well, he might haue his brother the Persian king a sure refuge to retire vnto, and so safe from all danger. Which speeches were happily giuen out, of purpose to auert Baiazet his thought from the feeling of the present danger; who seemed vnto himselfe so assured of the loue and friendship of Tamas the Persian king, that at such time as he sent

Baiazet well en-
terained by the
Persian king.

his

his embassadours to CONSTANTINOPLE, for a reconciliation to be made betweene *Solyman* G and him (as was commonly supposed) he willed the same embassadour to tell his father, that he had lost a father at CONSTANTINOPLE, and found another in PERSIA. But whether the Persian delt sincerely in this behalfe for *Baiazet* by his embassadours, which were many, may well be doubted. Like it is, that there was more faigned shew of double diligence, than of true meaning therein; and rather to feele the mind of *Solyman*, than to doe any good to the poore distressed prince: and the rather, for that in the meane time all things were seriously plotted, that might tend to his destruction. Which were no sooner growne to their full ripenesse, but there was of purpose a motion made, That such a multitude as followed this young prince lay too close together, that there was not in one place victuall sufficient for them, and that it was therefore more conuenient to haue them billeted in the countrey thereabouts; which would be more commodious, as well for the better victualing of them, as for diuers other purposes also. Truth was, that *Tamas* the Persian king, farre vnlike his noble father *Ismaell*, stood in doubt least hee brought vp a Serpent in his bosome: Yet there were many which thought, that it was not the Persians mind at first to haue destroyed *Baiazet*, but to haue becne thereunto enforced by the practise of some of his familiars and followers; who not regarding the courtesie of the Persian king, nor the lawes of hospitallity, perswaded *Baiazet* to thrust him out of his kingdome; whereof there was many euident tokens: And among other things it was told king *Tamas*, that one of *Baiazets* chiefe captaines should say, What meane we? why stay we to kill this hereticall king, and to possesse his kingdome? for we shall no doubt by his treacherie all come to destruction. And that vpon such occasion the king was constrained to condiscend to a deuise more necessary than honourable. *Baiazet* had no great power, but most of them were valiant men, and souldiours of great experience, readie to aduenture vpon any thing: of whom the Persian not without cause stood in some feare: He knew his kingdome to be neither auncient nor yet well assured, as gotten by his father by the counterfeite shew of a reformed religion: And who could assure him, but that amongst so many nations ouer whom he lorded, but that there were many wearie of the present state, and so desirous of nouelties: vnto whom nothing could chance more fitting, than the coming of *Baiazet*, a noble and valiant young gentleman; and that more was, desperately set: that as yet he himselfe might of right rather seeme in the power of his guest, than he in his: And that therefore he was to alter the matter, and not longer to entertaine him as his guest, but to coupe him vp as a most dangerous wild beast. Which to doe, the easiest way was K to disperse his power, and so to take him vnawares: for that he could not without much bloudshed be openly taken in the midst of his strength, especially by the dainie Persian of long time not vsed to warre, and as yet not come together; against *Baiazets* souldiours, men of great actiuitie and experience. So was the matter cunningly imparted vnto him for the dispersing of his forces, and all the commodities to ensue thereof allcadged: which *Baiazet* might not well gainsay, although many of his wife followers (men of great reach) did sturwily suspect the sequell. But what could he refuse, vpon whom necessity lay so heauie? where no other hope was left: where he liued as it pleased another man: and that againe to, where once to doubt of the fidelitie of his hoast, might be imputed to him for the greatest treacherie: So these most valiant souldiours, the poore princes faithfull followers, neuer againe to see one another, are dispersed into diuers countrey villages, and bestowed where the Persians thought good. Not many daies after, at a time pickt out for the purpose, they in number few, and dispersed in a strange countrey, were inclosed by many and slaine: their horses, armour, apparell, and whatsoeuer else, became a prey vnto the murtherers. At the same instant was *Baiazet* and his sonnes cast in bonds also; and that to his greater griefe as many report, taken as he was sitting merrily at dinner at the kings table. The Persian king seemed to haue foreseene much in this his hard dealing with *Baiazet*: as if that he, being a valiant and courageous young prince, and much better souldior than his brother, should haue succeeded his father in his empire, much trouble and perill might haue growen thereby; both to himselfe and his kingdome: And that it stood farre better with the sake of his estate, that *Solyman* (a man wholly giuen to voluptuousnesse and ease) should raigne ouer the Turks: M in whose time he might as it were promise vnto himselfe all peace and securitie: and therefore it was thought that he would neuer let *Baiazet* go aliue out of his hand; but rather make him away in prison, as if he had there died for melancholy and griefe. Well he was assured; that after he had slaine his followers, and imprisoned himselfe and his sonnes, hee would neuer be friends

Tamas the Persian king in feare of Baiazet.

Baiazet his followers dispersed and slaine.

Baiazet imprisoned.

A friends with him that had so notably wronged him.

Baiazet thus shamefully imprisoned, messengers ran continually too and fro betwixt the two The Persian king sendeth embassadours with presents to Solyman.
old princes, *Solyman* and *Tamas*. Amongst the rest, the Persian king sent a solemne embassadour vnto the Turke with presents, namely curious tents, costly carpets, an Alcoran containing the mysteries of their superstition, and certaine strange beasts. The cause of his coming was pretended to be, for a reconciliation to be made betweene *Solyman* and his sonne; which embassadour was honourably entertained and feasted by the great Bassaes. Now was poore *Baiazet* in small hope of life, his cruell father still craving to haue him deliuered into his hands to bee slaine: and the Persian yet denying to deliuer him, and seeming to defend him, but not (as was thought) altogether faithfully. *Solyman* left no meanes vnattempted to haue *Baiazet* him from B the Persian; sometimes he spake him faire, putting him in mind of his league, wherein it was agreed, That they should both haue the same friends and the same enemies; other while he terrified him with great words, and denouncing of warre, except he would deliuer him his sonne; he furnished with strong garisons all the frontiers of his dominion towards PERSIA: he filled all MESOPOTAMIA and the bankes of the riuer Euphrates with souldiours, especially with them of his owne guard, and such as he had before vsed in the battell against *Baiazet*; ouer whom commaunded *Mehemet Bassa* the third of the Visier Bassaes, and the Beglerbeg of CARAMAN (for *Solyman* was soone wearie of the field, and so betime returned home:) he also incited the Georgian people, to take vp armes against the Persians, who wisely answered, That they had not such confidence in their owne strength, as to prouoke king *Tamas*; but let *Solyman* himselfe come with C his armie, and when they saw him present in the field, then they knew what they had to doe, and that he should then well see, that they wanted neither discretion, nor valour. And because he would leaue nothing vnproued, he made shew as if he would in person himselfe haue gone to ALEPPO in SYRIA, and so haue on that side inuaded the Persian: neither was the Persian king altogether out of feare, hauing to his cost many times proued what *Solyman* was able to doe: But the vnwillingnesse of the souldiours, and their minds altogether estranged from that warre, easily staied the raging Turke: they detested that warre and forsooke their ensignes, a great number of whom (especially horsemen) without leaue of their captaines returned to CONSTANTINOPLE; and being commanded againe to the campe, went indeed, but with such countenance and cheere, as well declared how they were affected, and what they would doe if occasion serued for them to reuolt.
For which cause, after that *Solyman* perceiued that *Baiazet* could not aliue be got from the Persian (excusing himselfe by feare of reuenge by him whom he had so grievously offended, if he should by any meanes escape:) he thought it best to follow that which was next, and to haue him there slaine, which he was in good hope to compass; and the rather, for that the Persian had but lately written vnto him, That he could not but much maruell, to see him deale so slenderly in a matter of so great importances. That he on his part had sent him diuers embassadours, and that he on the other side had sent him nothing but common messengers with papers, which caused him to thinke that he made no great account of the matter: wherefore he should doe well, to send vnto him men of account and place, which whom he might confesse and conclude also according to the waightinesse and exigence of the cause: besides that (he was as he said) not a little in his debt, for that *Baiazet* and his followers had bene vnto him no small charge, before hee could get him into his power: all which it were good reason that he should haue consideration of. Whereby *Solyman* perceiued, that money was the thing the Persian king sought after; and therefore rather than he would in an vnsit time of his life entangle himselfe in a dangerous and vnecessary warre, he determined by the counsell of his Bassaes, rather with money than with the sword to fight with the Persian king. Heteupon was *Hassan Aga* (one of the chiefe gentlemen of his chamber) appointed embassadour into PERSIA, with whom was joyntly the Bassa of MARAS, a man both for his age and place, reuerend: who departing with a large company of almost the depth of Winter, with great speed and wonderfull toyle, by those long and difficult waies, arrived at last at CASHAN the seat of the Persian king, hauing by the way lost diuers of their seruants and followers: Being come to the court, the first thing they desired was to see *Baiazet*; whom they found shut vp in a close prison, pale and wan as a man forlorne, with his haire and beard so long and ouergrowne, as that he was not to be knowne before he was new trimmed; which done, then appeared the liuely resemblance of his wonted countenance and honour, X x x

The Persian king sendeth embassadours with presents to Solyman.

The cause why the Persian king would by no meanes let Baiazet get out of his hands.

The miserable state of Baiazet.

The agreement
between the
Persian king &
Solyman for the
destruction of
Baiazet.

Baiazet and his
four sonnes
strangled.

The rare force of
innocence.

hour, so that *Hassan* verily knew it to be him: for he had been brought vp with him of a child in the court, and for that cause especially had *Solyman* sent him thither to be assured that it was he. At length after long discourse and conference betweene the king and the embassadours, it was agreed vpon, that the king should receiue from *Solyman*, full recompence of all the charges he had been at, and of the harmes by him sustained since the comming of *Baiazet* into *PERSIA*, with such farther reward as so great a good turne deserued: which things performed, that then it should be in *Solymans* power to haue *Baiazet* made away. With this newes *Hassan* posteth to his master at *CONSTANTINOPLE*, who forthwith caused the promised reward, together with such charges as the Persian king demanded, to be made readie, and with a safe conuoy to be sent vnto the borders of *PERSIA*, where they were of the Persians receiued. Presently after, returneth *Hassan* the appointed executioner of the vnfortunat *Baiazet*: for so *Solyman* had straightly charged him, to strangle him with his owne hands. Which thing this new made hangman accordingly performed, and with a bowstring strangled the vnfortunat prince; who is reported to haue requested of the executioner, but that he might see his children before he died, & take of them his last farewell: which poore request could not be granted, but he forthwith commanded to die. This was the wofull end of the vnluckie attempts of *Baiazet*, a prince of far more worth than was *Selymus* his brother, who in seeking to shun the death he feared, hastned the same before his time. Such as was the fathers end, was also the end of his four sonnes, *Omer*, *Amurat*, *Selym*, and *Muhamet*: of whom the three eldest were strangled at *CASBIN* with their father, whose dead bodies together with his, were solemnly brought to *SEBASTIA* and there buried. The youngest but new borne left at *AMASTIA*, and sent by his grandfather to *PRUSA* (as is before said) to be there nursed; was now vpon the death of his father, commaunded by his said grandfather to be strangled also. The eunuch sent by *Solyman* to haue done the deed, and loth to doe it himselfe, tooke with him one of the porters of the court, a desperat, and otherwise a hard hearted ruffian, a man thought fit to haue performed any villanie: he conning into the chamber where the child lay, and sitting the bowstring to the childs necke to haue strangled it, the innocent babe smiled vpon him, and lifting it selfe vp as well as it could, with open armes offered to haue embraced the villaine about the necke and kissed him. Which guiltlesse simplicitie so wounded the stonie hearted man, that he was not able to performe the intended butcherie of the poore and simple child, but fell downe in a swoone, and there lay for dead. The eunuch standing without the doore, maruelling at his long stay, goes in, and finding the ruffian lying along vpon the ground, with cruell hand performed that the other could not find in his heart to do; and so strangled the guiltlesse child as had been giuen him in charge. Whereby it euidently appeared, that it was not the mercie or compassion of *Solyman*, that so long caused the guiltlesse infant to be spared; but rather the opinion generally receiued amongst the Turks, who measuring all things by the good or bad successe, referre all things that fall out well vnto God as the author thereof, be they neuer so vngenerously begun: and therefore so long as it was yet vncertaine what successe the attempts of *Baiazet* would haue, *Solyman* spared the infant, least vpon his fathers good hap, he might seeme to haue striuen against the will of God. But now that his father was dead, and his quarrell by the euill successe thereof condemned: as it were by the sentence of the Almighty, he thought it not good longer to suffer him to liue; least of an euill bird might come an euill chicke. I had sometime (saith the reporter of this historie) great reasoning with my Chiaus about this matter: for falling into talke with him of *Baiazet*, he began bitterly to inuay against him for taking vp armes against his brother. Whereunto (saith this author) I replied; That in mine opinion he was worthe both to be pilled and pardoned, forasmuch as he was of necessitie enforced either to take vp armes, or else shortly after to yeeld himselfe to the slaughter. But he still exclaiming against him, I said vnto him, You blame poore *Baiazet* of great wickednesse, for bearing armes against his brother: but *Selymus Solymans* father you blame not, who vpon like occasion tooke vp armes both against his father and his brethren; yet he therein did nothing amisse, nor in your judgement blame worthe. And rightly, saith the Chiaus, for the euent of the matter sheweth sufficiently; that that which he did, was done by the appointment of God, and that he was from heauen predestinate thereunto: whereas in *Baiazet* the euent sheweth the cleane contrarie. So that which falleth out well, be it by neuer so wicked meanes compassed or brought to passe; they take it as done according to the will of God; but if it fall out otherwise, they judge it as a thing condemned by God himselfe: depending wholly vpon the good or bad euent

A euent of things, and thereby judging them to be well done or otherwise.

This yeare 1558 *Charles* the fifth that noble emperour (of whom we haue in the course of this historie so often spoken) who wearie of the world had two yeates before deliuered all his hereditarie kingdomes and principalities to his sonne *Philip*, did now the 24. of Februarie, on which day he was borne, by his embassadours solemnly sent for that purpose, resigne the empire with all the honors and titles thereof vnto his brother king *Ferdinand*, requesting the princes, electors, to confirme the same vnto him, which they did the 13. of March next following. Solituing as a priuat gentleman in that solitarie life wherunto he had to the wonder of the world certain yeares before retired himselfe from all worldly affaires, the 21. day of September following died of a feauer, when he had liued 58 yeates, and thereof reigned 39: a man no doubt to be worthily accounted amongst the greatest Christian emperours that liued before him. About which time also died his two sisters, *Marie* the queene of *HUNGARY*, and *Eleanore* the French queene, both ladies of great honour.

The knights of *MALTA*, who of long had been suzer to the great Bishop and the king of *SPAIN* for the recouerie of *TRIPOLIS* in *BARBARIE*, about nine yeares before taken from them by the Turks; at which time they also surpris'd the Island of *ZARBI*, vpon the coast of *BARBARIE* betwixt *TRIPOLIS* and *TUNES*, from whence they much troubled the Christians, traueilling by those seas: had now at length so much preuailed, that the king commaunded a great fleet to be now forthwith made readie in September in the yeare 1559: to meet together in *SICILIA*, and from thence to go directly against the enemy by *MALTA*: Vnto which fleet, the great bishop, the duke of *FORRENCE*, and the knights of *MALTA*, with many other valiant men out of diuers parts of Christendome, joynd their forces also; so that at length there was a hundred gallies and ships met together vnder the conduct of *Andreas Gonzaga* their Generall. But whilest this fleet from diuers places was long in comming thither, the duke of *MEDINA COELI*, came before with part of the fleet to *MALTA*, and in the haue of *MARZA MOXATI* expected the comming of the rest, who about the end of the yeare came thither. But whilest they there wintered, expecting the Spring, many of the souldiours fell sicke and died. At length the time of the yeare fit for their setting forward, being come, the captaines consulted among themselves, Whether they should first set vpon *TRIPOLIS*, or the Island of *ZARBI*, otherwise called *MENING*. The knights of *MALTA* being of opinion, That it were better first to besiege *TRIPOLIS*, and that with all speed, before *Dragut* should come thither to furnish it with souldiours and provision. Others thought it better first to inuade the Island of *ZARBI*, where the armie might be relieued with plentie of all things necessarie, and from whence they might at all times of danger in safetie retire: and from thence afterwards as time should serue to go to *TRIPOLIS*.

Which vnfortunat counsell was by the greater part agreed vpon. Wherefore in Februarie the yeare following they departed from *MALTA*, and sayled directly to *ZARBI*. In the meane time *Dragut* the most famous pyrat of that time amongst the Turks, and Gouernor of *TRIPOLIS*, was come thither with eight hundred of the Turks Ianizaries, and had notably strengthened the citie with men, victuall, and new fortifications; and presently sent messengers to *Solyman* at *CONSTANTINOPLE*, to certifie him of the arriual of the Christian fleet in *AFRICK*. But the Christians comming to the Island of *ZARBI*, were at their first landing encountered by the Moores, whom they repulsed, and so at pleasure landed. This Island is not farre from the maine, here and there full of boggs and marshes, other euier hath it norie, and in the midst is somewhat hillie. It was inhabited with about thirtie thousand men, which dwelt in low cottages, simply apparelled: yet is the island reasonable fertile, yeelding dates, oliues, barley, mill, and such like. When the Christians were there landed, they sent for *Caranamus*, a poore king amongst the Moores (from whom *Dragut* had before taken that Island) to vse his counsell for their better proceeding in that warre. In the meane time they agreed, with eight thousand men to besiege the strongest castle in the Island: in going whereunto the Spaniards went foremost, the Germans next, and last of all the Italians. By the way as they went they light vpon ten thousand Moores, which lay in ambush in a wood to haue vpon the sudden set vpon them vnawares; but being discouered, and seven hundred of them slaine in skirmish by the Spaniards, the rest fled. So comming to the castle, they planted their batterie, and laid hard siege vnto it. The captaine of the castle finding himselfe too weake long to hold out, fled secretly with his Turkes, leauing the castle for the Moores to defend; who vpon condition that they might in safetie depart, yeelded the castle to the Spaniards.

1558

Charles the emperour resigneth the empire to his brother *Ferdinand*, & shortly after dieth.

1559

The Christian princes set out a fleet for the recouerie of *Tripolis* in *Barbarie*.

1560

The Christian fleet arriueh at the Island of *Zarbi*.

The castle of *Zarbi* taken by the Christians.

Piail Bassa Solyman Admirall sent to remove the Christians out of Zerbi.

ards: for keeping whereof, *Varona* and *Cerda*, two Spanish capitaines, were thereloff with their companies. Whilste these things were in doing, *Caruanus* the Moore king came to the campe of the Christians and there talked with the Generall, in whose hoarie countenance rested a reverend majestie, his apparrell was after the Moores fashion of white linen, with him came also the king of *TUNES* his sonne. In talking with the Generall, his manner was to sit down upon the ground, and wisely discoursed how the Turkes were to be removed out of *AFRICA*. But in the middelt of these discourses, when such a thing was least feared, suddenly a pinnace brought newes from sea, That *Piail Bassa* the Turkes great Admirall was coming thither with a great fleet of 85 gallies, and that moe were daily repairing unto him on every side, which was indeed true. For *Solyman* understanding from *Dragut* the archpyrat, that Island to be by the Christians now possessed and fortified, thought it not (in his so great power and flourishing estate) to stand with his honour to suffer, but rather to give aid vnto the Moores of that Island, a people agreeing in religion with himselfe: and therefore commanded *Piail Bassa* his Admirall to take in hand that expedition. VVho thereupon rigged vp a great fleet well appointed and strongly manned, with a number of the Turkes best and most approued soldiers, as well Janizaries as others: yett all both doubtfull and fearefull of the long journey, as also of the fame of the enemies with whom they were to encounter: for why the Turkes had conceived a great opinion of the valour of the Spaniards, as knowing great warres both of auncient and later times to haue bene by that nation (to the immortal praise thereof) most happily performed: they remembered well *Charles* the fifth, and dayly heard much of king *Philip*, the heire both of his fathers vertues and kingdomes, which made them so careful, that many of them before their setting forth (as in time of greatest danger) made their wils, and so departed from *CONSTANTINOPLE*, taking their leaue of their friends; as if they should neuer haue thither returned againe. So that all the citie was in a confused feare: neither was there any man whether he went or stayed, that hung not in suspense with the doubtfull expectation of the euent of that warre. Howbeit, *Piail* with this great fleet with long sayling and a prosperous wind was at length come well neere as farre as *MALTA*, and knowledge thereof (as is aforesaid) given vnto the Christian fleet at *ZERBI*. VVith which vnexpected newes the Christians there were not a little troubled: neuerthelesse they fortified the castle with new fortifications and bulwarkes; and fell to agreement with the principall man amongst the Moores of the Island (who commanded the rest, and had before plucked downe the ensignes of *Dragut*, and set vp the king of *SPAINES*) That he should yearely pay vnto the king of *SPAINES* (as he had before vnto *Dragut*) six thousand crownes, one cammell, foure ostriches, foure sparrow hawkes, and foure blew faulcons: a tribute fit for such an Island.

But shortly after, viz. the ninth of May, the Great Master of *MALTA* by another pinnace gaue the Christians at *ZERBI* againe to vnderstand, That the Turkes fleet was euen now at hand, and already departed from the Island of *Gozo*, well appointed and strongly manned: and that therefore he aduised them with speed to hoise saile, and to get them to some place of more safetie, or els to come to him to *MALTA*, for feare of being by so great a power of the Turkes suddenly oppressed. Whereupon *John Andreas Auria* the Admirall sent vnto the Generall, requesting him presently to come aboard, that so they might before the coming of the Turkes fleet retire themselves to some place of more assurance. But he for all that stayed still at the castle, where the Christians had built foure strong bulwarkes: whereof they had named one *Auriaes*, another *Gonzagues*, the third the Viceroyes, and the fourth the Knights, not yett all perfectly finished: as for the castle it selfe, they called it *Philip-Alcazer*, by the name of the king. But whilste the Generall is thus busie, and vainly hopeth to keepe both the castle and his ships, he the next day decrying from farre the coming of the Turkes great fleet, hastned with the Admirall to be gone: and putting twice to sea, was both times by a contrary wind driven againe into the haven, so that he and the Admirall had much adoe in time to get themselves into the castle: for the wind was so fauourable for the Turkes, and brought them so fast on, that the Christians dismayed with their suddaine coming, knew not now well what to doe or which way to turne themselves. But by good hap the greater part of the ships and foureteene gallies were got out and gone the night before, and the Great Master had in Aprill called home his gallies, wherewith and ten others of his owne he afterwards defended the frontiers of his Island. As for the rest of the fleet that stayed for the Generall and the Admirall, some few gallies escaped by flight, othersome ran themselves aground, ten of which were presently taken by the Turkes, as were the rest also that were left,

Part of the Christian fleet oppressed at Zerbi by the sudden coming of the Turke.

although they for a while did what they might to haue saued themselves. The night following the Viceroy and the Admirall secretly stole out of the castle, and so by good fortune in two small frigots fled to *MALTA*. *Caruanus* also the Moore king, with the prince of *TUNES*, got them away into the maine. *Gonzaga* the Viceroy departing from *MALTA* into *SICILIA*, provided as he might for the safetie of that countrey. *Auria* in the meane time gathered together the remainder of the disperfed fleet, hauing lost in this vnfortunat expedition seuentene gallies, with a great part of the ships.

Now in the castle was left as Generall *Don Aluarius de Sandes*, a valiant gentleman of great spirit and long experience, with five thousand footmen, some Germanes, some Italians, but for the most part Spaniards; besides a thousand other that were no souldiors. So that the Turkes beginning to besiege the same the seuenteenth of May, were by them many times notably encountered, and in their assaults repulsed. Vnto this siege at length came *Dragut* the pyrat, who with fifteen great pieces which he brought with him from *TRIPOLIS*, encreased the furie of the Turkes batterie. Neither were the Christians in the meane time wanting vnto themselves, hauing in the castle fortie great pieces of artillerie, wherewith they slew a number of the Turkes and Moores: and sometimes falling out, fought with them hand to hand; and hauing slaine and wounded many, retired againe into the castle. In this manner the siege continued three months with many an hot and desperat skirmish: during which time, nothing more troubled the defendants than thirst in that hot and drie climat and intemperat time of the yeare: for why in the castle there was but one great cesterne, which although it yielded some good store of water, yett was it not ynough to suffice so great a multitude, but was by measure still sparingly giuen out vnto the souldiors so farre as it would serue, no man hauing more allowed him than would suffice to keepe him alieue: the quantitie wherof some augmented by distilling of the sea water, and mingling it with their allowance, and so well eased their thirst, vntill such time as hauing spent all lying vpon the ground halfe dead, gaping and still crying out nothing but water, water; into whose drie mouths, if any man vpon compassion vouchsafed to poure a litle water, they as men reuiued therewith would presently sit vp, vntill that for thirst they fell downe againe, and so at length as men roasted gaue vp the ghost. Thus many died daily, beside them whom the chance of warre and other diseases without helpe consumed in so great a distresse. *Don Aluarius* the Gouverneur considering the great extremitie they were now brought vnto, attempted with *Don Sanchez de Leyua* Admirall of the Neapolitane gallies, *Bellingerius de Requesens* Admirall of the Sicilian gallies, and some others by night to haue escaped away into a gallic which lay vnder the castle, but in doing thereof were perceived by the Turkes, and so all taken. VVherupon such souldiors as sicknesse and the enemies sword had yett left alieue, pinched with extreame necessitie, forsaken of their best capitaines, and out of all hope of releefe also, couenancing their liues only with the enemye, yielded themselves into most miserable captiuitie. In this vnfortunat expedition perished about eightene thousand Christians, some with sicknesse, some drowned, but most slaine, beside the losse of a great part of the fleet also.

Of this victorie *Piail* sent newes by one of his gallies to *CONSTANTINOPLE*, which for the more manifesting thereof, dragged at the poupe thereof a great ensigne of the Christians, with the picture of Christ crucified therein. VVhich was no soone come into the haven, but that the rumour of the ouerthrow of the Christians was forthwith blowne through the whole citie, the Turkes exceedingly rejoycing one with another for the newes of so great a victorie: yea many of them not so contented, came by heapes to the gate of the house where the emperor *Ferdinands* embassadour lay, and there meeting with his seruants, by way of derision asked them, if they had any brethren, kinsmen, or friends in the Spanish fleet at *ZERBI*, for if you haue (said they) you shall shortly see them here. Besides that, they with many words most insolently bragged of their owne valour, and scorned the cowardise of the Christians, asking who were able to withstand them, now that the Spaniards was also ouercome. All which with much more the embassadours men with great griefe were enforced to heare; but there was no remedie, seeing God had so appointed it. Shortly after, in September, the victorious fleet returned to *CONSTANTINOPLE*, dragging with it the prisoners, spoiles, and gallies of the Christians, a sight no lesse pleasant vnto the Turkes, than heauie vnto the Christians: and that night it lay at anchor neere vnto the rocks in the face of the citie, with the greater pompe and glorie to come the next day into the haven. At

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which

The castle of Zerbi besieged by the Turke.

Don Aluarius with the rest of the cheefe commanders taken prisoners.

The castle of Zerbi yielded vnto the Turke.

The Turke with victorie returned to Constantinople.

which time *Solyman* himselfe was come downe into a gallerie nere vnto the hauens mouth, ad-
joyning vnto his garden, the better to see the comming in of the fleet, and the Christian captains
set there to shew vpon the poupe of the Admirall gallic, namely, *Don Aluarus de Sandes*, *Don*
Sanchius de Leyua, and *Don Bellingerus de Requesenes*, all of late great commaunders: as for the
Christian gallies all disarmed and vntrigged, so to seeme the more contemptible in companie
of the Turkes, they were towed at the taile of the Turkes gallies. They which then saw *Solyman*
countenance, perceiued not in him any signe at all of any insolent joy. I my selfe (sayth *Busbe-*
quius, then the emperour *Ferdinands* embassadour there) saw him two dayes after going to the
church with the same countenance he had alwayes, with the same seueritie and grauitie, as if this
victorie had nothing concerned him, nor any thing chanced strange or vnexpected: so capable
was the great heart of that old sire of any fortune, were it neuer so great, and his mind so settled, as
to receive so great applause and rejoycing without mouing. Within a few dayes after the Chri-
stian captiues (before almost starued with hunger) were brought to the Court: many of whom
could scarce stand vpon their legs, some others for weakenesse fell downe and fainted, and other-
some died outright: they were all scornfully led in triumph, with their Armes disordered & scorn-
fully put vpon them: the Turkes in the meane time insulting round about them, promising vnto
themselves the empire of the whole world: and vainely asking, What enemy they were to
feare, now that the Spaniard was overcome. *Aluarus Sandes*, as cheefe of all the prisoners, being
brought into the Diuano before the Visier Bassaes, and demanded by *Rustan Bassa*, What his
master meant, being not able to defend his owne, to inuade other mens? answered, That it be-
came not him to judge thereon; and himselfe to haue done but his dutie, with such faithfulness as
was meet to put in execution what he was commaunded by his lord, although he had no good
fortune therein. After that, he besought the Bassaes vpon his knee, to speak for him vnto *Solyman*,
for that he had at home a poore wife, with certaine small children, for whom he requested him
to spare him. Whereunto *Rustan Bassa* (contrarie to his manner) courteously answered, his Soue-
raigne to be of a mild and gentle nature, and that he was in good hope his pardon might bee of
him obtained: so was he commaunded away vnto *Caradines* his castle, towards the blacke sea.
But he was not gone farre, but that he was called backe againe; for that the Great Chamberlain,
a man in great credit with *Solyman*, had not as yet seene him: for which cause hee was sent for
backe againe; wherewith he was not a little troubled, fearing least the Bassaes hauing changed
their minds, would haue put him to death. The rest of the captiues of the better sort were com-
mitted to the castle of *Pera*, and amongst them *Don Sanchius de Leyua*, with his two base sons,
and also *Don Bellingerus Requesenes*: which two great men, with *Don Aluarus de Sandes*, were
neuerthelesse afterwards with much adoe and almost beyond all hope, at the request of the em-
perour, and by the dexteritie of his embassadour, by *Solyman* set at libertie; although he had be-
fore denied them vnto *Saluat* the French kings embassadour, who had beene an earnest inter-
cessour for them. Yet before they were deliuered out of prison, the Muphti or Turkes great
priest was asked his opinion, Whether it were lawfull for a greater number of Turkes to ex-
change a few Christian captiues (for the embassadour beside the rewards he had promised vnto
the Bassaes, to further the matter; had also vnderaken, that fortie common prisoners of the
Turkes should be set at libertie for them) whereunto the Muphti answered; That the doctors
of their law were of diuers opinions concerning that question, some saying that it was lawfull,
and some not; howbeit as then it was by him resolved vpon vnto the more fauourable part, and
the exchange allowed.

There were among the prisoners taken at *Zembri*, besides these noble men of whom we haue
before spoken, two other noble gentlemen right honourably borne, *Don John* of *Cardona*
Don Bellinger his sonne in law, and *Don Gasto* the duke of *Medina* his sonne, to whom yet but
a youth his father neuerthelesse had giuen an honourable place in the armie. Of these two *Don*
John had wisely taken order for a great summe of money to be left in the island of *Chio*; by the
way as the Turkes fleet went to *Constantinople*, from whence he afterwards in safetie got
into *Spain*. But *Gasto* was by *Piall Bassa* (vpon hope of a great raunsome) purposely hid out of
the way, which had like to haue wrought his destruction: for *Solyman* hauing gotten an ink-
ling thereof by the instigation of *Rustan*, laboured for nothing more than to haue *Gasto* found
out, so to haue a more iust occasion for the putting of *Piall* to death, being taken tardie in so ma-
nifest a fault. But all that labour was spent in vaine, *Gasto* being by death taken away, but whe-
ther

ther by the plague (as some reported) or by *Piall* his meanes (as it was more like) least the truth
should be found out, is vncertaine. But certaine it was, that being with great care sought for by
the duke his fathers seruants, he could neuer be heard of more: So that it was thought *Piall* for
the safegard of his owne life, not to haue spared *Gasto* his prisoners life. Who neuerthelesse for
a long time liued in great feare, and not daring to come to *Constantinople*, took occasion
with a few gallies to wander about amongst the islands of *Egeum*, as if he had there something
to doe: but indeed so shunning the sight of his angrie lord, for feare he should haue been com-
pelled in bonds to haue answered the matter. Vntill at length he appeared at the request of *Su-*
leiman Bassa (the eunuch and *Solymans* great chamberlaine) and of *Selymus*, *Solymans* son, granted
him his pardon in these words well worth the marking out of the mouth of an infidell prince:
Well haue he from me pardon and forgiveness for so great an offence: but let God the most iust re-
uenger of villanies take of him due punishment after this life. So fully he seemed to be persua-
ded that no euill deed ought to remaine without punishment, either in this life or in the life
to come.

There was in this expedition a Colonell of the Turkes well acquainted with *Busbequius* the
emperours embassadour, then lying at *Constantinople*, whose hands (in that dif-
comfiture of the Christians) by chance was come the imperiall ensigne of the gallies of *Na-*
ples; wherein within the compasse of an Eagle, were contained the armes of all the prouinces
belonging to the kingdome of *Spain*. Which faire ensigne the embassadour vnderstanding
him to purpose to giue for a present vnto *Solyman*, thought good to present the matter, and to
get it from him: which he easily obtained, by sending him two suites of silke (such as the Turkes
make reckoning of) for it: so providing that one of the imperiall enignes of *Charles* the fifth,
should not to the eternall remembrance of that overthrow, remaine still with the enemies of the
Christian religion. This so miserable calamitie receiued by the Christians at *Zembri*, made that
iland, before little or nothing spoken of, to be euer since famous.

About this time to end this vnfortunat yeare withall, the five and twentieth day of Nouember
died *Andreas Auria* (that second *Neptune*) being ninetie foure yeares old: a man in his time of
great fame, and of the greatest princes of that age had in no small reputation, but especially of
Charles the fifth, in whose seruice he did much for the benefit of the Christian common weale,
being for most part imployed in his greatest warres against the Turkes and Moores. Yet amongst
all the notable things done to his immortal glorie, the kindnesse by him shewed vnto his native
countrie was greatest; which oppressed by the French, he set at libertie: and when he might
haue taken vpon him the sole gouernment thereof (as had diuers others before him) moderating
his desires, and respecting the onely good thereof, appeased the great dissention that had of long
ruigned therein; and established such a forme of gouernment, confirmed with so good and whol-
some lawes and orders (no mans libertie infringed) as that it hath euer since to his eternall praise
in great wealth, state, and libertie, thereby flourished. Vnto whose remembrance (for that we
haue before of him much spoken in the course of this historie) I thought it not amisse to ioyne
the liuely counterfeite of his reuerend aged countenance, by nature framed answerable vnto his
noble vertues.

ANDREAS

1021



*Genua quem genuit, genui quam deinde vicissim,
Avria qui merui Carolo sub Casare quinto,
Turcarum terror, Piratarumq; Subactor,
Barbara quem sensi tellus, & capta Thunissa,
Arx & Aphrodisium, Morea;q; vrbs celsa Corone;
Mors rapuit Lustris decies prope quinque peractis.*

As Genua me begat, so I prefer'd the same:
And serving vnder Charles the fift, exalted haue my name.
A terror to the Turkes I was, I brought the pyrats low:
And spoiling their Barbarian coast, made them by force to know
Faile TVNES and strong APHRODIS, both by my helpe were wqon:
And CORONE in MOREA, by me was ouertun.
So hauing spent ninetie foure yeares in treading honours trace:
Full fraught with honour and with yeares, I ended haue my race.

1561

A great ship-
wrecke.

The Turkes the year following, with their gallies robbed and spoiled diuers places vpon the M
coasts of ITALIE, SICILIE, and MALTA: against whom Phillip king of SPAINE sending
forth his gallies by force of tempest lost twentie five of them; the eighteenth day of Nouember,
together with Mendoza admirall of that fleet.

Ferdinand the emperor, hauing with long sute and much entreating obtained peace of So-
lyman

A *lyman*, and being now well stricken in yeares, and carefull both of the state of the churche and of
the aduancement of his posteritie, began to deale with the princes Electors for a choice to be
made of a king of the Romans; who after his death might without the trouble of a new election
succeed him in the empire: commending vnto them his sonne *Maximilian*, a prince of great
hope, then king of BOHEMIA. VV hereupon an assemble of the princes Electors was appea-
red to bee holden at FRANKFORD, who there meeting at the appointed tyme with general
consent the 24 day of Nouember in the year 1562, chose *Maximilian* the emperor, some
king of the Romans, and with all the accustomed solemnities crowned him: who also the year
after was at PRAGUE on the eight of September with much solemnitie crowned king of HUN-
GARY. Vnto this solempne assemble of the empire at FRANKFORD, *Solyman* the Turkish em-
perour sent *Ibrahim Bassa*, other wise called *Ibrahim* son of *Tata* Polonias borne of whom we
haue before spoken: his embassadour with presents and letters to *Ferdinand* the emperor, to
confirm the peace for eighty yeares betwixt them before concluded, who the thirteenth day of
Nouember in presence of the emperor, the king of the Romans, and all the princes Electors
had audience: where, after much glorious speech in setting forth his masters goodwille, with his
loue towards the emperor and his sonne the new chosen king, as willing vnto them all happi-
nesse, he deliuered his letters of credence vnto the emperor, the people whereof made not thought
amisse here to set downe, for that therein is notably to be seen the most insolent pride of that
barbarous prince, and miserable state of the reuekingdome of HUNGARY, decided as it were
at his pleasure betwixt him and the emperor.

1562

Maximilian
chosen king of
the Romans, and
after crowned
king of HUN-
gary.

Solyman by his
embassadour con-
firmeth a peace
with Ferdinand
the emperor for
eighty yeares.

C I the lord of lords, ruler of the East and of the West, who am of power to doe what I will, to
sooner please me, lord of all GREECE, PERSIA, and ARABIA, commander of all things which
can be subiect to king and command, the great worthy of these times, and strong champion of the
most wide world, lord of all the white and blacke sea, and of the holy citie of MECHA (shining with
the brightnesse of God; and of the citie of MEDINA, and of the holy and chaste citie of IERUSALEM),
king of the most noble kingdome of EGIPTE, lord of IONIA, and of the citie of ATHENS, SENAV,
of the sacred temple of God, BABYLON and BASOR, RETHSAN and MADODIN, the seat and
throne of the great king NASHIN, RETRAM, and lord of the island of ALGERIE; prince of the king-
domes of TARTARIE, MESOPOTAMIA, MEDIA, of the Georgians, MOREA, ANAVOPE,
D ASIA, ARMENTA, WALACHIA, MOLDAVIA, and of all HUNGARY, and of many other
kingdomes and territories, whereof I am emperor, the most mightie Monarch *Sultan Solyman*,
sonne of the great emperor *Sultan Selym*, who haue power from God to rule all people with a bridle,
and strength to breake open the gates and bars of all cities and strong places: into whose mightie hand
are deliuered all the ends of the world, none excepted: I the ruler of the East, from the Island of TEBER
vnto the farthest bounds of AFRICA, whom God hath appointed a mightie warrior in the edge of
the sword: amongst whose most mightie kingdomes the impregnable citie of CASABAX is reputed
for the least, and in whose hereditarie dominions the kingdome or empire of Alexander the Great is
accounted as a trifle: with me is the strength of the whole world, and vertue of the firmament: For
as much as thou king Ferdinand, which art the mightie lord of Christendome; and the chosen vessell
of the mightie Christian faith, created and elected emperor of the Romane people, of BOHEMIA,
E VANDALIA, CRABATIA, and many other countries king and lord &c. Not long since sent vnto
our court (which is the refuge of all kings, the protection and sanctuarie of all that flie thereunto, and
the throne of grace for all princes of these times which repaire vnto it): one *Augerius Busbeck*, thy
faithfull counsellour and embassadour, with letters of confederation, to renew with vs a peace; and re-
enter into a further league and bond of amitie: which letters beare date the yeare from the prophet Ie-
su (vpon whom and our prophet Mahomet rest the brightnesse and peace of God) 1562; the first day
of Iune, requesting of vs, That granting you peace for eighty yeares, we would not with any hostilitie
hereafter molest your cities, castles, countries, or subiects, but to suffer them to liue in secure peace
and tranquillitie, &c. Vnto which your petition we answered you, That from henceforth for the whole
space of eighty yeares shall be betwixt vs on both parts to be continued a new, true, and firme league:
of which agreement, peace, and confederation, these shall be the conditions. First, That our beloued
shall be bound to send yearly to our court as a pledge of this league thirtie thousand Hungarian duc-
kass, with that remainder which you owe vnto vs for the two yeares last past: for which wee promise
vnto you, that we from henceforth during this eighty yeares league, will take no part either by way of
hostilitie.

hostilitie or friendship with king Iohns sonne, for as much as belongeth to his hereditarie country, whether they be in the heber part of HUNGARIE, or on the further side of TISSA; all which for all that, by law of armes belongeth to us. And the same king Iohns sonne in time of this eight years league shall be also bound in such sort to performe unto us his obedience, as that from henceforth he shall not be lawfull for him to use any warre or hostilitie against you, neither to trouble your subiects with fire or sword, nor to surpris your cities, castles, or townes, or by violence to take away or part of your people or subiects, their sheepe, their cattell, their goods, money, or revenues. We also our selues shall have no right, nor take occasion to drawe away your people, to burne your countries, or carrie away any captiues; but rather in this eight yeares space religiously keepe peace and concord with you, and vnder these conditions of peace shall also be comprehended, Michael Balasclaus, Nicholas Bathon, with all their goods and territories, and diuers other such like, which shall be subiect vnto you and king Iohns sonne. To be breefe, if happily any of yours or king Iohns sonnes subiects shall haue now before in time of warre thrust one another out of his goods, lands, or possessions, wherof new quarrels or discord may arise; we will and decree, that all such controuersies, quarrels, and claims shall be deferred vntill the definite time of the league be expired. Beside, if by chance any dissention shall hereafter arise betwixt vs about our iurisdiction, which can by no means be composed and ordered; we will that yours shall in the mean time remaine at yours, and ours at ours, all contention or enmitie set apart also many townes situate here and there by Danubius and Tatta shall be suffered to use the same law which they did in former times, so that the soldiers which are yet in garrison in the castle of Tatta shall haue no right to infest or vex those townes situate neere vnto Danubius. Furthermore, if after this peace concluded, any of your noble men or gentlemen shall fortune to haue any of our noblemen by reuolt or other occasion whatsoeuer, captiues, they shall dismisst them and set them at libertie, to retorne vnto their friends freely without hurt or ranfome; that so the concord and peace begun betwixt vs, may be the more firmly kept, and our subiects live in more securitie. All and euery one of these things we graunt and promise to be of vs from henceforth vntill the end of the aforesaid eight yeares, without all fraud or guile religiously obserued and kept; and for that purpose haue caused these our letters of this peace and confederation to be published from our royall pallace: and moreover, haue not only provided, that the copie of the same should together with our edict be proclaimed to all and euery the generals, capitaines, lieutenants of our armies, both by sea and land in all parts of our empire, and to all our mercenarie souldiours, but haue also straightly commanded, that it shall be firmly and sincerely kept. We will also, that this agreement of peace and amitie shall comprehend and concerne our two cheefe Gouernours or Vayvods of WALLACHIA and MOLDAVIA, so that none of your people of HUNGARIE, CRABATIA, SCLAVONIA, or other your countries or islands whatsoeuer, shall in any sort be molested or greued by our subiects. And if it shall fortune that some shall on your part out of their castles, set vpon our subiects, or by force take away their goods, the same men shall in any case be bound to make thereof restitution. Also if any shall flie from vs and carrie away with them the money or goods of their masters whom they serued, or if the like shall be done by any of yours flying to vs; then the same goods on both parts are to be of right demaunded and recovered againe, and the fugitives to the example of others to be corrected and punished: for as much as fugitives goods of right appertain vnto their lords and masters. Furthermore it shall be lawfull for your capitaines and commanders to fortifie or build castles, cities or townes in the borders of HUNGARIE, and to put into the same victuall, armor, or such like, but so that they do none of these things out of their owne limits. And during the time of this league it shall not be lawfull to take or carrie away any of your subiects prisoners either in HUNGARIE or other place of your iurisdiction: which for all that, if it shall by any chance happen, that then such captiues without delay be suffered safely to retorne home againe. Furthermore whatsoeuer Christian shall haue any businesse to do in our magnificent Court or any part of our dominions, as are embassadors, officers, seruants, and such others: vnto all these we not onely graunt and permit, that they may come and go about their businesse, and so againe depart from our court or prouinces; but also haue willed and commanded, them to be well and courteously entreated by our subiects, and furthered with the interpretation of our language. And if it shall fortune any contention or discord to arise betwixt our subiects on either side, about the bounds and limits of lands or other such like causes: such controuersies we will to be decided and determined by discreet and indifferent men on both parts; and the authors of such discord and variance, to be punished as suspected persons and breakers of the league. We also prohibit those skirmishes or combats, which were wont to be sometimes on both sides made vpon the borders. And desire, that the forme of this league and peace, and euery article thereof, may be

publickly

A publickly read and set up in sundrie places of your dominions; and commaundement giuen, that they may with due obedience and reuerence be obserued and kept. which we likewise haue now before promised faithfully, and assuredly to performe: and your embassadour whom a few moneths agoe you sent vnto vs, in your name requested the same thing of vs, and hath with earnest prayers moued vs by imperiall oath and these letters of credence, to witnesse, that we did ratifie and confirme the same; as if we our selues should speake to you in presence. Wherefore we haue giuen to him these our letters of pacification to you directed, that your generals, souldiours, and subiects, may be bound also to obserue and keepe all these things: wherefore, so long as nothing contrarie to this league shall be done on your part; so long in like manner, all these articles of peace shall be of me accepted and assured. For witnesse and confirmation whereof, I sweare this oath: By the true and liuing creator of heauen and earth, by the true signes of our great and reuerend prophet, by my imperiall power; and by my true faith; that nothing contrarie or repugning vnto the aforesaid articles, conditions, and promises of the eight years league agreed vpon betwixt vs, shall be attempted or done by any of our Gouernours, Generals, Vayvods, &c. Commanding moreover, all our sworne gouernours of our most mightie empire, in WALLACHIA, and MOLDAVIA, and king Stephen himselfe; and others which haue the gouernment of our empire confining vpon you, that they all and euery of them as well as our selues, shall iustly faithfully, and religiously, accept, reuerence, and keepe these conditions of peace, towards your subiects, cities, castles, townes, and other things appertaining to you; and in the least thing, not to hurt, iniurie, or wrong any your subiects. In brieft, we shall as farre as our part concerneth vs, giue vnto this most mightie and great new made lone and friendship, so great honour, reuerence, and authoritie, that that C which may giuen in the least things be had, shall not on our part be wanting. In token whereof, we haue suffered certaine Christian captiues, whom by your embassadour you requested to haue set at libertie, frankly to retorne vnto you without ranfome; out of which captiuitie they could neuer haue been redeemed, if in regard of this our amitie and friendship we had not granted them libertie: trusting that you will in like sort set at libertie such of ours as you haue captiues. Giuen at our imperiall pallace and seat in the most mightie cite of CONSTANTINOPLE, the first day of September, in the yeare of our great and reuerend prophet 969.

The same embassadour, after he had deliuered these letters, presented vnto the emperour the gifts he had brought from his Great master: which was two great cups of naturall cristall, curiously wrought, and set with stones of great price: a courageous Turke horse, with a saddle and trappings wrought with gold, and set with pretious stones, and garnished with chaines of pure gold: and foure of the fairest camels that were to be got in all CONSTANTINOPLE. In deliuering of which presents, the Bassa made his excuse, that the horse and camels had lost their beautie, being with foure moneths trauell from CONSTANTINOPLE, growne somewhat leane and wearie.

This peace thus concluded betwixt the emperour Ferdinand and Solyman, held firme vntill the death of Ferdinand, who about two yeares after in the yeare 1564 vpon S. James his day died, being sixtie yeares old: wherof hee reigned as emperour not full seauen yeares. In whose place succeeded Maximilian his sonne, before chosen king of the Romans. But immediately after the death of Ferdinand, the capitaines on the frontiers of that part of HUNGARIE which was holden for the emperour on the one side; and the Turkes capitaines with the Vayvod of TRANSILVANIA on the other side, wearie of their ease, began contrarie to the forme of the league to surpris strong holds and towne one in anothers confines, wherof ensued much trouble: The author whereof was Melchior Balas, the emperours lieutenant in that part of HUNGARIE which bordereth vpon TRANSILVANIA, who first surpris certaine townes vpon the frontiers thereabouts: in reuenge wherof, the Vayvod suddenly set vpon SACMAA, a town in the emperours territorie which he tooke; and therein Balas his wife and children. In despite wherof, Balas ransacked and burnt DEBRZIN, a great towne of the Vayvods. But not long after, the Vayvod Solymans vassall, and aided by him with foure thousand Turkes and three thousand Moldauians, did much harme vpon the frontiers of that part of HUNGARIE which belonged to the emperour, and first tooke HADOB; and afterwards besieged VNOAR. In requitall wherof, Maximilian the emperour sent Lazarus Sündt, a valiant captaine, who with an armie of eight thousand, besieged the strong castle of TOKAY, which he tooke the fift of February, in the yeare 1565; and after that, tooke the rich towne of ERDEN. In the meane time Solyman,

Presents from
Solyman to the
emperour Fer-
dinand.

1564
The death of the
emperour Fer-
dinand.

Now troubles in
Hungary.

1565

lyman, who had in himself fully purposed to be reuenged of all these injuries (as well appeared by that he did the year following) to stay the emperor from proceeding farther, vntill such time as he were at better leisure to be reuenged (for as then he was making great preparation for MALTA) sent *Marcus Lilius* a renegat Transiluanian of *CIBINIVM*, his embassadour to *Maximilian*, to put him in remembrance of the league made with his father, and to wish him to haue regard how he further proceeded to the breach thereof. Whereupon the emperor, because he would not seeme vnwilling to hearken to peace, commaunded his lieutenants and capitaines no more to invade *TRANSILVANIA*, or that part of *HUNGARIE* which the Turkes held. Howbeit that, whilest this embassadour was thus intreating of peace at *VIENNA*, the Bassa of *TEMBESVAR* in the borders of *TRANSILVANIA*, made diuers incursions into the borders of *HUNGARIE*, and with six thousand souldiours besieged the strong castle of *IVLA*, and the Turkes in great number came daily into *TRANSILVANIA*. At which time also, *Suendi* General of *Maximilian* his forces vpon the frontiers, by messengers sent for that purpose, wished him not to giue any credit vnto the Turkes embassadour, who meaning nothing but warre, vnder the colour of peace sought nothing else but to take him vpon the sudden vnprovided. Neither ceased these troubles thus, but daily grew from euill to worke: for in Iune the Transiluanians besieged *ERDEN*, before taken by the imperials, and after two moneths siege had it yielded vnto them. In the meane time, *Chernouich* the emperours embassadour to *Solyman* returned from *CONSTANTINOPLE*, assuring him, that the great Turk for all his faire shewes of peace, meant in deed nothing but wars, for which he was (as he said) making great preparation both by sea and land. Whereupon the emperor began to raise more forces: which thing diuers noble men, both of *GERMANIE* and other places hearing of, came vnto him with their followers; and amongst others, *Romeyus* one of the knights of *MALTA*, and diuers others of his brethren, with sue companies of souldiours well appointed, sent thither by *George Hochenheime*, graund prior of that Order in *GERMANIE*, and then confirmed one of the princes of the empire. At the same time also, the Turkes being busie vpon the borders of *SYRIA* and the places thereabouts, were many times cut off by *Charles* the archduke; who taking them at an aduantage, slew at one time three thousand of them. Yet for all this, the Turkes embassadour was still at *VIENNA* intreating for peace, and so cunningly handled the matter, that whereas *Eccius Salma*, a noble and valiant capitaine, had corrupted the chiefe iudge with certain others of *ALBA REGALIS*, to haue betrayed the citie vnto him; for performance whereof, they had deliuered their wiues and children as hostages, and he was now vpon his way from *RAB*, which is but eight miles off, in an assured hope to haue surprised the citie: he was suddenly by letters in post from the emperor called backe againe, for corrupting the hope conceiued of peace: and so was that notable designment vnfortunatly disappointed; of which practise the Turkes hauing knowledge, afterwards most cruelly executed fortie of the conspirators, impaling some of them vpon sharpe stakes, and hanging others vpon yron hooks by the jawes vntill they were dead. Shortly after the Turkes tooke *NAOSTAT*, which was not long after againe recouered by the emperor.

At the same time one of the Turkes spies was taken at *ZIGETH*, who but thirteene daies before was sent from *CONSTANTINOPLE*, of purpose to view the strength and situation of that place: hee being brought before *Charles* the archduke and examined, said, That *Solyman* would assuredly the next Spring come in person himselfe into *HUNGARIE*, to besiege the strong castles of *ZIGETH* and *IVLA*. At which time also, countie *Serinus* tooke certaine other of the Turkes spies, by whom he was certainly aduertised of *Solymans* comming the next yeare; and amongst others *Scaphir Fayda*, the Bassa of *BUDA* his chiefe counsellor. Beside this, the countrey men (contributors both to the imperials and the Turkes) were now straightly commaunded by the Turkes, to pay no more contribution money vnto the imperials; whereupon it was easily gathered, that all that talke of peace, was as *Suendi* had oftentimes written, nothing else but to delay the time, and to put them in securitie. Beside that, the Turkes made incursions daily into one place or other of the emperours territories, shewing their auiditie here, and lowing by those light skirmishes, as it were, the seed of a greater warre against the next Spring, which the emperor now out of doubt of (being also warned thereof by many letters from his friends) put strong garrisons into his frontier towns, especially into *RAB* and *ZIGETH*. But knowing that to be but a poore helpe against so puissant an enemy, he resolved as his father and vncle had done before, to rest vpon the strength of the empire, and against the next yeare to call a general assembly

The Turkes purposing warre, craftily sue for peace.

A assembly of the princes of the empire at *AVOVSIA*, for the better withstanding of the common enemy. The warres thus beginning againe in *HUNGARIE*, *Solyman* at the same time in reuenge of the manifold harmes done vnto his subjects by the knights of *MALTA*, whose hand he found euier against him in all his dealings with the other Christian princes, made great preparation on both by sea and land: purposing (as seemed by the manner thereof) to haue tased the memoriall of those worthie men from off the earth. Whereunto, beside the naturall hatred which he bare against all Christians in generall, and them about the rest in particular, he was much incited by *Cassanes*, *Barbarossa* his sonne King of *ALGERES*, and *Dragut* gouernour of *TRIPOLIS*: by whose perswasions he caused a strong fleet to be rigged vp, commaunding the lieutenants and gouernours of his ports and hauens all alongst the sea coast, to put to their helping hands, and to be readie against the next Spring. And not long after, vnderstanding partly of his owne certaine knowledge, and partly by the relation of others, in what good forwardnesse things were: he calling together a great assembly of his greatest princes and men of warre, deliuered vnto him his mind as followeth.

What thing I haue this fortie yeares alwaies wished, which was to haue so much leisure from other warres, as to plucke out of their nests and vterly to root out these Crossed pirats, which vaunt themselves to be the bulwarke of Christendome: that same, me thinke I haue by the fauour of God and Muhamed his prophet, at this time obtained. For we haue so repressed the attempts of the Persians, that they cannot let vs: and in *HUNGARIE*, from whence certaine dreadfull motions were reported, we our selues will shortly doe those things which shall enforce our enemies to hide their heads in the heart of *GERMANIE*, and to sue to vs for peace. You your selues daily heare the pittifull complaints of our subiects and merchants, whom these Maltēses, I say not souldiours, but pirats, if they but looke into those seas, spoile and make prixe of: whose iniuries to reuenge, all lawes both of God and man require. Neither can any thing happen vnto me more pleasing or more honourable, than if I may before I die, accomplish those things, that is, to win *MALTA*, and to leaue all things in order in *HUNGARIE* and *POLONIA*: except perhaps some man thinke it a harder matter for vs to thrust these Crossed companions from the rocks of *MALTA*, than for our ancestors to haue driuen them from *BERVSALLEM*, and so quite out of *SYRIA*, and for our selues to haue forced them out of the strong island of the *RHODES*. But this some will say, is neuer vnto *ITALIE* from whence aid may easily be sent, and the place defended by a fleet. Beleeue me, they will neuer adventure to fight with vs at sea, who remember themselves to haue been there so often by vs ouerthrowne: beside that, so little a place cannot containe any great garrison; neither if it could, could it long feed them. Wherefore vnto this expedition, we haue determind with the first of the Spring, to send a most strong fleet: and euen now we haue already commaunded all our sea captaines and aduenturers which acknowledge our commaund, to be there present with their ships. The king of *ALGERES* will be there, the garrisons of *ALEXANDRIA* are in readinesse, so is also *Dragut* with his appointed fleet; as for our owne, it is by mine owne direction rigged up: vnto which fleet I doubt not, but that all the strength of the west will giue place: which thing (worthie captaines) we speake, trusting vpon the helpe of almighty God, and Muhamed his great prophet, with your knowne and approved Valour. Now remaineth onely, that euerie one of you thinke with vs, how this warre may best be managed, and so to referre your desires vnto vs: which that you may the better doe, Loe, I here deliuer vnto you the situation of the whole island, and proiect of all their fortifications, which wee haue receiued of most expert and skilfull men.

Solymans purpose thus made knowne, and the matter well considered, after that they which best knew the strong places and manners of the Maltēses, had declared their opinions what they thought to be most expedient, it was decreed, that they should with all speed set forward: wherefore victuall, and other things necessarie for such an expedition, being with wonderfull celeritie prepared, they expected but wind. Of these things, *Io. Valetta* a Frenchman, Graund master of *MALTA* and of the knights of the Order; being both by letters and messengers aduertised (for he had alwaies fit men his intelligencers at *CONSTANTINOPLE*, who warily noted the purposes and actions of *Solyman*) was not afraid, but knowing that of God depended the victorie, and that men were to watch, labour, and force: he assembled a counsell of his knights, and in few words spake vnto them in this sort.

Solyman maketh preparation against the knights of *MALTA*.

Solymans Oration to his captaines for the insurrection of *MALTA*.

Valetta the Grand master aduertised of *Solymans* purpose.

*Valletta his Ora-
tion unto his
knights.*

Solyman the Magnificent,

What Solyman prepareth (most noble and valiant knights) and what a great warre he provideth against us, you with me of late right well understand, wherefore it is needlesse for me to use any long speech with you concerning that matter. The enemy is knowne, his insatiable ambition is knowne, his strength is knowne, and his mortall hate against us and the Christian name, is sufficiently knowne. Wherefore let us all as one first reconcile our selues to God, and then provide all such things as shall be needfull for the warre. In breefe noble knights to reconcile our selues unto God, and to appease his displeasure, two things are of us to be performed: whereof the one consisteth in amendment of life, with a holy conversation: the other in the religious worshipping of him, with a firme and constant trust in his helpe, with prayer, which is called godlinesse. By these meanes our auncestors obtained many victories against the Infidels in the East. Neither is it to be doubted, but if we shall in these things ioyne together, we shall also frustrate all the force and furie of this proud tyrant. But for as much as God usually helpeth them which labour and take paines, and not the negligent and slouthfull, we must of necessitie ioyne unto them those helpes, which both our profession and the course of war requireth: which partly consisteth in our selues, and partly in the other Christian princes. For victuall, armour, money, and other such things as in warres are requisite, we will so provide, that no man shall iustly complaine, that we spare either cost or paines: I will poure out all my store, neither will I for desire of life refuse any danger. As for the Christian princes, I cannot persuade my selfe, that they will lie still in so fit an oportunitie, and in so great a danger, not of our estate onely, but much more of their owne. Verely I will not spare to exhort euery one of them both by letters and by messengers, which in part we haue already done: and I doubt not but wee shall haue aid ynough from the Pope, the Emperour, and the king of Spaine (such is their Christian zeale) and they I hope shall moue the rest. As for you, the princes and very light of this sacred Order, and the rest of our brethren, most valiant knights, I am well assured you will so fight for the most holy Christian religion, for your liues and goods, and for the glory of the Latine name, against a most cruell tyrant, the rooter out of all true religion, of all ciuilitie and good learning, the plague of the world, hated of God and man; as that hee shall feele the sting of the crosse which he so much contemneth, even in the citie of CONSTANTINOPLE, yea in his houses of pleasure. For we shall not haue now to doe with him in the Island of the RHODS, far from the helpe of our friends, from ASIA, from EUROPE, from EGYPT, inclosed with our enemies both by sea and land; but in the eyes of ITALIE and SPAIN, in places strongly fortified, from whence the enemy may easily be circumuented: which that it may so fall out, let us not cease to pray unto Almighty God, and to craue his readie helpe.

*The knights
make preparati-
on for the Turke
comming.*

When the Graund Master had thus said, all that were present promised with one assent rather to lose their liues, than in any part to faile the common cause, or to come into the power of Solyman. After that, publicke prayer and supplication was made in euery church through the Isle, and three colonels chosen out of all the knights: one an Italian surnamed *Imperator*, another *Borneas* a Frenchman, and *Quatrus* a Spaniard the third, all aduised men and most expert fouldiors, who should with all diligence provide all things necessary for the warre. By whose appointment the suburbs and trees which might any way be hurtfull to the fortified places, were ouerthrowne, the fortifications were thorowly viewed, the garrisons strengthened, and all manner of prouision most plentifully distributed: and letters from the Great Master sent vnto the Great Bishop and other Christian princes, requesting their aid against the common enemy. Messengers were also dismissed into diuers places, to certifie both the knights of the Order and others, of the Turkes preparation.

*Solymans fleet
departeth from
Constantinople.*

Solymans fleet departing from CONSTANTINOPLE the two and twentieth day of March in the yeare 1565 kept a direct course towards PELOPONNESVS, and so came to METHON: where *Musapha Bassa* one of the Turkes greatest captaines, a man of 75 yeares, and Generall of the land forces, mustered the armie, wherein were numbred seuen thousand horsemen of them which are of the Turkes called Spahi: out of the lesser ASIA, conducted by the Gouvernour of that countrey, and two lieutenants of CILICIA, five hundred: and of the Island of LESBOS, now called MYTLEN, foure hundred: he had of the Ianizaries foure thousand and five hundred, which they call the Aga, neuer departeth from the citie but when the Sultan goeth himselfe. Besides these, was a certaine kind of men amongst the Turkes, who liue of the reuenues of the church; of them there was in the armie thirteene thousand, who had at CONSTANTINOPLE vowed their

fourth Emperour of the Turks.

A their liues for their superstition. Out of THRACIA and PELOPONNESVS were come two colonels and one lieutenant, with twelue hundred horsemen, and three thousand five hundred volun-
taries out of diuers countries. There also *Piall Bassa*, Solymans Admirall, tooke view of the fleet, wherein were found a hundred and thirte gallics, two and twentie ships for barthen, some greater, some lesser; besides one that was cast away nere vnto METHON, wherein was lost six thousand barrels of powder, thirteene thousand great shot, and foure hundred Spahis: besides these, there were ten gallics from the RHODS, commanded by *Halyport*, a man of seuentie yeares; two gallics of MYTLEN, and about seuentie galliots, and other small pyrate ships. With this strong fleet the Turkes departing from METHON the thirteenth of May, arrived at MALTA the eightene of the same moneth, and put into a haven in the Northeast part of the Isle, which the inhabitants call MARZASIROC: but perceiving themselves not to be there in safety, they removed to another port called MATOR, which is a little further in the North.

*The Turke fleet
arriveth at
Malta.*

The island of MALTA lying betwixt AFRICA and SICILIA, might be doubted whether it were to be accounted in AFRICA or EUROPE, but that the antient Cosmographers, and the Moores language, which the Malteses haue alwayes used, challenge it for AFRICA: it is in length from the Northeast to the Southwest twentie miles; and in the broadest place twelue. Irregardeth AFRICA Southward, oueragainst LEPTIS PARVA; and SICILIA towards the North, but more towards PACHINVM than LILYBVM: and is in circuit about threescore miles. It seemeth to haue taken the name of MALITA of Mel or honey, whereof it yieldeth plenty. The trees there beare fruit twice a yeare, and they haue oftentimes twice harvest, especially of barley and cotten wool; yet is the Isle in some places stonie, grauellie, and bare of wood: neuertheless it beareth figs, apples, almonds, grapes, and other fruit trees; planted by the industrie of man, date trees also, but not fruitfull; it beareth thistles of such bignesse, that the inhabitants vse them for wood: fresh water is there wonderfull scarce, and such wells as they haue are filled with raine in Winter, for in Summer they are either cleane drie, or els the water becometh brackie. The inhabitants are so burnt with the Sunne, that they differ little in colour from the Aethyopians: they are of a wholesome constitution of bodie, spare of diet, industrious, rather painefull than warlike, dying more for age than of sickness: their buildings, except it bee in the citie, which is in the middle of the island; and in the suburbs, are long and low (like vnto the Moores) couered with turfe or reed. It is commonly supposed, that *S. Paule* was by shipwracke cast vpon this island: but it is with greater reason to be thought, that it was the other MALITA in the Adriaticke betwixt CORCYRA and ILLYRIA, and better agreeeth with that which *Luke* writeth of the Apostles trouble and shipwracke in the Adriaticke, out of which sea it is not to be gathered of the text, that *Paule* with the rest were driuen. But againe to our purpose. That side of MALTA which respecteth SICILIA, hath in it many good harbours and commodious hauens, fit for shipping; where beside the port MARZASIROC towards the East, where the Turkes fleet first landed, and the port of S. THOMAS, with another called SCALA, not farre off, it hath two other notable hauens, the one called MATOR, and the other MARZAMOXY, denuded the one from the other by a narrow peece of ground: which with a ridge runneth in length from the South to the North, almost in manner of an island, hauing the haven MATOR on the East, and MARZAMOXY on the West. Vpon the head of this high ridge standeth the castile of S. ELMO, of great strength both by nature and art. As a man entereth into the haven MATOR, vpon the left hand are foure promontories, pointing farre into the haven on that side, almost in manner of islands, making so many bayes: Vpon the first standeth the gallies, whereof also it taketh name: vpon the very point of the second, on a rough and high rocke standeth a most strong castile, called the castile of S. ANGELO, wherunto adjoyneth the towne, separated from the castile onely with a wall and a ditch, and is placed in a hollownesse cut out of the maine rocke, strengthened also with the sea and the industrie of man; and is of some called the Burg, of others the new citie (in this castile resideth the Grand master, and the souldiers in the Burg): vpon the third promontorie standeth another strong castile, which they call also the Burg of S. MICHAEL: the fourth promontorie is not inhabited, from whence the sea runneth alongst the winding banks almost into the midst of the island, vnto a place called A QVA. MARSA. Again, after the port MARZAMOXY, Westward is the harbour S. GIORGIO: and after that another called BENORAT: then followeth the port of S. PAVLE, no lesse than the port MARZASIROC: after which cometh the port called SALINARVM SINVS: but on

*The description
of Malta.*

Acts 27 & 28.

Yyy ij

that side of the island towards AFRICK, is only one port called MILLIARIA: neere vnto the island of MALTA: certaine other little islands, as GAVLOS now GOZO: two other called CVMINTA, and another called PTERR, all subiect to the Malteses.

Thus much I haue thought good to set downe concerning the Turkes fleet, and for the description of those places wherein this great action was performed, the brute whereof then filled the world. Now shall it not be amisse, in like manner to declare vpon what strength, next vnto God, *Valletta* the Graund master stood against so mightie and puissant an enemy. First there was in the island thirteene hundred mercenaries, some Spaniards, some French, some Florentines, and the rest of NAPLES: there was also a thousand seamen of the knights fleet, and five hundred in the towne of *S. Angelo*: and of the countrey people which were fled into the strong places, five thousand, men not altogether vnskilfull of the wars: there was also five hundred knights of the Order, besides priests and squires; for of these three sorts of men, are they which are called brethren of the Order. This was the number of them which defended the castles & towne of *S. Elmo*, *S. Angelo*, and *S. Michael*, wherunto they were proportionably diuided: and in the citie it selfe, which is called *MELITA*, being in the middle of the island, was two hundred souldiours, and as many citizens, with three hundred of the countrey people all horsemen, commanded by *Jo. Vagno* a valiant captaine. Besides this, euery place was furnished with plentie of victuall, armour, weapons, artillerie, and whatsoever else was needfull for the enduring of a long siege, and a warre that should want many things: and that which passed all the rest, minds armed with inuincible courage against whatsoever should chance, which oftentimes maketh of the vanquished, victors. All these things being in readinesse, and orderly disposed, as soone as they understood that seauen and twentie of the Turkes gallies had put into the haven *MARZASIROCK*, and were there landing their men: *Gyon*, Admirall for the Order, a valiant and courageous knight, marched thither with five hundred harquebusiers, to haue skirmished with them; but as soone as the Turkes saw them comming, they retired againe to their gallies. On the other part where the great fleet lay, two hundred of the Turkes going on shoare, met by chance with *Rimerius* a Frenchman, and eight knights moe; who hauing his horse killed vnder him, and one of his companions slaine, fell with the rest into the hands of the enemy. Whilest these things were in doing, a certaine Christian mariner fled out from the Turkes to the citie of *MELITA*, who discovered the enemies purpose, telling them, That the Turkes by the appointment of *Mustapha*, had determined to haue landed the greatest part of their forces, presently to haue besieged some strong place, had not *Piall Bassa* the Admirall exclaimed against it, doubting to be left too weake at sea: saying plainly, That he would attempt nothing before the comming of *Dragut*, who was euery houre expected. For *Solyman* had expressly commanded, that they should doe nothing without his counsell; so great an opinion had he of his pollicie and valour. But whether this his report was true or otherwise, the Turkes for all that, returning with their fleet to the port *MARZASIROCK*, landed twentie thousand souldiours, and five field pieces, and so entrenched themselves. This done, *Piall Bassa* with seauen thousand, went to view the castle of *S. Michael*; but for feare of the great shot, durst not come neere it. Neuerthelesse, they of the towne sallying out, courageously skirmished with the Turkes; in which conflict, *Curselinus* surnamed *Parda*, accompanied but with one Spaniard, so furiously assailed the enemy, that he tooke from him one ensigne, and slew one of the Sanzacks a great commander, with diuers others. When *Piall* was come againe into the campe, the Generall began to consult with the other capitaines, whether it were better to lay siege to the castle of *S. Elmo*, or to the towne of *S. Michael*: in conclusion it was agreed vpon, that they should with all their forces besiege the castle of *S. Elmo*. And going vp the hill to view the castle, they were encountered by the garrison souldiours; in which fight some few were lost on both sides. Thus by degrees, things growing hoater and hoater, the Graund master thought it good to certifie *Garzas* of *TOLEDO*, viceroy of *SICILIE*, how things stood, that he might the sooner rig vp his fleet to come to their rescue. Wherefore he commaunded one gallie to put out of the haven by night, and to passe ouer into *SICILIE* with *Saluagius* one of the knights sent thither on message. In the meane time, the Turkes cast vp a mount to haue battered the castle of *S. Elmo*, and beaten the gallies in the haven *MAIOR*, and so to haue opened a way for their fleet to haue entred: but they were not able long to keepe that mount, for they had scarcely well ended the worke, but it was forthwith by the continuall thundering shot out of the castle, beaten downe againe, which thing greatly abated the Turkes courage.

A rage. About that time, *Ochia* came to the fleet with six ships, drawne out of them which were left for the defence of *ALEXANDRIA*, and in them nine hundred souldiours. The Turkes beaten from their first mount, cast vp another on a higher ground, whereon they placed three great pieces of ordinance; wherewith they annoied not only the haven, wherein the fleet of *MALTA* lay, but the castle of *S. Angelo* also, the Great masters seat; and with a rowling trench drew neerer and neerer vnto the castle of *S. Elmo*: which although they had at first in vaine attempted, hindered by them which were in the castle, yet at last with much labour and travell they brought it to perfection (for the Turkes in that kind of worke, still performed by their multitude, are accounted to excell others): wherfore in short time, they played their great ordinance in such sort, as that they might batter both the castles of *S. Elmo* and *S. Michael*. There was in the Turkes campe a gentleman of *SPAIN*, but then a slaue vnto a Turke, who vnderstanding the enemies purpose for the besieging of the castle of *S. Elmo*, by a Christian fugitive advertised the Great master thereof: whereupon he forthwith sent *Cerda* and *Miranda*, with two companies of Spaniards into the castle, who were afterwards a great strength vnto the castle, and hinderance vnto the enemy. At length came *Dragut*, Gouvernour of *BARBARY*, long looked for of the Turkes, with thirteene gallies; and in them 1600 souldiours: after whom followed ten gallies from *BONA*, and in them two companies. In the meane time, *Saluagius* the worthy knight (before fore into *SICILIE*) came to *MESSANA*, and hauing certified the viceroy, of the state of *MALTA*, was by him commaunded to returne to *MALTA* in a gallie, conducted by two gallies of the Great masters; which hauing brought him neere vnto the island, returned againe into *SICILIE*: but he with his gallie (not without most manifest danger) in the third watch of the night brake into the towne thorow the midst of the enemies fleet, with the losse of but one of his followers. Where hauing deliuered vnto the Great master, what he had in charge from the viceroy, he was the same night sent backe againe by the Great master into *SICILIE*, to certifie the viceroy, That he had need of more aid, requesting him with all speed to send him some supply, whereby he might the better hold out against the force of so great an enemy. *Saluagius* discouraged neither with the labour nor the danger, presently committed himselfe againe to sea; and in short time arriued in the port of *SIRACUSA*, where finding the two gallies we before spake of, he sent them to *MALTA*, as he had in charge: with foure hundred souldiours, amongst whom were diuers of the knights of the Order, and certaine skillfull canoniers: willing them to shun the West part of the island, where as they must needs come into the enemies sight, and to passe by the East end thereof, which was farther about, but safer; and turning Southward, to land in the port *MILLIARE*, and from thence by the low places of the island to conuay the souldiours by night to the citie *MELITA*, which was but foure miles off: from whence they might easily passe vnto the castle of *S. Michael*. This order taken, he went to *MESSANA*, and there declared to the viceroy the danger of the warre, with the small number of the defendants, requesting of him a thousand footmen, which with those already sent, he thought would suffice to hold out the siege, vntill he with his whole fleet might come to releue them. But whilest these things were slowly provided, which with much difficulties and delay could hardly be brought to passe, the Christian princes as it were sleeping in so great a danger: the Turkes vpon the sudden the third of Iune, assaulted the castle of *S. Elmo*, in hope with short scaling ladders to get ouer that part of the rampiers which was neere vnto the bulwarke of the castle. But the defendants, in the ditch which before had no flanker to scour the same, had of earth & sagots made a large strong flanker, from whence the castle also helping them, they valiantly resisted the enemy, and filled the ditches with the dead bodies of the Turkes: Who for all that, trusting to their multitude (wherewith rather than with true valour they obtaine so many victories) thrust still on, vntill they had by obstinate force (although long first) gained the flanker: whereby they commanded all that part of the ditch, towards the port *MARZAMOXER*. In which place they with wonderfull celeritie so fortified themselves, that they could not be hurt by the defendants: wherein they were much holpen by their owne great ordinance, planted on the other side the haven *MARZASIROCK*, for with it they draue the defendants from the place, beat downe the corner of the rampier, and battered the front of the bulwarke, whose height and greatnesse troubled the enemy, but was not so commodious for the defendants, for that it was made without flankers. But night comming on, five thousand of the nine thousand Turkes which gaue the assault, tarried there: wherfore the Christians constrained to forsake the place, retired themselves into the castle. The

that side of the island towards AFRICK, is only one port called MILLIARIA: neere vnto the island of MALTA lie certaine other little islands, as GAVLOS now GOZO: two other called CVMINIA, and another called PIPER, all subject to the Malteses.

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Rimerius with
other knights,
knew of the Turke.

The Turke land.

They of the
castle of S. Michael
skirmish with
the Turke.

rage. About that time, *Ochia* came to the fleet with six ships, drawne out of them which were left for the defence of *ALEXANDRIA*, and in them nine hundred souldiers. The Turkes beaten from their first mount, cast vp another on a higher ground, whereon they placed three great pieces of ordinance, wherewith they annoied not only the haven, whererein the fleet of *MALTA* lay, but the castle of *S. Angelo* also; the Great masters feare, and with a rowling trench drew neerer and neerer vnto the castle of *S. Elmo*: which although they had at first in vaine attempted; hindered by them which were in the castle, yet at last with much labour and travail they brought it to perfection (for the Turkes in that kind of worke; still performed by their multitude, are accounted to excell others): wherfore in short time, they placed their great ordinance in such sort, as that they might batter both the castles of *S. Elmo* and *S. Michael*. There was in the Turkes campe a gentleman of *SPAIN*, but then a slaue vnto a Turke, who vnderstanding the enemies purpose for the besieging of the castle of *S. Elmo*, by a Christian fugitiue advertised the Great master thereof: wherupon he forthwith sent *Cerida* and *Miranda*, with two companies of Spaniards into the castle, who were afterwards a great strength vnto the castle, and hinderance vnto the enemy. At length came *Dragut* Gouverneur of *LEBANT*, long looked for of the Turkes, with thirteene gallies; and in them 1600 souldiers: after whom followed ten gallies from *BONA*, and in them two companies: In the meane time, *Saluagus* the worthy knight (sent before into *SICILIE*) came to *MASSANA*, and hauing certified the viceroy of the state of *MALTA*, was by him commaunded to retire to *MALTA* in a gallie, conducted by two gallies of the Great masters; which hauing brought him neere vnto the island, returned againe into *SICILIE*: but he with his gallie (not without most manifest danger) in the third watch of the night brake into the towne thorow the midst of the enemies fleet, with the losse of but one of his followers. Where hauing deliuered vnto the Great master what he had in charge from the viceroy, he was the same night sent backe againe by the Great master into *SICILIE*, to certifie the viceroy, That he had need of more aid, requesting him with all speed to send him some supply, whereby he might the better hold out against the force of so great an enemy. *Saluagus* discouraged neither with the labour nor the danger, presently committed himselfe againe to sea; and in short time arriued in the port of *SIRACUSA*, where finding the two gallies, he before spake of, he sent them to *MALTA*, as he had in charge: with foure hundred souldiers, amongst whom were diuers of the knights of the Order, and certaine skilfull canoniers: willing them to shun the West part of the island, where as they must needs come into the enemies sight, and to passe by the East end thereof, which was farther about, but safer; and turning Southward, to land in the port *MILLIARIA*, and from thence by the low places of the island to conuay the souldiers by night to the citie *MELITA*, which was but foure miles off; from whence they might easily passe vnto the castle of *S. Michael*. This order taken, he went to *MASSANA*, and there declared to the viceroy the danger of the warre, with the small number of the defendants, requesting of him a thousand footmen; which with those already sent, he thought would suffice to hold out the siege, vntill he with his whole fleet might come to releue them. But whilest these things were slowly provided, which with much difficulties and delay could hardly be brought to passe, the Christian princes as it were sleeping in so great a danger: the Turkes vpon the sudden the third of Iune, assaulted the castle of *S. Elmo*, in hope with short scaling ladders to get ouer that part of the rampiers which was neere vnto the bulwarke of the castle. But the defendants, in the ditch which before had no flanker to scoure the same, had of earth & sagors made a large strong flanker, from whence the castle also helping them, they valiantly resisted the enemy, and filled the ditches with the dead bodies of the Turkes: Who for all that, trusting to their multitude (wherewith rather than with true valour they obtaine so many victories) thrust still on, vntill they had by obstinate force (although long first) gained the flanker: whereby they commanded all that part of the ditch, towards the port *MARZAMOXER*. In which place they with wonderfull celeritie so fortified themselves, that they could not be hurt by the defendants: whererein they were much holpen by their owne great ordinance, planted on the other side the haven *MARZAMOXER*: for with it they draue the defendants from the place, beat downe the corner of the rampier, and battered the front of the bulwarke, whose height and greatnesse troubled the enemy, but was not so commodious for the defendants, for that it was made without flankers. But night comming on, five thousand of the nine thousand Turkes which gaue the assault, carried there: wherfore the Christians constrained to forsake the place, retired themselves into the castle. The

Yyy iij

Turkes

The Turke besiege the castle of S. Elmo.

Dragut comes to aid the Turke.

The Turke assaults the castle S. Elmo.

S. Elmo againe
assaulted.

New supplie sent
into the castle
S. Elmo.

The Great mas-
ter disappointed
of a supplie by
the searfulness
of the shipmas-
ter.

S. Elmo againe
assaulted.

Turkes in the meane time couered with the darkenesse of the night, with sackes filled with tow G and earth, filled vp the ditch which was vnder the bulwarke, but neither of any great wideesse or depth: which done, they gaue a fresh assault, wherein aboue eight hundred of them were slaine, part lanizaries, and part Spachi, and besides them many wounded, of whom the most part remained halfe dead in the ditch, where they perished, and could not be relieved. Of the Christians was lost five and fortie: amongst whom were five knights of the order, *Guardampes* an Auergnois, *Masius* a colonell of *NARBONA*, *Contilia* a Spaniard, *Somaia* a Florentine, and *Neginec* a Germane. The same night the Great master thinking, as reason was, that they in the castle of S. ELMO might want helpe, sent two hundred of his knights and as many other souldi- diors into the castle; who if they had beene moe; together with the foure hundred which were before in the castle, might happily haue driuen the Turkes both from the rampiers and the flanker, and also kept the place longer. But for as much as the Great master wanted souldiours, and had therefore sent *Saluagus* into *SICILIA* for new supplies, as we haue before said; hee in the meane time courageously expected their coming, refusing no labour or paine: yet bewayling sometime with himselfe the vnfortunatenesse of the Christian princes, by whose negligence so fit an occasion for the ouerthrow of the barbarous enemy was let slip: But aboue all things he marvelled exceedingly that no helpe yet came, especially those two galleys which (as we haue said) were in all hast sent by *Saluagus*: but they by the masters default kept not the appointed course; for first whereas they should haue shunned the West part of the isle, and haue turned towards the East, they shaped their course Westward to the island of *GAVLOS*, the master vainly affirming, that he saw certaine of the Turkes galliots lying before port *MILARE*: which was afterwards well knowne not to haue beene so; for the truth was, that he for feare (whereby notable designs are many times frustrated) durst not goe forward. VV hereby it came to passe, that the Great master was disappointed of so necessarie a supplie: which thing much grieved both the viceroy and others, but especially *Saluagus*. For he saw it would come to passe, that if the Turkes should take the castle of S. ELMO, the most assured bulwarke and defence of the island of *MALTA*, the other places must of necessitie be brought into extreame danger, all the way to relieue them being thereby shut vp. And that it might be taken, seemed not to him impossible, the enemy hauing already taken one fort, and laying hard siege almost on euery side of that little pile. The due consideration of these and such like things grieved the minds of skilfull men, especially seeing such slacke preparation in a case requiring such present reliefe. Yet in the K meane time souldiours were taken vp at *ROME* by the commaundement of *Pius Quartus* then Bishop, to be sent to *MALTA*; and by his example to stirre vp other princes to send aid vnto this sacred warre, he gaue a hundred pound of gold to *Cambianus* legat for the Order, and commaunded gunpowder and other necessities for that warre to be taken out of his castle S. ANGELO, that so he might seeme to be wanting in nothing that was in him to performe. Ouer these souldiours, in number six hundred, he appointed *Pompeius Columna* Generall, and commaunded *Camillus Medices* his legat to accompanie him. VVith these went many voluntarie men, of purpose to lay downe their liues for the eternising of their names in so religious a warre, and that with such an ardent desire, as that euery little delay seemed vnto them a yeare. VVherefore coming to *NAPLES*, they there found *Iohn Andreas Auria* with eleuen ships, the prince of *POPVOLIA* with nine, *Lanicus* with three, and three others, set forth by other priuat gentlemen. In these ships were embarked all those footmen which came from *ROME*, and so transported to *MESSANA*, where the kings fleet was providing. But whilest the Christians make slow preparation, considering the greatnesse of the danger, the Turkes not ignorant thereof, resolved to proue the vttermost before the strength of the Christians were readie or drawne together. For the castle of S. ELMO once taken, they assured themselves with more ease to carrie the rest: for that thereby they should first haue the haven *MARZA MOXET* in their power, where their fleet might in safetie ride so long as they pleased: and the rising ridge betwixt the two hauens was commodious for them both to batter the towne of S. MICHAEL, and to keepe the haven *MAIOR*, so that none could without their leave passe in or out thereat. VVherefore vpon these M and other such like considerations they began againe to batter the castle of S. ELMO, as if it had been with thunder: which furious batterie they continued for the space of foure dayes together without intermission. The night following they suddenly with great force gaue an assault, and with their scaling ladders had almost gained the top of the wall, when the Christians desirous of nothing

A nothing more than to come to handie blowes, draue them downe againe with such violence that neuer after they durst set ladder to the wall, vntill the very last conflict. VVhilest things were thus hot at the castle of S. ELMO, *Dragut* his souldiours vpon a brauerie, as if they had been the only men, went to a place called *MARTIA SCALA*, which is betwixt the gallowes and S. *Thomas* roade, as if they would haue done more than the rest: VVhich the Christians beholding out of the towne of S. ANGELO, to repress their insolencie, sallied forth vpon them, and so welcommed them, that they were glad after they had receiued a great losse, forthwith to retire to the place from whence they came. Of the Christians was slaine *Bonnemius* a Frenchman, one of the knights, and seuerall others.

The same time *Monferratus* was by the Great master sent into the castle of S. Elmo, to commaund there as *Gouernour* in stead of *Brolia*: for that he with watching and paines taken in defence thereof, was fallen sicke. The same *Brolia* had many times before written to the Great master, that the castle was so well fortified and furnished of all things needfull, as that he thought it impossible to be woon by the enemy: and had with cheerfull speech and braue behaviour, encouraged the knights and other the defendants, that they fought against their enemies with more than mens strength, and greater courage than is to be beleued. Neither were the Turkes for that discouraged, although they were with great losse still repulst; but for certaine daies battered the castle with greater furie than before, and immediatly gaue an assault; for they had made a bridge ouer the ditch, of matts and saile yards, of such a breadth, that ten men might go thereon in ranke: and had placed about the ditch, foure thousand harquebusiers, and brought all their C fleet vnto S. *Georges* shoare, not far from the castle. And when they had by the space of eighteen daies sore shaken it, and torne the wals with thirtene thousand great shot, and were now in hope even presently to win the castle: see, *Baragamus* a Biscane, one of the knights, and *Medranus* a Spanish captaine, with certaine other valiant men, ran to the bridge, and to the great admiration of the beholders, opposed themselves against the multitude of the miscreants. The fight hand to hand was on both sides both fierce and terrible: and now one of the Turkes had aduanced a Turkish ensigne vpon the bulwarke, which whilest *Medranus* laith hand vpon, and the Turke on the other side strugglth to cleare himselfe from him, in striuing together, they fell downe both dead, shot thorow with one bullet by one of the Turkes. At which time the foure hundred which we said were but a litle before sent thither by the Grand master, stood in good steed: for D seeing all brought to so great a danger, some of them (whilest other some fought with the enemy) thrust barrells of gunpowder vnder the bridge, some cast downe wild fire, stones, and whatsoever else came to hand vpon the enemy, and others farther off with their harquebusiers fore galled the Turkes; so in short time the bridge was burnt and blowne vp, which in the fall thereof, ouerwhelmed eight hundred Turkes: the rest (as they might) retired, few whole, but most part wounded. In this conflict the Christians pluckt downe two ensignes, the one *Musaphaes*, the other *Draguts*, which the Turkes had set vp vpon the verie battlements of the wals. On the other part toward the Southwest, a band of the Turkes had got to the top of the highest rampier; which as soone as they in the castle of S. Angelo perceiued, thinking to haue beaten them off with a great shot, slew by mischance seauen of the defendants vpon the same rampier, as they E were going too and fro: but to recompence that errour, at the next shot they rent in sunder foure of the Turkes captaines, with twelue other of their most forward souldiours. VVhilest they were here fighting, other Turkes in the meane time had cast vp a trench on that side of the castle toward S. Angelo; out of which they were quickly driuen with fire, stones, and other such like things throwne downe vpon them by the defendants. The Turkes valiantly on euerie side repulst, retired into the campe, when they had in this assault lost two thousand of their best souldiours, and of the Christians slaine almost a hundred, and wounded as many moe. The same day, *Valetta* the Grand master, perceiuing the port *MARZA MOXET* not to be verie straightly kept by the Turkes, commaunded a light Brigandine to be carried out of the haven, ouerland to the place called *MARTIA SCALA*, that from thence he might send into *SICILIA*: for he (as reason F was) considering in what danger the castle of S. Elmo stood, by letters certified the Viceroy and the bishop of *ROME* thereof, and of such things as were there done; requesting them of speedie reliefe. The coppie of the letters sent to the Viceroy, I haue here set downe: as for those which were sent to the great bishop, because they were almost of the same purport, I haue purposely omitted.

To Garzias of Toledo, Viceroy of Sicilia, and Admirall of the fleet, greeting.

The Great masters letters to Garzias Viceroy of Sicilia.

Since the time that I sent Saluagus, I have sent unto you two letters, which I caused to be sent by MELITAINTO GAVLOS; which I pray God be come to your hands. After that, when as neither messengers nor letters came unto us from you, I commaunded a man with instructions to hast to MASSANA, who when he had certain nights attempted to go out, and was at last got out, he was scarcely gone two miles, but he saw the Turks with might and maine making after him; whom to escape, he was glad to run his pinnace on ground: and casting his letters into the sea, to forsake his boat, and by flight to saue himselfe. Now the Turkes hauing remoued their fleet out of the port VULTURNVS, H I considering how much it concerneth to certifie you of those things which are here done, commaunded a Brigandine to be carried to MARTIASCALA; for seeing that the Turkes fleet is gone to another part of the island, I hope my letters will without let in short time come unto you. And the things I would haue you to know, are these: The fifteenth of this moneth, all the enemies fleet (a little before night) passed by this port; the coming on of the night letted; that we could not well perceiue the weaknesse thereof; whilest the gallies almost unarmed, were with much difficultie towed forth: want of water caused them chiefly to depart out of the port VULTURNVS, and peradventure feare of your fleet. For, as I have heard, they haue intelligence, that an hundred and fiftie saile lie at road in the port of MASSANA; for which cause also, they haue not put themselves into the port of S. Paul; but haue placed their fleet about the port MARZAMONET; yet a good part of their gallies lie at the port S. George, so to be neerer unto their land forces: yet is not the neere nesse such, but that if your fleet come upon the sudden, they will with the same feare retire to their fleet, that they would if they were farther off. No man is now to be seene at VULTURNVS, for they haue left their selfe campe at Saint Katherins and Saint Johns, hauing burnt all the countrey villages; and now lie with their fleet as I haue said: and with their armie at the castle S. Elmo, which God hath as yet kept, and as I hope will: which thing is euen for this to be hoped for, which was but yesterday done; when as our most valiant souldiors (by the helpe of God) for the space of foure houres courageously endured a most terrible assault. The Turkes hauing also made a bridge Westward toward the port MARZAMONET, we haue foure times repulsed them to their great losse; yet not without some losse also on our part, amongst whom Medranus a worthie captaine was to my great grieve slaine. With this victorie our men are so encouraged, that I am in hope the castle may be defended: untill your coming, especially the enemies batterie not so furiously now as before maintained: If I were relieved with certaine companies of fresh souldiors, or at least with those our two gallies, I would neuer thinke that this castle could be taken from us: in defence whereof, whilest we euerie houre looke for helpe, we haue spent both our men, and whatsoeuer warlike prouision we had else. We are resolued although it cost vs all our liues, to go thither, relying upon you: who as we hope for your deuotion and noble courage, will not be unmindfull of our health and welfare; but knowing the danger wherinto we must needs fall, if you shall deferre to aid us, will send us out of hand certaine bands of men, especially when they may so easily be sent: for now that the Turkes are departed from the East part of the island, our souldiors may be landed at the BLACK ROCKS. Our liues lie in your hands; on whom (next unto God) resteth all our hope: wherefore we most instantly request you not to forsake us: committing our selues, and all that ours is, to your compassion and protection. Fare you well from MALTA the 17 of Iune.

Four gallies sent to the Great master for the relief of Malta.

These letters receiued, and the distresse of the besieged castle perceiued, the Viceroy was (as of right he ought) greatly moued, and made semblance as if he had been desirous to haue brought forth his whole fleet against the Turkes. But forasmuch as the supply of ships from GENVA and SPAIN was not yet come, and that without them he thought it not good to adventure the fortune of a battell; he forthwith sent Jo. Cardona with foure gallies, whereof two were of MALTA; and with Cardona joyned one Robles campe-master, with a select companie of M Spaniards; with whom went also about eightie knights of MALTA, who staid at MASSANA awaiting some fit occasion to passe ouer: Amongst whom were these chiefe men of the Order, Parior the Great masters nephew, Vicentius Carassa, Boninscana and Maldonatus, both Spaniards, Centius of AQVITANIA, and some others: who although letted by tempest and other occasions,

A cations, they came too late to MALTA, as shall be hereafter declared; yet serued they in great stead; and had they come in time, before the castle S. Elmo was lost, happily it might haue been still kept.

The Turkes making no more account of so great a slaughter of their men, than of so many sheepe, desperately renewed the fight, as men resolued to endure all extremities. And first they most horribly thundred day & night with their great ordinance vpon the castle: afterwards they assaulted the breaches with such a multitude and force, that if true valour and hope of immortalitye had not excluded all feare out of the hearts of the defendants, the terrour of the assault had enforced them either to haue fled or yeelded: Dreadfull was the fight, and had they not been obstinately set downe on both sides, the one to win the castle, the other to defend it, that day had ended the quarrell. Five houres endured that most terrible assault, at length the Turkes repulsed by the valour of the Christians; retired: yet did they not for all that passe the night following in quiet, but with their great ordinance did so beat the defendants, that they had much adoe to keepe the Turkes from scaling the wals; which, that they should not then dare to attempt, was with exceeding endeouour prouided for by the Christians: of whom in this assault was lost two hundred, and of the Turkes an infinit number. And Dragut himselfe, whilest he there performed the dutie both of a Generall, and most valiant souldior, got a blow on the head with a stone, whereof he in two daies after died: his dead bodie was afterwards carried to TRIPOLIS, and there honourably buried.

A most terrible assault.

Dragut slaine.

The commanders of the Turkes armie, still more and more enraged with this valour of the Christians, and the slaughter of their men, gathering all their fleet together, commaunded them to compasse about the castle, of purpose to giue thereunto their last assault, with all their forces both by sea and land; and to send new supplies of fresh souldiors one after another, untill they had taken the castle. And therefore, they with great industrie prepared bridges, ladders, engines, armour, weapons, shot, and whatsoeuer things else was needfull for the assault. VVhich Valetta perceiuing out of his castle S. Angelo, and fearing (as meet was) least they in the castle should not be able longer to endure so great a furie; called together in counsell his knights, two daies before the Turkes gaue their last assault: and told them, That they all as well as he, saw in what danger they which defended the castle S. Elmo were; and that he doubted not, but that euerie one of them (vpon a godly zeale and compassion) was no lesse moued with the slaughter and danger of their fellowes and other their Christian souldiors, than with their owne: VVherefore he requested them, to declare what they thought best to be done for their safetie; yet so, as that they should not hastily determine any thing, that agreed not with the auncient valour and honor of their sacred militarie profession. VVhich motion once made, and their opinions in briebe deliuered, a decree was made, That forasmuch as the castle could not longer be holden, regard should be had for the safeguard of them that were therein: for which purpose it was agreed, that twelve pinnaces should be sent to fetch them away. But before, three knights were chosen, who should in hast the night following go thither, and tell them what was in the counsell agreed vpon, and carefully to consider in what state the castle was: which if the defendants thought was to be abandoned, they should poison the water, & cloy the great ordidance, that it might not afterwards stand the Turkes in stead. The three knights sent thither, was Medina a Spaniard, Rocca a Frenchman, and Constantinus Castriot an Italian; who not without danger of their liues (being oftentimes shot at by the Turkes) got into the castle, and declared vnto them that were there in garrison, how carefull the Great master and the rest were of them. And they on their side, first of all gaue thanks to the Graund master and the rest, for the regard they had of them: and afterwards concerning the castle, said, That if they considered the straightnesse of the place, the small number of the defendants, and multitude of the enemye, they should well perceiue in what danger they were, if the Turkes should often with such obstinacie renew the assault: yet forasmuch as they had euer hitherto felt the helpe of God so present, who had still mercifully defended them against the rage of the enemye, and wanted nothing needfull for the defence of the place; the keeping whereof they had requested of the Grand master as an honour, although they knew right well it could not without most manifest danger of their liues be holden: yet they would for all that, keep it to the last man. For that perhaps the like honourable occasion for them to shew themselves in, should neuer again be offred: wherefore they had (as they said) resolued in that place, to spend their liues for the glorie of God and the Christian religion. The course of this life (they said)

Three knights sent to view the state of the castle S. Elmo.

The resolute and fauour to them in the castle to the knights.

said) was but short, but that honour and fame was for euer: and whereas death is to all men pre-
 fined, it were to be wished, that the life which is to nature due, should rather seeme to be by vs
 frankly giuen to God and our countrey, than reserved as natures debt: Which if it should so
 happen, they would so vse the matter, as that the barbarous enimie should haue neither pleasure
 nor joy, which should not cost him much blood euen of his best souldiours: This they willed the
 knights to tell the Great master, and to request him not to bee too carefull of them, but to pro-
 mise vnto himselfe those things of them which best becomed resolute men; especially of them
 who had vowed themselves to that sacred warre: This answer of greater resolution than for-
 tune receiued; the three knights, when they had diligently viewed the castle, returned to the
 Grand master: who calling to counsell his knights, and hauing heard the answer of the be-
 sieged, would needs heare also what opinion the three knights themselves were of concerning the
 keeping of the castle: of whom *Castriot* was of opinion, That the place was still to be defended,
 and that if he were there to commaund, he would vnder take to performe it; and there rather to
 lose his life than to forsake it, after he had once taken vpon him the charge thereof. But *Aras*, the
 French knight was farre of another mind, and said plainly, that the place could not possibly be
 holden against so strong an enimie; and that if *Julius Caesar* himselfe were aliue; and saw to what
 straight the place was brought (especially all the rampiers being either beaten downe or fore sha-
 ken, & such a power of obstinat enemies lying round about it) he would neuer suffer so many va-
 liant souldiours to be lost, but quit the place, and referre his men to further seruice: for why it was
 the part of valiant men to performe so much as was of men to be performed; but to strue to do
 more, was no manhood at all: Wherefore he thought it best to doe that which men vse with
 members mortified, whose recouerie is desperat; in which case we doubt not to make a separati-
 on, so to saue the rest of the bodie with life. The Spanish knight in most part agreeing with *Cas-
 triot*, said, That he thought it not good, that the place should so easily be forsaken; first, for
 that the ditches and bulwarkes were yet defensible; and then, because he saw so greata consen-
 t amongst the defendants, and such a cheerefullnesse to withstand the enimie, which thing (as hee
 said) prefigured victorie.

These opinions of the knights thorowly in counsell debated, and euery particular well way-
 ed, it seemed good to the greater part, that they which were in the castle should for certain daies
 yet hold it out; especially because it was not the manner of the knights of the Order easily to
 abandon their strong holds, but rather to keepe them to the last, that euen therein the barbarous
 enimie might perceiue with whom he had to doe, and so see his pride abated. For if they should
 haue forsaken the place, they might haue bene thought to haue done it for feare: whereby the
 enemies insolencie might haue bene encreased, and the honourable Order of those sacred
 knights disgraced.

But the Turkes intentiue to that they had before determined, the three and twentieth day of
 Iune assembling all their forces both by sea and land round about the castle, in the dead time of
 the night on euery side set vp scaling ladders, made bridges, wrought mines, and with two and
 thirtie great pieces of artillerie battered the rest of the wals yet standing, and presently gaue a
 most terrible assault. The defendants on the other side bear downe some, repulsed others, slew
 many, euer more carefull how to wound the enimie, than to saue themselves: and where he
 pressed fastest on, there to shew their greatest valour. Great were the outcries made on both sides,
 mixt with exhortation, mirth, and mourning; the face of the whole fight was diuers, vncertaine,
 cruell, and dreadfull: and now it was the third houre of the day, when still the victorie stood
 doubtfull; and had not the furie of the great ordinance bene so terrible, that it had now beaten
 downe all the wals vnto the very rocke whereon the castle stood, the defendants might for some
 longer time haue endured the enemies force. But the very rocke bared both of wals and defen-
 dants, and more than foure hundred slaine, a man could scarcely now shew himselfe; but hee was
 presently stricken in pieces. *Monferratus* Gouvernour of the castle, and *Garas* of *Evboea*, men of
 equall valour, integritie, and honour, were both slaine with one shot; for a short and transitorie
 life made partakers of immortalitie together: Yet the rest which stood in defence of the castle,
 nothing terrified with so great a losse and slaughter of their fellowes, but augmented rather as it
 were with new courage from aboue, fought with greater force than before, ouerthrew the Turkes
 ensignes now set vp in the castle, slew the ensigne-bearers, captaines, and colonels; now repe-
 ating nothing more, but honourably to lay downe their liues for their religion and the obtain-
 ing

The three
 knights of diuers
 opinions concern-
 ing the keeping
 of the castle
 S. Elmo

The Turkes sur-
 only assault the
 citie.

ning of immortal fall game. By this time the Sunne was mounted to the middle of heauen, great
 was the heat, and men exceeding wearie; the murdering shot neuer ceased, and such was the
 multitude of the enimie, that he still sent in fresh men in stead of them that were wearied or
 wounded. On the other side, the small number of the Christians, and those weakened with la-
 bor, watching, thirst, and wounds, did what men might; yet at length were ouercome by a grea-
 ter force, and so the castle by the Turkes woen, but with such slaughter of their men, that it was a
 wonder that so many should be slaine of so few. The defendants were all slaine, euery man in
 valiant fight.

Here may I not in silence passe over the inhumane and more than barbarous crueltie of the
 Turkes against the dead bodies of the slaine knights, that thereby may appeare, that crueltie neuer
 wanteth whereon to shewit selfe mercilesse, yea euen after death. The Turkes after they had taken
 the castle, finding certaine of the knights yet breathing, and but halfe dead, first cut their hearts
 out of their breasts, and then their heads from their bodies; after that they hanged them vp by
 the heeles in their red cloakes with white crosses (which manner of attire they after an antient
 custome vse in time of war, as they doe blacke in time of peace) in the sight of the castles *S. An-
 gelo* and *S. MICHAELL*. And yet *Mustapha* the Turkes Generall not so contented, commaun-
 ded them afterwards to be fast bound together, and so cast into the sea, whose dead bodies were
 in few daies after by the surge of the sea cast vp in the haueu *MAIOR*, and knowne by their
 friends, were by the commandement of the sorrowfull Great master honourably buried. With
 which the enemies most barbarous crueltie he was so moued, that he commaunded that no
 Turke should from that time be taken prisoner, but to be presently slaine. And thereupon all that
 were before taken, were forthwith put to the sword, and their heads cast ouer the wals on that
 side towards the enimie. From the beginning of the siege to the taking of the castle, of the Chri-
 stians were slaine a thousand three hundred, amongst whom were a hundred and thirtie of the sa-
 cred knights of the Order, all worthe to be registred in the booke of euerlasting fame.

The castle *S. ELMO* thus lost, *Valetta* although his mind (as he had good cause) was inwardly
 attained with exceeding greefe, yet made semblant otherwise, because he would not daunt the
 minds of his souldiours: telling them, that nothing was happened vnprovided for or vnforcseene.
 This was (as he said) the will of God, and the chance of warre, that sometimes one sometimes ano-
 ther should be overcome: and that cowardise, not such valour as was in them that were gone, gaue oc-
 casion to their liuing friends to lament: yet that the enimie was not for that to be feared, who had also
 receiued such a losse, as he might thereby rather seeme conquered than a victorious conqueror: wher-
 as the losse of his knights was recompensed with honour and immortalitie, things of themselves suffi-
 cient to enflame all noble minds to behaue themselves valiantly. As for himselfe (he said) that tru-
 sting not in his owne strength, but in the helpe of Almighty God, he had not yet cast off the hope of
 victorie ouer the reliques of the discomfited enimie; and that he well hoped, they were all of the same
 mind, wherein he most earnestly requested them to persist vnto the end. When he had thus said, he
 being a man armed against all fortunes, withdrew himselfe a little aside: where casting many
 things in his troubled mind, he determined to send letters to *Petrus Mescuita*, Gouvernour of
 the citie of *MELITA*, to certifie him and the knights of the Order that were at *MESSANA*, and
 the Viceroy, of the losse of *S. Elmo*: the copie whereof, because that in them evidently appeareth
 the Christian mind of him the Great master, I haue thought good here to set down as followeth:

whilest these knights are setting forward, in the meane time chanced the miserable misfortune of
 the castle *S. Elmo*: which although it brought vnto vs that greefe you may easily imagine, wee for-
 all that, as if it had happened by some secret appointment of God, haue taken it in that part, that he
 as a most mercifull father purposeth thereby to warne vs, but not utterly to destroy vs. Neither doe I
 thinke it lawfull to doubt of his mercie and power. Yet for all that, I may neuerthelesse complain, that
 we are of them forsaken of whom it least becomed. So that in the space of seuen and thirtie daies,
 wherein our most valiant souldiours endured all the force of the enimie (which truly was done rather
 by the power of God than of man) we were holpen of our own (which owe so much vnto vs) not so much
 as with the least helpe, which they might oftentimes haue sent vs. But I list to ascribe it whatsoeuer it
 is, to God, of whom alone as we haue hitherto receiued so many good things, so rest we in hope hereafter
 to receiue also. For, for any thing that I can see, we must not now trust to mans helpe: for as much as
 we could by no letters, no diligence, no prayers, no admonitions, and to bee bresse, by no commaunds
 more

The castle of
 S. Elmo taken by
 the Turkes.

Barbarous cruel-
 tie exercised by
 the Turkes upon
 the dead bodies
 of the knights.

Valetta encoura-
 ged his souldiours
 after the losse of
 the castle *S. Elmo*.

Valetta his let-
 ters to the Go-
 uernour of *Me-
 lita*.

more them, who of all others ought most to haue obeyed it. The shortnesse of the time suffereth vs not to write to the Viceroy of these things, it shall be your part to certifie both him and other our friends thereof: who if they had obeyed our command, or aided vs with neuer so small a supple of soldiours, happily we had not lost the castle S. Elmo: in defence whereof we haue spent the best part of our soldiours. Wherefore except the Viceroy make hast to deliuer vs from this siege, I feare that he cannot in time come: but especially if we be here besieged before the coming of those our small helpees which we as in a dreame haue promised vnto our selues, and which we now scarce hope will be in time present. For all that, we doe not distrust of God his loue and prouidence: by whose diuine inspiration the rare courage of the Viceroy being in short time stirred up, will hasten hither to relieue vs. For all our welfare consisteth in celeritie. Our enemies hauing drawne all their fleet into the haven MESSANA, where they are busied in cleansing the castle, and repairing the breaches, that they may afterward the better use them against vs. Wherefore vpon the sight of these our letters send vnto vs the capitaines Catherine, Belcarar, Belmet, and Zoricus, with their companies, that we may use their faithfull and valiant seruice. God of his mercie send vs aid from some place, and keepe you. Fare you well from our castle S. Angelo, the 24 of Iune, 1565.

Mesquita hauing receiued these letters, commaunded a galliot forthwith to be launched, and therein embarked *Mafius Codonellus*, one of the knights; to whom he deliuered both the letters of the Grand master to him, and others of his owne, almost of the same purport, directed to the knights of the Order which lay at MESSANA, requesting him with all speed possible to passe ouer with them into SICILIA.

Mustapha Bassa sendeth messengers to the Great master.

The answer of the Great master to the Turkish messengers.

Philip Lascaris fleeth from the castle S. Michaels.

In the meane time *Mustapha* the Turkes Generall sent a messenger to *Valetta*, and with him an old Spanish captiue, with promise of libertie if he would goe with his messenger to the towne to talke with *Valetta* concerning the yeelding vp thereof, and to trie if he would by any meanes come to agreement: who coming to the towne, the Turke still waiting at the gate, the Christian was let in and brought to the Great master, to whom he declared what he had in charge from the Bassa. But as soone as *Valetta* heard of the name of composition and yeelding, he was so filled with indignation, that had he not been a Christian, he would presently haue commaunded him to haue been hanged. Wherefore he gaue him choice either to tarry still in the towne, if he thought so good, or els forthwith to returne and tell his companion, that if he got him not packing quickly, he would send him farther off with a great shot. With this short answer the Turke suddenly returned into the campe. Whereupon *Mustapha* fell into such a rage, that he openly protested, neuer from that time to forebear any kind of crueltie against the Christians. There was then with *Mustapha* one *Philip* of the most noble Græcian familie of *Lascaris*, who of a boy taken prisoner by the Christians in *PATRAS*, a citie of *ACHAIA*, and by them honestly and courteously vsed, was therefore euer after well affected toward the Christians: He priuie to many of *Mustaphas* designs, by a certaine diuine motion thought he should not a little profit the Christians by revolting vnto them: wherefore he resolved to flie vnto the castle of S. Michaels. Which thing when he had oftentimes attempted, at length the first of Iuly he cast himselfe into the sea (for by land he could no way escape) and swum to the castle, not without danger of his life: for discovered by the Turkes, he was many times shot at both with their arrowes and small shot. He brought to the Great master, reuealed vnto him many of the enemies secrets, and also aduised him what was to be done at the point of S. Michaels, to frustrate the enemies purpose for the assailing of that place; with many other things, which were vnto the defendants no small helpe: and afterwards as often as need was, during the siege, fought valiantly against the Turkes.

Whilest these things were in doing, *Codonellus* sent as we haue before said into SICILIA, came in safetie to MESSANA, where he found the Christian fleet not yet readie to relieue the distressed Malteses; for the Spanish ships were not yet come, and *John Andreas Auria* with eight and twentie ships was readie to returne to take in foure thousand footmen, taken vp in *ETRYRIA* by *Capinus Vitellius*. Which backwardnesse the knights of the Order considering, and what danger was in delay, after they had well debated the matter amongst themselves, they resolved by the power of God by all meanes possible to helpe their brethren. And for this expedition chose two most fit Generals of their owne fellowes, the Commendors of MESSANA and BAROLI, who forthwith went to *Garças* the Viceroy, declaring vnto him what things the sacred knights

A knights of their Order had done, not for the king of SPAIN onely, but for the Christian commonweale, and also what great charge they had bene at the yeare before in the Pinionian expedition, wherein they had neither spared ships, victuall, nor munition, neither their owne liues, to profit the king and the Christian commonweale. Besides this, they besought him well to consider, that the losse of MALTA concerned not the sacred knights onely, but all *ITALIA*, and especially SICILIA, for the neerenesse of so troublesome and puissant an enemy. For these and other like reasons, which the shortnesse of the time sufficed them not to rehearse, they requested of him foure thousand footmen, with whom all the knights of the Order which were there, and many other noble and voluntarie men would make all possible speed to relieue the besieged, which they had before in vaine attempted, with which strength they were in good hope, if not to repulse the enemy, or to recouer that was already lost, yet at least to stop and stay his further proceeding, vntill such time as he hauing rigged vp and brought forth all his fleet, might set vpon the Turkes, and (as was to be hoped) vanquish & disperse them. But whilest the Viceroy hauing heard their request, considereth what answer to make, a messenger came vnto him from SPAIN, but with what command from the king (although men guessed diuerly) could not be knowne. But vpon his coming, the Viceroy gaue the knights this cold answer, That he could not graunt what they requested, for that in so doing he should dishonour his fleet, and not be able afterwards to relieue them as he desired: but if it pleased them to transport the knights with part of the ships souldiours into the island, they might so doe with their owne two galleys they had already, whereunto he would also ioine another of his owne. The knights when they could obtaine no more, accepted of that which was offered.

The cold answer of the Viceroy to the knights.

Whilest these galleys are setting forward, those foure galleys (whereof we haue before spoken) wherein were embarked fourescore knights and six hundred other souldiours, hauing at sea suffered many troubles by the space of twentie daies, could not as yet arrive at MALTA: and because the Viceroy had commaunded, That they should not land, except they first knew whether the castle S. ELMO were still holden by the Christians, they sent out a frigot to land, promising that day and the next to tarry in the sea for her returne. In the meane time a great tempest suddenly arising, it so fell out, that the frigot could not at the appointed time returne; wherefore the galleys which expected her coming, fearing lest she had bene either by tempest lost, or by the enemy intercepted, retired to POZALO, a port vpon the coast of SICILIA neerest to MALTA, there to expect some good newes: where as soone as they had put in, they vnderstood that S. ELMO was yet defended: whereupon they put to sea againe, with purpose to haue arrived at MALTA. But when they were within two leagues of the place, where they thought to haue landed, they saw a fire there, which caused them to mistrust that the place was possessed of the enemy, and that he lay thereabout to intercept them: wherefore they returned againe to POZALO, where now vnderstanding of the French knight, come from MALTA, that that fire was made by his commaundement, as a signe, that they might without feare haue come forward; they with all speed made againe for the same place, and at the length the nine and twentieth day of Iune about midnight landed at the Blacke Rockes on the South side of the island toward *AFRIKES*, and vncene of any, got in hast to the citie MELITA, where they were joyfully receiued, and there stayed to expect what the Great master should commaund. In the meane time it fortun'd a great foggie mist (which seldome times there chanceth) to arise so thicke, that a man could hardly see for it: at which time a boy of about twelue yeares old looking by chance out of a window in the castle of MELITA, suddenly as one afraid, cried out, That he saw a Turke going from the citie to the castle of S. MICHAEL. Which thing some of the knights hearing, ran presently out that way, and found a Greeke of the citie of MELITA, who brought backe and examined (for that without the Gouvernours passe it was not lawfull for any man to go out of the citie) confessed, That his purpose was to haue aduertised the Turkes of the coming of those souldiours, that they might haue intercepted them as they should haue come from MELITA to the Grand master: for which treason he was as he had well deserved cut in foure peeces. Three dayes after, this new supplee come from SICILIA, in the first watch of the night came all in safetie from MELITA to the Great master, except two or three boyes, who charged with armour and other baggage, were not able to keepe way with the rest. It is not to be told how much the besieged rejoyced at the coming of these their friends, and especially *Valetta*, who seeing the floure of his knights and other souldiours, as it were by diuine prouidence come vnto him; with

A traitor taken and executed at Melita.

The souldiours now come out of Sicillia, come to the Great master.

with teares trickling downe his cheekes, and his eies cast vp to heauen, said:

I thanke thee (O heavenly Father) which bearest my prayers, and forsakest not this thy little flocke; beset round with most rauening Wolves: These are the works of thine euermlasting goodnesse, mercie and prouidence.

These new come souldiours, requested of the Great master as a reward of their paines, that they might be put in garriſon into the towne *S. Michael*, a place now most laid vnto by the Turkes: which thing (he commending their forwardnesse) easily granted: yet for all that removed not the old garriſon. These fresh and couragious souldiours, desirous of nothing more than to fight with the enemy, the next day sallied out, and hauing slaine two hundred of the Turkes, and wounded as many more, without losse of a man returned, euerie mans sword imbrued with the blood of his enemy. Which thing *Mustapha* the Turkes Generall hearing, knew it was they which lately came into the towne; and therupon fell in rage with his captaines, as that they had by their negligence entred. But the suspicion grew most vpon them which were appointed for the keeping of the vttermoſt part of the island: which was the more increased; for that three gallies of *A. ORRIS* had withdrawne themselves away; so that he neither trusted them nor the renegade Christians, who as occasion serued, fled daily from him. For which cause, he gaue out proclamation, That none of them should lie by night out of the gallies, & that such as did otherwise, should therefore be burnt or impaled vpon stakes: and so changing his warders, appointed *Salce* with his gallies, whom he thought to be more faithfull for the keeping of the island. And that neither they nor the Christians should be able to attempt any thing, he chained together diuers gallies in the entrance of the haue *MARZA MOXR*, and caused the rest of the fleet to ride neerer together than before. But because exceeding many were at that time sicke in the Turkes campe, of the flux and other diseases, three places were assigned for them; one for the wounded men neere vnto *AQVA MARTIA*, guarded with two thousand Turkes; another in the poypes of their ships and gallies for the Turkes voluntaries; and the third amongst the banks, where the enforced Christians were cured. At the same time, *Mustapha* appointed *Ochial Bassa* Governor of *TRIPOLIS*, in stead of *Dragut* before slaine: who going thither with five gallies, and hauing set all things in order there, returned againe vnto the campe. Which him the Bassa had sent two ships loaded with corne to *TRIPOLIS*, there to make bread, whereof they began to feele some want in the campe. He also sent *Zaloch*, one of his Colonels to *Solyman*, to certifie him of the winning of the castle *S. Elmo*, and to deliuer vnto him the description of the isle of *MALTA*, as they found it at their arriual: and farther, to declace vnto him, That he found the Malteses stronger, and better provided, than was at his setting forth supposed: Wherefore if it were his pleasure longer to continue the siege, he should send a new supplie of men, victuall, and other warlike prouision: which if he did, he would then be in hope to take the other strong places of the island also, though not so soone as was at the first supposed: and that in the meane time, whilst he expected answer, he would not faile to doe what he possibly might. And because he would not seeme to haue written an vntruth, he began his batterie in fourteene places, with seauentie great pieces of artillerie, amongst which was three most huge basilisks: for from the Gallowes promontorie to *AQVA MARTIA*, and from thence to the castle *S. Elmo*, wherein he had placed three hundred Ianizaries, the Turkes had enclosed all that compassse with sundrie bulwarks, trenches, and mounts, from whence they with their thundering shot, day and night incessantly battered the townes and castles of *S. Michael* and *S. Angelo*, ouerthrew the wals, beat downe the bulwarks, and brake downe the houses in such terrible manner, that scarce any could be safe therein: which of all others most troubled the fearfull women and children. But the Turkes in their trenches rested in farre more safetie: yet so, that they durst not stray farre out of the campe, but trusting vpon their multitude; and not that many times without their losse, being cut off by the horsemen of the garriſon of *MALTA*, who were euer readie at their heeles.

When the losse of the castle *S. Elmo* was knowne at *ROME*, the citie was filled with mourning and heauinesse; some were sorie for the dishonour, other some feared least the calamities of the Malteses should redound vnto themselves. There was also amongst others, a certaine envious and foule mouthed kind of men, altogether ignorant and vnacquainted with martiall affaires, who shamed not to lay the blame of the losse of *S. Elmo* vpon the Grand master: whom both his owne valour, with the worthie testimonie of so many famous and valiant men as were there present with him; as also this historie, gathered out of the true light of things then done, shall

A shall both for the time present, and for all posteritie sufficiently acquite of so false a slander. But he will easily blemish another mans name, that spareth not his owne: neither can ignoſtice rightly iudge of the counsels of the skilfull, or cowardise of valiant deeds.

But to returne againe to our purposes we said before, that three gallies were made readie at *MESSANA*; in setting forth whereof, they which had the charge vied rich diligence, that the seauenth of Iuly, they departed out of their harbour. In them (besides the knights of the order) was embarked six hundred Spaniards, and three hundred of the great bishops souldiours, conducted by *Pompeius Columna*; the mariners were part hired, part slaues, to whom libertie was promised if they would lustily doe their endeavour to get into the haue, and to be accounted of as the best of the souldiours were. And because they would relieue the besieged, nor with men onely, but with victuall also, they put into these gallies five hundred bushels of wheate, beside gunpowder, saltpeter, and lead for shot. And although it was thought a most hard matter, by the haue itselfe to enter the island, the Turkes possiding both it and all the places thereabouts, nevertheless, there was in the knights such an earnest desire to relieue their brethren, that they promised both to themselves and others, all things easie and safe: but when they began to approach the island, they sent a scout before to vnderstand by signes from the castle *S. Angelo*, whether they were to proceed forward or not: who coming so farre that they might discouer the signe, perceived thebay that they should retire. Which thing the Turkes perceiving; also, presently with the smoake of their great ordinance and other things, they so obscured the waye as with a thicke cloud, in such sort, as that those signes were no more to be discerned; but all in vaine, for why, our men had alreadye descried them: so those three gallies returned againe into *STRATA*. For *Valletta* that good prince, thought it not meet to bring so many of the sacred knights, so many noble gentlemen and valiant souldiours, into a most manifest danger: for he saw certaine of the Turkes gallies to lie by night in the mouth of the haue *MARZA MOXR*, at a place called the Little lands, to impeach the going in or out of the haue *MAIOR*. About the same time, they which lay in garriſon in the citie of *MALTA*, hearing of the notable fallie made by the souldiours lately come; and taking heart thereupon, at such time as the Turkes were fetching in a certaine boote of cattell, the horsemen pursued them; and hauing slaine diuers of them, recovered the prey: and yet not so contented, chased them euen to their campe. But the other Turkes seeing their felowes flying in such hast towards them, raised an alarm, ran to the Generals tent, and for that time ceased their batterie.

The Great master probably coniecturing, that the Turkes would in short time assault both the towne and castle of *S. Michael*, thought good by his presence to encourage and strengthen the garriſon; and therefore was about to haue gone thither by a bridge made of boats from the one point of the land to the other, betweene *S. Michaels* and *S. Angelo*: but quickly vnderstanding the certaintie thereof, returned againe into his castle. Some there be that thinke, For him to haue so done, had been a venturous part and full of danger, and therefore to haue been discommended; for that great things are performed, not so much by strength of bodie as of mind, by politike counsell and direction, wherewith a Generall (although absent) may yet with his forces be alwaies present: but the Generall oncelost (which may easily happen, if he will present his person to the danger) we see most commonly all fall together with him, no otherwise than doth all parts of the bodie when the soule departeth: But other some are of contrarie opinion, That the Generals presence, especially in great dangers, is both praise wortheie and most necessarie; for that he as the soule, cannot provide for or rule the bodie, except it be present; yea placed therein: and that *Valletta* in so doing, followed the examples of the greatest kings and most famous Generals; as of *Alexander* the great, *Julius Caesar*, *Themistocles*, *Marius* and others: whose words vnto their souldiours were these, *I my selfe will be your conductor in the field, in the battell partaker of the danger with you, you shall be in all things as my selfe*. Besides that, who knoweth not, that as in other things, so most of all in martiall affaires, all things are better, more orderly and more easily done when the matter is present: neither was the learned Poet his meaning any thing else, when in the warres betwixt the Latines and the Rutilians, he saith, *Præsentia sumi*? whereupon they concluded, that the Great master in going, had done both valiantly, wisely, and according to his dutie. But this we leaue for martiall men to determine.

At the same time the king of *ALGER* came to aid the Turkes with seauen gallies and ten galliots, and in them 2200 souldiours: who sorie that he was not there at the beginning, and desirous

Zzz ij

Three gallies depart from Messina with aid towards Malta.

The gallies upon a signe, giuen returned backe.

The king of Algiers cometh to aid the Turkes.

The praise of Valletta.

Ochial Bassa made Governor of Tripolis.

A terrible battery.

rous to doe some notable act, and withall to make prooffe of the valour of his souldiours, requested the great Bassa to bestow vpon him the first place in the besieging the castle. *S. Michael*, which he not only granted, but joynd vnto his forces two thousand of his owne best souldiours. These things obtained, he commaunded ninetie small yessels by deuices to be carried ouer land out of the port *MARZA MOXET* to *AQUA MARSA*, for that he purposed on that side to besiege the castle by water. But *Valetta* perceiuing the enemies purpose, both by seeing what was done, and also aduertised thereof before by a Christian fugitiue; presently called vnto him two faithfull and skilfull shipmasters of *MALTA*, and imparting the matter vnto them, aduertised what they thought best to be done to keepe the Turks from landing; as it seemed they purposed at the wals foot. They quickly conceiuing the matter, answered, That in their opinion, if a chaine were made of masts and saile-yards or sparres joyned together with yron rings, and so drawne all alongst from the corner of the castle of *S. Angelo* to that place where the enemies thought to land, their purpose might be so defeated. This their deuice so pleased the Great master, that the night following such a chaine was made; and fast more in the appointed place. The Turkes as soone as it was day perceiuing this barre, stood as men doubtfull, not knowing how by any meanes to land their men, as they had before purposed. Whilest they stood so abashed, a Christian fugitiue, a most desperat villaine (in which kind of men foolish hardinesse is accounted a vertue, and desperation constancie) came to the king, and promised him to breake the chaine, and so with a hatchet in his hand cast himselfe into the sea, after whom followed two or three more to helpe him: who swimming to the chaine, got vp vpon it, and began to heu. apace with their hatchets. Which the Christians beholding, suddenly five or six of the Malteses swam thither with their drawne swords in their hands; & hauing slaine two of them, caused the other to flie: after which time none of the Turks was so hardie as to attempt the same. The barbarous king for all that gaue not ouer his purpose so, but with wonderfull diligence prepared for the siege, which the fifteenth day of Iuly began both by sea and land. But the defendants turning their great ordinance vpon that place from whence the galliots came, with the furie thereof (in the space of three houres, which the assault endured) slew two thousand Turkes and sunke twelue of the galliots: the rest comming as farre as the chaine, when they could get no farther nor land their men, turned their prowes vpon the corner of the castle, but were glad at last to reite and leaue that they came for vndone. The assault by land also endured five houres, wherein many of the Turkes were slaine, and of the defendants two hundred: amongst whom was *Federicus* the Viceroy of *SICILIA* his sonne, stricke in sunder with a great shot, *Gordius* a Frenchman, *Franciscus Sanoghera*, and his nephew *Iohn*, Spaniards; all knights of the Order. *Medina* was also wounded, whereof he afterward died. But *Valetta* considering into what danger the state of *MALTA* was like to fall, if he should be constrained to fight many such fights, where his souldiours wearied day and night without rest, were still to encounter with fresh men, & heard nothing of any aid or new supplie: the seuenteenth day of Iuly he sent a messenger into *SICILIA*, who swam from the castle to the farthest part of the bay to *AQUA MARSA*, and from thence escaped vnknewne thorow the midst of the enemies vnto the cite of *MELITA*, and so in a little frigot came to *MESSANA*; by him the Great master sent letters to the Viceroy, requesting him to send him his owne two gallies, with those knights which were at *MESSANA*, and such other souldiours as might in them be transported: willing them, that as soon as they came to the island, they should houer off aloofe before the haven, readie vpon a signe giuen to thrust in. The same time that this messenger arrived at *MESSANA*, came thither also the fleet from *SPAIN*, wherein were many of the knights of the Order from diuers nations. The Viceroy desirous to send those two gallies to *Valetta*, sent letters before vnto him in secret characters by two frigots wherein he certified him that he would send the gallies, requiring to haue from him some signe, whereby they might at their comming know whether they should enter or reite: which frigots taking diuers courses, one of them laded with medicines, as was afterwards knowne, was intercepted by the enemy: the other although she came in safetie to *MELITA*, yet for as much as all the passages betwixt the castle of *S. Michael* and the cite of *MELITA* were certaine dayes before by the diligence of the enemy shut vp, and three which had vied to passe too and fro, intercepted and most cruelly executed, and besides that the haven straightly kept; the knights of *MESSANA* could haue no further direction from the Great master for the safe sending of the two gallies: yet neuerthelesse, because he had requested them, and they themselves were of the same opinion (as

A desperat fugitiue

The king of Algiers notably repulst both by sea and land.

A hard shift to carrie news.

he had before written) that where all is in question, the aduerture of a little part is lesse to be feared: they thought it good to aduerture them: yet with this regard, not to expose all those knights to so great a danger, but of them all to send onely sortie, with a conuenient number of other souldiours, and with them *Salazar* a Spanish capitaine was sent by the Viceroy to be landed in the island of *GAULO*, who should afterwards from thence in a boat (for that purpose towed along by the gallies) passe ouer into the island of *MALTA* as a spie, to take view both of the cite and enemies campe.

In the meane time the Turks mindfull of the losse receiued in the assault of the castle *S. Michael*, and desirous of reuenge, did so violently batter the castle with their great ordinance, that what the defendants repaired by night, that they still beat downe againe by day: and in time of the battérie made a bridge, which the twentieth day of Iuly before the Sunne rising they laid ouer the ditch, that they might as if it had been vpon euen ground come to fight hand to hand with the Christians. Which scene and quickly perceiued what danger it might bring, by and by *Parisot* the Great masters nephew, and *Agleria*, both knights, with certaine mercinarie souldiours sallied out to haue burnt the bridge, but were so receiued of the Turks, that they were almost all slaine together with *Parisot* and *Agleria*, and yet the exploit vnperformed. The Turks without ceasing continued their furious battérie vntill the eight and twentieth of Iuly, which day in the afternoon they in diuers places assaulted the castle, thrice they with fresh and new supplies relleued their repulst and wearied souldiours, and so fiercely maintained the assault, that they made no doubt but that day to win the castle. But the defendants with no lesse resolution withstood them, repulst them with their weapons, with shot, fire, and force, and at length enforced them with no small losse of their men to reite from their wals. This victorie so encouraged the besieged, that now they made small reckoning of the enemy: but so far as much as our men alwayes spared their great ordinance but in time of fight, and sallied not out as they were wont, the Turks thought that the garrison was but weake, and that shot and powder grew scarce in the castle. Yet deceived in both, for that it was rather of purpose than for want to be commaunded by the Great master: who hearing nothing of the comming of any aid, and seeing the enemy to giue dayly more fierce assaults, would not vainely spend his most necessarie helpes. The Turkes perceiuing what little good they had done with their often assaults, determined now to proue what might be done by vndermining the castle; and had almost brought one of their mines to perfection, before it was by the Christians discovered: and to the intent they should the lesse marke it, they caused two gallies to come as neere as they could to the wals, and to batter that place, in hope that whilest our men gazed vpon that was done openly, they should the lesse regard what they were working in secret, that so they might in the meane time more easily get into the castle. But the besieged careful of all that was to be cared for perceiuing their purpose, with a countermine defeated their mine, and by the couragiousnesse of certaine of their souldiours, but especially of one ancient, drew out the enemy, who hauing cast certaine pots of wild fire before him into the mine, and following presently after with a peece of firework in his hand, forced them out. For which good seruice he was by the Great master rewarded with a chaine of gold of five pound weight: and because of yertue springeth vertue, which still resteth vpon difficulties, the next day, which was the first of August, the bridge which we said the enemy had made ouer the ditch, was by a sallie made by the defendants burnt downe with fire and gunpowder cast vpon it: which was in good time done, for the next day the Sunne now declining, the Turkes againe assaying that part of the castle where *Carolus Rufus* had the charge, were by our men valiantly repulst. This assault endured three houres, in which time three hundred of the Turks were there slaine: and of the knights *Rufus* himselfe and *Baresus* with certaine mercinarie souldiours. At this time the Christians were by the enemy so shut in with the multitude of great ordinance, that they could not so much as looke into the ditch or shew themselves, much lesse sallie out, but they were by and by set off. Yet did they not for all that make spare of their liues, when occasion was giuen them to performe any notable exploit: as appeared by *Calderonius* a Spaniard, who seeing some viewing that part of the wall, which the enemy had most battered and shaken at the castle bulwarke, doubted not to sallie out, but was presently taken with a bullet and slaine: which mischance when it might seeme of right to haue terrified the rest from attempting the like, did indeede the more incense them: so that when they saw the enemy exceeding busie in filling the ditch, they resolutely set downe to offer themselves to most assured death rather than to fall into

A bridge made ouer the castle ditch by the Turks.

The Turkes pushed.

A mine of the Turkes defeated.

The bridge made by the Turkes burns.

the hands of the merciesse enemy, agreed to fallie out by night, and to meet with his designs. G
V hereupon an hundred, part knights, part other souldiors, falling forth, caused the enemy to forsake the ditch and betake himselfe to flight, of whom they slew about fourescore; and lost of their owne ten men: amongst whom were *Ioannes* and *Macrinus*, two knights, whose heads the Turks the next day set vp vpon two speares vpon their trenches, that they might be seene by the Christians.

The same day they of the citie of *MALTA* at night made at one instant a number of fires; and as if it were in triumph discharged great vollies of small shot, with many other tokens of joy: which as well the besieged as the Turks thought verely to haue beene done vpon the discouerie of the Christian fleet, or els the landing of such forces as were come to remoue the siege; whereas indeed it was neither, but done onely to shew their cheerefulness, and to keepe the Turks in H
suspence with the noueltie of the matter: who for all that were not slacke in their businesse, but with earth filled vp the ditch at the castle bulwarke: whereby it came to passe, that they could not be hurt by the flankers, made in that place to scoure the ditch, but might thereby as vpon plaine ground, without stay passe vnto the wall, now opened and ouerthrowne with their continuall batterie, and with two great peeces (which they had planted vpon a high mount, which they had newly cast vp on the right hand the bulwarke *SALOMON*) they began to play vpon the castle, and at the first shot, shot into the loupe where *Franciscus Castilla* commaunded. *Ioannes Bernardus Godinetius*, a Spanishe knight, was there slaine with a small shot. The same day *Franciscus Aquilates*, a Spaniard, one of the garrison souldiors, perswaded by feare and hope (in dangers two euill counsellors) fled out of the towne *S. Michael* to the enemy; perswading the Turks colonels to giue a fresh assault, assuring them that they should without doubt win the towne, because there was but foure hundred souldiors left aliue in it, and they (as he said) almost spent with labour and wounds, all the rest being dead. VVhich the Turks hearing, and seeing faire breaches both in the wals of the new citie and of the castle *S. Michael*, wide ynough for carts to goe thorow, they determined with all their forces to assault both places at once, and to proue if there were yet so much strength left in those holds, as againe to repulse them: so the seuenth day of August at one instant they assaulted the new citie at the castle bulwarke, and the castle *S. Michael* at the breach, with such a multitude, that all the earth seemed to be covered with men round about. The thundering of the great ordinance, the noise of the small shot, with the clattering of armour, and noise of trumpets, drums, and other warlike instruments, with the crye of men on both sides, was so confused and great, as if heauen and earth should haue beene confounded together. VVhich when the knights in the citie *MALTA* heard, and saw the heauens obscured with smoake, fearing that the Turks (as at the castle *S. Elmo*) would neuer giue ouer the assault, vntill they had woon both the towne and the castle; presently all the garrison horsemen issued out of the citie, and to auert the Turks from the assault, set vpon those Turks which lay at *AQVA MARTIA*: who all surprised with a sudden feare, fled; the Christian horsemen hardly pursuing them with bloudie execution, and they in their fight piteously crying vnto their fellows for help. VVhereby it came to passe, that they which were assailing the citie and castle, to rescue their discomforted fellows, were glad to giue ouer the assault: so with great slaughter foiled on both sides by the Christians, they returned to their trenches, when they had lost about fiftene hundred at the assault, beside them which were slaine in the chase by the horsemen of *MALTA*. Of the defendants of both places were lost about a hundred, and almost as many wounded. This fight endured about five houres: *Valetta* deliuered off so great a danger, that day and certaine others caused publick prayers to be made, & went himselfe with the multitude of the citizens to the church, to giue thanks to Almighty God for that victorie.

VVhilest these things were in doing, *Garzia* the Viceroy was aduertised from *CALABRIA*, that certaine ships laded with men, victuall, and other provision necessarie for the warres, were coming from *CONSTANTINOPLE* to *MALTA*; wherefore he forthwith sent *Alfandra* and *Gildandrada*, two noble men, with five gallies to meet them: who being come within thirtie miles of *MALTA*, met with no such ships, but only one frigot and a galliot; the frigot they took, but the galliot escaped to the enemies fleet at *MALTA*.

Mustapha the Turks Generall now thinking no man so strong which might not with continuall labour and watching be wearied and overcome; resolved not to giue vnto the besieged any time of rest, but commaunded his souldiors againe to assault the breach at the castle of *Saint Michael*.

Michael; where they were by the valour of the defendants, with no small slaughter quickly repulsed: Neither did the Bassa giue so many assaults, for the hope he had to win those places; but rather to performe the dutie of a valiant Generall, and to satisfie *Solyman*'s pleasure, who had expressly commaunded, either to win that island, or there all to lose their liues. He also sent a galliot in hast with letters to *Solyman*; wherein he shewed him the state of the fleet, with what difficulties the armie was distressed, what small hope there was of winning the places besieged, how well the Christians were provided, with many other such things.

In the meane time those two gallies of *MALTA* (which we haue before spoken of) departing from *MESSANA*, came to *SIRACUSA*, where they staid a day: The next day after, in going out of the haven, they met with one of *MALTA* in a small boat coming from *POZALO*. B
fore wounded: he being demanded how he was so hurt, told them, That landing by night with his boat and one companion, he was requested by two Sicilians which dwelt there, to rest there that night, which they doing, about midnight five Turks brake into the house vpon them, killed his companion, carried away the Sicilians, and he wounded as he was; hardly escaped by the benefit of the night: moreouer he said, That the Sicilians had told the Turks, that two gallies were come into that port, with souldiors and other warlike provision bound for *MALTA*: Whereby the knights perceiued, that their coming would be discovered vnto the enemy, and that it was a most dangerous thing, or rather impossible, to get into the haven of *MALTA*, as they had before purposed: neuertheless, to conduct *Salazar* with his little boat, they kept on their course. But as they were sayling, they descried two gallies and one galliot going before C
them, who seeing the gallies coming after them, made with all speed to *MALTA*: and were no doubt those gallies, from whence those five Turks came, which had done those things which the wounded Maltese reported. For all that, these gallies kept on their course as farre as *POZALO*; from whence they certified the Viceroy by letters, all that had happened: and not daring to put to sea, the South wind blowing with a stiffe gale against them, they returned backe againe to *SIRACUSA*, expecting there farther direction from the Viceroy. For which cause, they forthwith sent one of the knights to him to *MESSANA*; by whom they receiued answer, That they should go no farther, but to stay for the coming of the whole fleet, readie in short time to passe ouer to *MALTA*. But *Salazar* brought by the gallies to *POZALO*, resolved with his little boat to go on: and although the day he departed thence, the aire was troubled with great wind, thunder and raine, yet the daies following prouing more calme, he in short time arrived in the island D
of *MALTA*, and came in safetie to the citie *MALTA*; and there disguised himselfe in Turkish apparel, and taking with him one companion who could also speake the Turkish language, by night got into the enemies camp: where diligently marking all things, they perceiued that there was in all the Turkes armie of land souldiors scarce foureene thousand, and of them many wounded and sicke; and that the rest was but an vnseruiceable and feeble multitude, for that the course of wars had (as commonly it doth) consumed their best souldiors. VVhen they had thus viewed the campe, they returned againe to the citie; from whence *Salazar* with one *Petrus Paccius* a Spaniard; a venturous and valiant man, went to a certaine place nere vnto the watch towre of *MALTA*: which when they had curiously viewed, *Paccius* was there left, that obseruing the E
signes from the island of *GAVIOS* and the citie of *MELITA*; he might giue knowledge of all things to the Viceroy at his approach, as he was by *Salazar* instructed. As for *Salazar* himselfe, he in his little boat (which at his coming into the isle he had there left) happily returned to *MESSANA*, and there declared vnto the Viceroy all that he had seene: constantly affirming amongst other things, That the Turkes fleet was but weak; lame, and disurnished both of men and munition, farre vnable to encounter with 10000 Christians. About which time also, one of the two frigots which were before sent to *MALTA*, returned with another Spaniard; and a fugitive from the Turks campe: and foure gallies before gone from *MESSANA*, were also come in with foureene Turks, taken about the island of *MALTA*, who all confirmed the same that was by *Salazar* reported: which was, That the Turkes armie was with often assaults wonderfully F
weakened, both in number and strength; so that they could not with stripes be enforced to the assault, for which the Bassa had with his owne hands slaine diuers of them: and that which more increased their feare, they saw none of their men wounded, but that they died thereof. Besides that, they saw the Christians with inuincible courage to defend their strong places; and not to spend one shot in vaine: wherefore they were forie, and repented that they euer tooke in hand that

Mustapha sent a messenger to Solyman.

Salazar a Spanishe captaine as a spie entred the Turkes campe.

Aquilates a Spaniard fleeth to the Turkes.

The Turkes at one time assault the new citie and the castle S. Michael.

The garrison souldiors of Malta falling out, cause the Turkes to giue ouer the assault at S. Michael.

that expedition; they detested such a war, shrinking as much as they could from the assault, and as they might stealing quite away, which many of them did, especially such as had before abjured the Christian faith. For which cause diligent watch and ward was kept, and commandment given by the great Bassa, that they should resolve with themselves either to win the towne, or there all to lay vp their bones; for that the great Sultan *Solyman* had so commaunded, whom to gain, say was in it selfe death. These and such like persuations, caused the Viceroy somewhat the sooner to thinke of the bringing forth of his fleet: the besieged in the meane time did what men might for defence of the place and themselves. There was in the castle one *Franciscus Givara* capitaine of the vanguard, a noble and valiant gentleman, of a great conceit; he about ten foot from the towne wall which the enemy had with their great ordinance beaten downe, caused a curtaine to be drawne fiftie foot long, and siue foot thicke, with flankers at both ends; which in two nights was brought to perfection, and was afterwards a great helpe to the besieged. The enemy in the meane time began a mine vnder the corner of the towne ditch, where *Bonifegna* a Spaniard and a most valiant knight had the charge: which the besieged perceiuing, by a counter mine defeated the same. It happened in the meane time, that as a fugitive was swimming to the towne, he was taken by the enemy; which much grieved the besieged, desirous to haue vnderstood something of the state of the enemies campe, and of their purposes. Now when the former mine had taken so euill successe, part of the Turkes assailed the castle *S. Michael*, and part with gunpowder thought to haue blowne vp the castle bulwarke: but by the carefulnesse and courage of the defendants, all their attempts were disappointed; for many of the Turkes were in both places slaine, and certaine bags of powder taken from them in the mine. With these and other such difficulties, *Mustapha* and *Piall* the Turkes Generals disappointed of their hope, consulted with the other great capitaines of the armie, whether they should there still continue that desperat siege, or depart: where most were cleere of opinion, That it was best betime to depart. Yet for all that, the old Bassa said, He would there stay, vntill the galliot (which he had before sent to *CONSTANTINOPLE*) were returned with answere from *Solyman*, and in the meane time both by force and pollicie to seeke after victorie: which thing he often did, than stood with the broken estate of his armie, or of the besieged; neither resting himselfe nor suffering others to take rest: for one while he battered the wals, another while he wrought mines or else made bridges; sometime he cast vp mounts, and then againe filled the ditches; and euer anon gaue one assault or another. In all which doing he vsed such industrie, that whatsoever he tooke in hand, was in short time brought to such perfection as might haue carried a stronger place, had not the valour of the defendants far exceeded all his strong and polittike deuises.

Robles Gouverneur
of the castle of *S.
Michael*, slaine.

It fortuned, that as *Robles* the camp-master and Gouverneur of the castle *S. Michael*, was by night viewing the ruines of the wall, he was strucke in the head with a small shot, and slaine; leaving behind him to his fellowes, the great desire of himselfe: for why, he was a man for many his good parts (wherewith he had many times stood the defendants in great stead) worthily beloued. In whose stead the Great master sent one of the Colonels that was with himselfe, a most expert and resolute capitaine, to take charge of *S. Michaels* castle; who by his vigilant care and prouidence so well discharged the charge committed vnto him, that as often as the Turkes attempted the place, so often they were with losse repulsed.

The two gallies with the galliot, descried by the gallies of *MALTA* (as we haue before said) told *Piall Bassa* the Admirall, that the Christian fleet was readie to come forth: wherefore he fearing the sudden comming thereof, caused seauentie gallies to be in readinesse; besides which, fortie others lay in the haven *MARZAMOTTA* vnseruicable; as wanting both men and other equipage, for that was spent in making bridges, mines, and other such things necessary for the siege: as for the men, they were part with sickness, and part with often assaults consumed. Wherefore *Piall* for certaine daies kept himselfe by day in the port *MARZOTTA* neere the shoare, and by night put forth to sea, expecting the comming of the fleet. But after long looking, when he saw no man appeare, he againe landed his souldiors: and because at land the Bassa began to want powder, of euerie thirtie barrells of powder in euerie gallie, he tooke out twentie, and of some twentie siue, or according to that proportion. After which time, the Turkes began with greater furie than at any time before, to batter the wals of both townes, especially with those great pieces which they call basilisks, whose shot of two hundred pound waight was seauen hands about; whereby the wals of the castle of *S. Michael* were beaten flat. And at the same time,

A time, the Bassa at the castle *S. Angelo*, had with continuall batterie so shaken the castle bulwarke, that it was almost fallen quite downe. These breaches thus made, when the Turkes saw both townes bared of wals and other defendants; and laid so open, that nothing seemed now to let them to looke vpon their enemies, they made no longer stay, but the eighteenth day of August (the sunne being now at the highest) with all their power fiercely assaulted both the townes. Thrice they were repulsed, and still came on a fresh; yet at length beaten downe on euerie side with great slaughter, they were glad shamefully to giue ouer the assault, and againe to retire to their trenches. In this most cruell fight (which endured siue houres) the inuincible courage of the Great master notably appeared, who armed with a pike in his hand, and dreadfull to behold, was still valiantly fighting in the face of the breach, whose presence encouraged not the souldiors only, but euen boies and women to fight: For so it is, that men are more moued with example than with words. Yet of the great number of the Turkes, part stood still in the towne ditch; and to save themselves from the shot of the castle bulwarke, had with wonderfull celeritie cast vp a defence of earth, fagots, and other like matter, which they did of purpose to approach and to vndermine the wals, and had therefore inclosed the space of fiftene elnes: which when the besieged perceiued, they bent certaine pieces of artillerie vpon it, and slew many of them, and with fire consumed what was left. The next day the assault was at the same places by the enemy renewed, who by reason of his number of souldiors might easily send fresh men in stead of them which were wounded or wearie: and first, after their wonted manner, they battered both the townes all that day vntill night; afterwards, the moone arising, about midnight with a horrible crye they began a most terrible assault, which at the first much troubled the Christians, who yet still mindfull of their wonted valour, did so much with their weapons and fire-works, that the enemy euill intreated, was glad after three houres fight to retire to his trenches. The same day a mine was by the defendants perceiued, at the castle bulwarke, wherein a hundred Turkes there found, were almost all slaine, and the mine destroyed. Yet for all this did not the enemy rest at all, but the next day seauen times assaulted the same breaches, vsing now not weapons only, but fire-works also; wherewith *Bonifegna* had his face so burnt, that he lost one of his eies. At the same time also, the Turkes at a place called the *S. P. V. A.*, laboured mightily to haue gotten into the castle: where *Centius* a knight of an inuincible courage, got vp vpon the rampier, and with a pike courageously thrust them downe that were climbing vp, and thrusting thorow one, discouraged the rest; but was himselfe wounded in the arme with a small shot: Yet when he had a little withdrawne himselfe to haue his wound bound vp, he came againe to the rampier, and neuer departed from the fight vntill he had (as a valiant conquerour) preferred the place. So the Turkes with great slaughter on euerie side repulsed, left the victorie to the Christians, of whom were slaine almost a hundred, and most of them (as at other times) with shot: amongst whom were these most valiant knights, at the castle *Angelo*, *Fragus*, at the castle of *S. Michael*, *Scipio Piatius*, *Io. Baptista Soderinus*, *Paulus Bomportus*, *Marius Fagianus*, *Ruffinus*, and certaine others, men worthe of longer life. The Turkes had also at the same time wrought a mine at the castle *S. Michael*, which was at once both discouered and destroyed.

With these so many and so great assaults, certaine of the knights (and those not of the meanest sort) fearing least that which was so often attempted by the enemy, should at length be effected; told the Great master, That they thought it conuenient and necessarie, to remooue all the records, all the pictures and reliques of the Saints, and other their religious things into the castle *S. Angelo*, there to be kept as in a place of more strength and assurance. The Great master, although he well knew that they which thus said, spake it of a good mind, was for all that with that speech exceedingly moued: wherefore he shortly answered them, That so to doe, were nothing else but to appaule and discourage the minds, not of the Malteses onely, who had hitherto valiantly behaued themselves, and done more than any man could haue hoped for; but also of the mercinarie souldiors, if they should perceiue it: wherefore he was resolved, either together to keep all, or lose all; and because none should from thenceforth repose any hope in the strength of the castle *S. Angelo*, he said he would bring all the garrison out of the castle into the towne, that there they might together with others withstand the enemy; and that he would leave in the castle none but gunners, who should as need required shoot at the enemy. An answere truly well becomming a man of his place, and to be to all posteritie commended: for how can the souldior hope, which seeth his captain dispaire? or aduenture, where the chieftaine seemeth to be stricken with

The Turke at
once assault the
townes *S. Angelo*
and *S. Michael*,
and are at both
places repulsed.

Another assault.

Therefore an-
swere of the great
Master.

that expedition; they detested such a war, shrinking as much as they could from the assault, and as they might stealing quite away, which many of them did, especially such as had before abjured the Christian faith. For which cause diligent watch and ward was kept, and commandement given by the great Bassa, that they should resolute with themselves either to win the towne, or there all to lay vp their bones; for that the great Sultan *Solyman* had so commaunded, whom to gain, say was in it selfe death. These and such like persuasions, caused the Viceroy somewhat the sooner to thinke of the bringing forth of his fleet: the besieged in the meane time did what men might for defence of the place and themselves. There was in the castle one *Franciscus Giura* capitaine of the vauntguard, a noble and valiant gentleman, of a great conceit; he about ten foot from the towne wall which the enemy had with their great ordinance beaten downe, caused a curtaine to be drawne fittie foot long, and fivie foot thicke, with flankers at both ends; which in two nights was brought to perfection, and was afterwards a great helpe to the besieged: The enemy in the meane time began a mine vnder the corner of the towne ditch, where *Bonifegna* a Spaniard and a most valiant knight had the charge: which the besieged perceiuing, by a countermine defeated the same. It happened in the meane time, that as a fugitiue was swimming to the towne, he was taken by the enemy; which much grieved the besieged, desirous to haue vnderstood something of the state of the enemies campe, and of their purposes. Now when the former mine had taken so euill successe, part of the Turkes assailed the castle *S. Michael*, and part with gunpowder thought to haue blowne vp the castle bulwarke: but by the carefulnesse and courage of the defendants, all their attempts were disappointed; for many of the Turkes were in both places slaine, and certaine bags of powder taken from them in the mine. With these and other such difficulties, *Mustapha* and *Piall* the Turkes Generals disappointed of their hope, consulted with the other great capitaines of the armie, whether they should there still continue that desperat siege, or depart: where most were cleere of opinion, That it was best betime to depart. Yet for all that, the old Bassa said, He would there stay, vntill the galliot (which he had before sent to *Constantinople*) were returned: with answere from *Solyman*, and in the meane time both by force and policie to seeke after victorie: which thing he often did, than stood with the broken estate of his armie, or of the besieged; neither resting himselfe nor suffering others to take rest: for one while he battered the wals, another while he wrought mines or else made bridges; sometime he cast vp mounts, and then againe filled the ditches; and: euer and anon gaue one assault or another. In all which doing he vsed such industrie, that whatsoever he tooke in hand, was in short time brought to such perfection as might haue carried a stronger place, had not the valour of the defendants far exceeded all his strong and polittike deuises.

Robles Gouverneur of the castle of S. Michael, slaine.

It fortuned, that as *Robles* the camp-master and Gouveriour of the castle *S. Michael*, was by night viewing the ruines of the wall, he was stricke in the head with a small shot, and slaine; leauing behind him to his fellowes, the great desire of himselfe: for why, he was a man for many his good parts (wherewith he had many times stood the defendants in great stead) worthily beloued. In whose stead the Great master sent one of the Colonels that was with himselfe, a most expert and resolute capitaine, to take charge of *S. Michaels* castle; who by his vigilant care and prouidence so well discharged the charge committed vnto him, that as often as the Turkes attempted the place, so often they were with losse repulsed.

The two gallies with the galliot, desferied by the gallies of *Malta* (as we haue before said) told *Piall Bassa* the Admirall, that the Christian fleet was readie to come forth: wherefore he fearing the sudden comming thereof, caused seauentie gallies to be in readinesse; besides which, fortie others lay in the haven *Marza Moxart* vnseruiceable; as wanting both men and other equipage, for that was spent in making bridges, mines, and other such things: necessarrie for the siege: as for the men, they were part with sicknesse, and part with often assaults consumed. Wherefore *Piall* for certaine daies kept himselfe by day in the port *Malta* neere the shoare, and by night put forth to sea, expecting the comming of the fleet. But after long looking, when he saw no man appeare, he againe landed his souldiours: and because at land the Bassa began to want powder, of euerie thirte barrels of powder in euerie gallie, he tooke out twentie, and of some twentie fivie, or according to that proportion. After which time, the Turkes began with greater furie than at any time before, to batter the wals of both townes; especially with those great pieces, which they call basilisks, whose shot of two hundred pound waight was seauen hands about; wherby the wals of the castle of *S. Michael* were beaten flat. And at the same time,

A time, the Bassa at the castle *S. Angelo*, had with continuall batterie so shaken the castle bulwarke, that it was almost fallen quite downe. These breaches thus made, when the Turkes saw both townes bared of wals and other defendants; and laid so open, that nothing seemed now to let them to looke vpon their enemies, they made no longer stay, but the eighteenth day of August (the sunne being now at the highest) with all their power fiercely assaulted both the townes. Thise they were repulsed, and still came on a fresh; yet at length beaten downe on euerie side with great slaughter, they were glad shamefully to giue ouer the assault, and againe to retire to their trenches. In this most cruell fight (which endured fivie houres) the inuincible courage of the Great master notably appeared, who armed with a pike in his hand, and dreadfull to behold, was still valiantly fighting in the face of the breach, whose presence encouraged not the souldiors only, but euen boies and women to fight: For so it is, that men are more moued with example than with words. Yet of the great number of the Turkes, part stood still in the towne ditch; and to saue themselves from the shot of the castle bulwarke, had with wonderfull celeritie cast vp a defence of earth, sagors, and other like matter, which they did of purpose to approach and to vndermine the wals; and had therefore inclosed the space of fiftene elnes: which when the besieged perceiued, they bent certaine pieces of artillerie vpon it, and slew many of them, and with fire consumed what was left. The next day the assault was at the same places by the enemy renewed, who by reason of his number of souldiors might easily send fresh men in stead of them which were wounded or wearie: and first, after their wonted manner, they battered both the townes all that day vntill night; afterwards, the moone arising, about midnight with a horrible cry they began a most terrible assault, which at the first much troubled the Christians, who yet still mindfull of their wonted valour, did so much with their weapons and fire-works, that the enemy euill intreated, was glad after three houres fight to retire to his trenches. The same day a mine was by the defendants perceiued, at the castle bulwarke, whereto a hundred Turkes there found, were almost all slaine, and the mine destroyed. Yet for all this did not the enemy rest at all, but the next day seauen times assaulted the same breaches, vsing now not weapons only, but fire-works also; wherewith *Bonifegna* had his face so burnt, that he lost one of his eies. At the same time also, the Turks at a place called the *Serra*, laboured mightily to haue gotten into the castle: where *Centinus* a knight of an inuincible courage, got vp vpon the rampier, and with a pike courageously thrust them downe that were climbing vp, and thrusting thorow one, discouraged the rest; but was himselfe wounded in the arme with a small shot: Yet when he had a little withdrawne himselfe to haue his wound bound vp, he came againe to the rampier, and neuer departed from the fight vntill he had (as a valiant conquerour) preserved the place. So the Turks with great slaughter on euerie side repulsed, left the victorie to the Christians, of whom were slaine almost a hundred, and most of them (as at other times) with shot: amongst whom were these most valiant knights, at the castle *Angelo*, *Fragus*, at the castle of *S. Michael*, *Scipio Piatu*, *Io. Baptista Soderinus*, *Paulus Bomportus*, *Marius Eagianus*, *Ruffinus*, and certaine others; men worthe of longer life. The Turks had also at the same time wrought a mine at the castle *S. Michael*, which was at once both discovered and destroyed.

The Turke at once assaults the townes S. Angelo and S. Michael, and are at both places repulsed.

Another assault.

With these so many and so great assaults, certaine of the knights (and those not of the meaneest sort) fearing least that which was so often attempted by the enemy, should at length be effected; told the Great master, That they thought it convenient and necessarrie, to remooue all the records, all the pictures and reliques of the Saints, and other their religious things into the castle *S. Angelo*, there to be kept as in a place of more strength and assurance. The Great master, although he well knew that they which thus said, spake it of a good mind, was for all that with that speech exceedingly moued: wherefore he shortly answered them, That so to doe, were no thing else but to appaule and discourage the minds, not of the Malteses onely, who had hitherto valiantly behaued themselves, and done more than any man could haue hoped for; but also of the mercinarie souldiors, if they should perceiue it: wherefore he was resolved, either together to keep all, or lose all; and because none should from thenceforth repose any hope in the strength of the castle *S. Angelo*, he said he would bring all the garrison out of the castle into the towne, that there they might together with others withstand the enemy; and that he would leaue in the castle none but gunners, who should as need required shoot at the enemy. An answere truly well becoming a man of his place, and to be to all posteritie commended: for how can the souldior hope, which seeth his captain dispaire? or aduenture, where the chieftaine seemeth to be stricken with

The resolute answere of the great Master.

The Turkes af-
saile both the
towns the fourth
time.

The Turkes enter
the new citie.

The comfortable
speech of the
Great master,
when the Turkes
were entred.

The Turkes in a
great slaughter
again requested.

with feare: Whilest the Grand master with this answer doth both ashamen them and also encourage their quailing minds: the Turkes (that this day as the other three before should not passe without assault) with the dawning of the day assailed the very same places with the greatest furie possible, especially at the ruines of the castle: where *San Romanus* an Aueignoie, which had the charge of that place, lost this short and transitorie life, winning thereby immortal fame: and at *S. Michaels*, *Adurnius* one of the knights, and *Fagio*, with certaine others, were grievously wounded: for the enimie suddenly retiring from the assault, presently so thundred into the breaches with their great and small shot, that all the island seemed to tremble, the heauens to burne, and the aire to be darkened with smoake. In the meane time *Valetta* thorowly wearied with the mornings fight, had withdrawne himselfe a little to breathe himselfe: when suddenly a Spanish priest, with his hands cast vp to heauen, came running to him, foating and crying out, That all was lost and forlorne, and that three or foure ensignes of the enimies were by the castle breach broken into the towne. VVhich the Great master hearing, suddenly clapt his helmet vpon his head, and with a pike in his hand said vnto them that were about him: *Loe fellow souldiours, the houre is come wherein you may shew your selues the most valiant champions of the Christian religion, if it be so, that you now also retaine the same valor which you haue in other battels shewed. There is no cause wherefore you should doubt of this last, for the enimie is the same; and the same God which hath hitherto preferred vs, will not now forsake vs: wherefore follow me valiant hearts.* This said, he hastned to the place where most danger was, and with him all the souldiours, all the citizens, men and women, old and yong, yea the very children, all against the common enemy. There was fought a most dreadfull and dangerous battell: some kept the enimie from entering, some set vpon that were already entred, whom they wounded, chased, and slew, although they notably resisted. VVithin without, all was couered with darts, weapons, dead bodies, and blood. The Great master was carefull of all, & in euery place present, commending, exhorting, directing, as occasion required, performing at once all the duties of a most valiant souldior and worthie Generall. At length the Turkes with the setting of the Sunne retired, and so the assault ceased. Thus was the Great master the vndoubted victor, but not without much blood of his people, considering his small number: for in this fight he lost about 200 men, whereas of the enimies, beside them which were entred, whereof not one escaped, were slaine about 2000. These are those foure terrible assaults, presently giuen one after another vnto the besieged.

Garxias the Viceroy in the meane time taried for nothing els to transport his armie to *MALTA*, but for the coming of *Io. Cardona*, who with twelue gallies was gone to *PANORMO*, to conduct thence foure ships laded with prouision: but when he saw him stay long, he sent to him in post, That if he could not with such speed as was required tow forth those ships, he should spend no longer time, but take out the prouision into his gallies, and with speed to come away. So the Viceroy with a fleet of threescore and twelue gallies the twentieth day of August set forward from *MESSANA* to *SIRACUSA*, wherein he caried ten thousand select souldiours, amongst whom were about two hundred knights of the Order of *S. Iohn*, and about fortie of the Order of *S. Stephen*, which is an Order of knights instituted by *Cosmus Medices*, duke of *FLORENCE*, to the imitation of the knights of *MALTA* in the yeare 1561, and haue their residence at *COSMOPOLIS*, a new built citie in the island of *ELBA* in the Tuscan sea, oueragainst *PIONBI-NO*. Besides these knights in this fleet were diuers noble and valiant gentlemen of *ITALIE*, *SICILIE*, and other countries. The fleet being arriued at *SIRACUSA*, the Viceroy sent *Auria* with one gallic and a boat to *MALTA*, to land a man, to know of *Paccius* (left, as we haue before said, for a watch in the island at *MALICA*) what newes, or what he had seene. By whom it was vnderstood, That no ship was seene at sea, but one galliot, which the one and twentieth day of August in the morning made towards *GAVLOS*, and the same day towards night as he was informed by the watchmen of *MALICA*, sixteene gallies came to water at *SALINE*, but what became of them afterwards, by reason of the coming on of the night could not be descied.

In this while the besieged had notably repaired the breach at the castle bulwarke, and had in sundry places aptly placed certaine great pieces to flanker the ditches and to beat the mount cast vp by the enimie at the bulwarke of *BONINSEGNA*, that they might from thence annoy all the plaine of the castle with their small shot. But the Turkes hauing determined with all their forces at once to assault both the townes as before, brought an engine made of spars and boords, able to couer thirtie men, vnder the breach at *S. Michaels*: whereby it came to passe, that none of the

A defendants could without danger shew themselves in the breach: which when they could by no means endure, they suddenly sallied out, and putting them to flight which were there couered, set fire on the engine and burnt it. In like manner, they which besieged the new citie, were repulsed at the castle breach, and another like engine burnt. The next night certaine of the watch of the castle issued out, and hauing destroyed the Turkes engines prepared for the assailing of that place, and slaine them that were set for the keeping thereof, returned in safetie into the castle. But when the enimies both that day and others following rested not, but repairing their mines, mounts, and engines, laboured in both places to haue beaten the Christians from the wals; all their endeavour and labour was by the industrie and valor of the defendants made frustrate. The besieged had at the castle breach made a mine, and laid in it eight barrells of powder, that if the

A mine of the
Christians found
by the Turkes.

B enimie should again assault that place, he might there be blowne vp: but whilest the Turkes were for like purpose working a mine in the same place, they chanced vpon the mine before made, which they spoyled, and carried away all the powder. Thus whilest they labour both on the one side and the other, *Mustapha* the Generall, a most expert and famous commander, considering that Summer now so farre spent, he was not to vse longer delay; and withall, that resolute perseverance oftentimes in warre findeth out a way to victorie; determined with all his power once againe to assault the castle *S. Michael*. VVherfore displaying the stately standard of the Turkish emperour, vpon the point whereof was fastened a globe of gold; he commaunded his souldiours to enter the breach, who now like desperat men attempted to haue performed his command, and were by the Christians valiantly encountered: so that in the breach was made a most terrible and

The Turkes desper-
ately assault the
towne of *S. Michaels*
chase.

C doubtfull fight. But when the Turkes had now bene twice rejected and beaten downe, *Mustapha* perceiuing his souldiours as men halfe discouraged but faintly to maintaine the assault, came himselfe to the places, praying and exhorting them not to be discouraged, but that day to confirme their former labours and victories, and not to suffer their vanquished enemies to triumph ouer them: he told them that the enimie had now no defence left wherewith to couer himselfe, that all was beaten downe flat, and that there remained onely a few wearie and maimed bodies, which were not able long to endure the edge of their swords; that with such resolution they had before woon the castle of *S. Elmo*: last of all he by promising to some mony, to some honour and preferment, threatening some, and requesting others, encouraged some one way, some another, euery one according to his qualitie and disposition: who moued either with their Gene-

D rals presence, promises, or threats, gaue a fresh and fierce assault. The fight was on both sides terrible, yet at length the Turkes were againe enforced to retire: for the defendants had cast vp a rampier, whereon they had fitly placed two field pieces, wherewith they sore troubled the enimie, and at the first shot strucke in sunder one of those wooden engines, which the enimie had made stronger than the rest, couered with raw hides to keepe it from burning; and rent in pieces fortie souldiours which were vnder it: and the same night they which were in the other town and the castle bulwarke, tallying courageously out, destroyed all the enimies defences, & draue them from a mount, which they had made vpon the fortifications of the Christians: whereby they perceived plainely, what small courage the Turkes had to fight, for vpon that mount they were almost three hundred, whereas of our men was but fife and twentie, with which small number for

The Turkes enforced to retire.

E all that they had no mind to deale. The defendants had for like purpose as before made another mine at the castle bulwarke, but perceiuing that it was in danger to be found by the enimie in repairing his fortifications without, they suddenly put fire vnto it, by force whereof threescore Turkes which were within the danger of the place, were blowne vp and slaine.

Garxias the Viceroy, in the meane while that these things were in doing, departing with his fleet from *SIRACUSA*, with a prosperous wind kept on his course toward *PACHYNVM*, where they descied a tall ship at sea, driuen thither (as was afterwards knowne) by tempest: she out of the island *MENIN* was carrying a great supplie of shot and powder vnto the Turkes campe at *MALTA*; but now overtaken by the Christian fleet, easily yielded, and was by the Viceroy sent by other mariners to *SIRACUSA*. And now the Christian fleet caried with a faire gale towards *F* *MALTA*, suddenly arose such a tempest from the East, that they were driuen to the island *AEOLIA*, two hundred and twentie miles West of *MALTA*, from whence the first of September letters were brought from the Viceroy to the Great master, certifying him, That he would in short time come with his fleet and relieue him. The same day also a Christian fled out of the Turkes gallies, wherein he was captiue, to the citie *S. Angelo*; who reported, That in the Turkes campe were

The Christian
fleet driuen by
tempest to the
island *AEOLIA*.

were few men able to fight, most of the armie being with wounds, famine, sicknesse, and other G miseries brought to extreame weaknesse: and besides that, that infinite numbers of them died daily: yet for all that he said moreover, that they were determined to besiege the cite of MALTA, and had already for that purpose mounted five great pieces of artillerie for batterie; and that they had but a few dayes before taken Melite, and the last day of all foureteeen hostes of the garrison souldiours of that cite. In the meane while the fleet which was driuen (as we said) to AGOS, the rage of the sea being now well appeased, came to DREANUM, and from thence toward GAVLOS, as was before intended: where by the way the two gallies of MALTA light vpon two of the Turkes galliots, and tooke them.

The Christian fleet commeth to GAVLOS.

The fifth day of September the Christian fleet came to GAVLOS, where the Viceroy perceiuing not the appointed signes from MALTA, whereby he might safely land, returned forthwith H backe againe to POZALO, whether *Auria* immediately following him, told him, That he had seene the signes, and assured him of safe landing in the island of MALTA: wherewith the Viceroy encouraged, the next day towards night returned againe to GAVLOS.

A fugitive discovereth the enemies purpose to the Great master.

The same day a Christian captiue fled from the Turks to S. Angelo, and told the Great master, That he was come to bring him good newes, how that the Turks had determined to proue their last fortune in assaulting the castle S. Michael, which they would doe the next day, where if the successe were answerable to their desire, they would then tarrie, but if not, then forthwith be gone: and that *Mustapha* the more to encourage his souldiours, had promised five talents of gold to the ensignebearers, that should first aduance their ensignes vpon the wals, and farther to promote them to greater places of honor; as for the rest, he would reward euery one of them according to their desert, either with money or preferment. *Vlastra* thinking all these things to be by Gods appointment discovered vnto him by such men, as they had from time to time bene: first gaue thanks vnto Almighty God, and after that with all diligence prepared such things as he thought most necessaric for the repulsing of the enemy. But the Turks all that day with their great ordinance battered the new cite, and the shipping in the haven, in such sort that one of the great ships was there sunke.

The Viceroy arriveth at Malta, and landeth his forces.

In the morning *Garzia* the Viceroy with his fleet arrived at the island of MALTA, and there quickly and quietly landed his forces, and whilst his gallies watered at GAVLOS, went forward with the armie about halfe a mile, instructing the Generals and Colonels what he thought needfull to be done, commaunding all proclamations and commaunds to be made in the name of the king of SPAIN, vntill they came to the Great master, and then in all things to obey him as their Soueraigne: and charged *Ascanius Cornia* the Generall in all his actions to follow the counsell of the greater part. So in few words exhorting them to play the men, he left them marching towards MELITE. About noone he retired to his gallies, and sayling Eastward, came with all his fleet within the sight of the cite of MELITE, about three miles distant from the South shore. They of the cite vpon sight of the fleet, in token of joy discharged all the great artillerie, which was answered from the fleet, by discharging all their great ordinance twice. After that he returned as he had before determined into SICILIA, to take into his gallies the duke of VERBINS companies which were come to MESSANA, and certain bands of Spaniards at SYRACUSA, and so forthwith to returne to MALTA to attend the departing of the Turkes fleet, being L now cuill appointed, and already as good as halfe ouerthrowne.

The Turkes, who (as is before said) had purposed to proue their last fortune vpon the towne of S. Michael, had now certaine dayes before the comming of the fleet begun to trusse vp their baggage: but as soone as they heard that the fleet was come, and the armie landed, there suddenly arose a wonderfull tumultuous confusion amongst them, some cried arme, arme, and othersome as fast to be gone: and being generally all afraid, euery one according to his disposition, betooke himselfe to his weapons or to his heeles; the greatest number thrust together into their trenches, as neere as they could vnto their great ordinance: and so burning the engines and fortifications, with all the speed they could embarked their great ordinance and baggage. Which they in the towne S. Angelo perceiuing, not expecting the commandement of the Great master, in so sudden an opportunitie courageously sallied out to BYRMOLA, where certaine Turkes kept a huge great peece of ordinance; who now hauing no mind to fight, betooke themselves to flight, and forsooke the peece, which they of the towne presently drew within their wals. And if the newcome forces had that day charged the enemy as they disorderly ran to their gallies, hap-
pily

A pily they had either found an occasion of victorie, or at leastwise taken from them the greatest part of their artillerie. But it may be, that they followed the old militarie saying, That vnto the flying enemy a man should make a bridge of siluer. Besides that, they thinking it not convenient to depart from the prouision and things which they had brought for the releefe of the besieged; which for the roughnesse of the way and want of horses were hardly caried, would not prouoke the enemy with any skirmish: whereby it came to passe, that the Turkes without let embarked their great ordinance, their baggage, and most part of their armie. The eleventh of September, whilst the Turkes fleet was brought out of the haven MARZA MOXET, a fugitive of GENVA, *The Turkes take the siege.* came in hast to the Great master, and told him that ten thousand Turkes were marching towards MELITE, to meet with the Christians vpon the way. Which thing the Great master hearing, presently sent a sufficient number of good souldiours to the castle Saint Elmo, there to set vp one of the ensignes of the sacred Order: who comming thither, found there foure and twentie great peeces, some for batterie, some for the field, which they could not in so great hast remouue thence.

The Turkes fleet departing out of the haven MARZA MOXET to the port S. Paule, there landed seven thousand men, with *Mustapha* their Generall, who was falsely informed, That the Christians were not about three thousand strong: and from thence, encouraged with the small number of the enemy (as they supposed) they marched directly toward MELITE. The Christians also marching orderly and readie to giue battell, held on their way to meet them: and at the rising of an hill both armies meeting together, they gaue a great shout, and withall the formost C began the battell, where some few were at the first slaine on both sides. But the Christians still growing vpon them both in number and strength, the Turkes finding themselves ouercharged, fled, the Christians pursuing them and killing them vntill they came to their gallies; where in striving who should get in first, about foure hundred of them were drowned in the sea, besides eightene hundred slaine in the battell at land: and had the Christian souldiours well knowne the country, they had slaine them euery mothers sonne. The Turkes thus driuen to their gallies, lay there in the haven all the next day, and most part of the night following: but a little before day vpon the shooting off of a great peece, the signe of their departure, they all hoisted saile for GRECIA, leaving the island of MALTA fore impouerished and wasted. In this siege the Turkes lost about foure and twentie thousand, whereof most part were of their best souldiours: and of the D Christians were slaine about five thousand, besides two hundred and fortie knights of the Order, men of diuers nations, but all worthe eternall fame, whose dead bodies the Great master caused to be honourably buried. The Turkes in their batterie during the siege, spent as is accounted threecore and eightene thousand great shot.

The Turkes ouerthrowne by the Christians, flee to their gallies.

The Turkes depart from Malta.

If a man doe well consider the difficulties and dangers the besieged passed thorow in this five moneths siege, the manifold labours and perils they endured in so many and so terrible assaults, the small releefe to them sent in so great distresse, with the desperat obstinacie of so puissant an enemy; he shall hardly find any place these many yeares more mightily impugned, or with greater valour and resolution defended. The late besieged, and now victorious prince, honourably acquitted of so great an enemy, first commaunded publicke prayers with E thanksgiuing to be made vnto the giuer of all victorie: after that, he rewarded the valiant, commended the rest, and gaue thanks to all; he charitably relieved the sicke and wounded, bewailed the spoile of the island, and carefully provided for the repairing of the breaches and places battered: and yet in all this doing, diligently enquired after the enemies course and purpose, & was not in any thing remisse or secure, as in victorie most men are. But because so great harms could not without great helpe in short time be repaired, and the returne of the proud enemy, nor without cause the next yeare feared: he by letters to diuers great princes, and especially to the graund priors of the Order, in diuers countries, requested helpe; amongst whom *George*, graund prior of GERMANIE, and founder of the castle of S. Elmo, was one of the chiefe. The copie of which letters, because they briefly containe what we haue before in this historie at large F written, I haue thought good here to set downe, that the same may in such order be read, as it was by the Great master himselfe reported.

The carefulnesse of the Great Master.

Aaaa

Brother

Brother Valetta, Master of the hospitall of Ierusalem, to the reuerend and religious our welbeloued brother in Christ, George of Hohenheim; called Bombast, prior of our priorie in Almanie, greeting.

The letters of the Great master to the graund prior of Almanie, concerning the manner of the Turke proceedings in the siege of Malta.

Although we doubt not but that by the letters and relation of many, you already understand of the comming of the Turkes to invade these islands, or rather utterly to subuert our Societie: and the happie and heavenly victorie by vs obtained of it: Yet if the same things shall by our letters also be brought vnto you, we haue thought the same will be vnto you a thing much more pleasing. For seeing that we are certainly perswaded, that you in this no lesse happy than wholesome successe will giue most heartie thanks to Almighty God; and that the fruit of this good shall most of all redound vnto you, for the honour which you beare in our Order; we haue willingly determined to participate this our ioy with you, and plainly and openly to protest, That we attribute this so notable and wonderfull a victorie to our Lord Christ Iesus, the greatest king of all kings; and author of all good things, which that you may the more worthily and willingly doe, wee will declare the whole matter, not at large (for that were to write an historie) but breiefely and in few words. Sultan Solyman the most mortall enemie of the Christian name, and especially of our Societie, not contented to haue spoiled vs of the most famous island of the RHODES, the castle of TRIPOLIS, and almost whatsoever we had els, commaunded a great and strong fleet to be made readie against vs, which departing from CONSTANTINOPLE the one and twentieth day of March, arrived here the eighteenth day of May: which fleet consisted of almost two hundred and fiftie gallies, gallions and other ships. The number of the enemie that beare armes according to the truth, was about fortie thousand, more or lesse: General of the land forces, was Mustapha Bassa; and of the fleet Piali Bassa was Admirall: who hauing spent a few daies in landing their forces, viewing the places, pitching their tents, and setting things in order (as the manner of warre is) they began first to assaile the castle of S. Elmo (situated in the mouth of the haven) with great force, and a most furious batterie. Which when they had many daies done without intermission, and had opened a great part of the wall, and with all kind of weapons assaulted the breach: yet was it by the valour and prowesse of our knights and other worthy souldiors kept and defended by the space of thirtie five daies, with the great losse and slaughter of the enemie: although the castle it selfe, in the iudgement of many, seemed not possible to be but a few daies defended against so great a force. At length the foure and twentieth day of Iune, when our men could no longer indure the multitude and furie of the enemie, enuironed and shut up both by sea and land, and destitute of all helpe, the castle was taken by the Turkes; those few of our men which were left, being all slaine. Of which victorie they being proude, began to besiege the castle and towne of S. Michael, and this new citie, especially at the castle and Portingall bulwarke: and (as their manner is) with great diligence and greater force and number of great artillerie and warlike engines, they began in diuers places at once to batter and beat downe the wals. Which siege the dreadfull armie of the Turkes, both by sea and land, made to be most fearefull and terrible, with such huge great ordinance as the like for bignesse and force was in no place to be scene; day and night thundring out their yron and stone shot, fire, and seauen hands about; wherewith not the thickest wals, but euen the verie mountaines themselves might haue been beaten downe and ouerthrowne: by furie wherof, the wals in many places were so battered, that a man might easily haue entred as on plaine ground. Where, when the barbarous enemies had with wonderfull force and hideous outcries oftentimes attempted to enter, so often were they with great slaughter and dishonour repulsed and beaten backe; many of their men being slaine or wounded. Their Generals, as well at sea as land, after that they had in so many places, with all their forces in almost foure moneths siege and assault, with exceeding furie in vaine attempted the breaches, and lost the greatest part of their old souldiors, especially winter now comming on, wherein all wars by law of nations ought to cease; thought of nothing else but of departure, or rather of flight: which the comming of Garcias of TOLEDO, Viceroy of SICILIA and Admirall of the king of SPAINES his fleet, with ten thousand select souldiors (amongst whom was at the least two hundred and fouteene of our knights, and many other noble and valiant gentlemen; which onely with a Christian Zeale, voluntarily met together from diuers parts of the world to helpe and relieue vs) caused them to hasten. So haue you summarily and in few words, the proceedings and flight of the Turke fleet, and the victorie by vs (by the power of God) thereof obtained. It shall be your part to consider and coniecture, in what

A state our Order and this island now standeth, into what poore estate we are brought, how many things we want; wherein except we be relieved by the helpe and aid of our brethren especially such as you are, as we well hope and assuredly beleue we shall, our state will quickly take end. Fare you well from MALTA the ninth of October 1565.

The Great master thus deliuered of so great a siege, and bountifullly relieved by the Christian princes, and the great commendiers of his Order; speedily repaired the breaches and places battered, and with new fortifications strengthened such places as he had by the late passed dangers perceived to be most subject to the enemies force.

After the returne of the Turkes fleet to CONSTANTINOPLE, Solyman being exceeding angry with the Gouvernour of the island of CHIOS his tributarie, as well for that he had during the late siege of MALTA, had intelligence with the Great master, and reuealed vnto him many of the Turkes desseignes; as also for detaining of two yeares tribute, which was yearly ten thousand ducats; and had also neglected to send his wonted presents to the great Bassas, who therefore the more incensed, the tyrant commaunded Piali Bassa his Admirall to make readie his fleet, and by force or pollicie, to take that fruitfull and pleasant island wholly into his owne hand. Who without delay, with a fleet of eightie gallies, the fifteenth day of Aprill in the yeare 1566, being then Easterday, arrived at CHIOS. The chiefe men of the island, vpon sight of the fleet, forthwith sent embassadours to the Bassa with presents, courteously offering vnto him the haven, and whatsoever else he should require. Piali with great kindnesse accepted their offer, and presently possessed himselfe of the haven in three places: and afterward landing, sent for the Gouvernour of the citie, & twelue of the chiefe citizens to come vnto him, as if he had had some speciall matter to confere with him about from the great Sultan, before his departure thence for MALTA OF ITALIE. Who hauing a little conferred together, went to him with great feare; and that not without cause, for as soone as they were come before him, he commaunded them to be laid hold vpon and cast fast into yrons: which done, the souldiors forthwith tooke the towne hall, and without resistance pulling downe the townes ensigne (wherein was the picture of S. George with a red crosse) in stead thereof set vp one of the Turkes: the like whereof was done with the great reioicing of the Turkes, thorow the whole island. After that, they rifled the Churches, and againe consecrated them after their Mahometane manner. The Gouvernour of the citie and the Senators with their families, the Bassa sent in fute ships to CONSTANTINOPLE: as for the vulgar people, they were at choise, either there to tarry still, or depart, as best stood with their liking. And so the Bassa, when he had there placed a new Gouvernour, one of the Turkes, with a strong garrison, and set vp the Mahometane superstition in that most fertile island, departed thence for ITALIE: where sayling alongst the coast of APULIA, he did exceeding much harme in burning and destroying the countrey villages, and carrying away of the poore people into captiuitie; and so returned.

At this time, the kingdome of HUNGARIE was most miserably rent in pieces by the lieutenants and captaines of Solyman, and Maximilian the emperour, and John the Vayuod of TRANSILVANIA, Solymans vassall: who grieved with the harmes done vnto him by the emperours captaines, wherof himselfe was the cause, and vainely hoping to haue obtained at Solymans hands the greatest part of the kingdome of HUNGARIE, as had sometime king John; ceased not continually to sollicit him to come himselfe in person to make a full conquest of the reliques of HUNGARIE, yet holden by the emperour and some of the Hungarian nobilitie: And flattering himselfe in that vaine hope, called himselfe the king of HUNGARIE, and increasing his strength by letters vnto the nobilitie and burgesies of the cities of HUNGARIE, summoned them, as if it had bin by the appointment of Solyman his great patron, That they should all the ninth of March meet together at THORDA, to determine with him of matters concerning their common good. Which thing, as soone as Lázarus Suenidi the emperours lieutenant vnderstood, he forthwith by other letters countermanded those of the Vayuods; perswading the Hungarians, not to listen to the charmes of the Vayuod and the Turke, tending to their destruction, but rather to yeld to their obedience to Maximilian the Christian emperour, whose purpose was by the aid of the Christian princes, to protect and preferre them in peace. And hereby it came to passe, that the remainders of this sore shaken kingdome, deuided into factions, and diuersly carried, according to their affection, some to the one side, some to the other, began afresh to worke one anothers confusion,

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The Turke, since
prize towns in
Hungarie.

Great troubles
in Hungarie.

The good suc-
cesse of the em-
perours capitaine.

confusion, which sely serued the Turkes to encroache more and more vpon them: What at the same time surprised the towne of AINATSCHE (the capitaine thereof with certaine of the garrison souldiours being gone about their businesse to AORTA) and put to the sword all them that they found in the towne. They thought also to haue taken the strong towne of SIGETH, but were by the valiant countie *Nicholaus Serinus* Gouvernour thereof, courageously encountered; and after foure houres hard fight, ouerthrowne and put to flight: Not long after, they ranged vpon and downe the countie, and set in booties as farre as IVIA and RAB, and did the countie people much harme. For which cause, *Maximilian* the emperour about the latter end of May brake vp the assembly of the empire then holden at AVGVSTA, and began carefully to provide things needfull for the warre: appointing his capitaines for the raising of such forces in GERMANY, as were but a little before granted vnto him by the princes and states of the empire, in their late assembly; but went himselfe to VIENNA. For it was told him (as the truth was) That *Solyman* now in his extreame age, was with a mightie armie set forward from CONSTANTINOPLE, and marching thorow BULGARIA and SERUA, was come directly to BELGRADE: where *John* the Vayvod of TRANSILVANIA met him, and kissing his hand, had commended himselfe and all his state vnto his protection. At which time, *Suendi* the emperours lieutenant laid hard siege to the towne of HUSTH in the borders of TRANSILVANIA. The Bassa of BVDA at the same time on the other side, by commandement of *Solyman*, with eight thousand Turkes and fife and twentie pieces of great ordinance besieging PALOTTA, a strong towne about eight miles from RAB; had with continuall batterie by the space of eight daies, brought the same into great danger, although it was valiantly defended by *George Thuriger*. But hearing of the approach of *George*, countie of *Helfenstein*, sent by the emperour with certaine companies of Germans to relieue the same, he rose in such hast from the siege, that he left certaine of his great ordinance and a great part of his baggage behind him, and retired towards ALBAREGALIS. The countie hauing relieved the towne, caused the breaches to be forthwith repaired, and with a new supply strengthened the old garrison. Thus was a most lamentable warre at once begun in diuers places of HUNGARIE. After that, the countie of *Helfenstein*, strengthened by the comming of countie *Salma* with certaine companies from RAB, departed from PALOTTA, and came to VESPRINIVM, a citie about two miles off; then holden by the Turkes: which citie he tooke by force the last of Iune, and left not a Turke aliue therein, because that they a few daies before, had cruelly slaine certaine Christians whom they had taken prisoners: so leauing strong garrisons both in VESPRINIVM and PALOTTA, they returned to RAB. Shortly after, the countie *Salma* laid siege to TATTA a strong towne, otherwise called DORIS, betwixt RAB and COMARA, which at length he tooke by assault the eight and twentieth day of Iuly, and slew all the Turkes, except fiftie, which flying into one of the towers of the castle, yeelded vpon composition; amongst whom was the late Gouvernour of VESPRINIVM, and the Gouvernour of this place, with the Bassa of BVDA his nigh kinsman, who were all presently sent prisoners to VIENNA. So the countie following the course of his victorie (the terror of his former good fortune running before him into the Turkes strongest holds) was on his way to haue besieged GESTES, a towne neere to PALOTTA: when the Turkes there in garrison, vpon the first sight of his armie, left all, and fled out at the farther side of the town to STRIGONIVM. After whose example, other of the Turkes garrisons in Vitha, Tschokiku, & Sambok, castles thereabouts, set fire on that they could not carrie, and followed their fellowes to STRIGONIVM also. The emperour vnderstanding of the good successe of his capitaine, caused publike praiers with thanksgiuing, to almightie God to be made thorow all the churches thereabouts.

Countie *Serinus*, Gouvernour of the strong towne of SIGETH and the countie thereabout, certainly aduertised of the comming of *Solyman*, sent *Casparus Alapiannus* and *Nicholas Cobach*, two of his capitaines, with a thousand foot and fife hundred horse, to lie in wait for the forerunners of the Turkes armie: who drawing neere vnto the place where these Turkes lay, not farre from QVINQVE ECLISE, suddenly in the shutting in of the next day, set vpon them, doubting no such matter, and put them in such a feare that they disorderedly fled some one way, some another, and were most of them slaine or wounded by the Hungarians in their flight. *Hali-beg*, one of the Turkes great Sanzackes, and leader of that companie, sore wounded, and seeking to saue himselfe by flight in the marshes, there perished: his sonne, and many other notable men amongst the Turkes, were there taken, and carried prisoners to SIGETH. The spoile

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A the Hungarians there tooke, was exceeding great: for beside plate and coine, whereof they found good store, they tooke eight camels, threelcore horses, fife mules, and six carts laden with all manner of rich spoile, and many garments of great price; wherein the gentlemen attired, returned to SIGETH in great brauerie, with two faire red ensignes of the enemies.

Maximilian the emperour, long before aduertised of *Solymans* purpose for the conquest of the remainder of HUNGARIE; to withstand so mightie an enemy, had beside the forces raised in his owne dominions, procured great aid both of the states of the empire and other Christian princes, which about this time met together at RAB. First there repaired thither foure legions of German footmen, and vpwards of twentie thousand horsemen, with foure thousand Hungarians: The duke of SAVOY sent thither foure hundred Argolets: and many noble gentlemen out of diuers parts of EUROPE resorted thither, to serue the emperour in those wars of their owne charge, especially the knights of MALTA: and out of ITALIE, *Prosper Columna*, and *Angelus Casius*: out of FRANCE, *Guise* the graund prior, *Brissack* and *Lansack*; who but a little before were going to MALTA, of purpose to haue serued there if the Turkes fleet had come thither againe, as it was reported it would; but vnderstanding that it came not, returned directly into HUNGARIE, with certaine other knights of the Order. Many also of the princes and free cities of ITALIE, declared their good will toward the emperour in this warre; some sending him men, as did *Cosmus Medices* duke of FLORENCE, who sent thither of his owne charge three thousand footmen; some money, as MANTVA, GENVA, and LVCA. Thither came also *Alphonso* duke of FERARA, with a gallant companie of noble gentlemen, and others his followers. Beside which land forces, the emperour had also provided vpon the riuier of Danubius twelue gallies, and thirtie other ships for burthen, so made, as that the men could not be hurt with the Turkes arrowes: wherein were embarked three thousand souldiours, most part Italians, vnder the conduct of *Philippus Flachius* a German, and one of the knights of MALTA, who was afterward receiued into the number of the princes of the empire.

Solyman comming to the riuier Drauus, commaunded a bridge to be made ouer that great riuier, and the deepe fens on the farther side of the riuier towards SIGETH, for the transporting of his great armie; a worke of such difficultie, that being thrice vnsuccessfully begun, it was againe giuen ouer, as a thing almost impossible: wherewith *Solyman* was so moued, that in his rage he swore to hang vp the great Bassa that had the charge of that worke, if he did not with as much speed as were possible, bring it to perfection. Whereupon the worke was againe begun, all the boats that were to be found in the riuier taken vp, and timber for the purpose brought from farre, for the making of that bridge. In this worke were imploied, not the vulgar people onely of the countie which was tributarie to the Turkes, but the gentlemen themselves also, were by the imperious Turke (now commaunding for his life) enforced to lay their fingers to worke day and night without ceasing, vntill the bridge (which before was thought scarce possible to haue bene made) was by the restless industrie and labour of such a multitude of men, in the space of ten daies brought to perfection. Wherein the seueritie the barbarous tyrant vsed towards his subjects, is worth the noting, whereby he extorteth from them, more than is almost possible for men to performe: so that it is not to be marvelled, that he hath so good successe in whatsoeuer he taketh in hand. Ouere this bridge (a mile in length) passed *Solyman*, and encamped at a place called MVAATCHZ, where he staid certaine daies, vntill his huge armie was all come ouer. The last of Iuly, ninecie thousand Turkes (the vauntguard of *Solymans* armie) came before SIGETH, and encamped within a mile of the towne: after whom shortly after followed an hundred thousand mo out of *Solymans* campe, of whom manie in approaching the towne, were slaine with great shot out of the castle; the rest for all that encamped themselves as neere vnto the towne as they could, and began the siege.

The towne of SIGETH is strongly scituat in a Marsh, on the North side of Drauus, vpon the frontiers of DALMATIA, commaunding all the countie round about it, which of it taketh name; and was at that time a strong bulwarke against the Turkes, for entering farther into the countie that way toward STIRIA. In this towne was Gouvernour *Nicholaus Serinus*, commonly called the Countie, a valiant man, and a mortall enemy of the Turkes, with a garrison of 2300 good souldiours: who seeing the huge armie of the Turkes, called together into the castle the capitaines of the garrison and the chiefe of the citizens; where standing in the midst of them, he spake vnto them as followed.

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A great prize

The Turkes with
much labour
make a bridge
ouer the great
riuier of Drauus;

The Turkes en-
campe before
Sigeth.

Countie Serinus
his comfortable
and resolute
speech to his fol-
diers.

You see (said he) how we are on every side beset with the multitude of our enemies, wherein resteth G their cheefe hope: But let not vs be therefore afraid or discouraged; for that victorie dependeth not of a confused multitude of heartlesse men, but of the power of our God, who hath by a few at his pleasure many times overthrowne the mightie armies of the proud; and will not in the midst of these dangers now forsake vs, if wee putting our trust and confidence in him, doe what becometh valiant and courageous men. Besides that our iust cause, with the strength of the place we hold, our owne valor, and the helpe of our friends, who I assure my selfe will not faile vs at our need, counteraileth their confused multitude, forced together by their imperious commanders out of far countries, and what sooner els the proud tyrant hath brought with him into the field. Wherefore let vs all as becometh valiant men, for the truth of our religion, and for the honour of our prince and countrey, live and die together, knowing whatsoeuer befall, That to a life so lost, beside neuer dying fame, belongeth a most assured hope of endlesse ioy and felicitie. As for my selfe, I am resolute, and so (I hope) are you also, that as I am a Christian, and free borne, so will I (by the grace of God) in the same faith and freedome end my dayes. Neither shall the proud Turke, so long as I am able to hold up this hand, haue euer power to commaund ouer me or the ground whereon I stand. This said, he first tooke himselfe a solemne oath, to performe what he had promised, and perswaded the rest to take the like: which done, euery man returned to the place of his charge.

Solyman com-
meth into the
campe at Sigeth.

The first of August Solyman encamped within a mile of the towne, and the next day after came himselfe into the campe, at whose comming the great ordinance and small shot so thundred out of the Turks campe, as if heauen and earth should haue gone together, the Turkes after their wonted manner crying aloud their *Alla, Alla, Alla*, and the Christians answering them with the name of Iesus. The seuenth of August the Turkes cast vp a great mount, and thereon planted certaine great peeces of ordinance. The next day following they began most terribly to batter the new towne in three places, and with incredible labour cast vp a mount in the midst of the marish, as it were in the towne ditch, from whence they the next day with certaine peeces of great artillerie day and night battered the inner castle of the towne without any intermission, and did great harme both to the castle and the defendants. The countie perceiuing the new cite to be now so laid open with the furie of the Turks batterie, as that it was not possible to be defended; caused his fouldiours to set it all on fire, and so retired into the old. The tenth of August the Turkes furiously battered the old town in three places, and brought their ordinance into the new towne: and with timber, earth, and rubble, made a bridge, the more commodiously to go ouer the marish. For the speedier accomplishment whereof, all the Turkes were compelled to lay to their hands, and to carrie wood, fagots, earth, and such like things without ceasing. There might a man haue seene all the fields full of cammels, horses, and of the Turkes themselves, like enimies, carrying wood, earth, stones, or one thing or other to fill vp the marish: so was there with wonderfull labour two plaine wayes made thorow the deepe fenne, from the towne to the castle: where the Ianizaries, defended from the great shot with sacks of wooll and such like things, did with the multitude of their small shot so ouerwhelme the defendants, that they could not against those places without most manifest danger shew themselves vpon the wals. So that what by their vigilant indutrie, and the furie of the great artillerie, the Turkes (though not without great losse) by force entred the old towne the nineteenth of August, vsing in their victorie such celeritie, that they slew many of the most valiant defendants before they were able to recover the safegard of the castle. Both the townes thus lost, and so many worthie men slaine, not without cause brought great heauinesse vpon the rest which were in the castle with the countie. The Turkes possessed of the old towne, the next day planted their batterie against the castle in foure places, and with fagots, rubble, and earth, made two plaine wayes vnto it, still filling vp the marish: and hauing with continuall batterie made it faultable, the nine and twentie day of August they began fiercely to assaile the breaches: but when they had lost many of their men, and done what they could, they were enforced with shame to retire. In this assault amongst many other of their best fouldiours was lost one of their great Bassaes also.

The Turke
sheold towne.

Whilist these things were in doing, Solyman farre spent with years, and distempered with his M long trauell, fell sicke of a loosenesse of his bellie, and for the better recouerie of his health retired himselfe (the siege yet continuing) to QVINYB ECLISIE, a citie neare to SIGETH, where shortly after he died of the bloudie flux, the fourth day of September, in the yeare of our Lord 1566, when he had liued 76 yeares, and reigned thereof 46. He was of stature tall, of feature slender,

A slender, long necked, his colour pale and wan, his nose long and hooked, of nature ambitious and bountifull, more faithfull of his word and promise than were for most part the Mahometan kings his progenitors, wanting nothing worthie of so great an empire, but that wherein all happinesse is contained, faith in Christ Iesus. *Muhamet* the Visier Bassa (who all commaunded in Solymans absence) fearing the insolencie of the Ianizaries, and least some tumult should arise in the campe, if his death should be knowne, concealed it by all means: and to be sure of them that were of all others best able to make certaine report thereof, caused his physicians and apothecaries to be secretly strangled, and by a trustie messenger, sent in post, certified Selymus (Solymans onely sonne, and his father in law, then lying in MAGNÉSIA) of the death of his father, willing him in hast to repaire to CONSTANTINOPLE to take possession of the empire; and that done, forthwith to come to the armie in HUNGARIE. But this could not be so secretly done, but that the Ianizaries began to mistrust the matter: Which *Muhamet Bassa* quickly perceiuing, caused the dead bodie of Solyman in his wonted apparrell to be brought into his tent sitting vpright in his horfelitter, as if he had beene sicke of the gout, his wonted disease; and so shewing him to the Ianizaries, both deceived and contented them, and so went forward with the siege.

The great bul-
warke undermin-
ed & set on fire
by the Ianiz-
aries.

The Ianizaries hauing in the last assault lost many of their fellows, began now to vndermine the greatest bulwarke of the castle, from which the defendants with their great ordinance did most annoy them: wherein they vsed such diligence, that the fifth of September they with gunpowder and other light matter provided for that purpose, had set all the bulwarke on a light fire; and by that meanes possessed thereof, with all their force assailed the bulwarke next vnto the castle gate, from whence they were with great slaughter twice repulsed by the countie. But the raging fire still encreasing, he was enforced with those which were yet left aliue, to retire into the inner castle, wherein was but two great peeces, and foureteene others of small force. Thus the Turkes still preuailing, and taking one place after another, the seuenth of September they furiously assaulted the little castle, wherein they cast such abundance of fire, that in short time it caught hold on the buildings, and set all on fire. The countie thus assailed by the enemy without, and worse distressed with the fire within, which still encreasing, left no place for him in safetie to retire vnto, went into his chamber, where putting on a rich new sute of apparrell, came presently out againe with his sword and targuet in his hand; and finding his fouldiours with cheerefull countenance and their weapons in their hands, attending his comming, spake vnto them these few his D last words. *The hard fortune of this sinfull kingdome hath together with our owne ouertaken vs: but let vs (noble hearts) with patience endure what is to vs by God assigned. You know what wee haue before promised, which hitherto God be thanked we haue accordingly performed, and now let vs with like resolution performe this last. The place you see is not longer to be kept, the denouring fire groweth so still vpon vs, and we in number are but few: Wherefore let vs as becometh valiant men breake out into the vtter castle, there to die in the midst of our enemies, to liue afterwards with God for euer, I will be the first that will goe out, follow you me like men.* This said, with his sword and targuet in his hand, without any other armour, calling thrice vpon the name of Iesus, he issued out at the castle gate, with the rest following him: where valiantly fighting with the Ianizaries vpon the bridge; and hauing slaine some of them, he was first wounded in two places of his bodie E with small shot, and at last strucke in the head with an vnluckie shot, fell downe dead; the Turkes for joy crying out their wonted word *Alla*. The rest of the fouldiours in flying backe againe into the castle, were all slaine by the Turkes, except some few, whom some of the Ianizaries in regard of their valour, by putting their caps vpon their heads, saued from the furie of the rest. In this siege, the Turkes (as they themselves reported) lost seauen thousand Ianizaries, and twentie eight thousand other fouldiours, beside many voluntarie men not enrolled in their muster-books, and three of their great Bassaes. *Serinus* his head was presently cut off, and the next day (with the heads of the other slaine Christians) set vpon a pole, for all the armie to gaze vpon. After that, it was taken downe, and by *Muhamet* the great Bassa sent to *Mustapha* the Bassa of BYDÁ his kinsman; who by two countrey men, sent it wrapped in a red scarfe couered with a faire linnen cloth, to countie *Salma* in the emperours campe at RAB, with this taunting letter thus directed.

The little castle
set on fire.

The last speech
of countie Ser-
inus to his fouldi-
ers.

Serinus slaine.

Serinus his head
sent to countie
Salma.

Muhamet Bassa to Eccius Salma, greeting.

In token of my loue, behold, here I send thee the head of a most resolute and valiant captain, thy friend, so countie Salma.

friend, the remainder of his bodie I haue honestly buried, as became such a man. SIGETH biddeth C thee farewell for euer.

Nicholaus Keretschen corrupted for money, betrayeth Gyula to the Turks.

A traitor well rewarded.

The Governour of ALBA REGALIS taken.

The Turks shew answer to the Spaniard.

The Turks answer with the bodie of Solyman to Belgrade.

The death of this noble and valiant captain was much lamented of all the Christian armie, and his head with many teares by his sonne *Balthasar* honourably buried amongst his ancestors in Tschacaturna, his owne castle. *Solyman* at his comming with this mightie armie into HUNGARIE, had purposed before his returne, if he had not beene by death prevented, to haue conquered both the remainder of the kingdome of HUNGARIE, and to haue againe attempted the winning of VIENNA. For the accomplishing of which his designs, he at his first comming sent *Parthaus Bassa* with fortie thousand Turkes to helpe the Bassa of TBMESVARE and the Tartars, in the behalfe of the Vayuod, to besiege the strong towne of GYULA, situated vpon the lake ZARKAD in the confines of TRANSILVANIA; not farre from whence *Suendi* had but in August before ouerthrowne the Tartars, called in by *Solyman* for the aid of the Vayuod, and slain of them ten thousand. And at the same time he sent *Mustapha Bassa* of BOSNA, and *Carambeu*, with a great power to ALBA REGALIS; who joyning with the Bassa of BVDA, should keepe the emperor *Maximilian* busie, whilest he in the meane time besieged SIGETH, as is before declared. *Parthaus Bassa* comming to GYULA, and laying hard siege to the towne, was still notably repulsed by *Nicholas Keretschen*, Gouverneur of the towne: in so much, that in a fallie he had certaine pieces of his great ordinance taken from him by the defendants, and the rest cloyed. But this braue captain, not to haue beene constrained by all that the Bassa could doe, was at last persuaded by his kinsman *George Bebius* (from whom *Suendi* had a little before taken certain castles, for reuolting from the emperor to the Vayuod) for a great summe of money to deliuer vp the towne to the Bassa: which he did, couenancing beside his reward, That the souldiours should with bag and baggage in safetie depart; all which was frankly graunted: who were not gone past a mile out of the towne, but they were set vpon by the Turkes, and all slaine, except some few which crept into the reeds growing in the marish fast by, and so escaped. The traitor himselfe expecting his reward, was carried in bonds to CONSTANTINOPLE: where afterward, vpon complaint made how hardly he had vsed certaine Turkes, whom he had sometime taken prisoners, he was by the commaundement of *Selymus*, who succeeded *Solyman*, thrust into a hoghead stricke full of nailes with the points inward, with this inscription vpon it: *Here receiue the reward of thy auarice and treason, GYULA thou soldest for gold: if thou be not faithfull to Maximilian thy lord, neither wilt thou be to me: and so the hoghead closed fast vp, he was therein rolled vp and downe vntill he therein miserably died.*

The emperours campe then lying at RAB, and the Bassa of BVDA and BOSNA with thirtie thousand Turkes not farre off at ALBA REGALIS, and many hot skirmishes passing betweene them: it fortuned that the fift of September the Turkes in hope to haue done some great peece of seruice vpon the Christians, came forth of their campe in great number, and by chance light vpon a few forragers of the armie, of whom they slew some, the rest flying, raised an alarum in the campe: whereupon the Hungarians and Burgundians with some others issuing out, pursuing the Turkes, slew diuers of them: in which pursute *George Thuriger*, descrying the Gouverneur of ALBA REGALIS, a man in great account, and very inward with *Solyman* whilest he liued, fiercely pursued him in the midst of the flying enemies, and neuer left him vntill he had taken him prisoner: and at his returne presenting him to the emperor, was for that good seruice knighted, and rewarded with a chaine of gold. There was by chance then present a Spaniard, who had heard him say openly at CONSTANTINOPLE, That he alone with his owne power was able to vanquish the German king (by which name the Turkes commonly tearme the emperor:) With which words when that the Spaniard hardly charged him in the presence of the emperor, still vrging him as it were to say something for himselfe, the Turke answered him in these few words following: *Such is the chance of warre, thou seest me now a prisoner, and able to doe nothing.*

All these troubles, with many moe like in short time to haue ensued, were by the death of *Solyman* within a while after well appeased. *Muhamet Bassa* after he had repaired the breaches, and placed a Turke Gouverneur of SIGETH, with a strong garrison for the defence of the place and commaunding of the countrey, called backe the dispersed forces; and rising with the armie, retired toward BELGRADE, carrying *Solyman*'s dead bodie all the way sitting vp-right

A right in his horfelitter carried by mules, giuing it out that hee was sicke of the gout: which thing the Ianizaries easily beleueed, knowing that hee had beene many yeares so carried: yet still wishing his presence, as vnto them alwayes fortunate, although that he were able for to doe nothing.

FINIS.

Emperors of Germanie	Charles the fift.	1519. 39.
	Ferdinand.	1558. 7.
	Maximilian the second.	1565. 12.
Of England	Henrie the eight.	1509. 38.
	Edward the sixt.	1546. 6.
	Queene Marie.	1553. 6.
	Queene Elizabeth.	1558. 45.
Of France	Francis the first.	1514. 32.
	Henry the second.	1547. 12.
	Francis the second.	1559. 1.
	Charles the ninth.	1560. 14.
Of Scotland	James the fifth.	1514. 29.
	Queene Mary.	1543.
Bishops of Rome	Leo the X.	1513. 8.
	Hadrian the VI.	1522. 1.
	Clement the VII.	1523. 10.
	Paulus the III.	1534. 15.
	Julius the III.	1550. 5.
	Marcellus the II.	1555. 32 daies.
	Paulus the IIII.	1555. 4.
	Pius the IIII.	1566. 5.
	Pius the V.	1566. 6.

Christian princes of the same time with Solyman.



*Disimilis patri, Selymus regalia Sceptra,
Corripit: & dira concutit arma manu.
Fædus cum venetis frangit. Quid fœdera profunt?
Armataq; manū Cypria regna rapit
Instruit tumidum numerosis classibus Æquor:
Vt Næpactiacas nobilitaret aquas.
Moldauum fœda mulctauit morte Dynasten
Et magni fines prorogat imperij
Obruit Hispanos multa vi: Punica regna
Destruit: & regnū adycit illa suis.
Sed nimis in venerem pronus, vinoq; sepultus,
Extremum prope at præcipitare diem.*

R. KNOLL.

Unlike his father, *Selymus* the royall Scepter takes:
And shaking armes with cruell hand, exceeding stirr he makes.
With **VENICE** state his league he breaks (with Turks what league can stand)
And **CYPRVS** kingdome takes from them, by force of mightie hand.
He couered the swelling seas with hugie fleets to see:
That vanquished, vnto those seas he might an honour be.
The Vayvod of **MOLDAVIA** he brought to wofull end,
The borders of his kingdome great that so he might extend.
In **GVLBT** he the Spaniards ouerwhelmd with mightie power:
And thereby **TUNES** kingdome did the selfsame time deuour.
But wholly giuen to venerie, vnto excesse and play,
He posseth on before his time to hast his fatall day.

R. K.

THE



THE LIFE OF SELYMVS,
THE SECOND OF THAT NAME,
FIFT EMPEROVR OF
THE TURKES.



Selymus, the only sonne of *Solyman* then left aliue, by letters from *Muhamet Bassa* vnderstanding of the death of his father, hasted from **CYTAI**, a citie of **GALATIA**, not farre from **ANCYRA**, towards **CONSTANTINOPLE**; and comming to **SEVTARIE**, was from thence by *Bostanges Bassa* of the court, conducted ouer the strait to **CONSTANTINOPLE**: where, by him and *Scander Bassa* (*Selymus* his sonne in law, and then *Solymans* Vicegerent) he was conuained into the imperiall pallace the three and twentieth of September, in the ycare 1566; and there possessed of his fathers seat, was by the Ianizaries there present,

*Selymus saluted
emperor of the
Turkes in the
yære 1566.*

saluted emperor. He was about the age of fortie two yeares when he began to raigne, a man of an vnconstant and hastie disposition, wholly giuen to wantonneffe and excesse: so that he neuer went to wars himselfe, but performed them altogether by his lieutenants, contrarie to the charge of *Selymus* his grandfather, giuen by him to his father *Solyman*, whereof he was neuer vnmindfull. The next day he came abroad, and shewed himselfe in his maiestie; and in the temple of **SOPHIA**, after the manner of the Turkish superstition, caused solemne praiers and sacrifices to be made for his father: which done, he gaue vnto the Ianizaries a largesse of 100000 Sultanes, with promise to augment their wages. And all things being now in readinesse for his intended journey, he with a goodly retinue set forward from **CONSTANTINOPLE** the seauen and twentieth of September: and the twentieth of October a little from **BELOGRABE** met the armie comming from **SORTH**, gallantly marching vnder their ensignes, with the dead bodie of *Solyman*, whom the souldiours generally supposed to haue been yet liuing, but troubled with the gout, to haue kept his horse-litter as his manner was to trauell. *Selymus* alighting, came in his mourning attire to the horse-litter, looked vpon the dead bodie of his father, kissed it, and wept ouer it, as did all the other great Bassaes also. And that the death of *Solyman* might then be made knowne to all men, the ensignes were presently let fall, and trailed vpon the ground, a dead march founded, and heauie silence commaunded to be kept through all the campe. Shortly after, *Selymus* was with the great applause of the whole armie proclaimed emperor, his ensignes aduanced, and euerie one of the great commanders of the armie, in their degree admitted to kisse his hand. So marching forward, he returned againe to **CONSTANTINOPLE** the two and twentieth of Nouember: but thinking to haue entred his pallace (which they commonly call the **SERAPENT**) he was by the discontented Ianizaries but now come from the wars, prohibited so to do; they with great insolencie demanding of him a greater donatiue, together with the confirmati-on both of their auncient and new priuiledges, before they would suffer him to enter. Against which their so great presumption, the Visier Bassaes, together with the Aga, opposing themselves, and seeking by all means to appease them, were by them fowly intreated and well rapped about the pates with the stocks of their calliars; but especially the two great Bassaes, *Muhamet* and *Pertau*, as the chiefe authors that their lord had dealt no more liberally with them. With which so sudden and vnexpected a mutinie of his best souldiours, *Selymus* not a little troubled, and cal-

ling

ling vnto him the Aga (or capitaine of the Ianizaries) demaunded of him the cause thereof: who with teares trickling downe his cheekes for griefe, told him, That it was for money. Which by *Selymus* now promised vnto them, together with the confirmation of their liberties; and the Aga with faire words and heauie countenance most earnestly entreating them, not to blemish the ancient reputation of their wonted loyaltie with so foule a disorder, nor to expose the life of him their louing capitaine, vnto the heauie displeasure of their angrie Sultan; and farther assuring them, that he would not faile them in the least of his promises, but content them to the full of their desires; the mutinie was at length appeased, the insolent Ianizaries againe quieted, and *Selymus* into the *SERAGLIO* receiued. Howbeit *Muhamet*, chiefe of the Visier Bassas, for certaine daies after went not out of his pallace, neither came (as he was wont) into the *DAVANO*, but kept himselfe close, for feare of some greater mischief from them. This tumult thus ouerpassed, and all againe well quieted, *Selymus* with all royall solemnitie buried his father in a chappell which he after the manner of the Mahometane kings, had in his life time most stately built, with a colledge and an hospitall. Where fast by his side is to be seene the tombe of *Roxolana* his best beloued wife, and of certaine others his murdered children: and by him hangeth his simular, in token that he died in wars; an honour not otherwise granted to the Mahometane princes. The reuenues arising of the countrey about *SIGETH* of late woon from the Christians, at the time of his death, were giuen to the maintenance of the houses by him built of deuotion; which for the magnificence thereof, exceed all the rest before built by the Mahometane kings and emperours, except those which were the buildings of *Mahomet* the great, and *Baiazer* the second. It was by many thought, that *Solyman* was in good time by death cutt off, as purposing that yeare to haue wintered in *HUNGARIE*, and the yeare following to haue done great matters against the Christians, both by sea and land.

Solyman buried.

1567

Troubles in
Hungarie.

The great armie of the Turks thus drawne out of *HUNGARIE* by the death of *Solyman*, in some part assuaged, but altogether appeased not the endlesse troubles of that vnfortunate kingdome. *Maximilian* the emperor on the one side, and *John* the Vayuod of *TRANSILVANIA* with the Turks captaines on the other, renting it in pieces, as if they had sworne the destruction thereof. The Vayuod desiring to recouer the strong castle of *TOCKAY*, in the frontiers of his countrey, but lately taken from him by *Suendi* the emperours lieutenant, laid hard siege vnto it, and had brought it to great extremitie, although it was notably defended by *James Raminger* the capitaine thereof: when suddenly newes was brought vnto him, That the Tartars (whom he had called into his countrey to haue aided him against the emperor) did with all hostilitie after their barbarous manner, burne and destroy his countrey before them, making hauocke of all things; so that the countrey people were glad in defence of themselves, to take vp armes against them. Whereupon he forthwith left the siege, and went to aid his distressed subjects against the Tartars, with whom he had many an hoat skirmish; and after much bloodshed, at last ouercame them, and with much adoe rid himselfe of such bad guests. Now in the meane time, *Suendi* strengthened with new supplies sent vnto him from the emperor, had taken the castle of *ZACKMAR* in the borders of *TRANSILVANIA*, and with like good fortune had the castle of *MYNCATZ* yeilded vnto him, and after that besieged the towne of *HVSTH*: so that the Vayuod was glad to craue aid of the Turkish emperor *Selymus*, vnder whose protection he was: who presently commaunded *Partau* one of his cheefe Bassas, & then his great lieutenant in *ROMANIA*, to goe with his forces into *TRANSILVANIA*, to relieue him. But hearing that embassadours were comming from *Maximilian* the emperor, he called him backe againe, vntill he had heard the effect of that embassage. At which time also the Bassa of *BUDA* enclining vnto peace, sent presents to the emperor, requesting him to remooue certaine Hungarian captaines from off the frontiers, least happily they should interrupt the treatie of peace, then on both sides purposed; promising for his part to punish with death all such Turkes as should make any further inuasion, or raise any new troubles. He writ letters also to countie *Salma*, That he could not but maruell, to what end *Maximilian* the emperor was about to entreat with his lord & master of peace, whilst *Suendi* in the meane time was raging in *TRANSILVANIA*, then vnder the Turkes protection; which if he proceeded still to doe, *Selymus* would thereof take occasion (as he said) to turne all his forces that way: wherefore he requested him to perswade the emperor to take some more easie course in that behalfe, promising also, that he would for his part effectually trauell with his master, to haue better liking of peace than of warres, wishing him also to doe the like. Which thing

The Bassa of Buda desires to
further the
peace.

A thing as soone as the emperor vnderstood, he commaunded *Suendi* to giue over the siege of *HVSTH*, and to keepe himselfe quiet, vntill he might by his embassadours vnderstand what the great Turke purposed, and how he was affected towards peace.

Now in deed these two great princes, *Maximilian* and *Selymus* (although they notably differed the matter) were both of them in heart desirous of peace, and that for diuers great and urgent considerations: *Maximilian* for want of money, saw it not possible for him to send into the field such an armie the next yeare, as he had the yeare before. And *Selymus*, beside his other troubles, was to take order for the appeasing of a great and dangerous rebellion, in the farthest part of his dominions in *ARABIA FELIX*; where the people rising vp in armes, and hauing slaine the Bassas and Sanzacks their Gouvernours, were readie to haue cast off the Turkish obedience: neither was he out of feare of the Persians, readie (as was reported) to make warre vpon him. For which causes he wished rather for peace with the emperor *Maximilian*, than wars: and so much the more, for that it was impossible for him to send an armie of any puissance into *HUNGARIE*, for want of many necessarie prouisions for the maintenance thereof, in a countrey so much impouerished by reason of the late wars; wherein no victuals were to be found for the reliefe of such a multitude of men as he was to send, if he would doe any good there. And truly it was (as the Turkes themselves afterward reported) that *Maximilian* with halfe the power he had in field the last yeare, might haue easily recouered the greatest part of that kingdome before lost: but well knowing his owne wants, and ignorant of theirs, he altogether enclining to peace; and by countie *Salma* aduertised from the Bassa of *BUDA*, That if he would send embassadours to *CONSTANTINOPLE* with the tribute wont to be there paid for *HUNGARIE*, a peace vpon reasonable conditions might be easily obtained; he resolved vpon that point. And so certaine messengers being sent vp and downe to *CONSTANTINOPLE* to the same effect, it was concluded, That if the emperor would send embassadours to *CONSTANTINOPLE* with the tribute yerbehind, and a large commission for the treatie of peace, *Selymus* should giue them his safe conduct, with libertie at their pleasure to returne in case either of peace or warre. Which agreed vpon, and faithfully promised on both sides, *Selymus* set at libertie the lord *Albert de Vuis*, who six yeares Lieger in *CONSTANTINOPLE*, first for the emperor *Ferdinand*, and after for *Maximilian*, had now been straightly imprisoned in his owne house by the space of two and twentie moneths, in such sort that neither he nor any of his household could goe abroad, watch and ward being kept both night and day about his house, and his windowes also boorded vp, to the end he should not so much as looke out into the citie or any whither else more than the court of his house onely. So the emperor *Maximilian* now resolved to send embassadours to *CONSTANTINOPLE* with the tribute money, and diuers other rich gifts and presents, as well to the great Turke himselfe as the Visier Bassas his counsellors: and considering with himselfe, whom to be most fit with wisdome and honour to bring this so waightie a matter about, hauing to doe with so barbarous, covetous, and mightie a people; made choise of the lord *Antonius Veyantius* of *AGRIA* (of his counsell for the kingdome of *HUNGARIE*) a prelat of great estimation, who being a man of threescore and three yeares old, beside his great learning, had the experience of seauen and twentie embassages; wherein he alwaies so discretely bare himselfe, as well contented his prince, and purchased vnto himselfe the reputation of a most graue and wise man: and about ten yeares before this embassage, being by the emperor *Ferdinand* sent embassadour to *Solyman*, and now by *Maximilian* to *Selymus* at *CONSTANTINOPLE*, returning thence with good successe, was by the emperor created a prince of the empire, and bishop of *AGRIA*. Vnto which so honourable personage, hauing the charge of this so waightie a matter, the emperor the more to ennoble this embassage, as also to purchase the greater credit to his embassadour, joynd vnto him a most honourable Baron, called the lord *Christopher Tensfenbach* of *STIRIA*, one of his counsellours also for the wars; who with full instructions both taking their leaue of the emperor (then holding a parliament at *PRESBURG*) departed: and being attended vpon with a great and honourable retinue, set forward the first of Iuly 1567, and so came to *COPMARA* a strong towne in *HUNGARIE*, not past a league from the Turkes frontiers. In which place the embassadours staying vntill the seauenth of Iuly; in the meane time gaue knowledge of their comming vnto the Gouvernor of *STRIGONIVM*, demanding for their securitie in the enemies countrey, to be met and receiued by some of his garrison: which granted, they tooke their barkes brought from *VIENNA* and *POSSONIVM*, sufficient for their greameste to haue carried them

Maximilian and
Selymus both desirous
of peace.Maximilian the
emperor sendeth
embassadours to
Selymus.

Bbb

them downe the riuier to BELGRADE, with horse and wagon and their whole furniture: and so entring vpon the Turkes dominion about a league or a little more from COMARA; being so farre waisted by the fouldiours and gallies of COMARA, they were met by an Aga of the Turkes with a Chiaus called *Beccam* (sent by the Bassa of BVDA) in certaine gallies armed with Turkish fouldiours. To whom the embassadour at his landing deliuered his mind, and afterward his person, giuing them to vnderstand, that they were with all safetie to conduct both him and all his to the Bassa of BVDA; which they answered, they were readie to accomplish: and so courteously innited by the embassadours, they came aboard their barke, and there dined all together. Here they that were sent with them, leauing them in the hands of the Turkes (hauing licence to depart) returned to COMARA: and they that day after fise leagues sailing arriued at STRIGONVM, where they were by the Gouverneur of the citie denied landing: for which so dishonourable a part, he was afterward sharply rebuked by the Bassa of BVDA. Yet as they lay that night vpon the water, certaine Turkish minstrels, to doe them honour and to get a largesse, with their barbarous bawling instruments plaid them vp many an homely fit of mirth: and diuers others with sundrie sorts of vaulting and tumbling, sometime leaping one vpon anothers shoulders, and sometime doing their tricks on the earth, all the euening shewed them great sport and pastime. From STRIGONVM they with fise leagues sayling came to BVDA, leauing behind them the castle of VICEGRADE, two leagues distant from STRIGONVM. In this citie of BVDA lieth the great Bassa, by whom all HUNGARIE, with the prouinces thereto belonging (in the Turkes power) is gouerned. This citie, sometime the regall seat of the Hungarian kings, is situate vpon a little hill on the Southside of Danubius, hauing in the South point thereof a castle, much higher than the citie, and of a most braue prospect: in which castle lieth a capitaine with a garrison of fise hundred fouldiours (as the Turkes say) howbeit it is thought that they are not altogether so many: it is the losse of his head to stir out of his charge; and beside, he hath commission to denie the Bassa himselfe entrance, vnlesse he come verie sleightly accompanied: so jealous are the Turkes of that castle, as if the state of HUNGARIE depended thereon. Herein standeth the kings pallace, which taketh vp most part of the place, greatly beautified by king *Matthias*, and shewing outwardly to haue been a verie stately thing: for there are in it both large hals and faire galleries, and chambers built in most royall manner; where amongst other roomes, the embassadours found a decayed librarie full of pictures and Latine titles of bookes: all which things, when they present themselues vnto the eies of the Christian beholders, offer a just consideration of noble and reuerend antiquitie, and withall, strike into their hearts a certaine compassion joyed with horror, to see the renowned glorie of so many great kings, all waisted and brought to nothing. The next morning, the embassadours went to speake with the Bassa: whose house was reasonable faire (considering their guise and custome, not much delighting in the beautie of their priuat buildings) situate vpon the riuers side, at the bottome of the hill whereon the citie standeth. Vnto this Bassa the embassadours presented two faire gilt cups, a clocke all curiously wrought in gold, and a thousand dollars: which present the Bassa receiued in his Diuano (being a large hall) where he sat with his counsellours, officers, and other Turkes in their places and order; some on his right hand, and others on his left, all richly attired in garments of silke of diuers colours and fashions, reaching downe to their ancles after their manner; their heads covered with their passing white and well made Turbants: in which assembly, nothing being to be seene but goodly order and graue silence, they seemed to the strange beholders, so many counsellours of exceeding grauitie and reputation. Round about the hall wherein the embassadours had audience, were many seats couered with Turkie carpets; the rest of the roome being all vacant. The Bassa in a place more appariant than the rest, sitting in great maiestie: before whom were set two little chaires, on which (after he had stood vp a while and embraced the embassadours) he caused them both to sit downe. Whose speech deliuered in the Italian tongue (after they had discharged themselues of the emperours letters and greetings) was to this effect, viz: That his imperiall maiestie (for the common benefit of their subjects in HUNGARIE) requested him to continue in his good purpose and dealing for peace: and further, to giue safe conduct vnto them his embassadours with their retinue, vntill they were come vnto the Turkes court, where they were to entertaine and conclude a peace, to the ending of all troubles, and the publike benefit of their subjects in generall. Which speech, with cheertull and friendly countenance ended, many of the embassadours followers were admitted to kisse the Bassas hand, accounted no small fauor amongst those

The embassadours
come to Buda.

Presents giuen
by the emperours
embassadours
vnto the Bassa
of Buda.

those Barbarians. The interpretour of these things was a Jew of PAVIA, who declared all that was spoken, in the Turkish language vnto the Bassa, and in the Italian vnto the embassadours. And although (if it had been their pleasure) they might haue told their mind each to other in the Sclauonian tongue, without an interpretour: yet the Bassa standing more vpon his reputation, and for some other respects beside, would haue the matter propounded, and likewise answered in the Turkish. In which sort they also conferred continually afterward with the Bassas at CONSTANTINOPLE, vnlesse it were in some particular and priuat talke of small importance, or else in some point beside the matter; for then the interpretours spake in the Crouatian or Sclauonian tongue, which is familiar to most of the Turkes, but especially to the men of warre. Before this hall where the embassadours were entertained by the Bassa; in the base court stood all the Ianizaries in goodly array, and his slaues with their red zarcull on their heads, and other fouldiours with high and long plumes of feathers standing vpright: all which made a beautifull shew, and gaue all great grace to the Bassas court: these men stirre not one foot in their standings, and if the consultation doe last foure houres long, so long are they to continue standing without mouing. The embassadours hauing staid two daies at BVDA, were by the Bassa dismissed, sending with them his Checai (the Steward or gouernour of his house) a man of great reputation, and *Beccam* the Chiaus (the same that came to meet them at COMARA) with a sufficient guard, and certaine Ianizaries, sent for their more safe traouelling, and to prouide for them from place to place of all things necessarie for their diet, as also for their horses, at the Turkes charges. And thus accompanied, they embarked the tenth day of the aforesaid moneth, towed vp by the Turkes gallies, which holpen by the swiftnesse of the riuier, carried them down in eight daies to BELGRADE, where they arriued the eighteenth of July. So hauing staid at BELGRADE, and there leauing their boats, and taking their coaches, they set forward by land the twentieth of the said moneth, and with great paines traouelling through RASCIA, BVLGARIA, and THRACIA, and passing a part of the great mountaine SCARPVS, and after that the mountaine RHODOPVS, so by the way of PHILIPPOPOLIS and HADRIANOPLE, the two and twentieth of August gathered fast vpon CONSTANTINOPLE: where many of the Spahies and Chiausais of the court, with a number of the Ianizaries and other fouldiours, for their greater honor came to meet them a great way without the citie. By whom the embassadours honourably mounted on horsebacke, were by them conducted to their lodging appointed for them about the middest of the citie: where the lord *Albert de Vais* the emperours embassadour Lieger (not long before enlarged) hauing long looked for their comming, now most joyfully receiued them. It was then Friday the Turkes Sabaoth, and a day of them aboue all other daies in the weeke regarded, and about ten of the clocke two houres before noone; at which time the embassadours were no sooner alighted, but that *Selymus* going to heare the ceremonies of his religion, in the Moschie of his father *Solyman* (as his manner was sometime to doe) passed along before the gate where the embassadours lay, with the whole traine of his court; and peraduenture somewhat more than ordinarie, to shew the magnificence of his power and state, to the end that the embassadours (about the former opinion by them conceiued) might hold him in the reputation of a most puissant and mightie monarch. He passing by, vouchsafed not once to giue them a regard, or so much as to cast his eye aside vpon them, although they were strangers, and but euen then arriued: but with a countenance, as if he had knowne not so much as nothing of their comming, held on his way as it lay. But *Muhamet* the chiefe Visier Bassa, with the other Bassas and great courtiers, in most gracious manner as they passed by, cast their eies vpon them; all the courtiers they could then shew them. Six daies after, being the eight and twentieth of August, the embassadours all three went to visit and salute *Muhamet* (or as the Turkes call him *Mehemet*) the chiefe Visier Bassa, as the manner was, presenting him from the emperour with foure cups of siluer all gilt, of most faire and curious workmanship; of which two of them being greater than the other, were three spans high, the other two being not so high by a span, but hauing in them two thousand duckats of gold; beside which they gaue him also a clocke, being a most curious piece of worke, and all ouer double gilt. After which greetings and presents deliuered, beside the contents of his maiesties letters, they declared vnto him in generall points, the cause of their comming, and the mind of the emperour well disposed to a peace; and what great benefit would arise thereby to both the parties; and lastly turning ouer the blame of the late warres, and laying the fault thereof to the charge of others, sweetned thereby the sower of their former dealings. Neither was the Bassa

The emperours
embassadours
honourably receiued
by the Turkes
at Constantinople.

Presents giuen
by the emperours
embassadours
vnto the great Bassa.

likewise for his part to seeke of good words, but answered them in Turkish by the mouth of *Hibram* the cheefe Dragoman, who deliuered his mind to them in Latin or Italian, accordingly as the embassadours had before vntered theirs: which parle so ended, certaine of the cheefe of the embassadours followers were admitted into the Diuano to kisse the proud Bassaes hand. The same day the embassadours also saluted *Partau* the second Bassa, and *Ferat* the third in order and authoritie. To *Partau* they presented two cups of siluer all gilt, beside a clock of the same making with the abouenamed, and two thousand dollars: and the like to *Ferat*. The next day they went to visit the other three Bassaes, *Acomat*, *Piall*, and *Muhamet*, presenting euery one of them with two faire cups, and a thousand dollars: These were the six Visier Bassaes to *Selymus*, then lying at Court with him, men that for wealth and authoritie went before all other in the Turkish empire, as in the course of this historie may appeare. And so hauing visited them in generall, the embassadours to set their affaires on foot, the fourth of September closed with *Muhamet*, to whom the ordering of state-matters was especially committed. Yet after this first conference, because it was necessarie before so weightie affaires were broached, first to doe the Great Turke reuerence, and to deliuer the presents, with the emperours letters to him written; for some few dayes there was not any point at all of the embassadours businesse handled.

Selymus not long after the embassadours were arrived; went out for his disport and pleasure on hunting: so that in the meane time (after the presents were giuen to the Bassaes) matters stood still altogether vnaduauced, vntill the one and twentieth of September: and that day (*Selymus* being now returned from his disport) it was appointed that the embassadours should haue audience at the Court. Whereupon they made choice out of their followers of those that should attend vpon them, which were not in all about twelue persons: For they to whom this charge was committed, said it was neither the manner nor yet meet that any great traine should come before so great a prince; and that they might not bring with them about that number: whereupon they appointed but six a peece to attend them: and of fiftene cups all of siluer and gilt, being most curiously and cunningly engrauen, one of the fairest among the rest was giuen to each of those twelue to carrie, and they ordered to goe by two and two before the rest that came after in order with the rest of the present: which was two exceeding pretious Clockes, like in bignesse to them before giuen to the Bassaes, but far about them in value; and five and fortie thousand Dollars for the tribute behind and yet vnpayed. The greatest of those cups was six spans and an halfe, and the least two spans in height: some of them being double cups after the high Dutch manner.

The embassadours (whose comming a great multitude of the Ianizaries attended below at the gate of their lodging: beside many of the Spahies and Chiauffs, and others of good sort, which were come to honour them with their presence to the pallasce) putting themselves in readinesse betimes in the morning, and taking horse, set forward toward the Court. The foremost were they that did beare the present in their hands, the people of the citie in euery street flocking together in exceeding multiitudes to behold them as they passed: and verily there had been seldome times seene the like embassage in those parts. For besides the fame that was blowne abroad in euery quarter, That they were men sent from one of the greatest princes of Christendome; the diuersitie of their attire (so few as they were) more than any thing beside, did represent the maiestie of the Christian emperour to them that gazed vpon his embassadours and their traine, the people conceiuing thereby that he was lord and ruler of many prouinces and countries. For they that were Hungarians belonging to the bishop of *Agria* (the cheefe embassadour) being attired in long and sober garments of very fine purple cloth, hauing their shooes pickt ouer the soles with yron plates, and halfe of their heads shauen, seemed to differ from them but little. But on the other side the high Dutch attired in blacke, with their veluet caps, and short cloakes layed with siluer lace, and long breeches little lesse than Rutter wile, and chaines of gold about their neckes, appeared very strange and vncomely to the Turkish people: and so accompanied in this honourable wise, the embassadours entred the first gate of the Great Turke's pallasce. This gate is built of marble in most sumptuous manner, and of a stately height, with certaine words of their language in the front thereof engrauen and gilt in marble. So passing through the base Court, which hath on the right side very faire gardens, and on the left side diuers buildings serving for other offices, with a little Moschie; they came to the second gate, where all such as come in riding, must of necessity alight. Here so soon as they were entred in at this second gate, they came into a very large square Court, with buildings and galleries round about it, the kitchens standing on the right hand, with

Presents sent
vnto Selymus by
the emperour.

The emperours
embassadours how
reasonably condu-
cted by the Turke
vnto the Court.

The first Gate of
the Great Turke's
pallasce.

The second Gate

other lodgings for such as belonged to the Court, and on the left hand likewise roomes deputed to like seruices. There are moreover many halls and other roomes for resort, where they sit in counsell handling and executing the publike affaires either of the Court or of the Empire, with other matters, where the Bassaes and other officers assemble together. Enting in at this second gate, in one part of the Court, which seemed rather some large street, they saw the whole company of the Solaches set in a goodly ranke; which are archers keeping alwayes neere vnto the person of the Great Turke, and seruing as his footmen when he rideth: they vse high plumes of feathers, which are set bolt vpright ouer their foreheads. In another place there stood the Capitzi in like array, with blacke staues of Indian canes in their hands: they are the porters and warders at the gates of the pallasce, not much differing in their attire from the Ianizaries; who stood in ranke likewise in another quarter. And beside all those, with many more that were out of order, as well of the Court as of the common people, those knights of the Court which accompanied the embassadours thither, with other great ones also of like degree, were marshalled all in their severall companies. And among the rest, the *Mutfarachas*, men of all nations and all religions (for their valour the only freemen which liue at their owne libertie in the Turkish empire) stood there apparrelled in damaske, veluet, and cloth of gold, and garments of silke of sundrie kinds and colours: their pompe was great, and the greater, for the turbans that they wore vpon their heads, being as white as whitenesse it selfe, made a most braue and goodly shew well worth the beholding. In breefe, whether they were to be considered all at once, or in particular, as well for the order that they kept, as for their sumptuous presence, altogether without noyse or tumult; they made the embassadours and the rest of their followers there present, eye witnesses both of their obedience, and of the great state and royaltie of the *Othoman* Court. Passing through them, the embassadours were led into the hall, where the Bassaes and other great men of the Court were all readie to giue them entertainment: they of their traine being at the same time brought into a room that stood a part vnder one of the aforesaid lodgings all hung with Turke carpets. Soone after (as their vse and manner is) they brought in their dinner, cowering the ground with table clothes of a great length, spread vpon carpets; and afterward scattering vpon them a maruellous number of wooden spoons, with so great store of bread, as if they had beene to feed three hundred persons: then they set on meat in order, which was serued in two and fortie great platters of earth, full of rice porrage of three or foure kinds, differing one from another; some of them seasoned with hony, and of the colour of hony; some with soure milke, and white of colour; & some with sugar: they had fritters also which were made of like batter; and mutton beside, or rather a daintie and toothsome morzell of an old sodden Ewe. The table (if there had any such beene) thus furnished, the guests without any ceremonie of washing sat downe on the ground (for stooles there was none) and fell to their victuall, and dranke out of great earthen dishes, water prepared with sugar, which kind of drinke they call *Zerbet*. But so hauing made a short repast, they were no sooner risen, but certaine young men whom they call *Giamogians*, with others that stood round about them, snatcht it hastily vp as their fees, and like greedie Harpies rauened it downe in a moment. The embassadours in the meane time dined in the hall with the Bassaes. And after dinner certaine of the Capitzi were sent for the twelue of the embassadours followers, before appointed to do the great Sultan reuerence: by whom (their presents being already conueied away) they were remooued out of the place where they dined, and brought on into an vnder room, from whence there was an ascent into the hall, where the Bassaes were staying for the embassadours: who soone after came forth, and for their ease sat them downe vpon the benches, whiles the Bassaes went in to *Selymus*; who before this time had made an end of dinner, and was remooued in all his royaltie into one of his chambers; expecting the comming of the embassadours. All things now in readinesse, and the embassadours sent for, they set forward with their traine, and came to the third gate which leadeth into the priue pallasce of the Turkish emperour, where none but himselfe, his eunuchs, and the young pages his minions, being in the eunuchs custodie, hath continuall abiding: into which inward part of the pallasce none entrech but the Capitzi Bassa (who hath the keeping of this third gate) & the *Cefig-niers* (that serue in the Great Turke's meat) with the Bassaes and some few other great men; and that onely when they haue occasion so to doe by reason of some great businesse, or sent for by the Sultan. Being entered in at this gate, which is of a stately and royall building, the Capitzi by whom they were conducted, suddenly caused them to stay, and set them one from another about

A homely feast
giuen to the em-
bassadours follow-
ers in the Turke
Court.

The third Gate

five paces; in a little roome, which neuertheless was pasing delicate, all curiously painted ouer with diuers colours, and stood betwene the gate and the more inner lodgings. On both sides of which roome, when all things els were whist and in a deepe silence, certaine little birds onely were heard to warble out their sweet notes, and to flicker vp and downe the greene trees of the gardens (which all along cast a pleasant shaddow from them) as if they alone had obtained licence to make a noise. *Selymus* himselfe was in great majestic set in an vnder chamber, parted onely with a wall from the roome wherein the embassadours followers attended, wherinto he might looke through a little window, the portall of his said chamber standing in counterpoint with the third gate aboue mentioned. The embassadours entering in, were led single and one after another, to make their reuerence vnto the Great Turke. And in the meane time certaine of the Capitzi with the presents in their hands fetching a compass about before the window, mustered them in his sight. All this while not the least sound in the world being raised, but a sacred silence kept in euery corner, as if men had been going to visit the holiest place in *HERUSALEM*. Yet for all that the embassadours followers placed one from another (as is aforesaid) were not aware that the great Sultan was so neere, looking still when they should haue beene led on forwards all together: howbeit, they were set in one after another: neither did they that were so set out, returne againe into the roome; but hauing seuerally done their reuerence, were all (except the embassadours, that still stayed in the chamber) by one and one sent out another way into the Court: neither could he that came after see his fellow that went before him, after he was once taken in to doe his reuerence: but suddenly as the former was let out, the next was aduanced forward to the dore, where *Isman* the Capitzi-Bassa & the Odda-Bassa taking him by both arms and by the necke, the one at his right hand, and the other at his left, and so leading him apace, by the way softly felt his wrests with their hands, least peraduenture he might haue some short weapon in his sleue. Yet were they not all thus groped, as *Marc Antonio Pigafetta*, the reporter of this negotiation, sayth of himselfe and some others also. Howbeit this hath beene (and yet is) the manner of giuing of access vnto the person of the Great Turke, euer since that *Amurath* the first was after the battell of *CASSOVA* murdered by one of *Lazarus* the Despots men, who admitted to his presence (in reuenge of the wrong done vnto his master) with a short poynard that he had closely hidden about him, so stabbed him in the bellie that he presently died. And thus like men rather carried to prison by sergeants, than to the presence of so mightie a Monarch, they were presented vnto his majestie: he sitting vpon a pallet, which the Turkes call *Mastabe*, K vsed by them in their chambers to sleepe and to feed vpon, couered with carpets of silke, as was the whole floore of the chamber also. The chamber it selfe being not very great, was but darke, altogether without windowes, excepting that one whereof we haue before spoken: and hauing the wals painted and set out in most fresh and liuely colours by great cunning, and with a most delicat grace: yet vse they neither pictures nor the image of any thing in their painting. The six Visier Bassaes (before mentioned) were standing on the left hand as they entred in at the chamber dore one by another in one side of the chamber, and the embassadours on the right hand on the other side, standing likewise, and vncouered. The Dragomans were in another part of the chamber, neere the place where the Sultan sat gorgeously attired in a robe of cloth of gold, all embrodered with jewels: when as the embassadours followers by one and one brought before him (as is aforesaid) and kneeling on the ground, a Turke standing on his right side, with all reuerence taking vp the hemme of his garment, gaue it them in their hands to kisse. *Selymus* himselfe all this while sitting like an image without mouing, and with great state and majestic keeping his countenance, dained not to giue them one of his looks. This done, they were led backe againe, neuer turning their backs towards him, but going still backwards, vntill they were out of his presence. So after they had all thus made their reuerence, and were departed out of the chamber, the embassadours deliuered vnto *Selymus* the emperours letters, and briefly declared vnto him their message: whom he answering in foure words, as, That they were to conferre with his Bassaes: presently they were dismissed. And so comming out of the two inner gates, they mounted on horsebacke, and tooke the way leading towards their lodging, being at their returne accompanied with the whole order of the Ianizaries, with their Aga, and other capitaines: among whom were certaine of their religious men called *Haagi* (which vse to follow the Ianizaries) who continually turning about, and in their going, singing or rather howling out certain Psalmes and prayers for the welfare of their Great Sultan, gaue the embassadours and their followers occasion to wonder.

The embassadours brought in vnto *Selymus*, with the manner of the entertainments of them and their followers.

Itinerario Di Marc Antonio Pigafetta. ca. 5.

A wonder, that they either left not for wearinesse, or fell not downe like noddies for giddinesse. All these were sent, the more honourably to accompanie the embassadours to their lodging: and beside these, many more on horsebacke than attended them at their fourth comming: in regard whereof, the embassadours when they were come to their lodging, to requite their greedie courtesie, frankly distributed amongst them aboue foure thousand dollars, and yet well contented them not.

The embassadours after this entertainment at Court, had diuers times conference with the great Bassaes concerning peace, as *Selymus* had commaunded: wherein by reason of the Turkes vnreasonable demands (as their manner is at their first meetings) nothing could be as then concluded: so that *Selymus* himselfe being shortly after to depart for *HADRIANOPE*, where he was to continue for some moneth (but rather as it was thought for that they could not agree vpon a point of great consequence) the treatie for peace was intermitted, vntill such time as a messenger dispatched in post, might returne vnto the Turkes Court with some resolute answer concerning that matter. So it was, that during the reigne of the late emperour *Eerdinand*, that the Turke his subjects in *HUNGARIE* payed all their taxes and tributes vnto their old lords and masters, abiding and liuing in the emperours iurisdiction, as did the subjects of *Ferdinand* to their lords that dwelt in the Turkes dominion and territories: Now in this treatie for peace, the Turkes (amongst other their vnreasonable requests) demanded to haue their subjects freed, and yet the subjects of the emperour to pay as they were before accustomed. Which as it was a request nothing indifferent, so was it no lesse prejudiciall and hurtfull vnto the emperour, his subjects in *HUNGARIE*: for which cause the embassadours would not by any means consent thereunto, before they knew the emperours farther pleasure concerning the same. Whereupon they dispatched one *Sig. Odoardo* a gentleman of *MANTVA*, very skilfull in the Turkish language and in such like affaires, by reason that as well about this businesse as at diuers times before about other the like, he had beene employed from *VIENNA* to *CONSTANTINOPLE* in the emperours seruice. So *Selymus* shortly after, viz. the twentieth of October, departing from *CONSTANTINOPLE*, in great magnificence passed by the gate where the embassadours lay, with his whole Court in armes, and in the same order that is vsually kept when he goeth to warre or taketh any great journey. After whose departure the embassadours hauing sufficiently viewed the citie of *CONSTANTINOPLE*, and then at good leisure, to passe the time and to see the countries they had so often both heard and read of, together with the ports and hauens on both sides that narrow sea which deuideth *EVROPE* from *ASIA*, embarking themselves, and crossing the mouth of the haven betwixt *CONSTANTINOPLE* and *PERRA*, passed all alongst the coast on *EVROPE* side vnto the *Euxine* or blacke sea, and so backe againe by the other side of that straight sea: curiously noting the great ruines of the ancient cities of *BITHYNIA*, with some others alongst the Asian shore, together with the pleasant situation they in former times had, whilst they yet flourished in their glorie, but now for most part (or rather altogether) laied in the dust & brought to nought: and so returned againe to *CONSTANTINOPLE*. But whilst they thus deceived the time, and lay long expecting the returne, as well of their owne messenger sent vnto the emperour, as of *Selymus* himselfe: they were aduertised in all hast to repaire vnto him to *HADRIANOPE*, whether the aforesaid messenger was now come with full instructions of all things concerning the treatie for peace. For which cause they with great speed making themselves ready, and taking their leaue of *Piall Bassa* (who for that he was *Selymus* his great Admirall, then lay at *CONSTANTINOPLE*) set forward the first of Ianuarie in the yeare 1568: and so after nine dayes travel at length arrived at *HADRIANOPE* about an hundred fiftie three Italian miles distant from *CONSTANTINOPLE*. Here they stayed vntill the peace was concluded, which was the seventeenth of Februaire: the cheefe capitulations whereof were, That either of those great princes should still hold what they had got each from the other in the late warres, That the emperour should yearely pay thirtie thousand ducats to the Turkish Sultan, as a tribute for *HUNGARIE*, should the Turke should pay nothing to the subjects of the emperour, neither the emperours anything to the Turkes, but to be both of those payments free. And that vpon these conditions there should be a firme & sure peace betwixt these two great Monarchs for eight years next following: where in the Vayvod of *TRANSILVANIA* was (as the Turkes tributarie) to be also comprehended. Neuertheless, all things at this time thus agreed vpon, the Turkes after their subtile manner finishing

The principall point whereupon the embassadours differed from the Turkes in the treatie of peace.

1568

The cheefe capitulations wherof a peace was concluded betwixt *Maximilian* the emperour and *Selymus*.

ding sundry cauillations, and raising many doubts about the aforelaid capitulations, did what they might to haue in some part altered what they had before agreed vpon, to the bettering of themselves and the hurt of the Christians: and so with many their ynreasonable demaunds stayed the departure of the embassadours vntill the twentieth of March following. At which time hauing their dispatch, and taking their leaue of the Great Turke and the Bassaes, accompanied with Hebraim-Beg (Selymus his embassadour vnto the emperour) they by land returned towards Vienne: where they with the joyfull newes of peace the tenth of May arriued, being there two daies after at the Court most honourably receiued. And fise daies after audience was giuen vnto the Turke embassadours, who well heard, and better rewarded, shortly after returned with a full conclusion of peace from the emperour to CONSTANTINOPLE.

Embassadours
sent from Tamas
the Persian king
to Selymus.

But whilest this peace was thus in concluding, and the embassadours yet resident at HADRIANOPLE, the sixteenth of Februarie came an honourable embassage from Schach Tamas the Persian king vnto the Great Sultan Selymus, to entreat a peace betwixt them, or rather to conclude the same, being before agreed vpon the controuersies, for which they afterwards fell to open war. Which embassage for that it is no lesse truly than plainly set downe in a letter sent from ERZIRVM (a cite then in the confines of the Turke dominions towards the Persians) written by a Chiaus to Muhamet cheefe of the Visier Bassaes; which Chiaus was of purpose sent from CONSTANTINOPLE, to meet the said Persian embassadour: I thought it not amisse for the better vnderstanding thereof, to set downe the effect of the same letter as it was translated out of the Turkish into the Italian by the emperours embassadours interpreter.

**The effect of the letter written to Muhamet Bassa, the cheefe Visier,
by a Chiaus sent of purpose to meet the Persian
Embassadour.**

After due salutations, this is the effect of that which we thought good to make knowne vnto your lordship. Now at this present (to wit in the beginning of the month Giunna Sulacchir) is in good health arriued the embassadour of Persia, the kings cheefe counsellour, called * Schach Culi Soltan, attended vpon with a hundred and twentie gentlemen, with guilt turbants on their heads, & well furnished with spare horses led in mens hands. Besides whom he was accompanied also with two hundred knights all apparrelled in cloth of gold, with foure hundred Persian marchants, in all about seuen hundred persons; with a thousand nine hundred beasts, cammels, mules, and horses; five couple of drums, euery couple being placed vpon a severall cammell, five Nacars, three trumpets, five flutes, and other instruments, in all about thirtie musitions, playing vpon these instruments: There were also two quersisters or chaunters of the Alcoran, one Organist, one playing vpon a Turkish instrument like a Lute, two players vpon Sagbuts, with two other musitions, eight in all. There were also foure bondwomen serving in the embassadours owne chamber. Who when he was with all this magnificent pompe come within one dayes journey of ERZIRVM, the * Sayms and Spabies assembling themselves together to the number of eight thousand men, went to meet him: amongst whom were an hundred and more, all apparrelled in cloth of gold and sattin: two thousand men with guilt morrions on their heads: in which brauerie we marching forward, the Persian embassadour amazed to see so great maiestie and pompe, said that all the armie of CONSTANTINOPLE was come to meet him: and so being come into the cite, caused all the instruments to be played vpon, euen from morning vntill night. The next morning the embassadour inuited the Bassa with all the lords and officers, who being come, he entreated them to heare his musike: and in like manner the lord Bassa inuited the Persians. But as the embassadour was going to the banquet, came another Sultan of the kings, who brought to the same embassadour a guilt Turbant, and a rich gowne wrought with gold, which he caused him to put on by the way. By this embassadour the Persian king hath sent all the armour of Sultan Baiazet, with all his cammels and other wealth. The causes of the long stay of this embassadour were specially two: the one for that the Persian king had caused to be made two pavilions of one peece, the curtains being interlaced with gold, and the supporters imbrodered with the same: Besides this, he sent two bookes of histories, and two pearles, which in weight weighed ten * Mescali: one Balasso as big as a little pearle, four score, and two times an hundred * Tumenich of stuffe, amounting to foure score and two summes of Alpers, and fortie Falcons: all which the Persian king hath sent vnto the Great Sultan, as to the onely Monarch and Patrone of the world. This Schach Culi is the next in authoritie to the king, and so was in the

* Schach Culi Soltan was not the proper name of this embassadour, but a title of honour, and signifies as much as a prince servant to the king.

* Sayms are soldiers of greater honour than the Spahis, being for their stipend yearly 2000 Alpers at the least, and of the revenues of certain towns and villages.

* A Mescali is four diamons.
* Tumenich is invale as much as the Turkish Alper.

A time of the great king Hylnaell: These two Persian Sultans are the kings cheefe Sultans and courtiers, and therefore set themselves forth with all the pompe they can. Yet notwithstanding all their brauerie, being come to ERZIRVM within the view of our armie, the Persians were amazed to behold the goodly order of the Othomans. One part of these Persians are returned againe into PERSIA. And if it please God at the coming of my messenger vnto you, your lordship shall vnderstand of what condition and state these two princes and Sultans are. They haue each of them yearly six Tumenich: which maketh after the computation of the Othomans, six thousand Alpers. Your lordship after this account may iudge of the rest. The other cause of the long stay of this embassadour, was for that in SIRVAN the people were up in rebellion, wherein many of them were slaine: to the appeasing of which sedition, this Schach Culi was sent, and now at last is come. From ERZIRVM in the beginning of the moneth of * Giunna Sulacchir, in the yeare of the Prophet Mahomet 975.

* December.

This the Persian embassadour was with the greatest pompe that might be entertained by the Turks at his first coming to HADRIANOPLE, all the brave Courtiers with the Janizaries and other souldiours of the Court going forth in most seemely order to meet him. VVho now entered the cite, and come before the house where the emperours embassadours then lay, and seeing certaine of their retinue before the dore, asked of Isnam the Capiti Bassa, what people they were? who told him that they were the followers of an embassadour that there lay, sent from one of the greatest princes of the Christians, namely the emperour, who was desirous to make peace with the Great Sultan his master. VVhereunto the embassadour replied, That he would willingly salute them: which Isnam hearing, straightway turned his horse towards the place where they stood. Now the emperours embassadour being secret within a lattise, and seeing him come towards them, went forth and stood vpon the dore threshold, and so with signes and words saluted one another. Amongst the others the Persian embassadour said vnto the emperours, That he would gladly talke with them, if it might so please the Grand Signior: Hebraim the Dragoman who then was with the emperours embassadours, being interpreter. So hauing courteously saluted one the other, they departed, but neuer after came together. Two dayes after the Persian embassadours (according to the manner of those barbarous nations, who with emptie hands salute not one another) by his Cheeai or steward of his household, presented all the Visier Bassaes with diuers rich gifts and presents, euery one of them according to their degrees and places. And

D the day after went himselfe to visit them: where by the way fell out a strange matter, like y enough to haue cost him his life. For a Giamoglan (as the embassadour was going to visit Muhamet the cheefe of the Visier Bassaes for the first meeting him, shot at him with an harquebush, with purpose to haue slaine him; but as God would, misled him, and hurt but one of his theefe followers in the arme. VVherewith the embassadour not a little dismayed, as supposing himselfe to haue bene betrayed, turning his horse, was about to haue gone to his lodging: but the great Bassa in the meane time hauing knowledge thereof, presently sent out men to guard him, and to excuse himselfe of the fact. VVherof the embassadour being assured, held on his way. In the meane space the fellow who shot the harquebush, being apprehended, was brought before the embassadour and the Bassa: who asking him for what cause he discharged the shot against the embassadour, he without change of countenance boldly answered, That he did it for no other cause but for that the embassadour was an hereticke, and sent from an hereticall king, and an enemy to their religion: and therefore that it was not conuenient he should come to entreat of peace with his lord, adding further, that he was not worthe of any peace. VVhich the Bassa hearing, adjudged the desperate villaine the next day to be drawne at an horse taile through the cite, & then to haue his right hand cut off, and afterward his head, which was accordingly put in execution. After this the Persian embassadour the two and twentieth of the same moneth went to deliuer the presents sent from his master vnto the Grand Signior, and so to kisse his hand, sending first before him the presents vpon foure and fortie cammels, whereof foure and thirtie were the kings of PERSIA, and the other ten his owne. The kings present was an Alcoran, with the authoritie of ALL, as they hold. For this is their custome, alwayes to present one such Alcoran vnto the princes to whom they send their embassadours. It was couered with gold, and garnished with most pretious stones: He presented also a booke of histories, couered as the other: hee gaue also a box, wherein was a very faire pretious stone called Balasso, and two pearles of a wonderfull greatnesse, with two pusses of an handfull long, full of jewels. Besides these, he presented also eight Fituari or Porcellane dishes

The Persian embassadours honourably entertained by the Turkish Hadrianople.

The Persian embassadour in going to visit Muhamet the Visier Bassa, intended to haue bene slaine.

The gifts present sent by the Persian king vnto Selymus.

dishes (which we call China dishes) made of most pure earth; kept aboue fiftie yeares buried vnder the ground, to the end so to be fined and purified, which (as some say) will melt and disolue if any poison be put into them. He gaue also two most stately pauillions, twentie great carpets of silke, and many other lesfer of silke and gold; also nine faire canopies to hang ouer the ports of their pauillions, things not vsed among the Christians. He gaue also nine very faire carpets of Camels haire, nine saddles set with stone after the Persian fashion, seuen staues of siluer, seuen scimitars with red scabers, seuen bowes with arrowes and quiuers, all wrought with gold and precious stone; he presented also many other carpets called Tefich, made of the finest lawne, and so large, that seuen men could scarcely carrie one of them. All the Faulcons were dead by the way.

The embassadours
presents to Selymus.

The presents which the embassadour gaue vnto the great Turke in his owne name, were also these: an Alcoran, a pauillon faire and large, certaine scimitars, bowes and arrowes richly garnished, with certaine carpets of silke, and camels haire. After which presents so deliuered, and reuerence done vnto the great Sultan by the embassadour, and thirtie of his followers all in cloth of gold; he returned to his lodging, verie honourably accompanied, as well by the Turkes as them of his owne retinue. First besides many others, there were a great companie of the Spahies and Chiaufies, and other courtiers mounted vpon goodly horses, well furnished and in decent order: here might a man haue scene store of cloth of gold, veluet, damaske, and other kinds of silke. After these there followed about three hundred Persian horsemen, apparelled after their manner, some with gowns made of diuers litle pieces of taffata of sundry colours, representing the pictures of men, women, horses, and other beafts; and some of them imbrodered with flowres and fruits of sundrie sorts; some had also gownes of cloth of gold, but not so faire as the Turkes; and some of veluet, but verie few of cloth: for that the Persians haue no great plentie either of veluet or yet of cloth, except such as they haue from the Portingals that trauell into those Easterne countries; yet of silke and wool it appeareth they haue great plentie, most part of their gownes being of wool quilted with bombast. After these horsemen followed many Persian footmen, peraduenture all seruants; after whom came the Turkish horsemen: and last of all came a horse of the embassadours led by a Persian; after which horse followed two hundred Ianizaries: and in the rearward of all came the embassadour alone, gorgeously attired both himselfe and his horse. He himselfe was inuested with crimosin veluet, mingled with some other colours: his saddle and bridle were all bedeckt with jewels; the caparison of his horse, was all imbrodered with Turquoises and other pretious stones: the horne vpon the top of his Turbant (which the Turkes call Meteoruncchia) was altogether wrought with gold, and set with pretious stones: in briefe, vpon euery part of his bodie hanged jewels of great price. After the embassadour, followed about an hundred and fortie Persian horsemen, and others of his court apparelled as before, some well, some ill, according to their abilitie. Now although the Persians (as is to be thought) shewed all their pompe, yet they made nothing so faire: a shew as did the Turkes: neither are they so faire men of complexion, being for the most part of a swart and browne colour, and rather little men than otherwise, not much vnlike to the Spaniards. The embassadour being departed, the presents were all brought and shewed to Selymus, who allowed for their ordinarie charges five hundred ducats a day, for that in deed their number was great, and their beafts many. These expenses bestowed vpon the embassadours, doe presently begin as soone as any of them enter into his dominions; and end, so soone as the businesse for which they come is finished. But long it was not, but that this embassadour hauing concluded a peace betwixt the two great princes, *Tamur* and Selymus, and dispatched such matters as he came for, returned home againe into *Persia*. The Venetians also now at this same time, by their embassadours sought to renew the league they had made with the great Turke, now expired: which, as it was easily obtained, so was it of small assurance: Selymus the next yeare quarrelling with them, and raising new wars to the great hurt and disturbance of that state, as shall forthwith appeare.

An honourable
allowance.

1569

Selymus now at peace with all the world (aching of the Turkes not much desired) began to thinke of workes of charitie: and purposing to build a magnificent temple at *HABRIANOPOLIS* for his owne sepulture, with a monasterie, a colledge, and an almes-houle (as had his father, and other his auncestours before him at *PRVSIA* and *CONSTANTINOPLE*, led therunto with a vaine and superstitious deuotion) was troubled with nothing more, than how to endue the same with lands and reuenues sufficient for the maintenance of so great a charge: For that the Mahometane kings, are by their superstition prohibited to conuert any lands or possessions

to

A to such holy vses, other than such as they haue with their owne sword woon from the enemies of their religion, which they may (as they are perswaded) as a most acceptable sacrifice, offer to their great prophet: which diuelish persuation, serueth as a spur to pricke forward euery of those ambitious princes to adde something to their empire. This his deuout purpose once knowne, wanted not the furtherance of many ripe heads, deuising some one thing, some another, as they thought best fitted his humor. But amongst many things to him presented, none pleased him so well, as the plot laid for the taking of the rich island of *CYPRVS* from the Venetians: a conquest of it selfe sufficient, both for the eternizing of his name, and performance of his owne charitable works intended; with a large ouerplus, for the supplying of whatsoeuer wanted in his fathers like deuout workes at *CONSTANTINOPLE*. But that which moued him most of all, was the glorie of such a conquest, which as his flatterers bare him in hand, might make him equall with any his predecessours; who in the beginning of their raigne, had vsually done or attempted some notable thing against the Christians. Hereupon the matter was by Selymus propounded to the great Bassas to be considered of; without whose aduise and counsell, the Turkish emperors seldom or neuer take any great wars in hand. Amongst these graue counsellours, *Muhamet* the chiefe Visier Bassa, a man of greatest authoritie (vnto whom Selymus was beholden, that he had so quietly obtained the empire) and a secret friend vnto the Venetians, seemed much to dislike of that motion, perswading Selymus not to yeeld thereunto: alleading, beside the danger and vncertaintie of the expedition, that his father Solyman at the time of his death had charged him straightly, that the league with the Venetians should be religiously kept; and that he could not with his honour, without just cause so quickly breake that league, which he himselfe had but a litle before most solemnly confirmed. But *Mustapha* the second Bassa, sometime Selymus his tutor, and therefore of him much honoured, with *Piall Bassa* the Admirall (both enuying at the great honour of the Visier Bassa) so mightily impugned that he had before said, and so importuned Selymus with the shew both of honour and profit attending that action, as also with the easinesse thereof (a great part of the Venetian Arsenall being but a litle before burnt, and their forces much weakened) that he rejected the counsell of *Muhamet*, calling him in his choller, Christian (which among the Mahometanes is a word of no small disgrace) and yeelding wholly to the persuation of *Mustapha* and *Piall*, presently commanded preparation to be made both by sea and land, for the performance of that his resolution. Which was not so couertly carried in the

D Turkes court, but that it was discovered by *M. Antonius Barbarus* the Venetian embassadour; and not without cause suspected by the Venetian merchants, whom the barbarous Turkes began now to cut short in their trafficke, looking big vpon them, as men suddenly changed, and euil entreating them with hard speeches, the vndoubted signes of greater troubles to ensue. The Venetian embassadour now out of doubt of the Turkes purpose for the inuasion of *CYPRVS*, came vnto *Muhamet* the chiefe Bassa, complaining of the breach of the league: and putting him in mind of the fidelitie of the Venetian state towards the Turkish emperour, requested him; that Selymus might not make too much hast to begin that warre, which would set all *EVROPE* on a broile; but rather by his embassadours first to declare his mind vnto the Senat, for that so it might happily come to passe, that all might be quieted, to the good of both parties without warre. Which the politike embassadour requested not of the Bassa for any hope he had to auert the warre, for which the Turke had now all things in readinesse, but onely by such an hope of composition, to hinder the Turkes endeours, and to win time, vntill that the State (being fully certified of all these matters) might make readie their fleet and forces, and so in armes be readie to answer their armed foes: neither did he euer leaue the Bassa, vntill he had by his meanes procured, That one *Cubates* should be sent embassadour to *VENICE* to proue the minds of the Senators, whether they would willingly deliuer the island, or adventure to haue it taken from them by force. These things and such like as were then done at *CONSTANTINOPLE*, being by letters sent in post from the embassadour, made knowne at *VENICE*, brought a generall heauinesse vpon the citie: for why, that vnderstanding and prouident State, warned by their former

F harmes, of all others most dread the Turkes forces. *Cubates* the embassadour accompanied with *Aloysius Barbarus* the embassadours sonne, and *Bonricius* his secretarie, departing from *CONSTANTINOPLE*, came by long Iournies to *RAAGSVIM*, where *Angelus Surianus* sent from *VENICE* to meet him, was readie to receiue him, who being taken into his gallic, brought him to *VENICE*.

Muhamet Bassa
dissuadeth Selymus
from the inuasion of Cyprus.

Selymus sendeth
Cubates his embassadour to Venice.

In

In the meane time the Senatours sitting oftentimes in counsell, were deuicid in opinions G concerning the chiefe matter they consulted vpon: some there were, that thought it not good to wage warre against such an inuincible enimie, nor to trust vpon a vaine and idle hope, neither to commit all vnto the hazard of such fortune as was vnto them in that warre by the enimie propounded: they alledged, that they had alwaies vnfortunatly taken vp armes against the Turks, and that therefore they should set before their eies, what harmes they had suffered, and how that beside the losses already sustained they had alwaies in the winding vp of the warres lost something more: that it were better to depart with CYPRVS, so that they might quietly enjoy the rest, rather than to enter into armes: Time they said, would at length giue them some one fit occasion or other to recouer that they had lost, and to restore their state vnto the former honour; which for the present, was about their power to maintaine: To put their trust H in their confederates (they said) was but to deceiue themselves: they should remember how often euen small causes of false suspition, or hope of profit, or feare of harme, had vtterly frustrated and broken in sunder the most solemne capitulations of the strongest leagues: how often destruction had come thence from whence aid was to haue beene hoped for, they needed not to seeke farther for examples than from their owne domestick affaires. Others were of a contrarie opinion, as that the island was by force of armes to be defended: saying, That nothing could be more dishonourable, than without fight to depart with so notable a part of their feignorie: neither any thing more commendable, than to proue all things for defence of their honour: Neither would the proud Turkes, with whom no assured league could be made (as they said) hold themselves content with this yeelding vp of the island, but by intreating of them and giuing I them way, become more insolent: and when they had taken CYPRVS from them, would also seeke after CRETE and CORCYRA, and so yeelding them one thing after another, spoile themselves of all together: Ambitious and greedie princes (they said) grew more bold and insolent by other mens feare: and that no great or notable matter was to be done without danger: that hard beginnings had oftentimes merrie endings: that the fauour and good will of that insatiable and greedie nation, was not to be gained but with so great losse and charge as that such a costly peace would be much more hurtfull than warre it selfe: beside that, it much concerned other Christian princes to haue the Venetian state preserved, and that therefore it was to be hoped, that they would to the vttermost of their power giue them aid. The matter thus debated too and fro, it was in the end resolved vpon, to take vp armes in defence of their honour, and by plain K force to withstand the Turke.

So when Cubates the Turkes embassadour came from VENICE, neither did any man of courtesie meet him, neither was any honour done vnto him, or so much as common countie shewed vnto him: but being afterward admitted into the Senat house with his two interpreters onely, he deliuered Selymus his letters, enclosed in a little bag wrought with silke and gold; and so whilest the same letters were in breaking vp, and translating out of the Turkish language into Italian, deliuered also his message by word of mouth as followeth.

What great account the mightie Sultan my dread Soueraigne hath alwaies made of your most honourable friendship, is therein right well declared; That in the verie entrance of himselfe into his empire, he forthwith and without any hard or new conditions renewed his league with you: which he hath on his part alwaies kept most faithfully and vniuolant, worthely grieuing the like kindnesse not to be shewed on your behalfe, neither the like care of keeping your faith to appeare in you: who by harbouring of pyrats in your hauens, and murdering of his subiects, haue oftentimes broken the league. Which iniuries, although they were by war to haue beene reuenged, yet hath he, so mightie a monarch, hitherto bene alwaies more mindfull of your honor and friendship, than of his owne maiestie and profit. But for so much as there is no end of these iniuries and wrongs, and that it is now come to that point, That longer to forbear, might be imputed vnto him rather for cowardise than courtesie as also that it much more concerneth your State than him, and that therefore you ought no lesse than he to desire that all causes of unkindnesse might be cut off, and order taken, that in so great and mutuall good will, there should be no falling out by new quarrels daily arising: the onely remedie thereof is, if you shall deliuer vnto him the island of CYPRVS, the cause of all these grieuances. Now it becometh you for your great wisdom, to make small reckoning of so small a matter, in comparison of the fauour of so great a prince; which if you shall willingly of your selues yeeld vnto him, you shall right wisely provide

Hard to trust
upon confederates.

The Turke's
embassadour homely
entertained at
Venice.

Cubates the
Turke's embassadour
speaks in
the Senat at Venice.

A provide for your affaires, and haue him so great a monarch alwaies your friend and confederat: when as if you shall shew your selues obstinat, and not to yeeld to this his so small a request, his purpose is by strong hand not onely to take from you the island, the cause of the warre, but also to prosecute you with most cruell warre both by sea and land. And thereupon I take God to witnesse, all the blame of the calamities to ensue of so mortall a warre, to be imputed vnto your selues, as the worthie reward of your wilfulnesse and breach of faith.

Which said, hee in the name of Muhaniet the Visier Bassa told the Senatours, that hee was right sorie that this breach was fallen out betwixt the emperour Selymus and them: and that although he doubted not, but that they would right wisely consider of all things; yet he could B nor for the good will he bare vnto them, but admonish them of such things, as he deemed for them both profitable and wholesome: and therefore did most instantly request them, and with all aduise them, not to enter into armes against so mightie a prince, neither wilfully to plunge themselves into such dangers, as they could hardly or neuer find the way out; for that their strength was nothing answerable vnto his, and that the cunct of that warre was like to be vnto them deadly, and that therefore he tooke God, and the loue he bare vnto them to witnesse, that he had in friendly sort forewarned them of their harmes, and aduised them for their good: Giuing them farther to vnderstand, that Selymus did nothing but thunder out most cruell threats against their State: which his indignation was raised of the manifold complaints brought against them to his court at C O N S T A N T I N O P L E.

C Selymus his letters answerable to his embassadours speech, were also full of false surmised grieuances: he complained, That the Venetians had in warlike manner entered into the frontiers of his empire in DALMATIA, and there had done great harme; that they had put to death certaine Turkish pirats whom they had taken aliue: that their island of CYPRVS was an harbour for the pirats of the West, and that from thence they robbed his peaceable countries, and surprised his subjects traouelling that way for deuotion vnto the temple of MACHA, or otherwise about their affaires. And that therefore those causes of discord might be taken away, and the hinderance of traffique remoued, he required them to yeeld vnto him the island of CYPRVS: which if they refused to doe, he would by force of armes take it from them; and by force and strong hand cause them to doe that which they might better haue done frankly and of their D owne accord; and farther, to make them to vnderstand how farre the Turkes did excell all other men in martiall prowesse. As for the league before made betwixt his father and them, he said he had renewed the same, not because he had any liking thereunto, but because he had as then set downe with himselfe, for a while in the beginning of his empire, peaceably to endure all things.

The Venetians, for that they knew the embassadours errand before his coming, hauing now read his letters, gaue him such answer as they had before resolved vpon: which was, That the Venetians had at all times inuolably kept their leagues with the Othoman emperours, and had in regard thereof let slip many opportunities and fit occasions for them to haue augmented their dominions in: That they could without any danger to themselves, haue destroyed the E Turkes fleet both at the RHODOS and MALTA, and other places also; but that they more regarded their honour, and alwaies thought that nothing better became great and magnificent princes, than to performe their faith once giuen, and in all their actions to be like themselves. And therefore had dissembled, and put vp many grieuous and bitter indignities, least they might be thought to haue first broken the league: That they had neuer passed their owne bounds, or invaded the Turkes: onely to haue taken order, that no pirats should at their pleasure roame vp and downe the seas. Now whereas all duties being on their part sincerely and most religiously kept, Selymus complained himselfe to be wronged, whereas he himselfe had done the wrong; and had contrarie to the league denounced warre against them, expecting nothing lesse: suchence that they could not by the power of the league, they would by force of armes defend that kingdome, which they by auncient and lawfull right possessed, deliuered vnto them by their aunces F flos: That God in whose helpe they trusted would weigh in indifferent ballance, all mens words and deeds, whom they tooke to witnesse, that they were the authours of peace, and Selymus the cause of warre: and that the same God would be now present vnto their iust complaints, and forthwith after with his power to take reuenge on them; which falsifying their faith and promise

Ecce

giueth

The effect of Selymus his letter to the Venetians.

The answer of the Venetians to the Turke's demands.

giuen, and violating the sacred league, had enforced them to take vp most iust and necessarie G
armes, which they would with the same courage manage that they had taken them in hand.

The Turkes em-
bassadour sent a-
way in secretes to
Venice.

The resolution of
the Senat for war
diuersly liked, &
disliked of others.

With this answer the embassadour departed, let out by a secret posterne, for feare of the
people; who hauing got knowledge of the matter, were in great number assembled to the Court
gate, muttering among themselves, that it were well done to rend in pieces that accursed Turke,
the messenger of his faithlesse master. Which outrage it was thought they would in their furie
haue performed, had not such as by the commaundement of the magistrates guarded him, better
assured him of his safetie, than either regard of durie or the law of nations; he by the way as he
went still storming and swearing by his *Mahomet* to be of that so great an indignitie reuenged.
This answer of the Senat vnto the Turkes embassadour concerning warre, was of some well
liked and highly commended, as full of honour and valour. Others deemed it too sharpe, liking H
of nothing that was said or done, to the further incensing of the Turkish emperor: being of
opinion, that they might haue of him obtained a more indifferent peace by courtesie than by ri-
gour. As for the decreed warre they vtterly disliked, for as much as all warres were wofull, but
especially those which were to be maintained against them that are too strong for vs. In such di-
uersitie of opinions it appeared, That the Senat should of that so honourable a decree reape such
commendation, as the euent thereof should afford (than which nothing is more vnreasonable) if
things fell out well, then was it wisely and worthely done; if otherwise, then was it like to be
reputed a foolish, a rash, and wofull resolution.

The greater danger was now feared from the angrie Turke, the more carefull were the
Venetians of their state. Wherefore they forthwith sent messengers with letters vnto the Go-
uernours of CYPRVS, charging them with all carefulnesse and diligence to make themselves rea-
die to withstand the Turke, and to raise what power they were able in the island, not omitting
any thing that might concerne the good of the state: and at the same time made choice of their
most valiant and expert capitaines both by sea and land, vnto whom they committed the defence
of their dispersed Seignorie, with the leading of their forces. *Hieronymus Zanius* was appointed
Admirall, *Lucas Michaelis* was sent into CRET, *Franciscus Barbarus* into DALMATIA, *Seba-
stianus Venerius* into CORCYRA, all men of great honour, experience, and valour. Other mean-
er capitaines were sent also with lesse charge into the foresaid places, as *Eugenius Singletius*, a
noble gentleman, with a thousand footmen into CYPRVS, who had also the leading of all the
horsemen in the island: after whom countie *Martinengus* promised to follow with two thou-
sand footmen more. The strong cities were now by the Venetians in all places new fortified, ar-
mour, ordinance, and victuall provided, and whatsoever els they thought needfull for defence of
their state. And for as much as they well knew they had to doe with too mightie an enemy, they
by their embassadours sent for that purpose, earnestly solicited most of the Christian princes to
ioine with them in league, and to giue them aid against the common enemy, who as he was too
strong for any one of them, so were he not able to stand against their vnited forces. But the em-
perour *Maximilian* excused himselfe by the league he had not long before made with the Turke
for eight yeares, which (he said) he might not breake: yet had he before his eyes a most pregnant
example, what small reckoning the Turke maketh of his faith or league; which he without any
just cause had broken with the Venetians. The like excuse vsed also *Charles* the French king, and
Sigismund king of POLONIA, who both seemed to be very sorrie for that the Venetians were
fallen out with the Turke, but could not helpe them, for that they were in league with the Tur-
kish emperor. Neuerthelesse the French king did them the courtesie, to offer himselfe to be a
mediator, if they so pleased, betwixt them and *Selymus*. The young king of PORTINGAL, *Don
Sebastian* pretended also for his excuse the great plague which had but a litle before ragged in his
kingdome, and much deminished his people; as also that he was to maintaine wars by sea against
the Turks in the East Indies, to the no lesse benefit of the Christian commonweale than if he
should aid the Venetians in the Mediterranean. Onely *Pius Quintus* then Pope, and *Philip* king
of SPAIN, with certaine of the princes of ITALIE; namely *Philibert* duke of SAVOIE, *Guido
Vdebaldu* duke of VRBIN, *Cosmus Medices* duke of FLORENCE, and the knights of MALTA, M
promised them aid, which they afterward most honourably performed.

Selymus of himselfe angrie with the Venetians, and firme in his resolution for the conquest of
CYPRVS, was vpon the report of *Cubates* his embassadours had entertainment at VENICE, far-
ther enraged. He deemed the maiestie of the Turkish empire contemned, and himselfe in the per-
son

The Emperor,
the French king,
and the king of
Polonia ensan-
gled with their
leagues, refuse to
aid the Veneti-
ans against the
Turke.

What Christian
princes promised
to aid the Vene-
tians.

A person of his embassadour disgraced: seeing that they whom he had thought would haue yeal-
ded vnto any thing, rather than the league should haue beene broken, had sent him such a short
answer, and so contemptuously vsed his embassadour, vnto whom they had not afforded so
much as common courtesie. It did not a litle moue him also, that the Venetians had in their
letters sent by his embassadour, omitted the glorious titles usually giuen the Turkish emperours.
Wherefore in some part to satisfie his angrie mood, he caused *Marcus Antonius Barbarus*, the
Venetian embassadour, and all the Christian marchants of the West throughout his empire, to
be clapt vp in prison, and their ships layed vnder an arrest. And letting all other things apart, let
himselfe wholly for the preparing of such things as should be needfull for the intended warre.

But for as much as the island of CYPRVS was the prey whereafter the greedie tyrant so much
gaped, and for which the bloodie warres betwixt the Turke and the Venetians, with their Chri-
stian confederats, pretchly ensued, it shall not be from our purpose to spend a few words in the
describing thereof, as the stage whereon the bloodie tragedie following was as it were acted: as
also how it came first into the hands of the Venetians, and by what right of them so long posses-
sed (although it be in some part before declared) vntill it was now by *Selymus* the great Turke a-
gainst all right injuriously demanded, and at length by strong hand by him wrested from them.
This island lieth in the farthest of the Cilician sea: it hath on the East SICILIA, on the West
PAMPHILIA, Southward it regardeth EGYPTE, and Northward CILICIA, now called CARAMAN-
NIA. It is worthily accounted amongst the greatest islands of the Mediterranean, con-
taining in circuit 427 miles, and is in length (after the description of *Strabo*) 175 miles, and in bredth
not aboue 65. It aboundeth with corne, wine, oyle, cotton, wooll, saffron, honey, rosin, turpen-
tine, sugar canes, and whatsoever els is needfull for the sustentation of man, whereof it sendeth
forth great abundance to other countries, of whom it craueth no helpe againe. It was in ancient
time called *Macaria*, that is to say, Blessed. The people therein generally liued so at ease and
pleasure, that thereof the island was dedicated to *Venus*, who was there especially worshipped,
and thereof called CYPRIA. *Marcellinus* shew the fertilitie thereof, sayth, That CYPRVS
aboundeth with such plentie of all things, that without the helpe of any other forraigne country
it is of itselfe able to build a tall ship, from the keele to the top saile, and so put it to sea furnished
of all things needfull. And *Sextus Rufus* writing thereof, sayth, *Cyprus famosa diuitijs, paupertatem
populi Romani, et occuparetur sollicitudo, ita vt ins eius insule avarius magis quam iustus simus
D* ascendit. CYPRVS famous for wealth, allured the povertrie of the people of ROMA to lay hold
vpon it, so that we haue rather couetously than iustly got the rule thereof. In the heart of the
island standeth NICOSIA, sometime the regall and late metropolitall citie thereof. And in the
East end thereof FAMAGUSTA, sometime called TAMASSVS, a famous rich citie, the cheefe and
onely port of all that most pleasant island. Other faire cities there be also, as PAPHOS, AMA-
THVS (now called LIMISSO) and CYRENE. This island of it selfe long time maintained the ma-
iestie of a kingdome, as then when *Richard* the first king of ENGLAND passing that way with his
fleet for the releefe of the Christians then distressed in the Holy land about the yeare 1191, was
prohibited there to land; and certaine of his people by force of tempest there cast on shore, were
by the Cypriots either cruelly slaine or taken prisoners: which barbarous violence king *Richard*
tooke in so euill part, that he there by force landed his armie, and rested not vntill he had taken
Isack the king prisoner, and subdued the island. The king he sent in chaines of siluer to TRIPOLI-
S, there to be kept in close prison; the kingdome he kept a while in his owne hand, which not
long after he gaue, or as some say, exchanged with *Guido* the titular king of HIERUSALEM: for
which cause the kings of ENGLAND for a certaine time afterwards were honoured with the title
of the Kings of HIERUSALEM. This kingdome by many descents came at length to *Ianus* son
of king *Peter*, who in the yeare 1423 was by *Melechella* Sultan of EGYPTE taken prisoner, but
afterwards for the rancome of an hundred and fiftene thousand Sultanins, was set at libertie and
restored to his kingdome, paying vnto the Sultan and his successours a yearly tribute of fortie
thousand crownes. This *Ianus* left a sonne called *John*, who after the death of his father married
the daughter of the Marques of MONTFERRAT: after whose death he married one *Helena*, of
the most noble house of the *Paleologi* in GRACIA, by whom he had one onely daughter called
Carlote, but by another woman a base sonne named *Iames*. This king *John* was a man of no
courage, altogether giuen to pleasure, and according to the manner of his effeminate education,
shewed himselfe in all things more like a woman than a man: which *Helena* his wife, a woman
of

The description
of Cyprus.

King Richard in
Cyprus.

How the king-
dome of Cyprus
came to the Ve-
netians.

of a great spirit, quickly perceiving, tooke vpon her the foueraignetic and whole government of G the realme, gracing and disgracing whom she pleased, and promoting to the ecclesiasticall dignities such as she best liked, abolishing the Latine ceremonies, and bringing in them of the Greeks, and tooke such further order as pleased her selfe in matters of state, concerning both peace and warre, her husband in the meane time regarding nothing, but his vaine pleasure: whereby it came to passe, that all was brought into the power of the Greekes, the queenes friends. Now the queene her selfe was much ruled by the counsell of her nurse, and the nurse by her daughter: so that the people commonly said, The daughter ruled the nurse, the nurse the queene, & the queene the king. The nobilitie ashamed and wearie of this manner of government, by generall consent of the people sent for *John* the king of PORTINGALS, cousin Germane (whom some call the king of PORTINGALL) to whom they gaue *Carlotte* the kings daughter in marriage, with full H power to supplie that want of government which was in king *John* his father in law. He taking the authoritie into his hands, quickly reformed the disordered kingdome, as well in matters concerning religion as ciuile policie. The Latine ceremonies were againe restored, and the government of the daughter, the nurse, and the queene brought to an end. But the mischievous daughter doubting the countenance of the new king, perswaded her mother, as she rendered her owne life, to poyson the king. VVhich thing the wretched woman, by the consent of the queene mother (as was reported) in short time performed, and so brought that noble prince, well worthe longer life, vnto his vntimely end: whereby the government was againe restored to the Greeke queene, who in the name of her weake husband commanded againe at her pleasure. But about all, the nurse and her daughter insulted vpon the young queene *Carlotte*, which shee not well brooking, grieuouously complained thereof to *James* her base brother, requiring his helpe for redresse thereof: who not long after slew the nurses daughter, not so much in reuenge of the wrong by her done vnto his sister, as to prepare a way for himselfe for the obtaining of the kingdome: grieuing inwardly, that shee or her husband whosoever, should bee preferred before himselfe. VVhich thing *Helena* the queene quickly perceiving, perswaded the king her husband to cause his base sonne to enter into the orders of priesthood; and so to become a church man, thereby to cut off all his hope of aspiring vnto the kingdome: which the king at her instance did, and made him archbishop of NICOSTA. In the meane time *Carlotte* by the perswasion of her mother and the nobilitie of the countrey, married *Lewes* sonne to the duke of SAVOY: who being for that purpose sent for, came with all speed to CYPRVS. After that the queene mother and the old K nurse (desiring nothing more than to reuenge the death of the nurses daughter vpon *James*, now archbishop) deuised first how to thrust him out of all his spirituall promotions, which were great, and afterward quite banish him the kingdome. Hereupon the queene wrote letters against him to the Pope, to haue him disgraced, for that he being a man base borne, with his hands embred with guilelesse blood, was vnworthie of holy orders. VVhich letters by chance came to *James* his hands: who entaged therewith, accompanied with a number of his friends and fauorits, suddenly entred the Court, slew such of his enemies as he found there, deuicid their goods amongst his followers, and as king possessed himselfe of the regall citie. In this broile the Greeke queene *Helena* died, and shortly after her husband also. All things being thus in a hurle and out of order, certaine of the nobilitie for redresse thereof sent for *Lewes* the husband of *Carlotte*, as for him to whom that kingdome in the right of his wife most iustly belonged: who vpon his arrival was of all sorts of men ioifully receiued and welcommed as their king. *James* the vsurper vnderstanding before of the coming of *Lewes*, and perceiving the inclination of the people towards him, fled with diuers of his friends to ALEXANDRIA, to craue aid of the Egyptian Sultan: in whose Court he found such fauour, as that he was by the Sultans commaundement royally appaanelled and honoured with the title of the king of CYPRVS, which he promised for cuer to hold of the Sultans of EGIPPT as their vassale and tributarie. At which time the Sultan also by his embassadors commaunded *Lewes* to depart the isle: who by all meanes sought to haue pacified the Sultan, declaring vnto him his rightfull title, yet offering to pay vnto him the wonted tribute, and to allow vnto *James* a yearly pension of ten thousand duckats, during his life. But all in vaine, for *James* still present in the Sultans court, and wisely following his own sute, at last concluded with the great Sultan (who thought it more honour to make a king than to confirme a king) and receiving of him a great armie, returned into CYPRVS, where in short time he so distressed *Lewes*, that he was glad to forsake the island, with his wife, and to returne into his countrey; leaving the king.

A kingdome of CYPRVS againe to *James*: who now by the supposition of the Egyptian Sultan possessed thereof, yet liued nor without care of *Carlotte* and her husband *Lewes*, whom he knew the Cypriots wonderfully affected. VV herefore for the more assurance of his estate, he thought it best to ioyne in league and friendship with the Venetians, whom he knew to be of great power at sea, and of all other fittest to crosse whatsoever *Lewes* should in the right of his wife attempt against him. VVhich league he afterwards made, & the better to confirme the same tooke to wife *Catherine Cornelia*, the daughter of *Marcus Corneliu* a magnifico of VENICE, being before adopted by the Senat, and euen after, their reputed daughter. Not long after this marriage, *James* died in the yeare 1470, leaving the queene great with child, who in due time was deliuered of a faire sonne, vnto whom with the mother the Venetian state became tutors, as their adoptiue fathers, and in their behalfe tooke vpon them the gouernment of the realme. This child shortly after died also, nor without some suspicion of poyson, after whose death great troubles arose in the kingdome, insomuch that *Andreas Corneliu* the queenes vnle, a most graue counsellour, and Gouernour of the realme vnder the queene, was by the conspiracie of certaine noble men slaine, and all the island readie to reuolt from the queene. For appeasing of which troubles, the Venetians were glad oftentimes to send their Admirals with their gallies into CYPRVS: to take order in the matter, and to aid the queene: who at length perswaded by *George Corneliu* her brother (whilest it was yet in her power) as alouing daughter to yeeld vp the kingdome vnto her adoptiue fathers, which the destitute both of counsell and power, could not long hold so farre from her friends, beset on the one side with the great Turke, and on the other with the mightie C Sultan of EGIPPT. She I say thus perswaded by her brother, came to VENICE, where she was with the greatest honour that could be deuised, receiued by the duke and the whole State at sea Sabellie. Ed. in their great and goodly ship the *Bucettaue*, and so with all royall triumph brought through need. 10. lib. 9. the middle of the citie vnto the place most richly for the time appointed for the receiuing of her: where shortly after, attired in all her royall habiliments, she came in great maiestie into the Senat house, and there before the Tribunall seat of *Augustinus Barbadiu*, then duke of VENICE, layed downe her crowne and scepter, and as a most louing daughter resigned vp her kingdome, to the great honour and profit of her countrey. Thus the kingdome of CYPRVS was deliuered into the hands of the Venetians in the yeare 1473: which they peaceably held from that time, paying vnto the Sultans of EGIPPT such tribute as they had the late king *James*: which yearly D tribute they in like manner payed vnto the Turkish emperours, after that the kingdome of EGIPPT was by *Selymus* the first conquered in the yeare 1517, as due vnto them by law of armes: with which yearly tribute both *Selymus* himselfe, and *Solyman* after him, held themselves well contented. But now this Turkish emperour *Selymus* the second, of whom we speake, desirous both of the honour of such a conquest, and of so rich a prey, made no account of the accustomed tribute, but of the fruitfull island it selfe: whereof he as is before declared, hath by his embasadour made a proud demand, but is thereof denied by the Senat.

Selymus thoroughly furnished with all things necessarie for the inuasion of CYPRVS, in the beginning of Februarie sent a great power both of horse and foot into EPIRVS and the frontiers of DALMATIA, to forrage the Venetian territorie, especially about IADRA, as of purpose by that warre so neete at home to withdraw them from the defence of CYPRVS so farre off. About the middle of Aprill following he sent *Piall Bassa* with fourescore gallies and thirtie galliots to keepe the Venetians from sending aid into CYPRVS. This *Piall* was an Hungarian, borne of base parents, but turning Turke, and giuing himselfe to armes, was first preferred for his valour, shewed against the Christians at ZERRT, and afterward by many degrees rise to the honour of one of the greatest Bassas. He departing from CONSTANTINOPLE, and cutting through PROBONTIS and HELLESPONTVS, came to EVBEOA, and there for certaine dayes lay in such order, as if he should haue presently giuen the enemy battell: but vnderstanding by his espials, that the Venetians greuously visited with the plague, and slowly releued by their friends, were not like in hast to come out, he tooke his course to TANO, an island of the Venetians, to haue taken it from them. This island is one of the Cyclades, and was by nature strong, but stronger by the industrie of the defendants, who lying far from the Christian countries, and compassed about with such cruell and warlike enemies, as people farre distant stood in dread of, could neuer for any fear or danger be remooued from the Christian religion; or induced to submit themselves to the Turkes gouernement, as most of the other islands had. *Piall* here landing his forces, fought both

by faire means and foule to haue perswaded the inhabitants to haue yeelded vp their towne; but when he could get nothing of them but foule words againe, he began by force to assault the same. Two daies the towne was valiantly both assaulted and defended, but at length the Turkes perceiuing how little they preuailed, and that the defendants were resolutely set downe for the defence of themselves and their countrey; shamefully gaue ouer the assault, and abandoning the island, directed their course toward CYPRVS. For *Mustapha*, author of that expedition (for his auntient hatred against the Christians, made Generall by *Selymus*) had before appointed *Piall Bassa* at a time prefixed, to meet him at the RHODES, and that he that came first should tarrie for the other, that so they might together saile into CYPRVS.

Mustapha hauing before sent a great part of his armie by land into PAMPHILIA, embarked the rest with *Haly Bassa* Generall of the forces at sea, who yet staied for him with the rest of the fleet at CONSTANTINOPL. This *Haly* was one of the chiefe Bassaes, a man of great account, and sometime an especiall and noted follower of *Muhamet Bassa*: but now (as it is oftentimes elsewhere seene, that men together with the change of fortune, change their minds and affections also) was become a great fauourit of *Mustapha*. Now to colour so manifest a wrong and breach of the Turkes faith, *Mustapha* the Generall, according to the Turkish manner, a little before his arriual in CYPRVS, gaue the Venetians there to vnderstand by letters of his comming, as alio of his purpose for the taking of that island from them: for that without some such slender denouncing of warre vnto them against whom it is intended, the Turkes generally account their expeditions not to be altogether so lawfull or fortunat as otherwise: and therefore writ vnto them in this sort.

Mustapha Bassa vnto the Venetians.

Mustapha Bassa
his letters vnto
the Venetians.

That the kingdome of CYPRVS by auntient right belongeth vnto the kingdome of EGYPT, you are not ignorant; which being conquered by the Turkes, is together with it become of right apart also of the Othoman empire: that island we come to challenge, leading after vs two hundred thousand valiant souldiours, vnto which power, and the wealth of the Othoman kingdomes (all which the most mightie emperor is about (if need shall be) to send thither, and to bend his whole strength thereon) all the vnted forces of the Christian kings are not comparable; much lesse the Venetians (so small apart of EGYPT) forsaken of their friends, can suffice. Wherefore, we will and exhort you, for the auntient amitie which hath been betwixt your State and the glorious Othoman family, to yeeld this kingdome vnto the most puissant emperor, whose verie name is become dreadfull vnto all the nations of the world: and quietly, and without resistance to leaue the island, with the loue and friendship of so great a monarch to be for euer inuiolably kept betwixt him and you. Whereas if you shall before such wholsome counsell fondly preferre your vaine hopes, you are to expect all the calamities of warre, with such dreadfull examples as the angrie conquerours vse to make of their vanquished enemies. For resolution whereof, wee yet giue you halfe a moneths space to bethinke your selues in: and so fare you well.

Mustapha Bassa
goeth for Cyprus.

All this being now in readinesse, and a most royall gallie of wonderfull greatnesse and beautie by the appointment of *Selymus* prepared for the great Bassa the Generall: he together with *Haly Bassa* and the rest of the fleet, departed from CONSTANTINOPL the six and twentieth of May, and at the RHODES met with *Piall* as he had before appointed. The whole fleet at that time consisted of two hundred gallies, amongst whom were diuers galliots, and small men of warre, with diuers other vessels prepared for the transportation of horses: with this fleet *Mustapha* kept on his course for CYPRVS. They of the island in the meane time carefully attending the enemies comming, from their watch towers first discovered the fleet at the West end of the island not farr from PAPHOS: from whence the Turkes turning vpon the right hand, and passing the promontorie CYRIO, now called DELLE GATTE, landed diuers of their men, who burnt and spoiled certaine villages, and with such spoile and prisoners as they had taken returned M againe vnto the fleet: which holding on the former course, came at length to a place called SALINÆ (of the abundance of salt there made) where they knew was best landing: and there in an open road came to an anchor, where the Bassaes without any resistance vpon a plaine shoare landed their armie.

The Turkes land
in Cyprus.

Now

Now all the hope of the Christians, was to haue kept the Turkes from landing, which they should with all their strength and power haue done; neither was it a matter of any great difficulty, for had the defendants but kept the shoare, and from the drie and firme land valiantly repulsed their enemies, they might vndoubtedly with their shot and weapons haue kept them from landing, or else haue done them greater harme: knowing in the meane time, that in all the island was no good harbour for them to put into, and that riding in an open road subject to all wind and weather, they could not long without danger of shipwracke ride it out: But they, either terrified with the greatnesse of the fleet, or preuented by the celeritie of the enemy, to their great hurt omitted so faire an opportunitie, as the wofull sequell of the matter declared. It exceedingly encouraged the Turkes that they had so easily footed the island; which they thought they should not haue done without a bloudie fight.

The Bassa now landed, presently entrenched his armie, and forthwith sent the fleet to transport the rest of his forces out of PAMPHILIA into the island. And at the same time sent out certaine scouts to take some prisoners, of whom they might learne the situation of the countrey, the best waies to passe them with his armie, the strength of his enemies, and what they did, and many other such like things which it concerned him to know. But the greatest question amongst the Turkes themselves was, Whether they should first set vpon FAMAGUSTA or NICOSIA? FAMAGUSTA standeth low, altogether subject to the scorching heat, which was then great, according as the time of the yeate and nature of the countrey required: wherefore the Bassa for feare of diseases to arise in his armie of the immoderat heat and vnwholesome situation of the

place, thought it better to begin his warres with the siege of NICOSIA, and to make that citie the seat of the warre, for the conquest of the rest of the island. So hauing put all things in order, and well viewed the countrey, and finding nothing he needed to stand in doubt of, he set forward with his armie toward NICOSIA, which was about thirtie miles distant, being the cheefe and richest citie of all the island. Which way soeuer the armie marched, it spread a great deale of ground; and the neerer it came, the greater was the slaughter of the countrey people; and the number of prisoners taken of all sorts. But when newes of the enemies approach was brought into the citie, a generall feare presaging future miserie possessed the hearts of all men. There was not in the citie any valiant or renowned capitaine, who as the danger of the time required, should haue taken vpon him the charge: neither any strong armie in the island to oppose against the enemy.

The Gouvernour of the citie was one *Nicholaus Dandulus*, a man too weake for so great a burthen; who alwaies brought vp in ciuile affaires, was to seeke how to defend a siege. Of the citizens and countrey people he had taken vp foure thousand footmen, and a thousand horsemen, all raw souldiours, commaunded by the gentleman of the countrey, men of all others most courteous: but as well the captaines as the souldiours, as men brought vp in a plentiful countrey, fitter for pleasure than for warre. The greatest hope and strength of the citie, was reposed in twelue hundred Italian footmen, and six hundred horsemen. The whole number of the souldiours in garrison for defence of the citie, was deemed about eight thousand horse and foot: too weake a companie against so fierce and strong an enemy; and the more, for that the Bassa an old and most expert Generall was there in person himselfe present, a most seuer and absolute commaun-

der, whom it would haue been a hard matter to haue withstood with equall power. The Venetians had euer had great care of the island of CYPRVS, as lying farr from them, in the midst of the sworn enemies of the Christian religion, and had therefore oftentimes determined to haue fortified the same: yet fearing thereby to seeme to distrust or dread the Turkes, and so to giue them occasion of offence, left it still vndone. This citie of NICOSIA standeth in the midst of the island, in a plaine and champaigne countrey, compassed round with a wall, as if it had bin drawne with a compasse, and is in circuit about fise miles: for the manner of the situation, &c magnificent buildings as well publike as priuat, many haue compared it vnto the beautifull citie of FLORENCE IN ITALIE: and was for the wholsome and commodious situation thereof notably peopled. This citie had the Venetians of late fortified with new wals, thicke rampiers, and eleven strong bulwarkes, according to the manner of the fortification of our time; and had raised three great fortresses for defence of the wall, which they furnished with a strong garrison; great store of artillerie, and other warlike prouision: Neuerthelesse, they found by experience in this warre, That fortifications are strengthened by the defendants; rather than the defendants by the fortifications.

Mustapha Bassa
marcheth to-
wards Nicosia.

Nicholaus Dandulus
Gouvernour
of Nicosia.

The description
of Nicosia.

The

The Turks be-
fore Nicosia.

Nicosia battered
and assaulted,
and by the Chris-
tians valiantly
defended.

The two and twentieth of Iuly, the Bassa with his armie encamped within a mile and a halfe G of the citie, when presently the Turks by troupes issuing out of the campe, rid contemptuously before the wals and gates of the citie, and with often and lowd outcries vpbraid the defendants which by them being answered with silence, was taken as a token of their feare. And *Mustapha* himselfe comming as neere as he might without danger, tooke full view of the wals and situation of the citie. Shortly after, the enimie drew neerer vnto the citie into a more open plaine, and with their tents filled the lower part of the hill, which they called *MANDIA*: but the Bassa sent they set aloft vpon the hill, to the terrour of the defendants and encouragement of the Turks. The campe being fortified, the Turks with incredible labour and celeritie brought their trenches from farre, and at the first cast vp some few forts, but afterwards, as their armie increased, many mo; which they raised so high, that they ouertopped the wals of the citie; and made the place H more dangerous for the Christians to defend. There hauing placed seauentie great pieces of batterie, they began to batter the citie both day and night without intermission; with such an horrible thundring, that the earth trembled, the houses shooke as if they would haue fallen downe: at which time many were slaine, both with the deadly shot, and the broken pieces of stones beaten out of the wals: neuer was such a feare as then within the citie of *Nicosia*: euerie day the enimie brought his trenches neerer and neerer, and rested not vntill he had with restlesse labour brought them vnto the verie brim of the towne ditch, which the citifens before the comming of the Turks had not well scoured. Being come so nigh, they first skirmished a flack off with their small pieces: but afterwards, they not onely battered the wals with their great artille- rie, but with small shot, arrowes, and stones, overwhelmed the defendants; as if it had been a I shower of haile; so to haue driuen them from off the wall and rampiers. In few daies, not only all the curtaines betwixt three of the bulwarks, was by the furie of the great ordinance beaten downe, but all places thereabout lay full of the dead bodies of the assailants and defendants. For although the Christians fought at great disadvantage, both for the number of men and indifferencie of the place: yet desperation joyned with extreame necessitie, of all other the greatest weapon, gaue them such courage, as with shot, stones, timber, and such like, to keepe downe their enemies, and defend their wals; and oftentimes to make great slaughter of them, with their artilletrie and murthering pieces bent vpon them as at a certaine marke, who the thicker they stood, the greater was their harme. They also oftentimes dismounted many of the great pieces K and made them vsueruicable; and with featherbeds and sacks of cotten wooll, made vp their breaches: which the Turks laboured againe to burne with pitch barrells, and earthen pots full of wild fire. After long fight the Turks entering the ditch, made themselves two waies to the wals, which they fortified on both sides with fagots and earth, in such sort, as that they were safe from the loupes of the bulwarks which flankered the ditch. All this quickly performed, some presently set vp scaling ladders: others filled the ditches with brushwood, fagots, and earth; and others in the meane time with mattocks and leauers were digging downe the foundations of the bulwarks *CONSTANCE* and *PODOCATERA*, taking name of them that had the chiefe charge L in the building thereof. The Christians right valiantly endured the first assault of the enimie, and stricke downe dead into the ditches many of them that were climbing vp the ladders: and had in short time slaine mo than they were themselves in number, and enforced the rest to giue ouer the assault. These things were done in the beginning of the siege, whilst yet both parties were strong: in which hard conflicts a great number of souldiors were lost, and most of the canoniers slaine. After this assault, both parties for a while busied themselves and spent the time in their ingenious deuises: wherein it appeared, that the Turks were much enningier in debiting of meanes to take cities, than were those Christians in defending the same.

Now had the Venetians in the first motions of these wars, praied aid of diuers Christian princes, from most part of whom they receiued but cold comfort, as is before declared: yet now at length (though somewhat late) they had drawne into the confederation of this warre, the Pope and the king of *SPAIN*: by whose example some other princes of *ITALY* moved, put to also their helping hands. The Venetians, as they whom the matter most concerned, had in good M time put their fleet to sea; but knowing themselves too weake to encounter the Turks, they by still vpon the coast of *DALMATIA*, about *IZBURA*, expecting the comming of the Spaniard admiral with his gallies. Two moneths (wherein much might haue been done) were now past in this expedition, and yet no newes of his comming: so that what the speed and industry of the Venetians

A Venetians had well prepared, was by the delay and lingering of the Spaniard marred. Besides that, the plague began to arise in the fleet, lying so long in one place; which at length grew so hoar, that many of the gallies had neither manner nor souldiours left in them: neither did this mortalitie so cease, vntill there were twentie thousand dead thereof; amongst whom were many noble gentlemen of great account, which might haue done their countrey good seruice, had they been in time imployed.

Summer now almost halfe spent, and the plague well ceased, the Venetian Admirall wentie of expecting the comming of *Auria* the Spanish Admirall; gathering together his fleet which he had before dispersed, to auoid the infection failed to *CORCYRA*, where he met with *Venerius* another of the Venetian commanders, who there staid for him; hauing but a little before

B taken from the Turks *CORCYRA*, now called *SYDERO*; a town vpon the sea coast buet against *CORCYRA*. The whole fleet of the Venetians being assembled together was an hundred and seauenteene saile; amongst which were twelue great galleasses; but all too weake to giue battell to the Turks, as being themselves stronger in shipping than in men. Neuertheless, the Admirall forie and wearie to see the spoile of the Venetian territorie, and moued with the distresse of the besieged in *NICOSIA*, rather than for any hope he had with that strength to doe any good against the Turkes fleet, departed from *CORCYRA* towards *CARAB*; and the twelfth of August landed at *SYDA*, a port of that island. In the latter end of this moneth *Colonna* the Popes Admirall, and *Auria* Admirall for the king of *SPAIN*, arrived there also, whom the Venetian Admirall welcomed with great joy and triumph. The whole fleet of the confederat princes now

C at length met together, consisted of an hundred ninetie two gallies, and twelue galleasses, beside victualers and other small vessels, laded with munition and other necessarie prouision for the fleet. Of these gallies the Pope had set forth twelue, the king of *SPAIN* fortie two, the rest with the galleasses were the Venetians. In this fleet were embarked thirteene thousand six hundred threescore souldiors: of whom the Pope sent eleuen hundred, the king of *SPAIN* three thousand nine hundred, and the Venetians eight thousand six hundred and sixtie. These three great commanders entering into counsell, what course to take in their proceedings in this warre, after long discourse too and fro, at length by the persuation of *Zanius* the Venetian Admirall, resolved to go directly for *CYPRVS*, and to giue the Turkes battell, in hope thereby to raise them from the siege of *NICOSIA*. About the middest of September, this great fleet furnished with D all things needfull for such an expedition, loosed from *CARAB*, and with a faire gale of wind let forward for *CYPRVS*; in all their course keeping such order, as if they should presently haue met with the enimie. In the middest of these troubles died *Petrus Loredanus* duke of *VENICE*, leaving the rest of the care of that warre to *Aloysius Mocenicus*, who succeeded him in the dukedome.

Whilst the Christians thus slowly proceed in their so waightie affaires, *Mustapha* in the meane time laied hard siege to *NICOSIA*: and diuiding his armie into foure parts, assaulted foure of the bulwarks of the citie, with greater force than at any time before from the beginning of the siege. The assault was both long and terrible: furie, and the verie sight of the warlike General, who was there a present witness, and beholder of euerie mans forwardnesse or cowardise (a matter of great moment) besides their naturall fiercenesse, carried the Turkes headlong without any perill or danger. And on the other side, the greatnesse of the danger, the feare to loose both life and libertie, with the hope of reliefe, encouraged the defendants to dare any thing: so that the Turks could not approach the wals, or mount the scaling ladders; but they were presently slaine, or together with the ladders throwne to the ground. Many of the Turkes were there slain, but especially such as were most forward: and of the defendants were also more lost than stood with the safetie of so small a number: and for as much as few or none escaped out of that fight vnwounded, the poore defendants were brought vnto a small number. Many skillfull men were of opinion, that the citie might haue been that day taken, if the assault had by the Bassa been longer maintained, by bringing still on fresh men: but such was his losse, as that he was glad F forthat time to giue ouer the assault, and so with dishonour to retire.

After this assault, it was by some of the captaines thought good, that they should (whilst they were yet of some reasonable strength in the citie) sallie forth vpon the enimie: so to make shew, that they had yet some good hope in themselves, and withall by so sudden an eruption to performe something vpon the secure enimie. Of which motion, *Dandulus* the Gouverneur in no case

The Venetian
fleet of an hundred and seauenteene saile in
Cyprus.

The Christian
fleet saile forth
toward Cyprus.

The Christian
sallie out of the
citie vpon the
Turkes.

case liked, as loath by such a dangerous peece of seruice to diminish the number of the defendants, and so to giue the enemy an easier meanes to take the citie. Yet seeing all the capitaines generally of another mind, he yeelded vnto their desire. So in the hottest time of the day, when as the Turkes least thought that the Christians would haue sallied out, certaine Italian companies vnder the conduct of *Cesar Plouianus* of *VIENTIA*, and *Albertus Scorus*, issued out by the gate that leadeth to *FAMAQVSTA*, and vpon the sudden brake into the enemies trenches, where they found the Turkes some playing, some sleeping, but fearing nothing lesse than that the Christians, whom they daily braued, durst to haue aduentured to come forth. At the first entrance the Italians preuailed, and brought a great feare vpon that quarter of the Turkes armie, and *Germany*. But when the Turkes awaked with the alarm, came running in on every side, the Italians oppressed with the multitude, were glad to retire: in which retreat diuers of them were slaine, and amongst them their two leaders *Cesar* and *Albertus*: so that this sallie seemed to no other purpose, than to weaken the defendants themselves, and to cause the Turkes to keepe better watch and ward afterward against such sudden eruptions.

Scorus sent one of the citie, taken by the Turkes and executed.

All hope of long defending the citie now almost lost, and that the defendants could hardly stand vpon the wals or shew their heads without present danger, they for want of better counsell rather than for any hope of good successe, sent out certaine scouts, men skilfull of the wayes and passages of the countrey (whom they had for great reward endued to vndertake the matter) to craue aid of the countrey people, that were in great multitude fled into the safetie of the mountaines: and to tell them, that if they came not in time to their releefe, their wiues and children, whom they had before sent into the citie, must needs in short time fall into the enemies hand, or perish with hunger: but these messengers were by the vigilant enemy intercepted, and in the sight of the besieged tortured to death.

Letters shot into the citie.

About the same time diuers letters were shot with arrows into the citie, to persuaide the besieged Christians to yeeld themselves; for that in so doing they should find the *Bassa* a mild & mercifull conquerour: whereas otherwise if they should by wilfull holding out delay his victorie, they were sure to endure whatsoeuer could be endured or suffered. But when *Mustapha* had thus in yaine with hope and feare tried the minds of the defendants, he called forth to parley certaine souldiours that were standing vpon the bulwarke called *CONSTANTVS*, of whom some were by the consent of the *Gouernor* sent forth vnto him: vnto whom *Mustapha* by his interpreter complained, That no answer was giuen vnto his letters: he set forth vnto them the glorie, power, and greatness of the Turkish empire; and debased the strength of the *Venicians*: then he persuaided them to yeeld, propounding vnto them the miseries that would fall vpon them, if the citie should by force be taken; which he threatened would be farre greater than the danger the Turkes were to vndertake for the winning thereof: and that therefore it concerned none so much as themselves, whether the citie were giuen vp by composition, or els woun by strong hand: He shewed vnto them the profit that should arise vnto them by yeelding of it vp, and offered vnto them large entertainment, if they would serue him: and to conclude, told them, that they should neuer afterwards find at his hands so much grace as was at that instant offered them. The craftie *Bassa* did what he might to hasten the winning of the citie, both for that he doubted the coming of the Christian fleet, and that his great armie was exceedingly troubled with contagious and grievous diseases, arising of the immoderat heat and drought in that so hot a countrey. But the souldiours thinking any thing more assured than the Turkish faith, answered him, That they did not as yet doubt their owne strength, and that they were readie to endure any thing that could happen, rather than to preferre the vncertaine friendship of an vnknowne prince before the gracious fauour of such wortheie princes as they had so good experience of.

This answer cut off all the *Bassas* hope for taking of the citie by composition: wherewith being both grieved and enraged, he commanded all things to be made readie for the assault: and the more to encourage his souldiours, promised vnto them great rewards and honors that should first or second mount the wals. After that he gaue a generall assault vnto the citie with all his power: wherein both he as a most wortheie capitaine and his souldiours fought most fiercely. You haue to doe (said he) with the small and last remainders of your enemies, which are scarce able to stand or hold their weapons in their hands, rather than with enemies indeed: shall you not then easily overcome them, being both few and feeble, that haue vanquished them when they were many an dultie? The end of all your labours is at hand, your hoped rewards approach; only

Mustapha encouraged his souldiours.

A play you the men, and faint not in this assault; the spoile of this rich citie shall be the wortheie reward of your labours; and the fruit of all your trauell consisteth in this one moment. Whilst he thus encountreth some and reprooueth others, they mindfull of his promises, and these of the disgrace, altogether with their thicke shot suffer no man to stand in safetie vpon the wals; and out of their forts also with their great ordinance greatly annoyed the defendants. This done, they attempted by the ruines of the wall and in other places by scaling ladders to haue entered the citie. Which terrible assault was by the cruell enemy maintained, not for some few houres, but for diuers dayes together without any intermission, fresh men still coming on in stead of them that were wounded or slaine. Yet did the defendants valiantly endure all that storme; and in such weake case as they were, worthily performed what was possible for so few to doe: yet still in hope (the poore comfort of men in miserie) that releefe might come by the approach of the Christian fleet. At length, when the matter was brought to this point, that the Turkes were in great hope to haue gained the wals, & *Mustapha* himselfe probably guessed, That the Christians were now wearie of the long assault, and sore weakened with wounds and other infinit miseries, not to seek in a citie so hardly distressed, and was in that his opinion also confirmed by certain fugitive Christians: he neuertheless vpon the sudden caused a retreat to be sounded, and so retiring into his trenches, lay still all the next day without any thing doing. The defendants thinking that he had giuen ouer the assault, because of some aid that was coming to their releefe, became more careless of the enemy, and vpon the vaine hope of such aid, with lesse diligence repaired their breaches and provided for the repulsing of their enemies. But the *Bassa* in the meane time had chosen out of his whole armie about two hundred of his best capitaines and souldiours, all men of approved valour and agilitie of bodie, whom the next day after hee sent early in the morning, to make proofe if they could with scaling ladders secretly and without any noise set vp, get into the foure bulwarkes which he had before sore shaken with his great ordinance. These resolute men leading the way, got first vp, after whom followed diuers others; and so tooke the aforesaid bulwarke: when presently after other companies of their fellows which stood readie for the purpose, coming on forward, did with their scaling ladders in diuers places recouer the top of the wals for now the matter was not done by secret surpriſe, but by open force. In euery one of these bulwarkes were feuentie Italians and as many Epirots, who there kept watch and ward; these men part asleepe, as fearing no such danger, and partly lying lasily vpon the ground, were there surprised on the sudden and slaine: other some of them awaked with the strange and vncomforth noise, betooke not themselves lustily to their weapons, but forsaking their stations leapt downe out of the bulwarkes at such places as were next vnto them; some for feare ran ynwares into the midst of their enemies. Vpon this alarm some of the Christian capitaines came speedily to the wals with their companies, as did *Eugenius*, who whilst he in vaine crieth out to such fearefull souldiours as he met, that they should not so cowardly flie, & stayeth others that were flying, was himselfe shot thorow with a small shot and slaine. Other capitaines in other places likewise laboured in vaine to haue stayed the flying souldiours, whose persuations, requests, and authoritie in so generall a feare, nothing at that time preuailed.

Nicissus most terribly assaulted by the Turkes.

The Turke gained the bulwarke of wals of Nicissus.

Nicissus taken by the Turke.

The defendants thus beaten from the wals and bulwarkes, gathered themselves into the market place: but the citizens fleeing home to their owne houses, there stood in the entrances of the same, fearefully expecting the destruction of their countrey, together with their owne. In the meane time the *Gouernor* of *ALBPO* with his regiment secured the wals of the citie so that about as he had in charge from the *Generall*: and without respect put so forward that he met armed or vnarmed. At the bulwarke called *BARRABVS*, it fortune him to light vpon a company of Italians, who for a while fought desperately, but were in the end ouerthrowne and slaine. When he had thus cleared the wals, and left such companies as he thought good in places convenient for the keeping of them, he came downe into the more open places of the citie: and seeing them that were gathered together into the market place to haue cast themselves into fighting and to fight as men altogether desperat, he caused certaine murthering pieces to be bent vpon them: which they perceiving, layed downe their weapons, and yeelded themselves vnto the mercie of the enemy. By and by all the gates of the citie were strongly guarded by the enemy, to the intent that no man should goe in or out. *Dandulus* the *Gouernor*, and *Contarenus* bishop of *PAPHOS*, with the rest of the nobilitie and better sort of the citizens, had got themselves into the towne hall, and there stood vpon their guard: vnto whom *Mustapha* sent word, that hee would

would take them all to mercie, if they would without further resistance yeeld themselves. But G while messengers run too and fro, the Turks violently brake in vpon them, and there slew them euery man: After the death of these noblemen the cruell enemy spared none: and hauing slaine such as they found abroad in the streets, brake into the houses, where they made haucke of all things: yong babes were violently taken out of the armes of their mothers, virgins were shamefully rauished, and honest matrones before their husbands faces dispiighfully abused; churches were spoyled, and all places filled with mourning and dead bodies: the streets were in all places stained with blood, for in the citie was slaine that day foureteene thousand eight hundred threescore and six persons. Neither was there any end of the spoile, vntill the greedie enemy had carried away all the wealth that long peace had heaped vp. It is reported, that the prey there taken amounted to twentie hundred thousand millions of duckats: two hundred of the most goodly H and beautifull youths were chosen out of purpose to be sent vnto CONSTANTINOPLE for a present for Selymus. In the citie were taken also two hundred and fiftie pieces of great ordinance: whereof some were by the enemy carried away, and the rest left for defence of the citie: Thus the famous citie of NICOSIA, sometime the regall seat of the kings of CYPRVS, fell into the hands of the Turks, the ninth day of September in the yeare 1570, in whose power it still remaineth.

Mustapha hauing as he thought best disposed of all things in NICOSIA, with the very terror of his name, rather than by any force, brought most part of the rest of the townes in the island vnder his obeisance; and by faire entreatie and promise of good vsage, brought backe againe vnto their wonted dwellings the rude country people, who vpon the comming of the Turks were fled with all that they had into the mountaines: them as men not to be feared, he commaunded I to till and sow their land as they were wont. The citie of CYRUS is strongly situated, not farre from the sea, and was then well furnished of all things needfull for the enduring of a long siege. Hither the Bassa sent one of his Sanzackes to summon the citie, more to proue the courage of the defendants, than for any hope he had to haue the citie deliuered vnto him. But Alphonsus Palacius then Gouverneur of the citie, terrified with the losse of NICOSIA, no sooner saw the enemy, but that without any further deliberation or force vsed against him, he deliuered vp the towne vnto the Sanzacke; couenanting only in reward of his cowardise, That he might in safetie depart from thence with all his garrison souldiours: which was easily graunted, and the citie surrendered.

Not long after Mustapha leauing a thousand horsemen and three thousand foot in garrison K in NICOSIA, marched with the rest of his armie to besiege FAMAGVSTA. And the more to terrifie them of the citie, he by a poore country fellow, whom he had for that purpose set at libertie, sent vnto them in a basket the head of Nicholas Dandulus, late Gouverneur of NICOSIA: and at the same time sent before him diuers horsemen, who vpon their horsemens staues carried the heads of many of the noblemen slaine at NICOSIA, wherewith they rid as in triumph about the wals of the citie. VVhich thing he did, in hope that they of FAMAGVSTA terrified with such a spectacle, and the late overthrow of NICOSIA, would for feare of like miserie yeeld themselves. But deceived in this his expectation, he encamped his armie about three miles from the citie. Afterwards hauing taken view of the citie, and well considered of the situation thereof, he L with wonderfull celeritie cast vp diuers mounts against the same, and at the same time caused batterie to be layed against the great tower which defended the haven: he himselfe also in the mean while battering the gate that leadeth to AMATHVS. But perceiving by the desperat sallies of the defendants their great courage, and that he was like to haue much more to doe in this siege than he had in the winning of NICOSIA, and Winter also now drawing fast on (being about the latter end of September) he thought it best betime to provide; that by lying there he hazarded not the honour he had with so much labour and danger before gained: and the rather, for that it was commonly reported, that the Christian fleet was at hand: wherefore he rise with his armie, and retired himselfe further off into the country, where he shortly after billirked his souldiours in the villages round about for that Winter.

The Bassa at sea, Halys and Piali, lying before FAMAGVSTA, doubting the comming of the M Christian fleet, which then lay at CRETE, sent out six galliots to discouer the doings of the Christians: who returning with certaine prisoners taken in the Island of CRETE, declared vnto the Bassa what they had learned concerning the Christian fleet, and that it was alreadie vpon the way for CYPRVS. Vpon which intelligence the Bassa put their fleet in order of battell, and set forward

A forward towards LIMISSO, to haue met with the Christians: who with a prosperous wind were comming betwixt the islands of CARPATHOS and the RHODOS: but there vnderstanding by their espials, that NICOSIA was lost, and that the Turks were come to besiege FAMAGVSTA, they called a counsell of all the cheefe commanders in the fleet, to consult what were best to doe in so dangerous a case. Columnius the Popes Admirall, and then cheefe commander in the fleet, with Zaninus the Venetian Admirall, were of opinion, That it were best to hold on their course for CYPRVS, and to relieue FAMAGVSTA: for that it was like that the Turks proud of their late victorie, were for desire of prey for most part gone ashore into the island, and so left their fleet but slenderly manned. Beside that they alleadged, That the Venetian Senat had expressly decreed, that they should giue the Turks battell. But Suria the Spanish Admirall thinking it, as indeed it was, to be a matter of great difficultie and danger, was quite of another mind. B saying, That he could not but matuell, how the Venetian Senatours sitting at their ease in counsell, could before they knew their owne strength, and power of the enemy, the nature of the country, and purpose of their foes, determine what were fit for martiall men to doe: vnto whose actions no certaine rule could bee prescribed: All the shores (he said) were kept with the enemies garrisons: so that what need soeuer they should haue, they could neither come by water or wood, or put into any harbour. Besides that, the enemy would giue them battell at his owne pleasure, and not at theirs: for that they were not of such power as to enforce him to fight. And that if the Senate, which vsed to doe all things wisely, and with great aduise, did but see the weaknesse of their gallies, wanting both souldiours and martiners, C they would be of another mind. He alleadged further, that they were to wage warre in the enemies country, where there was no port to receiue their fleet, no peaceable place, no confederat citie, nor king to friend: whereas the time of the yeare grew euery day worse and worse, when as they had neither harbour to put into, neither were able to abide the sea. And now that NICOSIA was lost, for the reliefe whereof they were come so farre, there was no reason for them longer to stay, the enemy so strongly possessing the island with his great armie, as that there was not any hope to doe any good against him. And that to keepe him from victuall, and so to distresse him, was not possible, lying in a most fertile island, and in the midst of his owne dominions: whereas they, who were to be still relieved from farre, should sooner feeble the want than the enemy. He was victualled (as he said when he came from home) but for three monthes, in hope to D haue made a short dispatch, and had now two thousand miles home. He said moreover, That he had expresse commaundement from the king, to returne to MESSANA before Winter; and that therefore so soone as the month was out, he would depart. The Venetian Admirall desiring nothing more, than by battell at sea to ouerthrow the Turks, and so to relieue the distressed Cypriots, vrged the Spanish Admirall to proceed in the voyage, saying, That so great aid was not sent from the Pope and the king, onely for the reliefe of NICOSIA, but to deliuer the whole island from the danger of the Turke. Of the same opinion with the Spanish Admirall were diuers other great captains in the fleet, namely Sfortia; who said, That nothing was to be so done, as might rashly expose vnto casualtie or power of the enemy, the publike fortune and maiestie of the Christian commonweale, which was in that fleet greatly hazarded: That longer stay E might bring further danger: That in that fleet consisted the whole welfare of the commonweale; wherein more might be lost, if any mishap should chance therunto, than was good to be gained by the relieuing of FAMAGVSTA. The great commanders thus differing in opinions, the counsell was in a heat dissolued, and nothing concluded: Vpon which so soone a disagreement the fleet began now to returne backe againe, but so, as that it was not now as before one, but three fleets, euery Admirall by himselfe drawing after him his fleet. Suria the Spanish Admirall, who first returned, after he had bene two dayes wonderfully with tempest tossed at sea, came at last to CARPATHOS, and departing thence, with much adoe arrived with his fleet in the island of CRETE: from whence hee by a messenger sent of purpose, requested leaue of Columnius the Popes Admirall, that he might with his good will presently returne home: wherunto Columnius answered, That he would giue him no such leaue: but rather charged him in the dutie he ought to the good of the Christian commonweale not to depart, but to keepe companie with the rest of the fleet, vntill it were past ZACYNTHVS; that so with their vnitied forces they might more safely passe by their enemies countries: Whereas otherwise, if any thing should by his hastie departure fall out otherwise than well, it should be imputed to the dishonour of him that had for- D d d d taken

A great slaughter.

Cyrene yeelded vnto the Turke.

Famagusta besieged.

Mustapha taketh his siege.

The Turke as hee advertised of the comming of the Christian fleet, prepareth himselfe for battell.

The commanders of the Christian fleet of diuers opinions for giuing of the Turke battell.

The Christian fleet returneth vpon the field disagreement of the commanders.

faken his friends, and not of them that were so by him forsaken. But vnto this *Auria* answered, That the welfare of the kingdomes of SICILIE and NAPLES, consisted in the safetie of this fleet: and that therefore hauing halt home, he could not stay to keepe companie with their heauie galassies and other ships of burthen, which must oftentimes be towed forward: This he openly pretended for his departure, yet secretly fought (as it was deemed) to find an occasion whereby to withdraw himselfe (being as he accounted the better man at sea) from the command of *Columnius*, whereunto he was full sore against his will subject.

After they had thus a while spent the time with reasoning the matter too and fro, *Auria* of himselfe without farther leaue hoisted saile, and so at length came to MESSANA in SICILIE: neither did *Columnius* and *Zanius* stay in those quarters long after him, but hauing endured much trouble at sea, arrived at last, *Columnius* in ITALIE, and *Zanius* at CORCYRA. Thus this nightie fleet, which had all this Sommer filled the Mediterranean with all the countries thereabout with the expectation of some great matter, was by the discord of the Generals dissolved, hauing done nothing at all worth the remembrance. In this idle expedition many thousands of right valiant men lost their liues, being dead of diuers diseases proceeding of change of diet, and vnseasonableness of the weather in that hot climat; amongst whom was the valiant countie *Hieronimus Marteningus* sent by the Senat with three thousand souldiors, for the defence of FAMAQVSTA; who also most of them perished in that voiage. The Venetian fleet was no sooner arrived at CORCYRA, but *Augustinus Barbadius* was sent from the Senat to discharge *Zanius* the Admirall of his office, and to send him prisoner to VENICE: in whose roome was placed *Sebastianus Venerius* Gouvernour of that island.

The Turks Bassaes at sea, certainly aduertised of the departure of the Christian fleet, were not a little prowd thereof; as by the confession of their enemies, their betters. Yet for as much as the seas began then to grow rough, and no enemy appeared, they thought it to no purpose to keepe the seas with so great a fleet, and therefore resolved to leaue *Mustapha* with his armie in CYPRVS, the next yeare to make an end of his conquest so happily begun; and seauen gallies at sea before FAMAQVSTA, that no reliefe should that way be brought into the citie, and so to depart themselves with the rest of the fleet to Winter in more safer harbours: *Piall* with the greater part of the fleet to CONSTANTINOPLE, and *Haly* with the rest to the RHODES. And because they would for their greater credit prepare some worthe present for their great lord and master *Selymus*, they fraught a great gallion of *Mubamets* the chiefe Bassaes, and two other tall ships, with the richest of the spoile of Nicosia, and the choise of the prisoners there taken. But when they were now readie to hoise saile and depart, as they were carrying out of the gallion certaine barrells of gunpowder which *Mustapha* the Generall had commaunded for his better prouision to be landed, a noble gentlewoman captiue in the gallion, wishing rather to die with honour than to liue dishonoured, secretly fired the powder: by force whereof, the same gallion with the other two ships were suddenly rent in pieces, and all that was therein blowne vp into the ayre. Of all that were in those three vessels, none escaped with life but the master of the gallion and two Christian captiues, but there perished together with the rich spoile. But the Bassaes following their former resolution departed from CYPRVS, and afterwards in safetie arrived at CONSTANTINOPLE: where both then and all the Winter following, such preparation was in making, as if *Selymus* had the next yeare purposed some farre greater matter than the conquest of CYPRVS.

Whilest *Sebastianus Venerius* (now the Venetian Admirall) yet lay at CORCYRA, the rude Actrocrautian people, more famous for nothing than for their theft, and want of all things, by trustie messengers promised to deliuer into his power the strong castle of CHYMERA, kept by a garrison of three hundred Turks, if he himselfe with a few gallies and a convenient number of footmen would come into the bay of AMERACIA; offering him good hostages for the better assurance of their promise. Of which their offer he gladly accepted, and forthwith went to the appointed place with a companie of horsemen, three thousand footmen, and certaine gallies; who were no sooner landed, but that presently a thousand of those rough mountaine people came vnto them: with which power taking the hill, and repulsing the Turks garrison; coming to the reliefe of the castle, he so discouraged them that were in the hold, that the next night they let themselves downe with ropes into the valley below: but being descried, were there all either taken or slaine. And so in a verie short time was that strong castle taken by the Admirall, and a

A strong garrison of Christians put into it in stead of the Turkes.

Not long after, *Quirinus* the Viceadmirall, a man of great courage, landed with foure and twentie gallies in PELOPONNESVS neere the bay of MAINA, and there vpon the sudden both by sea and land besieged a strong castle, which the Turks but two yeares before had built to trouble the Christians passing that way. Which castle he tooke in sixe houres, and put to the sword sixe hundred Turkes which lay there in garrison, and raising it downe to the ground carried away with him foure and twentie great peeces of artillerie into the island of ZACYNTHVS.

At such time as *Mustapha* before lay at the siege of FAMAQVSTA, *Brigadinus* Gouvernour of the towne, with *Baleonius* a most expert capitaine, from out of the high places of the citie beholding the great armie of the Turkes (which couered the ground almost as farre as they could see) with their cunning manner of their fortification, were therewith much moued; and therefore thought it good betime to giue the Senat knowledge thereof, and in so great a danger to craue their aid. And that their request might be of more waight and haue the better hearing, they entreated *Hieronimus Ragaronius* bishop of the citie, a reuerend and deuout man, to take vpon him that charge, vnto whom they joyned *Nicholas Donatus*, a noble gentleman of CYPRVS. The bishop at the first was verie vnwilling to go, as loath in so great danger to leaue his flocke: but at length overcome with the entreatie of the Gouvernour, and teares of the besieged, suffered himselfe to be entreated. And embarked in a gallie about the going downe of the Sunne, loosing out of the haven, and hoising saile, with a faire gale of wind passed through the Turkes fleet, which then lay at anchor before the citie; and by the comming on of the night, and by the great way he made, got him quickly out of sight. After foure daies sayling he came to CRATA, and so at length to VENICE: where, as he had before vnto the Admirall, so there vnto the Senat he declared the dangerous estate of the citie, the strength of the enemy, the weaknesse of the defendants against so great a multitude, and the want of many things needfull for the holding out of the siege: and to be brieft, that except they sent speedie reliefe, the citie could not be kept. *Zanius* at that time Admirall, carefull for the besieged, caused foure tall ships to be laden with all manner of victuall, and a great quantitie of gunpowder, and put into them seauenteene hundred select souldiors: all which he sent from CRATA to the reliefe of them of FAMAQVSTA, appointing *M. Antonius Quirinus* with twelue of the best gallies in all the fleet, to conduct the same thither. This *Quirinus* was a most valiant and expert capitaine, meanelie descended, but by seruice

growne to be a man both of great reputaton and wealth: and therefore *Zanius* at his departure to VENICE, although he knew the matter required hast, yet presuming vpon his wisdom and carefulnesse, left it to his discretion, when, and how to performe that peece of seruice. *Quirinus* (not without cause) doubting to set forward, the seas as then full of the Turkes gallies, staid vntill Winter was well spent, and then setting forward the seauenteenth of Ianuarie, kept aloofe from the ships, which with a prosperous wind came directly before FAMAQVSTA: in hope, that the Turkes gallies which lay in the mouth of the haven, might so be drawne farther into the sea, in hope of some good bootie, he himselfe staying with his gallies in place convenient out of sight. Neither had the event deceived his expectation, had not his fierce nature hindered the same: for the Turkes vpon the dawning of the day descrying the ships, made hastily toward them. But *Quirinus* not able longer to stay himselfe, and before desirous to fight with them, shewed himselfe too soone in the open sea before the enemy was come neere the ships: whom as soone as the Turks had seene, and that there was no hope to withstand him, they staid their oares, and with all speed retired. But *Quirinus* following faster vpon them, they were glad for safegard of their liues, with all the power they could, to run three of their gallies aground, and to run to shoare themselves: which three gallies, *Quirinus* did with his great ordinance beat all to peeces, and so gauleth the other foure. The haven thus cleared, he returned againe vnto the ships, and brought them with the supplie in safetie to FAMAQVSTA: vpon whose arrivall was great reioicing, both amongst the garrison souldiors & the citizens: for the Turks thought nothing lesse than that the Christian gallies durst at that time of the yeare haue put into those dangerous seas: which *Quirinus* well knowing, came forth againe with his gallies, and roaming vp and downe at his pleasure, tooke two of the enemies ships richly laden comming vnto the camp, with which bootie he enriched his souldiors: and farther incited by occasion, landed his men in diuers places along the sea coast in PAMPHILIA, and there did great harme. So hauing filled the countrey with the terrour and fame of his name, he returned againe to FAMAQVSTA, where he notably

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Zanius the Venetian Admirall discharged of his office, and sent in bonds to Venice.

A desperate fall of a woman.

The strong castle of Chymera taken by Venerius.

Quirinus takes a castle of the Turkes in Peloponnesus.

Quirinus a valiant gentleman.

1571

encouraged the garrison souldiours, persuading them to remember their wonted valour: and filling them with hope, that the Christian fleet would be with them in the beginning of the next Sommer, to deliuer them from their enemies, and to raise the siege. So hauing in twentie daies dispatched that he came for, and done what good seruice else he could, he departed from FAMAGUSTA, and within fise daies after arrived at CRETE.

Negligence severely punished by Selymus.

It was not long, but Selymus had knowledge of this late supply put into FAMAGUSTA, and of the harmes done by *Quirinus*; wherewith he was so highly displeased, that he commaunded the Gouverneur of CHIOS his head to be stricke off, and the Gouverneur of the RHODOS to be disgraced, whose charge it was to haue kept those seas so that nothing should haue been conuaided into FAMAGUSTA. Neither spared he *Pial Bassa*, but deprived him of his Admiraltie, and placed *Pertau Bassa* Admirall in his stead: for that he had not the yeare before discomfited the Christian fleet at the island of CRETE, as it was supposed he might haue done.

From the beginning of this warre, the Venetians, with *Pius Quintus* then Pope who greatly fauoured their cause, had most earnestly from time to time solicited *Philip* king of SPAIN, to enter with them into the participation and fellowship of this warre; which their request standing in deed with the good of his state, he seemed easily to yeeld vnto: and therefore sent *Auria* his Admirall the last yeare with his fleet to aid them, but with such successe as is before declared. As for to joyne with them in a perpetuall league and confederation (as it was tearmed) against the common enemy, that he referred vnto the discreet consideration of the two Cardinals, *Granuelan* and *Pace*, and *Io. Zunica* his embassadour, sent for that purpose to ROME: promising to performe whatsoeuer they should on his behalfe agree vpon or consent vnto. At the same time, and for the same purpose lay also *Surianus* the Venetian embassadour at ROME: vnto whom the Pope joyned Cardinall *Morone*, *Aldobrandinus*, and *Rusticinus*, with certaine other of the chiefe Cardinals, as men indifferent to both parties, to moderat and compose such differences and difficulties as should arise betwixt the aforesaid commissioners for the king, and the Venetians, concerning the intended league. But these graue men, sent from so great princes about so great a matter (as well there could not be a greater) were no sooner met together and set in consultation, but that forthwith they began to jarre about the capitulations of the league. Necessarie it was thought, that a league should be agreed vpon against so puissant and dangerous an enemy, but to find the way how the same might be concluded to the contentment of all parties, seemed a matter almost impossible. Oftentimes these commissioners sat, but the oftener the farther off: if one difficultie were by the discretion of some appeased, in stead thereof at the next meeting arise three others. The chiefe commaund of the armie to be raised, the proportion of the forces, the manner of the war, with many other such like circumstances incident to so great actions, made great differences among them: but most of all, the indifferent proportioning of the charge, the Spanish commissioners seeking to turne the greatest part thereof vpon the Venetians, and the Venetians vpon them: which was done with such earnestnesse and studie of euery man towards his owne part, as if they had all there met for the bettering of the particular state from which they were sent, rather than for the common good: For the Spaniard, who in former time was glad to keepe the frontiers of his large dominions in ITALIE, SICILIE, SARDINIA, CORSICA, MAIORCA, MINORCA, yea and of SPAIN it selfe, with strong garrisons for feare of the Turke: now that the warre was risen betwixt the Venetians and him, and the danger thereof translated farre off into other mens territories: enjoyed now in his owne an vnwonted quietnesse, to the great content of his subjects, & easing of his owne charge in maintaining of so many garrisons as before: whereof many were now thought needlesse. Besides that, he by the indulgence of the Pope, raised such great summes of money vpon his cleargie, as was thought by many sufficient to discharge the charge of the warre: For which causes he cared not for entering into any farther league with the Venetians, but as it were of courtesie to send them a yearely aid to maintain a defensue lingering war, and so to keepe the Turke busied vpon the Venetian a far off from his owne territories: But the Venetians, in whose dominions the fierce enemy daily ragged, as well in DALMATIA as in CYPRUS, were euen for the same reasons moued to hasten and shorten the war, that the Spaniard was to protract it: for beside the neerenesse of the danger, and the infinit calamities by the sustained, their yearly reuenues arising for most part of their customes, were greatly empaiied, and their traffique (the maintenance of their State) almost quite cut off, which caused them more earnestly to confederat themselves with the Spaniard. But hard it was

A to joyne in one, States so farre differing, in respect of their particular professe, and almost by nature contrarie. Thus was all the last yeare, and a great part of this also, spent by the aforesaid commissioners in turbulent and fruitlesse conferences, but nothing as yet concluded concerning the league: which troubled the Venetians not a little, being of themselves too weak for so mightie an enemy as was Selymus, and yet no other certaine strength from their friends to rest vpon. But while they stood thus doubtfull of the league with SPAIN, and quite out of hope of any attouement with Selymus: vpon the sudden when they least expected, it was by good fortune laid as it were in their laps, to make choise whether they would (as they had before most earnestly desired) joyne in league with the Pope and the king of SPAIN, or else fall to agreement with Selymus: and that by this meanes.

B *Muhamet* the chiefe Bassa, a secret friend vnto the Venetians of whom he had been of long time honoured, had no great liking of the prosperous successe of *Musapha* his brother, and therefore deuised night and day how to crosse the rising of him, the competitor of his honours: and withall, to help the Venetians vnto whom he was much beholden. He by secret meanes long since had before oftentimes sounded the mind of the Venetian embassadour, and put him in hope, that if suite were made vnto Selymus for peace, it would vndoubtedly be granted; and farther promised, to be himselfe an helper and intercessour for the same. But finding the embassadour to cast many perils, and to giue small credit vnto their talke, who had before by trusting them, deceived him: he did not so giue ouer the matter, but referring the farther tempering with him vnto a more fitter time, for the present he tooke opportunitie to enter into discourse with Selymus: C himselfe concerning the Venetians, and told him that it was reported, that they weaie of all long alteration they had had with the Spaniards concerning the league, and now destitute of all hope and aid, would now happily of their owne accord grant him that which they had before to him denied. And perceiuing him not vnwillingly to heare so of them, he proceeded farther in the matter, to know his pleasure what he would haue done therein: cunningly by the way of good counsell persuading him vnto that which he most wished himselfe to be done. Immediately after he secretly aduertised *M. Antonius* the Venetian embassadour, that there was great hope of peace, and that therefore the Senat should vnder the colour of exchanging of prisoners, and redeeming of merchants goods, send some fit man to CONSTANTINOPLE, with whom he would in secret conferre of all such matters as might further the pacification. This vniexpected D newes from the embassadour brought to VENICE, was well heard of the Senat: for they thought it much to concerne their State, to haue a way opened whereby vpon tollerable conditions to make peace with the mightie tyrant, if that the league betwixt them and the king of SPAIN could not be concluded. Hereupon they made choise of one *Iacobus Ragazonius* to go about this matter to CONSTANTINOPLE. This *Ragazonius* was a man of great spirit and dexteritie of wit to take any matter in hand, and of a great reach and deepe judgement in the managing thereof; and withall exceeding rich, and of so good a carriage of himselfe, as that he was therefore famous: all which things were thought of great moment, to win the fauour of that courteous and barbarous nation. The Senat, although they had not yet made proofe what men thought of the matter, yet doubted they not, but that vpon the report of the sending of this notable man, E men would thereof diuersly diuine euery man according to his owne fantasie: and that many of the wiser sort would indeed surmise, as the truth was, that he was sent for to intreat of peace; although the exchange of prisoners, and redemption of merchants goods, were the onely things, were openly pretended: and the Senat, although they thought it not amisse to haue it so vnderstood, because such a suspition was like enough to stirre vp both the Pope and the Spaniard to accept of such conditions of the desired league, as they had before rejected: yet least the hope of the league (which they for many causes thought good to cherish) thereby cut off, might cause the Pope and the Spaniard both to be cold in the matter, they certified both them and other Christian princes, of the sending of *Ragazonius*; yet of purpose concealing the secret drift of his going: *Ragazonius* thoroughly instructed by the Senat, was in a galie conducted to RAGUSIUM; which F *Cassan-beg* (the great Bassa *Muhamets* sonne, Gouverneur of LISYRNIA) vnderstanding, met him vpon the frontiers, and told him, That he was sent by his father both to meet him and safe conduct him: which the martiall man, contrarie to the manner of the Turkes courteously performed, honourably entertaining him, and afterward sending him with a safe conuoy vntill hee was out of all danger. *Ragazonius* comming to CONSTANTINOPLE, was there by night se

Ragazonius the Venetian embassadour commeth to Constantinople.

The conference betwixt Muhamet the great Bassa, and Ragazonius.

cretly receiued into the citie, and at first brought into a little bafe Inne, and a guard set ouer him G that he should speake with no man. But after three dayes he was remooued to a much better place, and presented with diuers kinds of daintie dishes of sundrie kinds of meats. The effect of his message was, to trie the Turks minds, and after conference had with the embassadour to entreat of peace. At length hauing accessē vnto the great Bassa *Muhamet*, after he had deliuered vnto him (as he had in charge) his message concerning the exchange of prisoners and marchants goods; *Muhamet* asked him, if he had nothing in charge from the Senat concerning a pacification to be made? VV hereunto he answered, that he had, but that he must first speake with the embassadour, without whose aduice and counsell he was not of himselfe to doe any thing. At that first encounter the Bassa to terrifie the messenger, declared vnto him the innumerable multitude of the Turks horsemen and footmen, which no nation (as he vainly boasted) was able by force or policie to withstand: also his great and inuincible fleets at sea, with whom all the power of the Christians vnited together, was not able to encounter; and much other such like strength and wealth of his: and that the Venetians were now no more able to withstand *Selymus*, than they were in times past to resist his father and his auncestors. Yet he discoursed of this matter in such sort, as not thereby to cut off the hope of the pacification: but said, That the Venetians should best haue provided for the safetie of their state, if at the first they had listened vnto him, friendly and faithfully aduising them not to haue entred into armes, in which doing they shewed more courage than power: and that yet, as the case now stood, and that *Selymus* was in a most assured hope, in short time to become lord and master of the whole island; it should bee to their great good to preferre the fauour and good will of the Turks before warre, and by the voluntarie yielding vp of *CYPRVS* gaine vnto themselves perpetuall peace and tranquillitie. As for the island it selfe, it was not now worth the hazarding of so many dangers, being destitute of inhabitants, which were almost all either slaine or fled, the cattell driuen away, the townes ranackt and burnt, and the whole countrey, of late most pleasant and beautifull, now so spoyled and vnpeopled, that it could not of long time yeeld vnto him that should haue it, any profit or commoditie. *Ragazonius* being a coole and aduised man, and withall perceiuing that the Bassa was not to be contraried in his talke, so tempered his answer, as that he shewed no token of feare, neither let any word fall that might offend his eares, saying, That he was right glad, that he had found so much fauour in his sight, as to haue accessē and leaue to talke with so great a prince, who for wisdom and grauitie excelled all the rest of the princes of the great emperours court: who so farre as he K might, with his loyaltie towards his soueraigne, had alwayes most graciously fauoured the Venetian state: who also not ignorant of the vncertainetie of worldly things, knew of all others best, that on both sides were both men and armes, and that most mightie princes had oftentimes with small forces beene ouerthrowne, the euent of things neuer deceiuing men more than in matters of warre; no power vpon earth being sure, which could not within some bounds containe the strength of it selfe: and that therefore he was in good hope, That he so worthie a man knowing best what belonged both to peace and warre, would deuise some such course as might sort to the good and quiet both of the Venetian state and Turkish empire: in which doing hee should find sufficient matter for his eternall praise and glorie, if by his discret wisdom a pacification might be made. Such talke hauing passed at their first meeting, *Ragazonius* had leaue to speake L with the embassadour, who then lay at *PERRA* vnder safe keeping. In passing ouer to *PERRA*, *Ragazonius* might see a fleet of Turkish gallies one encountering with another, in manner of a fight at sea, which the Turks had of purpose provided, to shew vnto him as a strange sight. VV hereat *Ragazonius* smiling, said vnto the Turks that were present with him, That it was a pretie childish sport for him that had neuer seene the like before: but not to the Venetians, who were acquainted with these matters in earnest; as the Turkes should well know, whensoever they had a mind to make prooffe what they were able to doe at sea. *Ragazonius* comming to the embassadour, had conference with him at large, and resolved with him what to do in his negotiation. And so returning to *Muhamet*, easily dispatched with him for the exchange of prisoners & marchants goods: but when they came to talke of the capitulations of a pacification to be made, at the first they M were so farre off, as if they would neuer haue met: but after much and often conference, sometime the one yielding, and sometime the other, the matter was brought to some conformitie, so that there was no such great difference betwixt them, but that they were like ynough to haue agreed. *Pius* the Pope, and *Philip* the king of *SPAIN* aduertised of the sending of *Ragazonius* to

The Pope and the king of Spain seeing least the Venetians should make peace with the Turke, hasten the confederation

A to *CONSTANTINOPLE*, began to imagine as the truth was, that he was sent about some treaty of peace, what colour soeuer the Senat pretended to couer the same. And therefore doubting least the Turkish emperour hauing once made peace with the Venetians, should turne his great forces already prepared, vpon the one or both of them, they thought it good for troubling of that peace, now with all speed to hasten the league, which they had so long before delayed. For which purpose the Pope sent the noble *Columnius* to *VANICE*: who admitted into the Senat, declared at large how matters had passed at *ROMA* concerning the league: and afterwards what profit might arise of such a league concluded, and what harmes might ensue of the same; neglected. And to hasten the matter, set as it were before their eyes, how much it concerned the common good, but them especially, to haue the same with speed confirmed: As for to giue any trust vnto the Turks, was (as he said) not befitting their deepe wisdom and judgement, seeing they so often had beene by them rather deceiued than vanquished. In conclusion, he requested them, That for his Holiness sake, moderating in some part their hard demands, they would with speed ioyne with him and the king in a most firme and Christian league. Although this speech of *Columnius* had much moued the minds of the Venetians, so that many inclined to the league, yet were there many doubtfull thereof, and could not be resolved whether it were better to embrace peace with the Turke, or the league with the Pope and the king. Peace pleased them; neither did the league displease them: it seemed a matter most difficult whether to resolve vpon. They were fearefull of the league either receiued, or rejected: the hope of victorie, the inconstancie of the Turkes, their owne strength at sea, the large promises of the Christian princes, the certaine hope of the league, and vncertainetie of the peace, perswaded them to embrace the league: C On the other side, the bad successe of the yeare before, their forces shaken, and almost spent in *CYPRVS*, the suspected and doubtfull faith of their confederates; with the vncertainetie of the successe, induced them to preferre the hoped peace before the league. So the Venetians in suspense betwixt both, gaue the embassadour dayly more doubtfull answers than other: neither by promise binding themselves, neither by flat deniall cutting off the hope of the league, by examples & arguments rather refelling what was by others alledged, than any way declaring what they themselves thought. Sometime they alledged such things as might make a man beleue, that they were willing to ioyne in league, and by and by againe they would seeme neither to reject nor accept of the same. In which doubtfulness many dayes passed. At length the matter being D propounded in the Senat, there found not vnlike disposition of minds that it had amongst the meaner sort: for some of the Senators inclined to the league, whose reasons were grounded not vpon profit only, but vpon credit and honour also, which they wished to be cheefely regarded: declaring also what great securitie, honour, and glorie should redound vnto them, by entering into such an honourable league. But the remembrance of former losses, the strength of the Turke possessing a great part of the world, compared vnto their owne, the terrour of the enemies name, the feare of euill successe, the small hope of preuailling, induced others to like better of peace: whose opinion was also confirmed by this, That the confederation with those Christians, was of no more assurance or continuance than the Turkes peace: Besides that, they alledged, That leagues were therefore of lesse assurance, for that confederations and amities were seldome E or neuer sincerely and faithfully kept on both sides, euery man commonly seruing his own turne, without care of other men. They also set as it were before their eyes what great occasions, euery small suspitions might giue princes to breake their leagues, what strange effects the feare of the losse of goods or some part of their territorie might worke. After this so weightie a matter had bene thus with great contention thoroughly debated on both sides in the Senat, it was at last put to voices: and so by the consent of the greater part the league was as more honorable receiued, and the Turkes peace rejected: and a decree of the Senat to that effect made. *Ragazonius* by secret letters from the Senat vnderstanding of all these matters, began to deale more warily with *Muhamet* the great Bassa in matter concerning the pacification, and more hardly to yeeld to his demands; and propounding many difficulties of purpose deuised, requested of him, That hee might by his good leaue returne to *VANICE*, to be resolved of many things by the Senat, whereof he was not able himselfe to judge, and so to returne to him againe with more certaine instructions: assuring him, that the Senat would vpon knowledge of the conditions of the peace doe and deuise many things for the furtherance of the same: which could not so well bee done by letters, as if he were there himselfe present to resolve them vpon euery particular. This his request

The Venetians resolve to accept of the league with the Pope and the king.

quest obtained, he with great speed got him out of CONSTANTINOPLE but was scarcely got out of the gates, when report of the league which the Venetians had made with the Pope and the king of SPAIN, was brought vnto the Court, and had in short time filled the city: Which made all the way as he trauelled more troublesome, and frustrated that also, which was before concluded concerning the exchange of prisoners and marchants goods. *Rega Conium* being come to VENICE, declared at large in the Senat the drift and purpose of the Turke, and what conference he had had with the great Bassa, and in what forwardnesse the peace was: for which his discreet carriage of the matter, his wisdom was highly by the whole Senat commended, and he himselfe afterward honourably rewarded.

A perpetual league concluded betwixt the Pope, the King of Spaine, and the Venetians.

The proportioning of the charge of the warre against the Turke: and the other capitulation of the League.

In the meane time the commissioners at ROME after long consultation concluded a league, which they would haue to bee perpetuall, as well for inuasiue as defensive warres against the Turke: and was by solemne oath confirmed by the Pope, the king of SPAIN, and the Venetian Senat the foure and twentieth day of May, in the yeare 1571. For the execution of which league it was agreed vpon, That the sea & land forces should consist of two hundred gallies, an hundred ships, fiftie thousand footmen, and foure thousand five hundred horsemen; with a proportionat quantitie of great artillerie, victuals, & other things necessarie, to be euery yeare ready in March, or at farthest in Aprill, to meet together at such place in the East, as should be vnto them for that purpose appointed; to be employed as the Admirals saw cause, and as the present state of things should require. For maintenance of which charge it was agreed, That the king of SPAIN should defray the one halfe, and the other halfe to be deuided into three equal parts; whereof the Venetians should beare two parts, and the Pope the third; which if it should be too heauie for him, then that remained by him vndischarged, to be deuided into five parts, whereof the king was to discharge three, and the Venetians two. The charge thus proportioned, they tooke order also for the prouision of victuals, to be at a reasonable price taken vp in any the confederats dominions, where the armie or fleet should chance to stay: yet so, that it should bee at the king of SPAIN his discretion, out of his kingdomes of NAPLES and SICILIE, first to take his prouision for the victualling of GYLETTA, MALTA, and his owne naue. It was also agreed, That if the king of SPAIN should at any time, when as the confederats had no common war, invade ARGERS, TRIPOLIS, or TVNES, that then the Venetians should of their own charge aid him with fiftie gallies well appointed: As also, that the king should in like manner, and with like forces aid them, as oft as they should by the Turkes be invaded. But if it should fortune the Romane territorie to be invaded, that then the aforesaid princes should be bound with all their forces, to the vttermost of their power, to defend those places, and the person of the Pope. And that in managing of the confederate warre, the three Admirals should conferre together of all matters, and whatsoever the greater part should agree vpon, that to be reputed as agreed vpon by them all: That *Don Iohn* of AVSTRIA, *Charles* the fifth his naturall sonne, and brother to the king, should haue the cheefe commaund of the forces both at sea and land: but not to display his owne ensigne, but the common ensigne of the confederates: Also, that such places as should bee gained from the Turke by the confederat armie, should be deuided amongst the confederat princes, excepting TVNES, ARGERS, and TRIPOLIS, which should remaine onely to the king of SPAIN: That all controuersies arising amongst the Generals should be decided by the Pope, vnto whom the Venetians should lend twelue gallies, furnished of all things sauing men and victuals, which the Pope should of his owne charge supplie: which gallies at the end of the warre hee should againe deliuer, in such case as they then were: That an honourable place should be left for *Maximilian* the emperour, the French king, the king of POLONIA, and the king of PORTINGALL to enter into this league, whom with the rest of the Christian princes it should beseeeme the Pope to stir vp in so good a quarell: And that it should not be lawfull for any the aforesaid confederat princes to entreat of peace, or enter into league, without the knowledge and consent of the other confederates. And for the better proceeding of all things, it was agreed, That euery in Autumne the confederat princes should by their embassadours at ROME consult of the next yeares warres, and according as the time and occurrents should require, to determine, whether their forces were to be encreased or deminished. This league thus at length with much adoe concluded, was not long after in Iune with great pompe and triumph openly proclaimed in ROME, VENICE, and SPAIN, to the great joy of the greatest part of Christendome.

The league proclaimed.

Whilst

Whilst these things were in doing, the Venetians the more to entangle the Turke, thought it good to make proofe, if they might by any meanes stirre vp *Tamas* the Persian king to take vp armes against him: who as hee was a prince of great power, so did hee exceedingly hate the Turks, as well for the difference betwixt the Persians and them about matters of their vaine superstition, as for the manifold injuries he had oftentimes sustained. There was one *Vincens Alexander*, one of the Secretaries for the State, who hauing escaped out of prison at CONSTANTINOPLE, was but a little before come to VENICE, a warie wise man, and of great experience, who for his dexteritie of wit and skilfulnesse in the Turkish language, was thought of all others most fit to take in hand so great a matter. He hauing receiued letters and instructions from the Senat, and furnished with all things necessarie, traueilling through GERMANIE, POLONIA, and the forrests of MOSIA, in Turkish attire, came to MONASTRON, a port towne vpon the side of the Euxine or Blacke sea, at the mouth of the great riuer Boristhenes: where hee embarked himselfe for TRAPEZOND, but was by a contrarie wind driuen to SINOPE, a cite of great traffike; from whence he trauelled by rough and broken wayes to CVTAY, keeping still vpon the left hand, because he would not fall vpon any part of the Turks armie (which was then marching towards CYPVS through all those countries) neuerthelesse he fell vpon a part thereof, from which he with great danger rid himselfe, being taken for a Turke, and by blind and troublesome wayes, through rockes and forrests arrived at length at ERZIRUM, a strong cite of the Turks, then vpon the frontiers of the Turks dominions toward the Georgians. This journey of *Alexanders* was not kept so secret, but that it was vented at CONSTANTINOPLE by a spie, who vnder the colour of friendship haunting the Venetian embassadours house at PERA, had got certaine knowledge of the going of *Alexander* into PERSIA. Whereupon certaine courtiers were sent out with all speed to beset the three straight passages into PERSIA, whereby it was supposed he must of necessitie passe, with certaine notes also of the fauour of the man, of his stature, and other markes, whereby he was best to be knowne. But he in so dangerous a countrie doubting all things, and fearing such a matter, leauing his companie behind him, with incredible celeritie posted from ERZIRUM to TAVRIS, and was a great way gone before the Turks courtiers came into those quarters: who yet hearing of him, followed after as farre as they durst, but could not ouertake him. *Alexander* comming to TAVRIS, vnderstood that the court lay at CASBIN, about twelue dayes journey further vp into the countrey; comming thither the fourteenth of August of this yeare 1571, he chanced to meet with certaine English marchants, with whom he had beene before acquainted: by whose helpe he not onely got to speake with *Ayder Tamas* the kings third sonne, but learned of them also the manners and fashions of the Persian Court, and how to beare himselfe therein. The Persians by reason of the intollerable heat doe most of their businesse at that time of the yeare by night. Wherefore *Alexander* about midnight brought in to *Ayder*, declared vnto him the cause of his comming: and the next night admitted vnto the speech of his aged father, deliuered his letters of credence, and in the name of the Senat declared vnto him, with what perfidious dealing *Selymus* the Turkish emperor was about to take away CYPVS from the Venetians, with what greedinesse and pride he had set vpon the Christians, and that discharged of that warre, he would of all likelihood set vpon the Persians; hauing the selfsame quarell vnto the Persians that he had vnto the Venetians, that is, an ardent and insatiable desire of soveraigntie: a sufficient cause for the greedy Turke to repute euery king the richer that he was, the more his enemy. After that, setting forth to the full the prowesse of the Christians, the wonderfull preparation they had made both at sea and land, he perswaded the king with all his power to invade the Turke, now altogether busied in the warres of CYPVS, and to recouer againe such parts of his kingdome as *Solyman* the father of *Selymus* had taken from him: Warres he said were more happily managed abroad than at home: that since he alone (the Christian princes all then at quiet) had withstood the Turks whole force and power, he needed not now to doubt of his most prosperous successe, the Christian princes now joyning with him: That he was much vnmindfull of his former losses and wrongs, if he thought he enjoyed an assured peace; which he should find to be nothing els but a deferring of war vnto more vtter times: and that the Turke if he should ouerrun CYPVS, would forthwith turne his victorious armes vpon him: The end of one warre was (as he said) but the beginning of another: and that the Turkish empire could neuer stay in one state; and that he would obserue not the Turkes words, but his deeds; and how that the *Orthoman* emperours according to the oportunitie

The Venetians the more to trouble the Turke, seeke to stirre up *Tamas* the Persian king to take up armes against him.

Alexander the Venetian embassadour hath audience with the Persian king.

tunitie of the times, vsed by turnes, sometime force, sometime deceit, as best serued their purposes. That no princes had at all times by dissembled peace and vncertaine leagues more de-
 luded some, vntill they had oppressed others. He wished also, that at length this his cunning
 dealing might appeare vnto the world: and that princes would thinke, that being combined
 together, they might more easily overcome the Turke, than being seperated, defend their
 owne: That in former times sometime will, sometime occasion, was wanting to them to vnite
 their forces: and that therefore they should now combine themselves for their common good
 against the common enemy: That it concerned no lesse the Persians, than the Christians, to
 haue the power of the Turke abated: and that this taking vp of armes, should be for the good of
 the Persian king howsoeuer things should fall out; if well, he should then recouer what he had
 before lost, with much more that was the Turkes: if otherwise, yet by voluntarie, eunning into
 armes to countenance himselfe, and to giue the Turkes occasion to thinke that he feared him not:
 which was (as he said) the onely way to preferue their common safetie, which would be vnto all
 the confederat princes easie enough, if they themselves made it not more difficult than the power
 of the enemy. The speech of the embassadour was willingly heard: whereunto the king answered,
 that he would consider therupon what he had to doe: and in the meane while, a faire house
 was appointed for the embassadour and his followers, and bountifull allowance appointed for
 the kings charge. He was also many times sumptuously feasted by the noblemen, whom he
 still requested to be mediators vnto the king, to take that honourable warre in hand. The king
 had at that time a sonne called *Ismael*, a man of a great spirit, whom he then kept in durance, for
 that he with too much insolencie made roades into the frontiers of the Turkes dominions, to
 the disturbance of the league his father had before made with the late Turkish emperor *Salyman*:
 vnto him *Alexander* hauing access, was of him courteously heard; who sitting and languish-
 ing for verie griefe of reuenge vpon the Turkes, wished, that either the king his father had his
 mind, or he himselfe the power of a king: and said, That if euer it were his good fortune to ob-
 taine the kingdome, he would in deed shew what he then in mind thought. But of him more
 shall be said hereafter. Whilest this matter went more slowly forward in the Persian court than
 the embassadour would haue had it, newes was brought vnto the court, of the great victorie
 which the Christians had much about that time obtained of the Turkes at sea: vpon which oc-
 casion the embassadour solicited the king more earnestly than before, to make himselfe partaker
 of the victorie of the Christians, by entering into confederation with them, and by taking vp of
 armes; rather than to hold vncertain friendship with the Turkes in their miseries, by whom he
 had been so often wronged. This he said was the onely time for the Persian king to recouer his
 former glorie, the like offer whereof would neither often chance, neither long stay: and that if
 he suffered so fit an opportunitie to slip away, he should afterwards in vaine wish for the same,
 when it were too late. This so wholesome counsell was well heard, but preuailed nothing to stir
 vp the aged king: who then troubled with rebellion in *MEDIA*, or wearie of the former warres
 he had had with the Turke, and glad of such peace as he had then with him, answered the em-
 bassadour, That for as much as the Christian princes had made a perpetuall league amongst
 themselves, he would for two yeares expect the event, and afterward as occasion serued, so to
 resolute vpon peace and warre. This improuident resolution of the king, brought afterward vnto
 profitable and too late repentance vnto the whole Persian kingdome; when as within a few
 yeares after, all the calamities which the Senat had by their embassadour (as true prophets) fore-
 told, redounded vnto the great shaking thereof. For the Cyprian warre once ended, and peace
 concluded with the Venetians, *Amurath* the sonne of *Selymus* succeeding, his father in the Tur-
 kish empire, inuading the Persian king, tooke from him the great countrey of *MEDIA*, now cal-
 led *SILVANIA*, with a great part of *ARMENIA* the great, and the regall citie of *TAVRIS*, as shall
 be hereafter in due place declared. At which time the Persian, who now refused to take vp
 armes, or joine in league with the Christian princes, repented that he had not before hearkened
 vnto the wholesome counsell of the Venetians: and taught by his owne harmes, wished in vaine,
 that the Christian princes would againe take vp armes and joyne with him against the Turke.
Mustapha the great Bassa and General of the Turkes armie, furnished of all things that could
 be desired for the maintenance of his siege, and souldiers in great number daily repaireing vnto
 him out of *CILICIA*, *SYRIA*, the Lesser *ASIA*, and the countreies thereabout, beside great
 supplies brought vnto him by *Haly Bassa* from *CONSTANTINOPLE*: inso much, that it was
 thought

The answer of
 Tamas the Per-
 sian king vnto
 the Venetian
 embassadour.

Mustapha Bassa
 reuinceth to the
 siege of Fama-
 gusta.

A thought he had in his armie two thousand men: began now that Winter was past, in the latter
 end of Aprill, to draw neerer vnto *FAMAGUSTA*, and with incredible labour to cast vp trenches
 and mounts against the citie, of such height, that the defendants from the highest places of the
 citie could scarcely see the points of the Turks speares, or top of their tents, as they lay encamped:
 which was no great matter for the Bassa to performe, hauing in his campe fortie thousand pio-
 ners alwaies readie at his command.

The citie of *FAMAGUSTA* is situate in the East end of the island, in a plaine and low ground
 betwixt two promontories, the one called *S. Andrewes* head, and the other the head of *G. A-
 CIA*. It is in circuit foure miles, and in forme fouresquare; but that the side toward the East, lon-
 ger and more winding than the rest, doth much deforme the exact figure of a quadrangle: it is al-
 most on two parts beaten vpon with the sea, the other parts towards the land are defended with
 a ditch not about fiftene foot broad, a stone wall, and certaine bulwarks and parapets. Vpon the
 gate that leadeth to *MATHVS* standeth a six cornered tower: other towers stand out also in the
 wall, euerie of them scarce able to containe six pieces of artillerie. It hath a haven opening to-
 ward the Southeast, defended from the injurie of the weather by two great rocks, betwixt
 which the sea commeth in by a narrow passage about fortie paces ouer; but after opening wider
 giueth a conuenient harbour to ships, whereof it cannot containe any great number, and was
 now shut vp with a strong chaine. Neere vnto the haven standeth an old castle with foure tow-
 ers, after the auncient manner of building. There was in the citie one strong bulwarke, built af-
 ter the manner of the fortifications of our time, with palisadoes, curtaines, casemates, and such
 like, in such manner, as that it seemed almost impregnable. All which, although they made shew
 of a strong and well fortified citie, yet for that there wanted many things, it was thought too
 weake long to hold out against the great power of the Turke: but what wanted by reason of
 the situation and weake fortification, that the Gouverneur and other noble captaines supplied
 in best sort they might, with a strong garrison of most valiant souldiours, the surest defence of
 strong places. There was in the citie two thousand and fise hundred Italians, two hundred Al-
 banoies horsemen, before entertained by the Gouverneur; and of the Cypriots themselves were
 mustered two thousand and fise hundred mo, all men resolutely set downe to spend their liues in
 defence of their countrey.

The description
 of Famagusta.

The number of
 the defendants
 of Famagusta.

Mustapha with wonderfull celeritie hauing brought to perfection his fortifications, planted
 D his batterie of sixtie foure great pieces; amongst which were foure great basilisks of exceeding
 bignesse, wherewith he continually without intermission battered the wals of the citie in fise
 places, but especially that part of the wall that was betweene the haven and the gate that leadeth
 to *MATHVS*. And with great mortar pieces cast vp huge stones, which from high falling into
 the citie, with their waight brake downe the houses they light vpon, and fell often times through
 their vaults, euen into the bottome of their cellars, to the great terror of the besieged. The wals
 in diuers places fore shaken and the houses beaten downe, he began to assault the citie: which
 the defendants (their forces yet whole) valiantly repulsed, and not onely defended their wals and
 draue the Turkes from the breaches, but furiously sallied out vpon them, and hauing slaine and
 wounded many, wonderfully disturbed their fortifications, and abated their courage: neither did
 E the enemy with greater furie maintaine the batterie or assault, than did the Christians the defence
 of the citie, still sending their deadly shot into the thickest of that great multitude; inso much
 that in few daies the Bassa had lost thirtie thousand of his men: and the captaines themselves won-
 dering at the valour of the defendants, as if they had not now to doe with such Christians as
 they had before so oftentimes ouerthrowne, but with some other strange people, began to dis-
 paire of the winning of the citie. The Turkes thus doubting, and almost at a stand, the Christi-
 ans in the meane time made vp their breaches with earth, baskets, wool-sacks, and such like, not
 sparing their verie beds and bedclothes, chests, carpets, and whatsoever else might serue to fill vp
 the breach: Amongst many wants they feared, the greatest was the want of powder, which with
 continuall shooting began greatly to be diminished: wherefore to reserue some part thereof
 F against all extremities, they thought it best whilest yet some store was left, to vie the same more
 sparingly, and to shoot more seldome. But the Turkes still drawing neerer and neerer the citie, and
 casting vp mounts higher than the wals of the citie, with earth and sagots filled vp the ditch:
 which done, they of the broken stones made wals on either side, to saue themselves from the
 flanking shot of the Christians: though giting a fresh assault, they vsed not onely their shot and
 other

Famagusta as
 assaulted, and no-
 tably defended by
 the Christians.

Famagusta as
 againe assaulted
 by the Turke.

other mislike weapons, but came foot to foot, and notably fought in the breach hand to hand. Which manner of fight (as if it had been so agreed vpon) they euery day maintained for the space of six houres. And although the Turkes by reason of their multitude were diuided into many parts, and fresh men still succeeded them that were wearie; yet such was the courage of the defendants, that euery man requested to haue the places of most danger, and from thence with courageous hand repulsed the Turkes with exceeding great slaughter. But for all that, the furious enemy maintaining the assault not onely by day, but by often alarms in the night also, kept the Christians continually in doubtfull suspence and readinesse, as if they should haue received a present assault: and as soone as it was day, with fresh men that had slept their fill, desperately assailed the Christians almost spent and maigre for lacke of sleepe and rest. Force not preuailling, the restless enemy leauing nothing attempted, by a quaint deuise was like to haue taken one of the gates of the citie: There was growing in the island great plentie of a kind of wood much of the nature of the fire or pitch tree, easie to be set on fire, but hardly to be quenched; but differing in this, that in burning it gaue forth such a noysome smell as was not by any man well to be endured: of this kind of wood the Turkes brought a wonderfull quantitie to one of the gates called LIMOSINA, which once set on fire, could not by the defendants by any means be quenched; although they cast whole pipes and tuns of water at once into it; but most terribly burning close vnto the gate by the space of foure daies, with the vehemencie of the heat and loathsomnesse of the smell, so troubled the defendants, that scarce any of them could endure to stand vpon the wall, but forsaking the same, were euery anone like to haue giuen the enemy leaue to enter.

Bragadinus encourages the defendants.

Bragadinus the Gouvernour, more carefull of the common safetie than of his owne danger, ceased not still to be going about from one place to another, telling the Italians, That now was giuen the fittest occasion they could desire for them to shew their valour in, and to gaine great honor of their barbarous enemies: that it would be to their eternall glorie, if by their only means without any other helpe, the citie so farre off from the reliefe of the Christians might be defended, and the great power of the Turke defeated: This (he said) was the onely time wherein it stood them most vpon to play the men; for if they could keepe that little was left, the rest of the island would be easily recouered: and although the Turkes army exceeded farre in number, yet did they excell them in prowesse and valour; whereby a few, and as it were but an handful of men, had oftentimes preuailed against most infinit multitudes: Now all the eyes of the world, as well friends as foes to be fixed vpon them, so that if they held out against so great a power, both their enemies would admire their valour, and all Christendome extoll their invincible courage and prowesse; and that they themselves should thereby reape both great profit and honour: Neither that any thing could be alleadged, why they should not be compared with the worthie knights of MALTA, who to their eternall fame had deliuered themselves out of the mouth of the Turke, and left vnto the world a most faire example for men valiantly to stand in so good a quarrell vpon their owne defence: NICOSTIA (he said) was lost rather by the cowardise of the defendants, than by the valour of the enemy. He also praised the fidelitie and courage of the Grecians, who for any feare or danger could neuer be remoued from the Vestetians, or induced to submit themselves vnto the Turkes government: and perswaded them, with the same resolution to defend their owne citie that they saw in the Venetian souldiours, fighting for them; and for their owne honour to striue with the Italians, in defence of their State, their country, their wiues and children, against the tyrannie of the Turkes; for as much as aid would in short time come, and set them free from all danger. The Senat. also in like manner had sent letters to FAMAGUSTA, willing them to be of good cheere, and yet a while to hold out the siege, and that they should be in short time relievied. *Baleonius* also Generall of the garrison souldiours, himselfe in armes was present at euery skirmish, carefully foreseeing what was in euery place and at all times to be done; and by encouraging of his souldiours and aduenturing of his person shewed himselfe to be both a worthie commander and valiant souldior. Neither did the souldiours alone, but euen the women also what they might, struing about the power of the strength M both of their minds and bodies, some bringing meat, some weapons vnto the defendants, and others stones, beds, chests, &c. such like stufte to make vp the breaches. But victuals beginning now to wax scant, 8000. of the vulgar sort of the people were turned out of the citie, who all in safetie were suffered to passe thorow the midst of the Turkes army, to seeke their liuing in the country. Thus

A Thus whilest open force preuailed not according to the Turkes desire, they began in foure places to vndermine the citie, in hope so to haue found entrance. But the defendants doubting such a matter, by diligent listening, and great vessels set full of water neere vnto the wals, and drums laid vpon the ground, by the mouing thereof discovered their workes, and with countermines frustrated those of the enemies: yet in so great a stirre and hurly burly, all things were not possibly to be discovered. Whereby it came to passe, that whilest the defendants were altogether busied in defending the wals; a mine not perceiued, was suddenly blowne vp neere vnto the tower standing vpon the haue: by force whereof, a great part of the wall thereabout was in a moment with a most horrible noise ouerthrowne. With the fall whereof, the Turkes thinking the citie as good as taken, with an horrible shout and outcrie mounted the wall, and in the breach B set vp their ensignes; Countie *Peter*, who had the charge of that part of the wall, being not now able to defend the same, so suddenly ouerthrown: which *Nestor Martinengus* quickly perceiuing, came speedily from his owne station, to repulse the enemy now readie to haue entred. The fight became there most fierce and terrible: on the one side, hope; on the other, desperation enraged their minds: the Turkes were in hope, that if they forced themselves but a little, they should forthwith win the citie; and the defendants propounding nothing, vnto themselves, but shamefull death and torture, fought as men altogether desperat. The Turkes trusted to their multitude, and the Christians to their valour. In the meane time, *Andreas Bragadinus* with certaine great pieces apply placed, out of the castle, slew a number of the Turkes, as they were comming to the breach. *Baleonius* hearing of the danger, came in hast with a companie of courageous souldiours C to relieue them that were fighting at the breach, and chearing vp his followers, thrust himselfe with the foremost into the face of the breach: and there not onely appointed what was to be done, and with cheerfull speeches encouraged his souldiours, but with his owne hand hauing slaine manie, tooke one of the Turkes ensignes (when as he had before slaine the beaver thereof) and tumbled him headlong into the ditch. With the sight whereof, others encouraged, both on the right hand and on the left, made there a notable battell, as men fighting for their last hope. In fine the Turkes were glad to retire, leauing behind them foure thousand carcases of their slaine fellows in the towne ditch, with fourteene of their ensignes, which were brought into the citie. Neither was this victorie gained without some losse of the Christians: about an hundred were slaine, among whom were *Robertus Maluetius*, *Dauid Nocius*, *Celsus Feto*, *Erasmus Firmo*, all D capitaines.

The breach is nobly defended.

For all this they in the citie tooke small rest, the Turkes great shot still thundring in amongst them; and that in such furious sort, as that in one day (which was the eighth of Iune) were numbered about siue thousand great shot, shot into the citie. With which continuall batterie, one of the round bulwarks of the towne was so shaken, as that a part of the front thereof was fallen downe into the ditch, and another part stood leaning readie to fall; in such sort, as that it was not longer to be defended: which the Christians perceiuing, presently vndermined the same bulwarke, and in the mine placed certaine barrells of gunpowder. The Turkes comming to assault the place they had so sore battered, the defendants after some small resistance fained themselves to retire for feare, so to draw the enemy the faster on; who was no sooner come to the place de- E fired, but that fire being put to the mine, blew vp the bulwarke with all them that stood thereon: of whom, some were ouerwhelmed with the earth it selfe, other some were blowne vp into the aire, and falling downe againe miserably perished; and other some, shot as it were out of a gun, fell downe a great way off, and so were rent in pieces: which was vnto the defendants a most pleasant sight. About six hundred of the Turkes perished at this assault, amongst whom were *Mustapha* Generall of the voluntarie souldiours, and *Eregetes*, a man of great marke amongst the Turkes. But by the hastie firing of the mine, there perished also about an hundred of the Christians, ouertaken in their owne deuise, amongst whom were also some of great account.

They of Famagusta blow up one of their owne battered bulwarks, with six hundred Turkes thereon.

Baleonius a valiant capitaine.

The Turkes enflamed with their losses, were more enraged with the speeches and persuasions of *Mustapha* their Generall; who most earnestly exhorted them with one consent to assaile their enemies, now driuen into a corner of the island, spoiled of their country, trusting more vnto the strength of the place than of themselves, entreating for nothing more than with their liues to depart thence. But what place (said he) is there impregnable for the Turkes? NICOSTIA, ZIGETH, and such other strong townes woon, what are they but the monuments and testimo-

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nies of the cowardise of the Christians, and the prowesse of the Turks? This day (said he) will G
confirm all your former labours and victories; which you before vnderooke for honour, but
here shall you haue honour mixt with gold, and a prey sufficient to make you all rich: The
Turks encouraged with this speech of their Generall, as men forgetfull of all dangers; began a
more terrible siege than euer before: and hauing with incredible labour made three great mines,
and blowing them vp, ouerthrew a great part of the wall with the castle, the notable defence
of the hauen: which done, they with all their force oftentimes assailed the citie, as if it should haue
been their last labour; neither ceased they so to doe night or day. At which time also, that part of
the citie which is beaten vpon with the sea, was assaulted by them in the gallies also.

The poore Christians spent with deadly wounds, continuall labour; perpetuall watching
both night and day, and now brought to a small number; hardly withstood the furious enemy, H
assailing them in so many places at once, and held out that tempest rather with courage than
strength. In the meane time the enemies armie encreased daily, the Turks in hope of the like
spoile they had at Nicosia, continually repairing out of the countries round about vnto the
campe. The Christian captaines seeing their men with continuall assaults sore spent; in so much,
that how many soeuer they seemed to be, there was not aboue three hundred sound men left,
but seauen barrels of powder remaining, want of all things daily increasing, hope of aid still de-
creasing, and the Venetians (their only comfort) so farre from them; the captaines (I say) them-
selves, began to quail in courage: and the rather, for that such reliefe as was sent from VENICE,
could not possibly be brought vnto them, but staid at CRETE, the Turkes gallies still lying be-
fore FAMAGUSTA; so that nothing could in safetie be brought thither. This feare of the cap-
taines themselves, could not long be hid or dissembled, but that it was by the citizens perceived:
who hauing neither power to hold out the siege, neither place left to flie vnto, ouercome with
necessitie, came flocking to the Gouvernour, crauing of him aid and comfort, and with abundance
of teares besought him in this common desperation, to take compassion on them, their wiues
and children, a people that had alwaies so well deserued of the Venetian State. Their walls (they
said) were beaten downe, their bulwarks ouerthrowne, the few souldiours that remained, spent
with wounds, watching, and famine; the enemies strength encreasing daily, so that they must
needs in short time all perish with the sword, if the citie were by force taken: wherefore they be-
sought him, that yielding to necessitie, which no power was euer able to withstand, he would
at last while time yet serued, prouide for the safetie of so faithfull and kind a people, and not to K
refuse any conditions, how hard soeuer.

The requests and teares of the citizens of FAMAGUSTA, with the due consideration of the
desperat state of the citie, moued *Bragadinus* to compassion; who comforting them in best sort
he could, perswaded them to be of good cheere, for that he had care both of them and their state;
and would so prouide for them, as that they should neuer repent themselves of their fidelitie and
loyaltie to the Venetian State. He in the meane time considering the greatnesse of the danger
which presently hung ouer all their heads, propounded the matter in a generall counsell called
together for the same purpose: wherein after a little debating of the matter, they all agreed to
yeeld; onely *Baleonius* at the first dissenting, as doubtfull of the Turkes faith, but afterwards
yeelding vnto the opinion of the rest. So an herald being sent vnto the Bassa, a truce was ta-
ken for certaine daies to parley in, and hostages on both sides giuen: during which time, not so
much as a dart was throwne or an arrow shot from either side. After a few daies parley the con-
ditions were agreed vpon, whereupon the citie should be yeelded into the power of the Bassa,
which were these: First, that the inhabitants of the citie yet left aliue, should in safetie enjoy their
liues, libertie, and goods, with the free exercise of the Christian religion: That the Gouvernour
with the rest of the captaines and souldiours might in safetie depart with bag and baggage, and at
their departure to take with them five great pieces of ordinance, and three horses, which soeuer
it should please them to make choise of; and that the Turkes should safely conduct them into
CRETE, finding them both victuall and shipping: all which things were with more kinde-
ness promised, than with fidelitie performed. Yet all these matters agreed vpon, and concerned in-
to writing, as also by solemne oath on both sides confirmed: the Gouvernour sending a messen-
ger before, requested that he might haue leaue to come to see the Bassa, and to deliuer vnto him
the keyes of the citie. Leau being granted, *Bragadinus* the Gouvernour, *Baleonius*, *Andrew*
Bragadinus, *Laurentius Theupolus* carle of *PAPHOS*, to *Anthonyus Quirinus*, *Aloysius Mar-*
tinengus,

A sinengus, with a great sort of other captaines came into the campe: but before they entred in-
to the Bassa's pauillion, they were commaunded to deliuer their weapons, which they all did:
At the first meeting *Mustapha* entertained them courteously, and with many glorious words,
as if it had beene in admiration, extolled their worthie valour and courage: saying, that he was
glad now to know them by face, whose valiant minds he had before knowne by their most vali-
ant deeds. Now prowesse and valour seemed not onely in safetie, but also honoured euen of the
enemy: when after a long discourse the false Bassa reuolued vnto this mischeefe and recheerie he
had before resolu'd vpon: complaining that certaine of his men taken at the siege, had bene as-
terward against all reason and order slaine. Which the Gouvernour and the rest utterly denying,
he start vp as in a rage, and with high words and sterne countenance vying the fact, commaun-
ded them all to be forthwith cast in bonds: and so bringing them out of his pauillion, in the sight
of the armie, contrarie to his oath and promise, caused them all to be slaine. At which time *Br-*
gadinus and *Theupolus* were oftentimes commaunded to lay downe their heads, to haue had
them stricke off: yet was their execution deferred, and their liues reserved, not to saue them; but
with more exquisite punishment and torture to satisfie the barbarous crueltie of the faithlesse and
vmercifull tyrant. The next day after, *Bragadinus* hauing his eares before cut off in despight, was
brought forth to be wondered at, and tortured with the most extreamest kind of torture that ty-
rannie it selfe could haue deuised: for despoyled of his Jewels and attire; and a basket layed vpon
his shoulders, filled with earth, he was enforced oftentimes to carrie the same: to repaire the ram-
piers that were ouerthrowne; and euer as he passed by, the proud Bassa insulting vpon him to
fall downe and to kisse the ground at his feet: and so buffered with the Turkes sits, and spurned as
a dog with their feet, was in great derision and despight asked, Whether he hoped that Christ
his God would come to helpe him or not? Which indignitie of it selfe bitter and miserable, the
dignitie of the man made much more miserable: whose comely and stately countenance, with
his long and reuerend beard, euen in that extreame miserie, added vnto him a certaine majestie
and grace. In this so foule a sight of vertue troden vnderfoot, the poore Christians could neither
well stay their teares, nor let them fall, for feare of the displeasure of the Turkes. But the forsworne
Bassa, not onely forgetfull of all humanitie, but enraged rather with extreame crueltie, caused
that noble and woorthie *Bragadinus* to be sett in a chaire; and his skin to be flaine off from him
quicke: a punishment vnworthie of him that suffered it, but most worthe him that inflicted the
same. Yet in so great and horrible a torture he was not heard to let fall any word, nor be seeming
a faithfull Christian and the honour of his countrey: onely he called vpon God for mercie, and
derided the Turkes perfidious recheerie, and so breathed out his life. But the tyrant worthe eter-
nall infamie, not satisfied with the torture of the liuing man, caused the head to be cut from the
dead bodie, and vpon the point of a speare to be set vp on an high place for all men to look vpon
on. His skin also stuffed with chaffe, he caused to be hanged vp at the yards arme, and so to be
carried about: not so true a trophie of his victorie, as a testimonie of his perfidious and Turkish
crueltie. Two dayes after, countie *Theupolus*, after he had bene most shamefully entreated, full
of the markes of the Turkes crueltie, was to make an end withall shamefully hanged in the mar-
ket place. With what crueltie the Bassa had tyrannized vpon the nobilitie, with the same he also
raged vpon the meaner sort of the citizens, of whom some he slew, some he chained in the gal-
lies, and carried away the rest into bondage. Three hundred Christians, some souldiours, some ci-
tizens, which came forth with the Gouvernour to see the Turkes campe, were there also all slaine.
Neslor Martinengus, a famous captaine, escaped the tyrants hands, being hidden by one of the
Bassa's eunuchs, who by the helpe of a Greeke fisherman got to *LEPIS*, and from thence to
CRETE, and so afterwards to VENICE, where he faithfully reported to *Aloysius Mocenicus* the
duke, the whole processe of that ware, with the losse of the citie; and that in the space of three-
score and ten daies there was aboue an hundred and fortiethousand great shot discharged against
the citie. Such noblemen and gentlemen as escaped out of this so generall a slaughter, banished
their countrey, and in miserie, disperfed without hope of returne, led afterward a miserable and
vagrant life, though some of them euen at this day (as I haue bene credibly enformed) are by
the Venetian state right well maintained: The countrey people and artificers were generally by
the Turkes spared, for the peopling of the countrey. This was the fatal ruine of *CYPRUS*, one of
the most fruitfull and beautifull islands of the Mediterranean: the losse whereof not without cause
griued many Christian princes, as sometime a kingdome of it selfe, and now a prouince of the
Turkish

Famagusta hard-
ly assaulted.

The citizens of
Famagusta re-
quest the Gouver-
nour in time to
yeeld vnto the citie

A parley betwixt
them of Fam-
agusta and the
Turks.

Bragadinus
shamefully and
horribly mur-
dered by the
faithlesse Bassa.

The forsworne
Bassa tyrannizeth
vpon the dead
bodie of *Braga-*
dinus.

Theupolus han-
ged.

Neslor Mar-
tinengus by good
fortune escapeth.

one of *Cyprus* lost.

Turkish empire: our sinnes, or the euill agreement of Christian princes, or both, the cause there. G
of I know not, neither if I did, durst I so say.

Whilest *Mustapha* yet lay at the siege of *FAMAGVSTA*, the other two great Basses *Partau* and *Haly*, the one the Admirall, and the other Generall of the souldiours, (appointed by *Selymus* for the keeping of the sea, that no releefe should be sent by the Venetians to *FAMAGVSTA*, and further as occasion serued to infect their dominions) about the middest of May, arrived in *EUBOEAE* with two hundred and thirtie gallies; whether *Plurialis* viceroi of *ALBANS*, with diuers other the Turks notable pyrats, resorted vnto them with their gallies. With this fleet departing from *EUBOEAE*, and sayling alongst the coast of *MYSTIA*, *IONIA*, *CARIA*, and so directly toward the *RHODES*, they were met with thirtie gallies moe of the Turkes aduenturers. After that, hauing left certaine gallies for to lie before *FAMAGVSTA*, they directed their course for the *H* island of *CRETE*, and the thirteenth of Iune put into the bay of *AMPHIMALEA*, now called *SVDA*, and there landed twelue thousand men.

The Turkes arrive in Crete with a great fleet.

The description of Crete.

This island of *CRETE*, now called *CANDIA*, is greater than *CYPRVS*, but lesser than *SICILIA* of *SARDINIA*: but for fertilitie comparable with any of the islands of the Mediterranean. It was in auncient time famous for many things, but especially for an hundred cities which therein stood, as witnesseth amongst others *Seneca*: *Urbius centum spaciofa Crete*, but at this day it hath onely three: *CANDIA*, a colonie of the Venetians, whereof the island now taketh name, *CANEA*, and *RHETIMO*. The circuit of the island is fife hundred and twentie miles: full of hils: for which cause the people of the countrey are much delighted in hunting. In it is no nauigable riuer or venomous beast. It is now most famous through a great part of the world, I for the good *Malmesey* which there groweth, and is from thence in great abundance sent into many faire countries. Therein also groweth great plentie of *Cypresse* trees, seruing for the vse of shipping. It is at this day subject to the Venetians. The Turkes being landed, and raunging vp and downe the countrey, did what harme they possibly could, burning and spoiling all as they went: vntill that at last they were vpon the sudden encountered by *Franciscus Iustinianus*, who but a little before their landing was come into the island with a thousand souldiours; and now joyning with the island people, notably charged them, being altogether disperfed and seeking after prey: and hauing slaine many of them, enforced the rest to retire to their gallies. The next day the Turkes landing againe in greater number, burnt diuers townes, and ransacked *SETIA* and *RHETIMO*, where they tooke a rich prey, and carried away many prisoners: but loaded with their bootie, disperfed, and fearing nothing lesse than to be at that time set vpon, they were assailed by *Lucas Michael* a valiant capitaine, two thousand of them slaine, and with the losse of their bootie and prisoners glad to retire vnto their gallies. Thus repulsd from *CRETE*, they tooke their course to *CYTHERA*, *ZACYNTHVS*, and *CEPHELENTIA*, islands subject to the Venetians: where beside other harmes by them done, they carried away with them six thousand poore Christians into most miserable captiuitie.

The Turkes drive out of Crete.

Departing thence, and sayling alongst the coast of *EPHROS*, they came to *SVPPOLO*, an haugen towne in *EPHROS*, which *Venerius* in the beginning of these warres had taken from the Turkes, but was now againe by them recovered. After that, they came to *DVLICIGNO*, which the Turkes had but a little before besieged by land, for that the Gouvernour thereof and of *ANTIVARI* (another towne of the Venetians vpon the frontiers of *DALMATIA*) had compacted with three hundred Epirots, to stirre vp the countrey to rebellion, and to reuolt to the Venetians: for the effecting whereof the Epirots requested of the Venetians six thousand souldiours to make head, which the Venetians promised to send them. Whereupon the aforesaid Epirots forthwith tooke vp armes, and raised most part of *EPHROS* into rebellion: vnto whom was sent at the first one capitaine with an hundred Italians from *CATARO*. But when the Epirots vainly expecting the promised aid, saw themselves on euery side hardly beset with their enemies; despairing of any good successe, they yeilded themselves vnto the mercie of *Achmetis Bassa*, *Selymus* his great lieutenant in *GRACIA* (who to repress that so dangerous a rebellion, was come thither with an armie of fourescore thousand Turkes:) so was a most faire occasion lost, when as the rest of the Epirots, enflamed with the hope of libertie, were readie to haue come vnto their friends, already in armes; and by their example like ynough to haue raised all *GRACIA* into rebellion. But now deceiued of their expectation, bewayled their miserie, that trusting to the promises of the Venetians, they had cast themselves and all theirs into most manifest danger. They of

A faire occasion lost.

A of *DVLICIGNO* seeing themselves hardly beset both by sea and land, sent to *Partau Bassa*, and couenanted with him, that they might in safetie depart, deliuered vnto him the towne: and so *Sara Martinengus*, Gouvernour of the towne, with the garrison souldiours, were in foure ships conueyed in safetie to *RAGVSVM*: as for the citifens, promise was kept with them after the Turkish manner. In the same hurle the Turkes tooke also the townes of *ANTIVARI* and *BVDVA*. *ANTIVARI* was both by situation and fortification strong, and furnished with a good garrison: neuertheless, *Alexander Donatus* Gouvernour thereof, a man of no experience in martiall affaires, ouercome with the present feare, and despairing to be able to hold the towne, towardly yeilded the same vnto the enemy. Which his beastly cowardise the Senat suffered not vnpunished, but confiscating his goods, and remoouing him from the Senat, cast him into exile. From *ANTIVARI* the Turkes following their good fortune, departed with their fleet into the bay called *RIZONICVS*, but now the bay of *CATHARO*, and both by sea and land laied hard siege vnto the strong towne of *CATHARO*, called in auncient time *ASCRIVVM*; against which they cast vp two great bulwarkes, and planted thereon nine great peeces of artilerie, wherewith to haue battered the towne and the castle: but the defendants as resolute men sallying out, put them from their ordinance, and enforced them againe vnto their gallies.

Dileigno, Antivari, and Bvdva, strong towres of the Venetians upon the coast of Epirus and Dalmatia, yielded to the Turkes.

Catharo punished.

Whilest these things were in doing, *Plurialis* and *Caracossa*, both men of great account and name amongst the Turkes, got leaue for ten dayes of the Admirall, with threecore gallies to spoyle the islands neere thereabouts, subject to the Venetians. Who comming to the island of *CVRZOLA*, about fourescore miles Eastward from *RAGVSVM* landed their men, with purpose C to assault the towne of *CVRZOLA*, of the same name with the island. Which *Anthionius Contarenus* the Gouvernour thereof perceiuing, in the dead time of the night fled for feare out of the towne into the rockes and places of more safetie, after whom the townefmen followed also: so that in the towne were not left about 20 men, and about 80 women; who with weapons in their hands, after the rest were fled, came to the wals, as wishing rather there to die, than to fall into the hands of the barbarous enemy. But at such time as the Turkes began to approach the towne, & the women with stones, fire, and such weapons as they had, were beating them off, and with greater courage defending the place than was to haue beene in their sex expected, by the goodnesse of God a great tempest suddenly arose out of the North, which so outrageously tossed the gallies, that *Plurialis* and *Caracossa* were glad to giue ouer the assault, and to get them thence into a place D of more safetie. Sayling alongst the coast, they by the way spoiled *LYSNA*, *BRACIA*, and *LISSA*, little islands vpon the coast of *DALMATIA*, out of which they caried away with them 1600 poore Christians into captiuitie. These arch pyrats at their pleasure roming vp and downe the sea, fortuned to light vpon a ship of the Christians bound from *MESSANA* to *COREYRA*, which they tooke; and in rifling thereof found certaine letters directed to the Gouvernour of *CORCYRA*, certifying him of the league, then but lately concluded amongst the Christian princes: which letters they sent in post to *Selymus* to giue him knowledge thereof, who thereupon writ to his Admirals, with all hostilitie to infect any of the dominions of the Christian confederats.

Curzola forsaken by the men, is defended by the women.

Selymus advised of the league, lately concluded betwixt the Christian princes.

The Turkes fleet thus raging and raining in the Adriaticke, brought a great feate not only vpon the coasts of *DALMATIA*, *ISTRIA*, and the islands thereabouts, which were by them most E afflicted; but also vpon the sea coasts of *APVLLIA*, and all alongst that side of *ITALIE*, yea & vpon the cite of *VENICE* it selfe: inso much that they were glad to fortifie as well the cite as the frontiers of their dominions, with new fortifications and garrisons: as did also the king, and the Pope in *ITALIE*: for why no ship or gallie could now looke out of any port, but it was presently surprised and taken by the Turkes: which with the sundry calamities before receiued, so confounded the Venetians, that they in their assemblies and consultations seemed rather to quake for feare, than after their wonted maner grauely to consult how the enemy was to be repulsd. Yet for the more safetie of their cite, and for feare least the Turkes fleet should forcibly breake in vpon them; they strongly fortified the passages through the rocke or banke, which defendeth the cite from the sea, and kept continually 12000 men in readinesse in the cite for the more assurance thereof; F All the Turkes fleet being againe met together, *Partau* and *Haly* departed from *AVRONA* the 26 of August, and sayled directly to *CORCYRA*, which little island seemed to bee compassed in round with the great enemies fleet. *Partau Bassa* at his first arrivall there, landed eight hundred horsemen and a thousand foot, who ranging vp and downe the island did great hurt, and burnt the very suburbs of the cite: at which time the garrison souldiours sallying out vpon them with a thou-

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land horsemen and six hundred foot, slew a great number of them, and amongst the rest one *G Paphus Rays*, a man of great name. Thus the Turks fleet having done wonderfull harme in the Venetian territorie, as well in the islands, as vpon the frontiers of *DALMATIA*, enriched with the spoyle of those countries, and carrying away with them fifteene thousand most miserable captiues; departing from *CORCYRA*, arrived all in the bay of *CORINTH*, now called the gulf of *LAPANTO*, where we will for a while leaue them to ride in safetie.

The Turkes put
into the bay of
Lepanto.

The forces of the
confederat prin-
ces meet together
at Messana.

Don John of
Austria.

At such time as this great fleet (the terror of that part of Christendome) first put into the Adriaticke, *Venerius* the Venetian Admirall then lying with fiftie gallies at *CORCYRA*, and fearing if he stayed there longer, to be enforced with so small a power to fight against so strong an enemy, or els so to be shut vp that hee could not ioyne his forces with the Spanish fleet, which was dayly expected: vpon the comming of the fleet departed thence to *MESSANA*, where there more commodiously and more safely to attend the comming of *Don John* of *AVSTRIA*, Generall of the Spanish forces. At his comming, *Columinus* met him with twelue gallies (which the great duke of *FLORENCE* had sent in the aid of the confederats) and three gallies of *MALTA*, who onely were yet come thither, and with great honour receiued him. Not long after, *M. Antonius Quirinus* and *Antonius Canalis* came thither also with threescore and two gallies, before appointed by the Venetians for the releefe of *FAMAGUSTA*, but now called backe againe to ioyne with the rest of the fleet: and in short time the gallies of *SICILIA* arrived there also. At last after long expectation, in the latter end of August came *Don John* with the Spanish fleet, a man then about foure and twentie yeares old, in whom wanted no honorable parts, his mothers blemish onely excepted: who although he was most deere vnto his father *Charles* the fifth, yet left he him nothing by his will, but onely at his death commended him vnto his sonne *Philip*, as his brother. The Venetian and the Popes Admirals hearing of his comming, went to meet him, and that with such triumph and joy, that all the former heauinesse before conceiued of his long staying, was turned into gladnesse, with most assured hope of triumphant victorie: their doubled forces, and two great fleets ioyned in one, encouraged them about measure, filling all the West with the expectation of some great matter. The Venetian fleet consisted of an hundred and eight gallies, six galleasses, two tall ships, and a great number of small gallions. Vnto them were ioyned twelue gallies of the Popes, of whom *Columinus* was Admirall. And with *Don John*, the Generall, and *Auria* the Spanish Admirall came fourescore and one gallies, of whom three were from the knights of *MALTA*. In this fleet, beside mariners, were reckoned to be twentie thousand fighting men: an armie not onely beautifull for shew, as consisting of most choise bodies; but indeed most strong and puissant, old beaten souldiours. almost throughout it, in euery place intermixed with others of lesse skill: many knowne to be men of great experience, rich and lustie bodies, were by name called forth to this so honourable seruice; and diuers other of great nobilitie, as well old men as yong and lustie gallants, for the naturall hatred they bare vnto the common enemy, came and as voluntarie men cheerefully thrust themselves into that religious war: euery of which noble gentlemen, as they were greater by birth or power, so had they drawne after them a greater number of their fauourits and followers, strong and able bodies, of their owne charge brauely armed; who sought after no other pay for their paines and danger, but by some notable victorie to eternise their names, or honourably to spend their liues in so iust a quarrell, as for the defence of the Christian faith and religion. Amongst these most honourable and resolute men, were three of greatest mark, *Alexander Farnesius* prince of *PARRAMA*, in time to be the honour and glorie of *ITALIE* his native countrey, whose vntimely death in the low countries then his honourable enemies lamented; and being dead, is not without cause and worthe deserued counted amongst the most politicke and famous leaders of our age. The second was *Francesco Maria* prince of *VRBINO*, a yong man both honourably descended and of an inuincible courage: and the third *Pau. Iordanus Ursinus*, an honorable gentleman of the family of the *Ursini* in *ROME*.

Alexander Farnesius
prince of
Parma.

All the power of the confederat princes thus met together at *MESSANA*, and all things now in readinesse, a counsell was called by the Generall, to resolute what course to take in those most dangerous wars, against so puissant an enemy: vnto which counsell were admitted only *Don John* the Generall himselfe: and *Aloysius Rechezenes*, of some called *Requisienus*, great commendator of *CASTILE*, the Generals lieutenant, or rather director of his actions: *Sebastianus Venerius* the Venetian Admirall: and *Augustinus Barbadius* Generall proueditour, of equall authoritie and reputation with the Admirall: and one secrettie: *Marcus Antonius Columinus* the Popes Admirall,

Admirall, with *Pompeius Colonna* his kinsman. The chiefe point whereon these great commanders were to resolute was, whether they should aduenture the generall fortune of a battell against so strong an enemy, or onely seeke to defend the frontiers of their owne dominions: Which question (as all other of like sort) was of diuers diuersly phantasied; euery man pleasing himselfe with his owne reasons. *Requisienus* (*Don John* his chiefe counsellor, without whom he willingly did nothing, and vndoubtedly a man of great valour and experience) speaking first, said: That the enemies force was necessarily to be known, before they committed all to the fortune of a battell: and that therefore delay was to be vsed, least improuident hast ouerthrew all. Matters of warre that were to be decided by the sword, were (as he said) with great and sound aduise to be administrated; for that the errors of battell, whereby all was to be put in hazard, were not to be againe amended. He highly commended the aduise of *Scipio Africanus*, who counselled great commanders, not to fight with the enemy but vpon some great Advantage; or else therunto forced by Necessitie. But as things now stood, what opportunitie could be ministréd or advantage taken; the enemy keeping himselfe close within the bay of *CORINTH*; and no apparant meanes how to draw him out from thence? Neither that he for his part was of so great a spirit, as within the harbour in place of disadvantage, without hope, to set vpon an enemy in common estimation stronger than himselfe: for what dishonour should they incurre, if hauing receiued some notable losse, they should be enforced with shame to giue ouer the enterprise begun? And to besiege *ORICVS*, *DIRRHACHIVM*, or *CASTRVM NOVVM*, frontier townes of the Turks, so to draw them out to battell; what were this other than to shew a certaine feare and distrust in themselves, and to discourage the minds of the souldiours? for as well the enemy as the common souldior, would forthwith deeme such a poore attempt to proceed of a meere feate, as to make a vaine shew of something doing, when as they durst not encounter the enemy in his full strength. As for the other reason drawne from Necessitie: what necessitie had they so desperately to set vpon the enemy? who vpon the approach of Winter must needs in short time lay vp his gallies: and being already in safe harbour, would neuer be drawne to the hazard of a battell, especially like hope, like strength, and like danger appearing on both sides. Wherefore, it were best (in his opinion) onely to make a great shew of their forces, so to terrifie the barbarous enemy: but in no case to hazard the hope of the whole Christian common-weale, vpon the fortune of a battell. He farther also propounded vnto them, the vncertaine euent of things, the common chance of warre, the strength of the enemy, as well by sea as by land; with whom they themselves were not (as he said) in deed comparable: then, what an infinit heape of miseries was like to ouerwhelme the Christian common-weale, if they should in any thing miscarry: And that therefore, safe aduise was in this case to be preferred before that which was attended vpon with greater danger.

On the other side, the Venetians, who thought all delay both infamous and dangerous to their State, were farr of another opinion. Wherefore *Venerius* and *Barbadius* not only vehemently perswaded but most instantly requested the Generall, and the rest of the great commanders, that so soone as opportunitie serued, they would commit the matter to the trial of a battell, and not to make that counsell, which their courageous minds might make most glorious and fortunat, by declining of battell to become dishonourable or frustrate. If desire of honour (said they) moue vs not, shall neither these things moue vs? the losse of so great and chargeable a preparation, the spoiling of our frontiers, and the insolencie of our enemies, which we encrease by delay? We defend our selues and ours, we invade not them: wee goe not about to driue the Turke out of his empire; but that we our selues be not by him driuen out of our owne countries. Wherefore we ought so much the more readily and speedily to thinke of battell, by how much the necessitie of him is greater that repulseth a danger, than of him that offereth the same. What ate our weapons blunt, or our hands benumbed? shall the Turkes so often prouoke vs, and we still be vnreuened? shall we alwaies shew our weapons, and neuer fight? One fortunat battell is able to blot out the infamie of former time, and to fill vs with the hope of future happiness: if nothing else, let the verie indignitie of the matter stirre vs vp to battell. And what doubt is there, but that the enemy swelling with pride, will come forth with his fleet and giue vs battell? Thinke you that a small discredit will ensue to our honour and reputation, if contented with a vaine brag, hauing not once skirmished with the enemy, or so much as seene him, we shall returne home, to the generall shame of all Christendome? See how many pestilent inconueniences

The Venetians
urge battell.

ueniences will ensue, if we shall take this course. This manner of proceeding, will fill all mens minds with dispaire: the people will murmure, That they are to no purpose oppressed with exactions and tributs: the confederat princes (carefull of this warre) will say, that they haue in vaine wearied themselves with often embassages and care thereof: the proud enimie will account our departure, or declining of battell, for a manifest victorie. The next yeare we may looke for him againe with a greater and a stronger fleet, which shall not onely make a more heauie warre, but destroy and beare downe all before it: at which time, who can assure vs that the Christians shall haue the like preparation, if we shall now delay to fight? what labour is to be taken, what cost to be bestowed, to set forth againe so great a fleet? Vnto these causes which impose vpon vs a necessity and force to fight, is adioyned not onely a singular regard of our honour, but a most notable opportunitie also offered: we neuer had a greater fleet, nor better furnished with men, munition, and all things else to be required for the gaining of a notable victorie: and who knoweth nor, that the Christian gallies are farre stronger than the Turkes? besides that, the greatest part of their best souldiours are in hope of prey gone into CYPVS, who there seeking after the spoile, and forgetfull of the enimie, without controlment glut themselves with the pleasures of that rich island; whereby their fleet is so much the weaker. All which things, as they promise no hard victorie, so doe they propound vnto vs, honour, glorie, fame, and most honourable rewards; and open vnto vs the way both for the defence of the present, and recouerie of that had been before lost. What then stand we still looking for? or why do we not in Gods name joine that battell, which is vnto vs not only necessarie, but profitable also.

Thus much said, they began to intreat and beseech the Generall and the rest, not longer to suffer the Christian common-weale to receiue losse vpon losse, but to repose their only hope in the good successe of one worthie battell: and neuer to looke for the like opportunitie, if they let slip the present. This matter of so great consequence, thus thoroughly debated amongst the greatest commandours, they thought it good to heare also the opinions of other notable captaines, of no lesse experience than themselves (then in the fleet) before they would conclude any thing. Amongst the rest, *Anthonus Cornea*, and *Gabriel Serbellio*, both Spaniards, and for their great wisdom and valour had in generall reputation of all men; being demanded their opinions, with most substantiall reasons declared the necessity of giuing battell, and that it was not so dangerous, as to be therefore shunned or delayed: For so much as that violent enimie was far easier to be dealt withall at sea than by land; where he must fight without his huge multitude of men, the Turkes chiefe hope and only meanes whereby they haue obtained so many victories against the Christians. And so concluded their opinions, with an effectfull perswasion to set forward to *CORCYRA*, and without delay as occasion serued to giue the enimie battell. Which their opinion being generally well liked, was shortly after by the Generall and the rest approued, and a resolution set downe for the giuing of battell: which was no sooner knowne, but there was a generall reioycing through the armie, euerie man cheerfully preparing himselfe to lay downe his life in the publike defence of the Christian common-weale: and that with such an earnest desire of battell, that euerie day seemed now nothing else, but a delay of a most assured victorie.

Yet before they should come into the sight of the enimie, the three Admirals thought it good to bring forth the fleet into the sea, and there to martiall the same, in such sort, as if they should euen then presently haue joyned battell: to the intent, that by such orderly disposing of their fleet, and by appointing vnto euerie man his place he was to keepe, they might so acquaint them with the order of the battell, as that they should when time serued (of themselves without farther direction) martiall themselves, and so more readily enter into battell. The next day the Admirals brought forth their fleets into the open sea: in the right wing (which consisted of three and fiftie gallies) was *Auria* placed: in the left wing was *Augustinus Barbadiem*, with the like number of gallies also: and in the middle battell stood the Generall, with seauentie gallies: on the right hand of the Generall stood *Columnius*, and on the left *Venerius*, his associates. Thus with equall front the fleet set forward, as if they should euen presently haue joyned battell. Betwixt the wings and the middle battell, was left no more space but for three gallies to row: in the rearward behind the Generall, followed *Requisenius* the great Commendor of *CASTILE*, with his gallies: after *Columnius* followed the Admirall gallic of *GENOVA*, wherein was *Alexander Farnesius* prince of *PARMA*: and behind *Venerius* came the Admirall gallic of *SAVOY*, and in her the prince of *VRBIN*: in the space betwixt the middle battell and the left wing, was placed

A placed *Paulus Iordanus*: and betwixt the middle battell and the right wing, was *Petrus Iustinianus* with the gallies of *MALTA*: vpon the left wing attended *Anthonus Canalis*: and *Quirinus* on the right. About halfe a mile behind all the rest, followed *Aluarius Bacianus* Marquesse of *SANCRA*, and Admirall of the Neapolitane fleet, with thirtie gallies; a man of great experience in matters at sea; and now so placed, to be at all times readie to relieue this or that part of the fleet, as the fortune of the battell, or impression of the enimie should require. The Christians had reposed great hope in six galeasses, which furnished with great store of ordinance and certaine select companies of most resolute souldiours, seemed rather like castles than ships. These galeasses conducted by *Franciscus Dodus*, a most expert capitaine, were placed about a mile before the fleet; two of them before each wing, and the other two before the middle battell: so far distant one from another, as that with equall space they answered the whole breadth of the front of the fleet, which was almost the space of fise miles, and serued the same in stead of most strong bulwarks. The gallies throughout the fleet kept not close together, but such a conuenient distance one from another, as might serue for them at libertie to discharge their ordinance when time should require. In the wings, as also in the maine battell, were the Popes, the kings, and the Venetian gallies indifferently intermixed; that by the equalitie of the danger they should haue more care to relieue one another than if they had serued apart. *Ioannes Cardonius*, a most valiant capitaine, with eight gallies of *SICILY* and two galiots, was appointed to go ten miles before the fleet to descrie what he might of the enemies doings, and in his returne to joine the one halfe of his gallies to the one wing, and the other halfe to the other.

C In this sort they departed from *MESSANA*, with purpose to seeke out the enimie: and not long after came to *PAXO*, where (of a small broile) at the first was like to haue risen a great mischief: for the next day, whilest *Don Iohn* staid there to take a view of the Venetian gallies, and how they were furnished both of men and munition; he finding them but weakly manned for supplying of that want, appointed foure thousand Spaniards and a thousand Italians to be put aboard into the Venetian gallies, where most need was.

Amongst these souldiours was one companie vnder the commaund of *Mutius Tortona* their capitaine, a man of an vnquiet and furious nature: who going aboard the gallic of *Andreas Caelergus*, first fell to words with the capitaine of the gallic, and after much strife into plaine fight; so that in a trice they were altogether by the eares, as well the souldiours as the captaines: of all which strife *Mutius* was the onely author. *Venerius* being not farre off, and hearing of the matter, sent the capitaine of his owne gallic to appease the tumult: who thrusting himselfe into the midst of the furious multitude, was by *Mutius* in his furie foully intreated, and diuers of them that came with him shrewdly beaten. VVhich thing *Venerius* (himselfe also of an hoar nature) taking as done in disgrace of the Venetians, and therewith exceedingly moued; to the terrour of others, caused *Mutius* and his ensign-bearer to be hanged vp at the yards arme of the same gallic, to the great offence of all the Spaniards. The Generall also taking this execution in euill part, full of choler and indignation, grievously complained, That he himselfe as Generall, was therein not a little wronged; and that it became euerie commander to know what belonged to his place, and not to encroach vpon his betters: so should the conditions of the league be the better kept, if euerie commander could keepe himselfe within the bounds of his owne authoritie. *Venerius* he said, whose authoritie was inferiour vnto his, could not of right without his command determine any thing against *Mutius* a Spanish capitaine: And that therein his honour was empairod: for which, if he had not a publike and honourable amends, he threatned by force of arms to redresse his wrong, and the league being broken, to carrie away with him the kings gallies. Neither wanted there some who fauouring *Don Iohn* his quarrell, and angrie with the Venetians, laid still more coles on the fire that was already too great. Hereunto *Venerius* sent word vnto the Generall, That he should do well to moderat his anger, and at leisure to aduise himselfe, and better to vnderstand the matter, so should he plainly see, that there was neuer more just or wholesome execution done vpon any, than vpon those mutinous persons: But if he, carried away with the heat of youth, should attempt any more violent course than stood with the common quiet, it were not to be marvelled if hee afterward repented. He (as he said) was also in armes, and readie to shew himselfe a man. The matter was growne to that heat, that it was not onely not farre from the breaking off of the league; but euen at the point to haue set all on a broile, and to haue put the whole fleet in danger: had not *Columnius* the Popes Admirall, against this

Cornea and Serbellio persuade the giuing of battell.

The confederates put their fleet in order of battell.

Six galeasses

The Christian fleet departeth from Messana to give the Turkes battell.

Mutius Tortona a Spaniard, valseth a mutinie in the fleet at Paxo.

Tortona and his ancient hanged.

Discontent betwixt Don Iohn and Venerius the Venetian Admirall.

this tempest opposed himselfe: He with all his power laboured to cure the wounded mind of G the Generall, and to appease his anger: telling him, That the common enemy would hardly be withstood by them all, being at vnicie and concord amongst themselves; but if vnto the forraign danger were also joynd domestick discord, then were the Christian commonwealth vndone. But if he would moderate his anger, and more regard the honour and credit of the Venetian Admirall, than the punishment of a seditious man, euen they which were vnto him friends, and enemies vnto the Venetians, would highly commend his moderation and staydnesse: yea, that howsoeuer the matter was done, it could not now be vridone. But whatsoeuer *Venerius* had done, was in his opinion justly done, That it was alwayes so accounted and obserued, that when many princes joynd their forces together in matters that concerned the common managing of the warre, nothing was to be done without the command of the Generall: but in matters belonging to the priuat gouernment of euery mans regiment, euery Generall had powert of life and death ouer them that were vnder his command: which to be so, was as he said hereby, to be vnderstood; King *Philip* was king of many kingdomes, and that hee might long to bee, hee heartily wished: Now if any Millanoies had committed any capitall crime worthe death in the kingdome of *NAPLES*, should the iudgement of that crime be of right to be referred vnto the king himselfe, as the cheefe soueraigne: or vnto the Gouernour of *MILLAINS*, where the offence was borne: or rather to the ciuile magistrate of *NAPLES*, in whose iurisdiction the fault was committed, and so of right there to be executed? What difference was there then, but that *Mutius* might rightly seeme to haue bene justly punished by *Venerius*, who although he were a Spanish capitaine, had yet raised a mutinie in a Venetian galley, which was vnder the command of the Venetian Admirall. Beside that, the discipline of warre sometime required a seuerer and exemplarie kind of punishment: For which cause it was both notably and truly said of *Clearchus*, That a Generall ought to be more feared of his souldiours than the enemy: and that amongst the auncient Romanes it had bene the custome euen for priuat men with more seuerer punishment to restraine the factious citizen than the most cruell enemy: That the fact was not so much to be regarded, as the intention of him that did it: That it was the dutie of commanders to withstand the madnesse of the mutinous. The author of sedition and tumult hee said had suffered but condigne punishment to his fact: who if hee had escaped unpunished; would but haue bene the more disordered, but now by his exemplarie punishment would deterre others from the like insolencie. Besides that, the externall danger was such, as ought to reconcile them, were they neuer so much enemies: That such men as they were should aboue all things regard what might profit or hurt the common cause, in contemplation whereof all priuat injuries were to be remitted: and the rather, for that the honour and dishonour of the good or bad successe of such important an action should redound vnto themselves, but especially vnto the Generall. His owne dutie he had as he said discharged, in dealing so plainly and faithfully with him, and could no more but pray vnto God, with mercifull eye to behold the troubled Christian commonweale in such a most dangerous time.

Don Iohn still
beareth a grudge
against Venerius

Barbadiocus the
Venetian Provi-
dior, a notable
man,

The Christian
fleet as Cephal-
onia

Thus was the mutinie at *PAXO* by the great labour of *Columnius* hardly appeased; nevertheless *Don Iohn* could not afterwards endure to participate vnto *Venerius* his counsels, or so much as to come in his companie: all was done by *Barbadiocus* the Venetian Prouedior. This *Barbadiocus* was not inferiour to *Venerius* in courage and valour, but farre beyond him in discretion; a tall and goodly and perfonage, well coloured, his beard grizie, though not for age, for why he was not about fiftie yeares old: besides that, in his eyes and countenance appeared a viuacitie or liueliness of spirit; in his very gate and comely motion of his bodie, he carried a certaine grace and maiestie: his talke and speech was alwayes calme and temperate, his counsell graue and sound, so that he was both greatly honoured and beloued of all men: his cheefe endeavour also was, to further the hope of atonement betwixt the Spaniards and the Venetians, so well begun by *Columnius*. And so all things brought into some reasonable teames, they departed from *PAXO*, and came to *CORCYRA*; the spoyle whereof well declared the enemies late being there. From thence they departed to *CEPHALENIA*, where they by letters from *Pan*, *Contarenius*, Gouernour of *ZACYNTHUS*, were aduertised, That the Turkes fleet of three hundred and three and thirtie sayle, of one sort and other, lay in the gulf of *CORINTH*, now called the gulf of *LEPANTO*. Whereupon they shortly after remoued, with purpose to haue gone to *PETALA*, an haue opposit oueragainst the islands (or rather rocks)

A rockes called *ECHINADES*, but now *CORZYLAES*, and so to the bay of *CORINTH*; to draw the enemy forth to battell: but stayed with contrarie winds, they put backe againe into the valley of *ALEXANDRIA*, another port in the island of *CEPHALENIA*: from whence they afterward departed to the islands *CORZYLAES*, where by the way they vnderstood by letters out of *CRETE*, That *FAMAGUSTA* was lost: with which bad newes they were no whit discouraged, but rather enflamed with the desire of reuenge. From the islands they went to *GALANOA*, a good harbour, where they stayed one night, purposing the next day to haue gone to the mouth of the gulf of *LEPANTO*, there to dare the Turkes battell.

The Turkes Bassaes *Partau* and *Haly*, who then lay in good safetie within the gulf, hearing of the approach of the Christian fleet, began to consult with the rest of their most expert capitaines, Whether to giue the Christians battell, or to keepe themselves still within their safe harbour: vpon which doubt they were amongst themselves of diuers opinions. Amongst the rest *Chiroche* a man of great yeares and authoritie, and withall a most noble capitaine, exhorted the Bassaes, in no case, when no need was, vpon a vaine glorie to aduenture all to the fortune of an vncertaine battell: it was (as he said) the part of wise and worthe commanders, to moderate with reason their happie fortunes, for that therunto were incident many accidents, whereby their former felicitie might be disgraced: They had already run alongst the enemies coasts, spoyle the frontiers of his countries, and were with much honour and greater spoyle in safetie returned, hauing encreased the Turkish empire with many strong townes of the enemies: The island of *CYPRVS* was with wonderfull good fortune brought vnder the Turkes obeisance, the enemies great prouision at sea frustrated, in such sort, as that hauing lost diuers of their gallies, they were neuer yet able to draw their swords: They had with their fleet at their pleasure romed vp and down the Adriaticke, and displayed their victorious ensigns almost vnto the very cite of *VENICE*. What could they then deuise or wish for more honourable or glorious, than with the safetie of their fleet, yea without any losse at all, to haue performed so great matters? Now the three generall commanders of the enemies fleet to be so at discord amongst themselves, as that they were ready to fall in sinder of themselves; who now vpon the approach of Winter, and for want of victuall, must needs in few dayes returne home with their fleet, neuer after to meet againe with the like strength at sea: and therefore to what purpose were it, by force of armes and vncertaine battell, with danger to seeke for the souerainetie and command of the sea, which would forthwith of it selfe without any danger fall vnto them? Neither should they by the doubtfull victorie so much encrease their honour, as by the vncertaine euent of a battell blemish the same, if any thing should fall out otherwise than well. And that therefore they should doe well to take heed, that in seeking to augment their former victories, they hazarded not their honour already gained; but wholesomely delay the warre, and keepe themselves in safetie with their fleet within the gulf, and not to goe out at the enemies pleasure, but when they should see good themselves, at such time as the enemy was not so well provided: so should they (as he said) without any great labour or danger attaine to the full of their owne desires.

Chiroche dissuadeth the Bassaes from giuing battell vnto the Christians.

Partau Bassa was of opinion, That the Christians would not at all offer him battell: which opinion the Christians had also of him: and in this question, for giuing or not giuing of battell, seemed neither to approue nor dislike that *Chiroche* had so grauely spoken, but as a man indifferent and loath to incurre any blame, shewed himselfe ready either to stay or to set forward, as should be thought best by the greater part. But *Haly* Bassa, a man of an hotter spirit, and the great champion of the Turkes, could not endure to heare of any delay, but of present battell. The pleasure of *Selymus*, the hope of victorie, the remembrance of the displeasure *Piall* Bassa had the last yeare incurred, for not giuing the Christians battell, induced him now in no case to refuse battell, but forthwith to goe out of the gulf, and to accept thereof, if it were offered. In which his opinion he was the more confirmed by the relation of *Caracoza* a famous pyrat, and of great account amongst the Turkes: who in a swift galliot taking view of the Christian fleet, had reported it to be much lesse than indeed it was: deceived as was afterward thought, by not taking full view thereof, by reason of his posting fast; or els blinded by the island, which lying behind the fleet, suffered him not perfectly to descric the same. Vpon which report there was great reioycing amongst the Turkes, who now after their accustomed manner dreamed of nothing but victorie and spoyle. So that *Haly* vainely perswaded that his fleet was both the greater and stronger, would now needs fight, in hope that the Christians vpon the first sight of the Turkes fleet would either

Partau Bassa standeth indifferently for giuing or not giuing battell.

either retire and saue themselves by shamefull flight: or els in aduenturing battell at so great ods, G by their foolish hardinesse receiue a notable ouerthrow. This opinion of the Bassa was also notable confirmed by the persuation of *Cassanes*, *Barbarussa* his sonne, *Fluzales*, and *Ohia-Beg*, Gouernour of *SMYRNA*, all men of great marke and experience, especially in matters at sea: And although *Partau* the other Bassa stood wauering, as a man in doubt, and *Chiroche* Gouernour of *ALEXANDRIA*, with *Carabuzes* Gouernor of *CILICIA*, and *Mechmet* Gouernor of *EVBOA*, men of no lesse worth than the other, vpon better consideration, were of a quite contrarie mind, for not giuing the Christians battell: yet such was the authoritie of *Haly*, or rather his importunitie, forced to his owne destinie, that his opinion preuailed; so that now out they needs must, and fight. Albeit that two other espials sent out after *Caracozza*, &c. hauing more perfectly viewed the fleet, returning with speed, told the Bassaes, as truth was, That the Christians, very strong and H well appointed, were comming with ensignes displayed of purpose to fight: and that their fleet was in number much greater than was before supposed. With which newes so farr contrarie to their expectation, the Bassaes were exceedingly troubled: and demanding whether the formost gallies were all Venetians or not: and being answered, that they were intermixt, some Venetians, some Spanish, and of the other VVesterne countries: they began to doubt the wofull and became exceeding persiue. Neuertheless knowing themselves to bee of all things well furnished, hauing new victualled in the bay of *CORINTH*, and there also taken in twelue thousand Iantzaries and Spahies; drawne out of the garrisons of *ASTOLIA*, *ACARNANIA*, *PELOPONESVS*, and the other countries thereby, all resolute men, and foure thousand other common souldiors; and that they could not now with their honor shrinke backe, they held it still for the best, to hold I on their former resolution for the giuing of the Christians battell. Yet before their setting forward, calling together the capitaines and cheefe commanders of the fleet, *Partau* the more to encourage them; spake vnto them as followeth:

The Turkes resolve to giue the Christians battell

Partau Bassa encourages the Turke.

We are to fight (said he) fellows in armes, with that kind of men whom our ancestors haue driuen out of *EVBOA*, the *RHODES*, *MYTILENE*, *PELOPONESVS*, and *TRIPOLIS*; and wee our selues but yesterday out of the famous island of *CYPRVS*: whose cities and strong townes, in number infinit, our emperour hath, as the rewards of his warres; whom we haue alwayes vanquished, as well by sea as by land: and shall it then now repent you, that you in this warre embred in the Christian blood, haue sunke or taken many of their ships and gallies? That you haue caried away great and rich spoils? K That you haue taken whole islands and cities at the first assault? That we haue by prooff shewed vnto the world what force is in the Turke to subdue strong cities and townes? and what little power is in the Christians to defend the same? What direction brought vs victorie before, the same shall also at this present giue vs the like. Not to speake of that, that we farre excell them both in number of men and gallies, this is more to be reckoned of, that we excell them in valour and prowesse: for you being old expert souldiors, from your infancie trained up in the warres, hardened in infinit battels, and full of courage and strength, shall fight against weake, fresh water, and effeminate souldiors; who entertained for pay (of the refuse of all nations) know nothing belonging to the warres; or forcibly pressed out of cities, serue not because they would, but because they must neither will nor chuse. But not to speake more of the manner of the Christian souldiors, who are nothing els than the perpetuall exercise of your renowne and prowesse: and to come vnto him, vnder whose fortune and conduct they serue. What should I say? Should I compare either of vs (who haue spent our lines in victories and triumphs: who borne and brought up amongst armes, haue with our right hands gained vnto our selues honour and fame) with this stripling and halfe moneths capitaine, who neuer saw battels but these? who in a lesse matter neuer shewed prooff of himselfe, why should he be accounted of in a greater? who in so weightie a cause needeth a tutor: and such a one, as indeed beareth the name of a Generall, more for his honour, than for any worth in himselfe. Besides, amongst the enemies is such dissension; that euerie man regardeth his owne priuat, serueth as pleaseth himselfe, contemneth and is contemned: whereu with vs is such consent, that it cannot be deuised, how the souldiors in generall should more trust their commanders, or the commanders their souldiors. What things were by the discipline of warre or M carefulnesse of a Generall to be prepared, all those you haue abundantly and plentifully in readinesse: onely this last warlike labour remaineth; which once dispatched, our enemies shall be discomfited euen onely this last warlike labour remaineth; which once dispatched, our enemies shall be discomfited euen in that wherein their greatest confidence resteth. They shall be despoiled of their honour and traffike at sea: and that * citie once subdued, which is alone the glorie of the sea, there shall be no hope left for

* VL Venice.

A for the Christians neither by sea nor land: and (that we haue alwayes wished) *ITALIE*, faire *ITALIE* (wherein these matters are plotted against vs) shall be in our hand and power: wherefore let vs with such courage assaile our enemies as becometh most victorious conquerours, when so many times conquered: And so set forward; as if you saw our emperour himselfe encouraging you, and giuing you the signall of battell: of his bountie, and the present victorie, expecting all felicitie and blisse.

This comfortable speech with great grauitie deliuered by the Bassa, so encouraged the Turkes, as that they all with one voice and mind, seemed to desire nothing more than battell: for they still possessed with the first report of *Caracozza*, and encouraged by the Bassaes speech, were in B god hope to haue fought the battell vpon great aduantage; and therefore, though vpon nothing but present victorie. Whereupon setting forward with great cheerfulness, they came out of the gulfes, and shaped their course for the islands *ECHINADES*, about midway betwixt *LEPANTO* and *PATRAS*; before little islands or rather obscure rocks, scarcely appearing in the sea; but now to be made famous throughout the world, by the most notable battell that euer was fought in those seas.

The Turkes fleet commeth out of the gulfes of Lepanto.

The Christians also comming still on towards the enemy, the seauenth of October in the afternoon, vnderstood by their espials, that the Turkes fleet was comming, and euen now at hand: whereupon the Generall commaunded the great ensigne of the confederats (the appointed signall of battell) to be forthwith displayed, and a great warning peece to be shot off out C of his Admirall galley. And himselfe glittering all in bright armour, with *Cardona* Admirall of *SICILIA*, and *Soto* his secretarie, in a long boat went to all the squadrons of the fleet one after another, exhorting them with cheerfull countenance to follow their leaders, and to play the men: remembering, that they that day carried in their hands, the wealth, honour, glorie, and libertie of their countries; yea and the verie religion of their forefathers; and that that daies victorie would bring vnto them and theirs perpetuall felicitie: whereas otherwise, if they should as cowards suffer themselves to be overcome and vanquished, it would be vnto them the beginning of all manner of most wofull calamities. To which and other his like speeches, the capitaines and souldiors (before of themselves cheerfull enough) in euerie place where he came, gaue such applause with the joyfull crie of *VICTORIE*, *VICTORIE*, so often and so cheerfully in all places founded, as that it was taken as a luckie aboardment of the glorious victorie shortly after ensuing. In like manner *Auriz* in the right wing, and *Barbadiens* in the left (for the fleet kept the same order that they had appointed before at *MASANA*): ceased not by all comfortable speeches to encourage their followers: shewing vnto them, That now the time was come they had so long wished for, wherein they not oppressed with multitude, might at length shew their true valour against the false and faithlesse enemies: who being in deed nothing else but base and contemptible slaves, borne to bondage, and hauing lost their owne libertie, came to impugn the libertie of others; bringing with them a greater terrour of their name, than valour of their persons: and that therefore, if euer, they would, now shew themselves valiant and courageous, and that day wherein of all others true force was to be scene; to abate the pride of the barbarous and cruell E enemy: and to make their rejoycing for the conquest of *CYPRVS* short, before they had well tasted the pleasure thereof. At which time also the capitaines generally throughout the fleet, with cheerfull countenances and courageous speech, encouraged their souldiors: leaving nothing vsaid, that might hartten them on; or vndone, that might further the victorie.

Neither were the Turkes wanting to themselves (although it was fallen out much contrarie to their expectation, to see the Christians, who they before thought durst not haue shewed themselves, now ready to dare them battell) but encouraged with their former victories, and furthered with a faire gale of wind, came on proudly with their fleet, orderly and gallantly (after their wonted manner in forme of a Croissant or halfe Moone, their fortunat ensigne); and these in their comming on they were much troubled with the brightness of the sun, which F then shining full in their faces with his bright beames, so dazzled their eyes, that they could not well see how to their most aduantage to direct their gallies. In this fleet of the Turkes were two hundred and fiftie gallies, fiftie galiots, and twentie brigandines and other small vessels: all which a farre off shewed like a thicke wood; but comming neerer hand, presented (as we said) the forme of a Croissant. The middle battell in number much like the Christians, was conducted by the great

The number and order of the Turke fleet.

Ffff

great

great Bassaes *Haly* and *Pertau*, attended vpon with *Agan* master of the Turkes Arsenall: *Ma-
stapha Zelibi*, the treasurer: *Achmat Bey*, with *Mahomet* his younger brother, the sonnes of *Haly*.
Achmat Aga, Gouvernour of *TEVTHRANIA*: *Asis Caiga*, Gouvernour of *CALIPOLIS*: *Car-
coza*: *Cassanes*, the sonne of *Barbarussa*: *Malamur*, Gouvernour of *MITYLENE*: *Deli Solyman*.
Gider, capitaine of *CHIOS*: *Cassambeius*, Gouvernour of the *RHODES*: *Proui Aga*, capitaine of
NAVPLIUM: *Giapar Zelibi*, president of *CALABA*: *Dordagnan*: *Dondomeni*, and many others,
whose barbarous names I purposely omit: all men of great account and place, and for their ex-
perience at sea, the chiefe strength of the Turkish empire. The right wing was by the appoint-
ment of the Bassaes, commaunded by *Mahomet Bey* with fiftie six gallies, with whom were also
many worthie captaines: and in the left wing was *Vulzales* the old Archpirat, but now the Vice-
roy of *ALGERS* with nintie five gallies, accompanied with *Caraiolo* and *Arabey* his two sons, H
with a multitude of pirats, men of his owne profession, but most valiant and expert souldi-
ours. In the rearward came *Amurates Dragut* with thirtie gallies, and diuers other small
vessells.

The great and
notable battell
betwixt the
Turks and the
Christians, com-
monly called the
battell of Le-
panto.

Now was the day well spent, when both the fleets were readie to giue battell. The enimie
still comming on, almost in the same order that the Christians did: for their middle battell came
directly against our middle battell, and their wings against ours. So the signall of battell on both
sides giuen by the shooting off of certaine great pieces: the Turkes, after their manner comming
on with an hideous crie, first light vpon the six galeasses, which lying at anchor almost a mile
before the fleet as most strong bulwarks, out of their forecastles powred out their murdering
shot vpon the Turkes, now come within their danger; and in their passing by, so plagued them I
by discharging their whole broad sides, first the one, and estoons the other vpon them, that ha-
uing receiued great losse, and diuers of their gallies sunke, they were enforced to breake their or-
der, and to fall farther off. Which so much the more troubled the Turkes, for that they had be-
fore supposed, those great carts and vnseruicable ships (as they accounted of them) to haue cari-
ed little or no great ordinance on their sides, after the manner of their gallies: for the vse of the
galeasses was not vnto the Turkes knowne, vntill now that they had receiued from them most
notable harmie: which as it was the beginning of their miserie, so was it vnto the Christians of
greatest importance, for the gaining of the victorie. At which time also the wind, which all that
day had much fauoured the Turkes, was now (God no doubt fighting his owne battell) come
about to the West, and with a pleasant gale in the time of the fight, carried the smoake of the K
great ordinance vpon the Turkes, to their no small disadvantage. Yet for all this losse and disorder
in their fleet, the fierce enimie with wonderfull pertinacie passing by these galeasses, quickly re-
pared againe to their places, and made good their disordered squadrons, and with all their force
assailed the Christian fleet. The trumpets, drums, and other instruments of warre, had scarcely
well sounded, when all shooke with confused cries, flames of fire, thundring of artillerie, and
other noise of the mariners and seamen: wherewith many were so astonied, as if they had been
both deafe and blind, hauing vpon the sudden almost lost the vse both of their sight and hearing.
At which verie instant, a man might haue scene whole showers as it were of arrowes and darts
mixt with the deadly shot, flying from the one fleet to the other; the masts broken, the saile yards
strucke downe, the tackles rent, and all confused with horroure and feare. *Haly* beholding the L
Admirall gallie (which was easie to be knowne by the flag) and vsing the surpasing cheerfulness
of his mariners and rowers, ran vpon her with such violence, as if he would haue presently stem-
med her: but being with like force encountered by the Admirall, they met together with such vio-
lence, that both their beakes were with the feaze broken off, and so fell into the sea. There be-
gan a most cruell fight betwixt those two great commanders, who had before drawn vnto them
the strongest gallies in their fleets, and the choicest men in their armies. In the Admirall gallie of
the Christians, were foure hundred select men picked out of the whole army, most of them cap-
taines and auntients, men of approued valour: who not only valiantly repulsd the furious ene-
mies, but with greater courage enforced them to shrinke backe, and pressing hard vpon them
entred the gallie euen to the maine mast; where the enimie strengthened with new supply fought M
courageously, repulsd the Spaniards, and cleared againe their gallie. Many were there wounded
on both sides, and many slaine. *Don John* seeing his men giue way, sent in new supplies; wherwith
the other encouraged, bestirred themselves more lustily than before, and hardly charge vnto the
Turkes: who with like hope and like courage encounter them. The battell was like vnto the
ebbing

A dreadfull and
doubtfull fight
betwixt the two
Admirall gallies.

A ebbing and flowing of the sea: Thrife the Turkes were driuen euen vnto the maine mast, and
thrife strengthened with new supplies, they with great slaughter repulsd the Christians backe
againe.

Venerius perceiuing the danger of the General, was about to haue assailed the poupe of *Venerius* com-
Haly his gallie, so to haue endangered her being set vpon both before and abathe: but in com-
ming thither he was encountred by *Pertau* the other Bassa, who with a companie of gallies op-
posed himselfe against him, and that with such celeritie, that hauing made shew as if he would
haue charged him afront, he by and by set vpon his side. Which vnexpected manner of fight
so suddenly fashioned, at the first much troubled the Christians, who afterward gathering cou-
rage, notably defended themselves. *Venerius* vpon whose valour the Venetian state rested, gal-
lantly armed, not only encouraged his men, one while with intreating, another while with threat-
ning, but was himselfe in the midst of them fighting: whose great honor moued the minds
of his souldiors, but his reuerend yeares more; to see him (being aboue threescore and seauente-
cene yeares old) to performe all the parts of a braue youthfull commander, in the verie face of
the greatest danger. The fierce enimie hauing slaine many of the Christians, pressed on more
furiously, and fighting close together, entred the prow of *Venerius* his gallie now bared of de-
fendants, and with their multitude rather than true valour oppressed the Venetians; who had
there no doubt been ouercome, had not *Ioannes Lauretanus*, and *Gatherinus Malipetra*, two va-
liant captaines, and lying not farre off, speedily come to their reliefe. By whose comming in, the
fight was in the turning of an hand quite altered: so that they which a little before fiercely assai-
led the Venetian gallies, were now glad to defend their owne: so for a space the fight stood in-
different, but in proesse of the battell, those two worthie captaines, whilst they also performe
the parts of most resolute souldiors, were both slaine; shot through with small shot. The fall of
these notable men, did rather enrage than discourage the minds of their souldiors; so that blinded
as it were with furie, and suddenly become other men, they desperately pressed in vpon the Turkes.
So that whilst they on the one side kill and wound them, and *Venerius* more hardly chargeth
them on the other; the terrour of the battell was turried from them that were euen at the point
to haue beene vanquished, vpon the victors. And our men after great slaughter of the Turkes,
tooke two of their gallies: *Pertau* the Bassa in a long boat escaped the danger, and so got him
out of the battell. Not farre offthence, *Columnius* the Popes Admirall, as a valiant chieftaine
D hardly assailed other of the Turkes gallies, and made amongst them great slaughter: one sin-
gled from the rest, he tooke, and disordered the other. *Lignius* the Admirall of *GENVA*, with
like courage thrust himselfe into the thickest of the enemies, & there made a notable fight. Many
an enimie fell about the prince of *PARMA*, *Rueres*, *Vrsinus*, *Cornea* and *Iustinianus*; who for
their present honour and future fame, fought most courageously.

Venerius in dan-
ger.

Lauretanus and
Malipetra slaine

At the same time *Chiroche* or *Sirocke* (of some called *Mahomet Bey*) with his right wing
with great confidence came forward against the left wing of the Christian fleet; but falling be-
fore he was aware into the danger of the galeasses, was from out of them miserably beaten with
the great ordinance, hauing many of his men slaine, and diuers of his gallies sunke and torne, few
of the hugie and deadly shot falling in vaine into the sea, by reason of the thicke standing of the
Turkes gallies: where also diuers of the enemies were burnt with pots of wild fire, cast into their
gallies out of the tops of the galeasses. *Chiroche* to auoid the danger of the galeasses, and to shun
the dangerous shelves betwixt him and the maine (which the river *Achelous* running betweene
the borders of *ACHARNANIA* and *ÆTOLIA*, and there falling into the sea, maketh) sent a great
part of his gallies vnder the conduct of one *Alis*, a notable renegat of *GENVA*, to cast about
aloofe vpon the right hand, and so to come vpon the backe of *Barbadius* the leader of the left
wing of the Christian fleet: Which he perceiuing, forthwith turned his gallies, and with their
prows receiued the first onset. The great ordinance first on both sides discharged; diuers of
the gallies graped fast together, in such sort, as that they encountered one another, not with their
misliue weapons onely (as with their small shot, arrowes, and darts) but with their drawn swords
foot to foot. Amongst the rest, the fight of two of the Christian gallies was most notable, in the
one was *Barbadius* himselfe, in the other *Marcus Ciconia*, vpon whom fell six of the enemies gal-
lies, and vpon *Barbadius* fue: who although they were on euerie side distressed with a most
doubtfull and dangerous fight, yet did they most valiantly with worthie resolution endure the
same. In the furie of this battell, *Barbadius* encouraging his souldiors, and fighting himselfe
euen

The right wing
of the Turke fleet
fore gauled by
the galeasses.

A terrible fight
betwixt *Chiroche*
and *Barbadius*.

even there where most danger was, was hit in the left eye with an arrow, and so stricke into the braine almost through the head: wherewith falling presently downe, he was taken vp for dead; howbeit he died not thereof vntill three daies after. The supposed death of this worthie man much troubled the Christians, and both the armies felt his fall. (Such force there is in the valour of one worthie man) for the Turks now as conquerors lustily boorded the gallic, troubled with the losse of the captaine, and the Venetians as men discouraged, gaue way: the gallic had there vndoubtedly beene lost, had not *Federicus Tanius* and *Syluius Porcia* with their gallies speedily come to her releefe: by whose comming in, such an alteration was made, as that the gallic before halfe taken, was not onely cleared, but diuers of the Turks gallies also boorded, and some of them taken, not without the great slaughter of the Turks. In this so hard and mortall a conflict, *Syluius* was grievously wounded in the thigh, and in his right side. It is reported of *Barbadiem*, That lying that euening at the point of death, the battell then ended, he like another *Epaminondas* asked which part had got the victorie: and being told that the Christians had got it, and that the Turks fleet was most part taken, and the rest sunke or burnt: he with his eyes cast vp vnto heauen, gaue vnto God immortall thanks therefore, and not long after joyfully departed this life, to lue in blisse for euer.

The death of
Barbadiem.

Ciconia hardly
beset, and in
danger to haue
been lost, is relie-
ued.

Ciconia in the meane time hardly beset with six of the enemies gallies (as we haue before said) was himselfe fore burnt with wild fire, and hurt in the face: and hauing endured a long and terrible fight, was now euen at the point to haue beene lost; when sudden releefe comming in, he was now contrarie to all hope saued, and therewith so much encouraged, that with his wearie and wounded souldiors, as men from death reuiued, he afresh charged the enemy, and tooke one of his principall gallies, with one of the Turks fairest ensignes, which in the Venetian Armorie is yet there to be seene: of his worthie valour, his honest wounds in his face and the forepart of his bodie, were most certaine and vndoubted witnesse.

An hard fight
betwixt Io. Con-
sarenius and Chi-
roche.

Not farre off, in the same wing, *Ioannes Contarenus*, an honourable and valiant gentleman, did with his great shot exceeding great harme amongst the Turks gallies: Which *Chiroche* perceiuing, and therewith enraged, ran so fiercely vpon the side of *Contarenus* his gallic, that with his beake he had well nere stemmed her; & presently grappling fast with her, was like to haue boorded her: whom neuertheless the Christians notably repulled, with greater slaughter than was thought possible for so small a number to haue made: neither did the enemies fall vnreueged; but all embrued with the blood of the Christians. Seldome hath beene seene a more cruell fight, or more resolute captaines to encounter hand to hand. But after the battell had of long time stood doubtfull, the hope of the Christians encreased vpon two causes, for which the courage of the enemy quailed: first for that many of the Turks being slain or wounded, they were brought to a small number; then for that both parties saw *Chiroche* himselfe slaine: from which time the enemy, as well destitute of a leader to direct them, as of fresh supplies to relieue them, began to be cut downe right, or taken. Which their danger was the more encreased, because the gallic, bulged with the great shot, was now leake, and in danger to sinke: wherefore the Turks in that wing ouercome with despaire, began to thinke rather how to saue themselves by flight than by fight, reposing their trust in nothing more than in the neceressite of the maine. But as they were turning about toward the shore, they were preuented by the Christians: who entring the gallic, and hauing slaine or driuen ouer boord almost all that were left, tooke *Chiroche*, yet breathing, but halfe dead; and seeing small hope of his life, with fresh wounds made an end of him.

Chiroche slaine,
and his gallic sa-
ken.

An hard and
doubtfull battell

Diuers and doubtfull was the whole face of the battell: as fortune offered vnto euery man his enemy, so he fought; according as euery mans disposition put into him courage or feare, or as he met with moe or fewer enemies, so was there here and there sometime victorie, and sometime losse. Many fights were in sundrie places seene mingled together. Some gallies whiles they run to stemme others, are themselves by others stemmed. Some, which you would thinke were flying away, falling by fortune vpon one victorious gallic or other, suddenly take them. Other some as if they had beene of neither part, row vp and downe betwixt the battels. The chance of warre in one place lieth vp the vanquished, and in another ouerthroweth the victorious. All was full of terrour, error, sorrow, and confusion. And albeit that fortune had not yet determined which way to incline, yet the Christians at length began to appeare much superior both in courage and strength: and the Turks seemed now rather to defend themselves, than to assault their enemies.

Bacianus

Bacianus in the rereward intently marked all the whole fight, and euer as need required sent in present aid, without respect whether they were the Popes gallies, the king of SPAINES, or the Venetians, that were distressed. In this long and terrible fight it chanced, that the Turks seeing the Christian Generals gallie hardly charged on the prow by *Haly Bassa*, to bee almost bared of defendants in the pouce, all the souldiors hauing their hands full before, were about to haue boorded her abath, and to that purpose were fetching a compasse about her: Which *Bacianus* quickly perceiuing, glittering in bright armour, came speedily in with certaine gallies, and by opposing of himselfe against them, stayed their course. In all the battell was not seene a more cruell fight: for hauing discharged many volleys of shot, and arrowes and darts without number, they graped at length together, and came to the sword, where with the formost *Bacianus* not onely with words but with his presence and valour wonderfully encouraged his souldiors, hauing receiued in his targuet of prooffe two small shot. Many were on both sides slaine: the Spaniards attempting sundrie times to haue entered the Turkes gallies, were with great losse repulled; but not giuing it so ouer, neither giuing the enemy leaue to breath, or so much as to looke behind him, valour was vanquished by pertinacie: and the Spaniards hauing ouerthrowne and slaine their enemies, enjoyed their gallies.

Now had *Don Iohn* with like courage and strength, but with doubtfull victorie, fought three houres and more with *Haly Bassa*: when after so dreadfull and dangerous a fight, and many a deadly wound on both parts giuen and receiued, our men began to faint, and brought to the vttermost of their deuoir, were in danger to haue beene ouercome, had not *Don Iohn* betaken himselfe vnto his onely and last refuge. He had (as is before said) referued vnder the hatches foure hundred of his best and select souldiors, for their valour chosen out of the whole armie against all the euent of so long and dangerous a battell: these men attentively attending euery becke of *Don Iohn*, vpon signe giuen, as was before appointed, suddenly start out, and with a terrible crye and desperate onser assailed the enemy, before almost spent with labour and wounds. This fresh and vnexpected companie so suddenly growne vp, first astonied, and afterwards confounded, and with a great slaughter vanquished the Turkes, and possessed the galley. The *Bassa* deadly wounded in the head with a shot, and all embrued with blood, was taken, and as a joyfull spectacle brought to *Don Iohn*: who seeing him readie to breath his last, commaunded him to be despoiled of his armour, and his head stricke off. Which presently set vpon the point of a speare, hee for a space held vp aloft with his owne hand, as a trophy of his victorie, as also with the sight thereof to strike a terrour into the minds of the other Turkes, who in the other gallies fast by fought yet right valiantly: neither was he therein deceiued, for the Turks beholding the knowne countenance of the *Bassa*, their late Generall, and a flag of the crosse set vp in the top of his gallic, and the noise of the Christians (crying victorie) running through the armie; were therewith so discouraged, that confounded with feare, they turned their gallies and with might and maine made toward the land, which was not much more than a mile off. Which *Canalis* and *Quirinus* yet breathing with the late slaughter of the Turkes, perceiuing, with their gallies hardly pursued the flying enemy, and sunke and tooke diuers of their gallies. *Partau* his sonne by the staying of the rest got time to run his gallic on ground, and so forsaking her, saued himselfe and his men by running ashore: so did also diuers others run themselves aground and forsake their gallies, which presently became a prey vnto the Christians. In this hot conflict was *Caracoza* the famous pyrrat (who abjuring the Christian religion, had turned Turke, and of long time done exceeding much mischeefe vpon the coasts of the Christian countries) valiantly fighting, slaine by *Buzzacharius* of PADUA, by whose death many were deliuered of a great feare.

Haly Bassa had brought forth with him his two sonnes *Achmat* and *Mahomet*, the one three and twentie yeares old, and the other thirteene, the nephewes of the great emperour *Selymus*, by his sister married to *Haly*; them their father had placed in a great gallic, with a strong guard of the Janizaries: who seeing the discomfort of the maine battell, and the danger now drawing nere vnto themselves, were exceedingly afraid; and therefore to saue themselves, thought it best with all speed to make toward the maine. But in so doing, they were preuented by *Requisenius* the great Commendour, who with his furious Spaniards boording the Turkes, already dismayed and running away, slew of them a great number; and after a great fight and much cruell execution done, tooke the gallic, and that which pleased him more, the two sonnes of *Haly* both aliue: in the time of which fight, the poore Christians, who fast chained in the gallic, had as

F f f f iij

flaues

A terrible fight
betwixt Haly
Bassa and Don
Iohn.

Haly Bassa slaine.

The Turkes made
the battell dis-
comfited.

Caracoza the fa-
mous pyrat slaine.

slaves long serned in great miserie: now perceiuing the Christians to preuaile, brake off their giues, loosed one another, and with such weapons as first came to hand lustily laid about them, and notably furthered the victorie.

Notwithstanding all this good succeffe, the fortune of the battell stood yet doubtfull in the right wing. There stood in either battell two of the most noble cheefetains; one against another: on the Christian part *John Andreas Auria*, the Spanish Admirall; and for the Turkes *Pluzales*: both most valiant and expert commaunders, well knowne the one to the other, for that they had of long vsed the same seas, equal for their militarie discipline, as also for their noble acts, but farre vnequall for number of their gallies: for the Turkes had of one fort and other almost twice so many.

The discomfiting of John Andreas Auria with the right wing of the Christian fleet.

Auria, whether it were for that he would in the beginning of the battell wairly decline the danger, and not hazard his gallies, wherein his cheefe honour would be also endangered; or els afraid least the enemy, who farre exceeded him in number of gallies, should extend his wing at large, and enclose the Christian fleet behind; vpon the signall of battell giuen, shrunke further off from the rest of the battell: but whether vpon policie, that it might be at his choice either to fight, if the rest of the armie preuailed, or to retire, if they should be ouertome; or that he vpon martiall policie declined the force of too strong an enemy: diuers men diuersly glofed: but what the cause was indeed, the wisest could not surely tell. Howsoeuer the matter stood, it seemed his purpose was by policie to counteruaile what he wanted in strength. This his falling off seemed vnto the Turkes most strange, vnto whom his quicke departure seemed at the first in manner of a flight. Neither was *Auria* content with that space he had first seperated himselfe from the armie: but the second time fell off further, and there staying and hovering aloofe off, seemed to wait some good oportunitie, to take the enemy at some aduantage: hauing in the meane time one of the galeases of *Pisa* lying before him, as it were in stead of a bulwarke, which with often shot much troubled the enemy. *Pluzales* also extending his wing, tooke such a space, as that he seemed able to haue compassed in and enclosed *Auria*: yet offered not battell, but rather lay as expecting if any aduantage should be giuen him by the Christians, than rashly or vnadvisedly to offer himselfe or his gallies to any desperat danger. He had not long so lien, but that according to his desire twelue of the Venetian gallies, which had withdrawne themselves from *Auria* (and without any order or direction romed too and fro) fell into his danger: these gallies cut off from the rest, *Pluzales* with wonderfull celeritie enclosed; and with the multitude of his gallies bounding them one by one, slew the defendants, and tooke the gallies. In this fight many of the knights of the Order of S. *Stephen* most valiantly fighting, were slaine. *Benedictus Superantius*, a noble Venetian, seeing most part of his men slaine, himselfe mortally wounded, and his galie now almost taken, resoluving rather presently to die, than to fall into the hands of his enemies; desperatly put fire to the store of powder he had in the galie, and so blew vp himselfe; his souldiors that were left, with a great number of the enemies together. The report of the great ordinance, and noise of the battell in that part of the fleet being heard, they which had now in the middle battell got the victorie, together turned their gallies thitherwards to aid *Auria*, but not in one squadron together, but coming along one after another, as euery man had sooner or later cleared himselfe of his enemy: amongst the rest *Petrus Iustinianus* (Admirall of the gallies of *MALTA*) coming formost, was encountered with three of the Turkes gallies, with whom he

Twelve of the Venetian gallies taken by Pluzales.

A notable fight of the knights of Malta.

with his knights had a great and most terrible fight. Which *Pluzales* beholding; and about all others hating the knights of the Order, speedily sent in other three gallies to helpe their fellows. So *Iustinian* hardly beset with six gallies, and oppressed with the multitude of his enemies; had lost fiftie of his most valiant knights, with one of his ensignes; and with much adoe hardly defended himselfe. But being now brought to the last cast, and the galie in the iudgement of all men giuen for lost, loe two of the other gallies of *MALTA*, who had so valiantly fought with other three of the enemies gallies that they were now vpon point to haue taken them all, seeing the danger of their Admirall, forsooke their vanquished enemies; and with all speed came to relieue him: where they found him yet alive, but shot in with three arrowes, and still fighting courageously at the decke of his galie, with those few he had yet left, before round with their enemies: but by the coming in of these two gallies, as if it had beene by helpe sent from heauen, the Turkes were notably repulled, and the Admirall with his galie rescued; as a prey out of the mouth of the greedie lyon. *Pluzales* vnderstanding that the maine battell and right wing of the fleet was ouerthrowne by the Christians, for feare gaue ouer the fight; and leauing the gallies he had taken,

Pluzales fleth.

and hoising saile, was the first in that wing that fled. Which *Cardonius* perceiuing, who was come in before the rest, suddenly shewed himselfe at his backe; and by assailing the hindermost gallies, did what he might to stay their flight vntill the rest of the victorious gallies were come in. But whilst he so eagerly pursueth the flying enemy, sicke of the Turkes captaines enraged with such an vnwonted disgrace, and mindfull of their wonted prowesse, staied their flight; and contrarie to the expectation of the Christians, turned themselves and renewed the battell. What minds they bare, the event shewed, for in a trice almost all *Cardonius* his souldiors and mariners were slaine: nothing letteth the taking of the galie, but that *Pluzales* seeing *Don John*, *Columinus*, and *Venerius* neere at hand, and making towards him, and *Auria* also continuing fast on, was afraid longer to stay, and therefore giuing ouer the fight, fled as fast as he could: yet carrying away with him one galie of Cyprus, and one ensigne of the knights of *MALTA*, as testimonies of his owne valour when he should appeare before *Selymus*. The Christians, although wearie of the long fight which they had almost by the space of fure houres endured; yet so long as they were in any hope to ouertake any of their flying enemies; hardly pursued them in chase: but when they perceiued it preuailed not to follow farther, and that it was more than time to see to their wearie and wounded souldiors and mariners; they staied from farther pursuit; for why the night came now fast on, vnder the covert whereof the craftie old pyrat flying for life with sailes and oares, escaped with thirtie (or as some write, fortie) gallies againe into the bay of *LEPANTO*.

The Christians hardly pursue the flying enemy.

It was a right horrible spectacle to see, how in this battell the sea stained with blood, and couered with dead bodies, weapons, and the fragments of the broken gallies: besides the great number of them that were slaine, and beaten into the sea; many of the Turkes blinded with feare, casting away their weapons, to escape the furie of the enemy threw themselves headlong into the sea: but finding no hope to recouer the land, laboured againe to come to the gallies; or else fainting by the way, were miserably drowned. Others, either halfe dead, weak, and vnskillfull of swimming, or ouercharged with their armour, the sea also deuoured: yea many that could well swim, wearied and wounded, sinke for feate. Others vpon planks and the pieces of the broken gallies, sought to saue themselves, and not knowing what to follow or what to shun, woefully perished. Othersome swimming and pitifully entreating their enemies, rather to take them prisoners than to kill them, were (as it oftentimes chaunceth where things are done vpon choller rather than vpon discretion) without compassion slaine: in which doing, the Christians thought they did rather reuenge former injuries to them done, than to doe them any wrong: with some mercie more pretialed than wrath, who remembering the common chance of warre, chose rather to take the Turkes prisoners, woefully crauing nothing but their liues; than without mercie to kill them. The number of the Turkes lost in this most famous battell, could hardly be known, by reason that many of them were drowned: *Antonijs Guarnertus* writing the historie of this warre, reporteth two and thirtie thousand to haue perished: but they which write more sparingly thereof, report not past halfe so many to haue beene slaine: of whom these were of greatest name; *Haly Bassa* the Generall, *Mahomet Bey* (otherwise called *Chiroche* or *Sirbens*) Gouvernour of *ALEXANDRIA*, *Cassanes* the sonne of *Barbarissa*, with his sonne *Malamur* Gouvernour of *MILENE*, *Gider* Gouvernour of *CHIOS*, *Cassambius* Gouvernour of the *RHODES*, *Pront* *Agacaptaine* of *NAVPLIUM*, *Mustapha Zelibi* the great treasurer, *Caracora* the famous pyrat, with many others whose names were tedious. The chiefe prisoners there taken, were *Achmet* and *Mahomet* the sonnes of *Haly Bassa*, both afterwards sent as presents to the Pope; of whom the eldest died by the way at *NAPLIES*; the youngest presented vnto the Pope by *Columinus* at *ROME*; was there honourably kept prisoner; and *Mechmet Bey* Gouvernour of *EVBEA*; and about three thousand five hundred others were in that battell taken also. The chiefe of them that escaped by flight were *Partau Bassa*, who seeing all go to wracke, fled in time in a long boat to land; and *Pluzales*, who (as it was afterwards certainly known) but with fine and twentie gallies and ten gallions fled to *LEPANTO*. Of the enemies gallies were taken an hundred three score and one, fortie sinke or burnt: and of gallions and other small vessels were taken about sixtie. The Admirall galie then taken amongst the rest, was so goodly and beautiful a vessel, that for her beautie and richnesse scarce any in the whole Ocean was comparable vnto her. The deck of this galie was on both sides thrise as great as any of the others, and made all of blacke Walnut-tree like vnto *Ebonie*, checkered, & wrought manuellous fair with diuers liuely colouts and varietie of historics.

The surpassing beautie of the Admirall galie.

histories. There were also in her diuers liuely counterfeites, engrauen and wrought with gold, with so cunning hand, that for the magnificence thereof it might well haue been compared vnto some princes pallace. The cabbin glistered in euerie place with rich hangings wrought with gold twist, and set with diuers sorts of pretious stones, with certaine small counterfeites most cunningly wrought. Besides this, there was also found in her great store of the Bassaes rich apparel, wrought with the needle, so curiously and richly embossed with silver and gold, that his great lord and master *Selymus* himselfe could hardly put on more royall or rich attire. His casket there also found with six thousand duckats in it, with a yearely pention of three hundred duckats, was giuen in reward to a Greeke, borne in *MACEDONIA*, which slew the Bassa; and was therefore also knighted by *Don Iohn*: who had also giuen vnto him the Burrell of the Turkes stander, which at his returne to *VENICE* (where he had of long time before dwelt, and serued in the Arsenall) he sold vnto a goldsmith: Whereof the Senat hauing intelligence, redeemed it of the goldsmith, paying for euery ounce a duckat, and layed it vp amongst the trophies of that most famous victorie. It was all of masiue siluer, guilt and engrauen round about with Turkish letters. On the one side was written: *God doth conduct and adorne the faithfull in worthis enterprises: God doth fauour Mahomet.* On the other side, *God hath no other God, and Mahomet is his Prophet.*

The Greeke that
slew the Bassa, be-
comably rewarded

This notable victorie thus happily obtained, *Don Iohn* the Generall, with *Venerius* and *Columna*, the other two Admirals, came together; whom the Generall friendly embraced, but especially *Venerius*, calling him father, and attributing vnto him the greatest part of the victorie. Afterwards, all together with their hands and eyes cast vp towards heauen, they vpon their knees gaue immortal thanks to Almighty God. So did also the rest of the captaines and masters, commending one anothers valour and good seruice: but especially theirs, who for their religion and countrey had there most honourably spent their liues; which were in number about 7566. Amongst whom, the cheefe men, that were slaine, were *Jo.* and *Bernardinus*, of the honourable familie of *Cardona* in *SPAIN*, *Horatius Carassa*, and *Ferantes Bisballus*. *Virginus* and *Horatius*, noble Romanes, of the honourable familie of the *Visini*. Of the Venetian nobilitie, *Augustinus Barbadicus*, *Benedictus Superantius*, *Vincentius Quirinus*, *Ioannes Laurentanus*, *Marinus Contarenius*, *Catherinus Malipetra*, *Georgius* and *Andreas Barbadicus*, *Marcus Antonius Landus*, *Franciscus Bonus*, *Hieronymus Contarenius*, *Antonius Paschaligus*, *Hieronymus Venerius*, all of the order of the *Senagours*. Besides diuers other honourable gentlemen, who well deserued to be enrolled in the eternall monuments of fame. Of the knights of *MALTA* were also many slaine, amongst whom of the Germane nation these were cheefe: *Ioschim Spart*, Commendour of *MOGUNTIA* and *FRANCEFORT*, Ro. of *Hamberke*, Commendour of *HEMMENDORF*, and *Fra. Droft*. Of them that were wounded, these were of greatest name: *Don Iohn* the Generall, *Venerius* the Venetian Admirall shot through the foot, *Paulus Iordanus*, *Troilus Sauell*, and *Mar. Molinus*, with diuers others of lesse fame, to the number of almost seuen thousand.

Great was the joy conceiued of this victorie, but to none more welcome than to the poore Christians fast chained in the Turkes gallies; of whom twelue thousand were thereby deliuered from most miserable thraldome, and contrarie to all hope restored to their ancient libertie.

Two dayes after this victorie, *Venerius* sent *Humphredus Iustinianus* with newes thereof vnto the Senate at *VENICE*: who comming in at the Adriaticke port about noone the nineteenth of October, by shooting off of certaine great peeces, gaue warning vnto the cite of his comming, which at that time hung in great suspence betwixt hope and feare. The citizens generally awaked with the report of the great ordinance, came flocking by heapes to the port, euery man longing to heare the first newes. There they might see *Iustinian* comming afaire off with his gallic, but when he was come neerer, they might perceiue all the mariners attired like Turkes, and foure of the Turkes ensignes hanging behind at the poupe of the gallic, which filled their minds with the hope of good newes, deeming it to be (as indeed it was) part of the spoyle of the enemy. But after that *Iustinian* was landed (which he had much to doe for the peeces) and was gone to the Court, with a world of people following after him, crying out for newes; and had there deliuered his letters, and at large discoursed of all the successe of the battaille; which was forthwith blowne into the cite; and the mariners also after his departure had reported the victorie; and that the enemy was in a great battaile ouerthrowne: good God, how

A generall re-
ioysing, especially
in Venice, for the
victorie.

A the people as men ouerjoyed, ran vp and downe the streets, doubling and redoubling the joyfull name of victorie. The Senatours also rejoycing together, gaue thanks to God with publicke prayers and joyfull hymnes in euery church: and afterwards by ringing of bells, peales of ordinance, bone-fires, and other such like things, shewed all the tokens of joy possible. And to make this joy the more generall, all prisoners were set at libertie, and all debts that exceeded not the summe of fife and twentie crownes, payed out of the common treasure; which was generally done through all the Venetian seignorie: and a decree made, That that day whereon the victorie was gotten, which was the seuenth of October, dedicated to the memoriall of *Iustina*, should for euer be kept holyday: and for the perpetuall remembrance thereof, a great masse of money was coyned, with the impresion of *Iustina* vpon it, and an inscription declaring the victorie.

B Many also their neighbour princes sent their embassadours gratulatorie to *VENICE*, namely, the dukes of *SAVOY*, *FLORENCE*, *FERRARA*, *PARMA*, *MANTVA*, and *VREIN*, and the knights of *MALTA*. In which so publicke joy no man was seene to put on any mourning garments, or to shew any token of heauinesse, although many had lost their dearest friends and nearest kinsmen; whose liues they reckoned not lost, but giuen vnto the Christian commonweale. The like rejoycing was also made in *ROME*, in *SPAIN*, *NAPLES*, *SICILIA*, and *MALTA*, especially at such times as embassadours from their neighbour princes, came to joy them of this victorie: yea and afterwards in other countries further off was like rejoycing and signes of joy, as with vs here in *ENGLAND*.

This is that notable battell, commonly called the battell of *LEPANTO*, fought neere vnto the islands *CVRZOLARI*, the seuenth day of October, in the yeare 1571, the like whereof was neuer fought at sea against the Turke, wherein he lost his cheefe strength at sea, with most of his best sea captaines: and might thereby well perceiue what he and his successeurs were to feare, if the Christian princes at vnitie amongst themselves, all discord set apart, should in zeale of their religion ioyne their inuincible forces against them.

In the midst of all this joy, generally conceiued of the late victorie, one of the cheefe prisoners of the Turkes, hearing it compared with the losse of *CYPRVS* (for that *Selymus* had therein lost his fleet, his best men of warre, with great store of ordinance) by a fit comparison shewed in not to be so, saying, That the battell lost, was vnto *Selymus* as if a man should shau his beard, which would ere long grow againe; but that the losse of *CYPRVS* was vnto the Venetians, as the losse of an arme, which once cut off, could neuer be againe recovered. Declaring thereby the great inequalitye of the losse.

The rich spoyle taken from the enemy in this most glorious victorie, was thus deuided amongst the princes confederat. Vnto the Pope were allotted nineteene gallies, two galliots, nine great peeces of ordinance, two and fortie lesser peeces, and fourscore and one prisoners. Vnto the king of *SPAIN* eight and fiftie gallies and an halfe, six galliots and an halfe, eight and fiftie great peeces and an halfe, eight great murthering peeces and an halfe, an hundred twentie eight lesser peeces, and a thousand seuen hundred and thirteene prisoners. Vnto the Venetians were assigned for their share, nine and thirte gallies and an halfe, four galliots and a halfe, nine and thirtie great peeces and a halfe, fife great murthering peeces and a halfe, fourscore and six lesser peeces, and a thousand one hundred threescore and two prisoners. The rest were bestowed vpon such other princes as had giuen aid, or otherwise well deserued in that seruice.

The joy conceiued of this victorie was not so great amongst the Christians, but that the sorrow thereof was amongst the Turkes farre greater. *Selymus* himselfe was then at *HADRIANO-POLIS*, where eight dayes after the battell, newes was brought vnto him, That his fleet was overthrowne and almost all taken or sunke by the Christians. Which so soone as he heard, he was stricken with exceeding greefe: and overcome with melancholie, would not that day suffer any man to speake with him. And the rumor of the ouerthrow still encreasing, had in short time filled all places with feare, teares, mourning, and heauinesse: some bewayling their parents, some their children, some their husbands, some their friends or kinsmen there lost. But that which most grieued the Turkish emperour, was the losse of so many worthie and expert captaines, of so many skilfull masters and notable fouldiors; who brought vp all their liues at sea, were not thought inferior to any then liuing: besides the perpetuall ignominie and vnwonted disgrace, thereby inflicted vnto him and his posteritie for euer. Wherefore full of wrath and indignation, he was about to haue commaunded all the Christians in his dominions (in number infinit) to be put to death.

A witte and fit
comparison made
by a Turke, so
that the losse of
Cyprus was greater
than the losse of
the battell at
Lepanto.

The spoile of this
enemie deuided
amongst the con-
federats.

death. Doubting indeed nothing more, than that they wearie of the Turkish thraldome, and desirous of imouation, should with weapons put into their hands, rise vp against him, and take part with the other Christians his enemies. But whilest the other Bassaes (as men dismaied with the crueltie of the commaund) stood all silent, *Muhamet Bassa* for his former deserts in great fauour with the tyrant, thought it good to make prooffe if his furie might by reasonable persuasion be mitigated, and some better course taken, both for the honour of *Selymus* himselfe, and the common good of the State: Yet well knowing how full of danger it was, in that tyrannicall gouernment, openly to speake any thing contrarie to the good liking of the willfull emperor, he durst not apertly contradict him: but leaning as it were to his opinion and pleasure, by little and little to draw him from himselfe; and so before he were aware to lead him into his owne deuile, and by delay to moderate the rigour of his former furie. To which purpose, he cunningly set vpon him in this sort.

Muhamet Bassa cunningly dissuadeth *Selymus* from so rigorous a resolution, by filling his head with most necessarie considerations.

Your anger (said he) most magnificent and inuincible emperor, against the Christians, is most iust: and in this my desire exceedeth all others, That they should endure and suffer such punishment as they haue of right deserved. Yet it behooueth vs so to satisfie our wrath, as men better regarding their owne good, than the hot desire of reuenge. And for as much as I am for your many and undeserued fauours, in all loyaltie bounden vnto your highnesse aboute others; I reckon it in part of my dutie, so much the more frankly to deliuer my opinion, such as it is, in matters of so great importance. Neither will I attempt my speech in any respect to the comforting of your grieved mind: for how can it be that you, who following the worthie examples of your noble progenitors, haue alwaies heretofore shewed your most heroicall and courageous mind, contemning all the chances of fortune; should not for euer after shew your selfe to be rather dreaded of all men, than dreaded full of any? Let others, whose kingdoms built vpon vncertaintie are subiect to the reuolution of time and change of fortune, yeeld vnto their euill haps: as for you, whose empire is founded by the mightie hand of the most highlest, and compassed about with an impregnable defence, and are your selfe by the power of God appointed king and commaunder of nations and people in number infinit, fortune may well a little pricke you, but neuer ouerthrow you. As for this late mischance, if it must needs so fall out, as proceeding from some immutable and eternall cause, must it be therefore alwaies fixe and permanent? Onely those miseries and mischiefs which the cowardise or foolishnesse of men bring vnto themselves, haue their firme and certaine calamities: other common euents comming from other causes, haue also their common and sudden changes: But how this late mishap at sea may be amended, and your former glorie there againe recovered, is hereafter to be considered. Now for the present (in mine opinion) this one thing, as of all others most necessarie is to be provided; That the weak and worst fortified places of your empire, most subiect to danger, may be presently strengthened with strong garrisons; and that by your present repaire to the imperiall citie, you cheere vp the minds of your heauie and dismaied subiects: which done, what shall let but that you may at your pleasure be reuenged to the full of the Christians? For there is no cause why we should feare the Christians, six hundred times and more before ouerthrowne: both our enemies and we are the same men we haue beene for many ages, we beare the same minds, the same bodies, the same strength, the same weapons, wherewith we haue gotten infinit victories both of them and others. And although such be the state of man, as that he cannot otherwise but some time or other tast of the worse tun; yet I thinke this present misfortune to be rather imputed vnto some fustall cause to vs vnkown, than to the valor of the Christians. Besides that, we may well enough oppose one small ouerthrow against our so many and infinit victories: yea we are to giue immortal thanks vnto almightie God, that we haue by force of armes subdued the rich and famous island of *Cyprus*, and that your high designs haue in that point sorted to your hearts desire. And hard it is in mine opinion to iudge, whether this late vnfurnat battell shall more hurt vs, or the Christians: for besides that the multitude of the Turkes hath no feeling of so small a losse, they will not as men discouraged, giue themselves to mourning and vaine lamentations, but with greater courage and force come forth againe into battell, and reuenge this losse with the infinit calamities of the Christians: who after this their good hap, will according to their wonted manner giue themselves to excess, pleasure, carelesnesse and ease, vnto their owne farther confusion. Thus haue I in brieue faithfully declared mine opinion: yet with that submissiue loyaltie, as that whatsoeuer shall proceed from the mouth of your imperiall Maiestie, shall be of me deemed most wisely and magnificently considered.

The

The Bassa was in such grace and authoritie with *Selymus*, that his opinion in counsell prevailed, and the tyrants wrath by his perswasion was well assuaged. But by the comming of *Flucales* to court, the remainder of his former grieve and melancholic was fully quieted: who after he had excused himselfe of the late ouerthrow, and declared what he had himselfe done in the battell, and in testimony thereof, presented him with one of the ensignes of the knights of *Malta*, told him also how that he had left the Christian fleet so rent and torne as that it could not possibly be made seruiceable against the next yeare: which newes was both of *Selymus* and the rest gladly heard. In the meane time *Selymus* placed this *Flucales* in the stead of *Flaby Bassa* that was slaine: and straightly commaunded the great officers which had the charge of his nauie, to build new shipping night and day: and farther enjoined euerie Gouverneur out of his prouince he had in charge, to haue in readinesse one gallie or two against the next Spring, as well for the defence of his owne dominions, as to reuenge the losse he had so lately sustained: wherunto also many of his great men put to their helping hands, and cheerfully furthered his desire. New supplies of souldiours were also presently raised and put into his frontier towns, great store of new ordinance cast, weapons and armour provided, and whatsoeuer else the necessitie of the present time required. So with the Turkes stood reason and industrie, rather than with the Christians, who (as some note) rather wanted discretion how to vse the victorie, than valour to gaine the same: which whether it chanced for that prosperitie begetteth negligence, or that men joying in their present blisse regard little the time to come, I leaue it to the judgement of the wiser to determine.

After this so memorable a victorie, the three great commaunders of the fleet sat in counsell to consult, what farther course they were best to take. But for as much as Winter began now to approach, and that they could not much doe vntill their fleet were new furnished and manned, they all resolved for that time to dissolve the fleet, and the next Spring in the beginning of Aprill, to meet together againe at *Corcyra*. Wherupon *Don Iohn* and *Columnius* returned to *Messana*, where they in safetie arrived in Nouember; and departing thence, and taking their leaue the one of the other, arrived, *Don Iohn* at *Naples*, and *Columnius* at *Rome*: where they were in both places with great joy and triumph received.

The Venetians for all that grieved with the losse of *Cyprus*, gaue not so ouer, but repairing their nauie with thirtie gallies, wherein were embarked six thousand souldiours, woon a cattie in *Epirus* called *Margarita*: and also recovered the towne of *Sypetro*, which the Turkes had that Sommer before taken from them; but now hearing of this ouerthrow, did vpon the approach of the Venetian fleet, againe forsake it. The gallies also of *Creta* conducted by *Canalis*, intercepted many of the Turkes vessels laded with captiues and the spoiles of *Famagusta*, as they were passing thence to *Constantinople*.

Although vpon the late obtained victorie, a certaine reconciliation had beene made betwixt *Don Iohn* and *Venerius*, yet of the former dissention remained an inward heart-burning of one of them against the other: for which cause, the Spaniards requested the Venetians to appoint an other Admirall in his place. *Venerius* was now indeed a man of great yeares, and his strength far spent; yet for that in his aged bodie rested great wisdom and courage, and that they thought him for his great deserts worthie all honour, they were wonderfull loath and vnwilling therein to gratifie the Spaniard: for why, they well knew there was no other cause of the Spaniards proud hatred, but that he had stood against them vpon the honour of the Venetians: and farther, they liked not that the Spaniard should so presumptuously prescribe vnto them, whom they should place or displace in or out of their honourable offices. Neuerthelesse, not forgetting what commoditie came by concord, and what euils of discord, and that they might not against so mightie an enemy well spare the helpe of the Spaniard; they resolved to make choise of some other; who succeeding *Venerius*, might with one consent manage their wars together with *Don Iohn* and *Columnius*. There was then one *Jacobus Escarinus* their chiefe Gouverneur in *Dalmatia*, who but a little before had notably fortified *Adra* and the other frontier towns, and for the space of foureteen moneths had notably repressed the furious incursions of the Turkes: of him then absent and not desirous of the place (as of a man of worthie desert) the whole State by generall consent made choise for their Admirall and Generall by sea against the Turke; which most honourable place he receiued not with all the solemne ceremonies thereto belonging, at *Venice*, as the manner was, but at *Adra* from whence he in the Admirall gallie sent for that purpose by *Aloysius Grimanus* his successeur in *Adra*, sailed ouer to *Corcyra*: where he found

Selymus repairs his nauie with all diligence possible.

The Christian fleet dissolved.

Supposed againe recovered by the Venetians.

found the old Admirall *Venerius*, with no lesse care providing for all things, than if he should himselfe haue still continued the warre. Of which great care *Fuscarius* at his comming cald him by taking it wholly vpon himselfe.

Castro-novum in
vaine attempted
by the Veneti-
ans.

Whilest *Fuscarius* thus lay making his preparation against the next Spring at *CORCYRA*, *Sara Martinengus* who had the charge of the Adriaticke (by the counsell of *Venerius*, who was now returned to *VENICE*) vpon the sudden landed his men, and besieged *CASTRO-NOVUM*, a strong towne of the Turks in the borders of *ISTRIA*; where at his first comming he tooke the suburbs, and had in short time brought the towne to great extremitie. But in the height of his hope to haue woon the towne, hearing that the Beglerbeg of *GRECE* was with great power comming thither, he was glad to raise his siege, and with all speed to get him againe to sea. The Turkes in like manner, to distresse the strong towne of *CATARO* holden by the Venetians in the borders of *DALMATIA*, built a great and strong fort vpon the passage from sea to the town, wherein they placed great store both of men and artillerie: in hope by keeping them of the towne from all reliefe by sea, at length to gaine the towne which they had many times in vaine attempted by force; for by land it was already enuironed with the cruell enemy, possessing the country round about it. *Iacobus Superantius* the great Prouidentour, then lying at *CORCYRA* with the Admirall, vnderstanding how *CATARO* a towne of no small importance, was thus both by sea and land by the enemy distressed: with twentie galleys manned with the most chiefe souldiours could be pickt out of the whole fleet, tooke vpon him the raising of the fort, and relieving of the towne. *Superantius* with this select companie, and certaine other galleys which met him by the way, came by night before the mouth of the bay of *CATARO*, and there diuiding his fleet, left the one part thereof at anchor before the fort, and with the other himselfe courageously passed by the fort, further into the bay: at whom the Turkes out of the fort made diuers shot, but (by reason it was darke) to small purpose. In passing by, *Superantius* tooke such view as he could of the fort, and by and by began on that side to batter the same; as did also the other galleys on the other side: and withall, landed their men on both sides; who vpon signall giuen, ran resolutely to the fort, and by plaine force entering the same, preuailed vpon the fearefull Turkes, and put them to the sword euerie mothers sonne; so that of all that great garrison, was not one left aliue to carrie newes of the slaughter. This fort was in length five hundred paces, but not strong towards land, from whence no such feare was doubted. In it was taken seauenteene great peeces of ordinance, with much faire armour, and great abundance of victuals: and seauen galliots which lay at anchor vnder the fort. *CATARO* thus relieved, *Superantius* with victorie returned againe to *CORCYRA*.

Superantius re-
lieued *Cataro*,
and taketh a
great fort of
the Turke.

1572

Fuscarius the Venetian Admirall with all things in readinesse, hauing long lien at *CORCYRA* expecting the comming of the confederats, as was before appointed; sent *Superantius* the Prouidentour with five and twentie galleys to *MESSANA*, to hasten the comming of *Don John*; and to attend vpon him by the way. But comming thither, and thinking to haue found a great fleet and a strong power in good forwardnesse to haue set forward; he found such small preparation, as well shewed the Spaniards small care for repressing of the Turke, and that they would not be verie forward in the seruice intended. Which filling him with griefe and indignation, caused him to complaine vnto himselfe of their vnfaithfulnesse, and to bewaile the state of his country, with the whole Christian common-weale: for *Don John* had before solemnly promised vnto the Venetian embassadour, that all things should be in readinesse against the appointed time: but now a great part of Sommer was past, when scarce some few companies and about fiftie galleys were met together at *MESSANA*; and when *Auria* would come with the rest, no man could tell. So that the careful Prouidentour stood now no lesse in doubt of the Spaniards delay, than of the Turkes furie.

Selymus sendeth
out *Pluzales*
with two hun-
dred galleys.

Selymus, after the great overthrow he had receiued at the islands *CYZOLARES*, for feare he should be driuen quite out of the sea; was about all things carefull for the renewing of his naue: And hauing partly new built, partly repaired two hundred galleys, commended them to the conduct of *Pluzales*, with expresse charge, That by how much things had fallen out worse the last yeare, he should with so much the more care now beware the like danger; and not to go out of the bounds of the *ARCHIPELAGO*, or to aduenture battell but vpon aduantage, or at leastwise vpon an euen hand.

This *Pluzales* (otherwise called *Occhiall*) was an Italian borne in *CALABRIA*, who in his youth

A youth taken at sea by the Turkes and chained in the gallee, and afterwaits renouncing his faith, by many degrees grew vnto the highest preferments amongst the Turkes, and so became an exceeding plague, as well to his owne country as to all other of the Christians bordering vpon the Mediterranean. He now Admirall for the Turke, after the manner of the proud Barbarians, threatned with fire and sword to be reuenged vpon the Venetians: which knowne at *VENICE*, much troubled them; as well acquainted with the furie of the old Archpyrat. Beside that, *Ant. Barbarus* their embassadour, all the time of this warre kept in safe custodie at *CONSTANTINOPLE*, had by letters certified them, what a great fleet, and what a strong armie *Selymus* had provided against them: and that he himselfe told two hundred and fiftie saile of galleys when they set forward from *CONSTANTINOPLE*, beside some other that were to meet with them at *GALIPOLIS*: and that therefore they should beware how they encountered with the Turkes fleet, but vpon equall strength. It was also at the same time commonly reported, that king *Phillip* chiefe of the confederats, carelesse of the warres against the Turke in the East, was about to turne his forces vpon the kingdomes of *TUNES* or *ALGIERS*, neerer vnto him (as in deed he did the yeare following). The Venetians entangled with so many difficulties, were euen at their wits end, and day by day the Senat sat from the rising of the Sunne vnto the going downe of the same, consulting how all these mischiefs were to be remedied. But for as much as the greatest danger was to be feared from the Turkes fleet, as then houering euen ouer their heads, they by letters commanded *Fuscarius* their Admirall, That whether the confederats came vnto him or not, he should forthwith take his course towards the East; and there according to the enemies designes, and his owne discretion and valour, to doe what he should thinke best to be done for the common good of his country: and not to refuse to joyne with the enemy in battell, if he saw any good hope of victorie. Neither ceased they at the same time (both by their embassadours and letters) earnestly to call both vpon the Pope and the king, to hasten their forces to encounter the enemy before he should come out of his owne seas; and to carrie the terrour of the warre home to his owne doores, rather than to receiue it at their owne. The like message was also done to *Don John*, putting him in mind what his place, what the time, and what the danger of the time required: entreating him (if it were possible) of himselfe to adde something vnto that hast which the necessitie of so important a cause required. Who neuerthelesse for all the messages and letters to him sent (which were many) went still on faire & softly, delaying from day to day; telling, D that he would by and by come, and that the Spaniards would alwaies be so good as their word. Which was so far from his thought, that afterwards finding one excuse after another, he not only staied his comming, but called back again *Requisenus* also, whom he had sent before with 20 galleys to *CORCYRA*. Now were two months (fittest for the wars) vainly spent; when *Superantius* grieued to see time to no purpose so slip away, & fearing least the rest of the Sommer should to small effect in like manner passe also, with great instance importuned him to hasten his journey. Then at length *Don John* answered, that the Venetians requested but reason, neither that he wished for any thing more than to satisfie their desires: but that a greater care hindered the lesse, which was first to be preuented: He was aduertised (as he said) that the French king pretending the suppressing of certain pyrats, had assembled a great fleet at *ROCHEL*, with purpose indeed to invade *E SPAIN*, now that the king was busied in these wars against the Turke: & that therefore they must pardon him, if he persetued the regard of *SPAIN* before others, being expressly commanded from the king not to depart from *MESSANA*, vntill he had other commaundement from him. But whether this his excuse by *FRANCE*, proceeded of a true feare or otherwise, the Venetians much doubted; and the rather, for that the French king vnderstanding thereof by the Venetians, was therewith (as reason was) exceedingly offended: protesting, that he was euer so farre from that purpose of hindering any the confederat princes in that their religious warre, that if the troubles of his owne country would haue so permitted, he would gladly haue giuen them aid therein. Many there were also, that thought, *Enuie the auntient enemy of vertue and valour*, to haue had a great power in this delay: doubting whether the Spaniards would more reioyce of the victorie well hoped for, if they should joyne with the Venetians, or grieue if the same should by the Venetians be obtained without them. *Superantius* wearie of discourses and long expectation, and almost out of hope of any helpe in time from the Spaniard; how vntowardly foucer things went, thought better yet warily to moderat his griefe, than in so dangerous a time to giue any occasion for the Spaniard to fall quite off. Yet spake he not fauntingly or flatteringly of the

Pluzales a reni-
ganc Christian
and now the
Turke Admirall.

Superantius ha-
steth *Don John*

Gggg

matter

matter, but with a certaine modest grauitie declared, That he had thought heauen would sooner haue fallen, than that *Don John* would not at the appointed time haue come to *CORCYRA*. And withall besought him, and wished him to beware, that he brought not the common State into some great danger: if they had to doe with such an enemy as might be delayed with, then he said he could easily abide delay; but now for that the warre and the enemy was such; as whetein, or with whom neuer any Generall had dalied without losse, to what end did he longer deferre or trifle out the time? or what other fleet did he expect? If they should diuide their forces, then were they all too weake; but vnited together, strong enough to defend the common cause. The neerer the enemy came, the more hast were to be made to joyne with the Venetian fleet. And what could be (as he told him) more honourable or glorious, than for him a noble young gentleman roially descended, of whom the world had conceived a great hope, that he would in martiall honour exceed the glorie of his most famous auncetours, againe to vanquish the proud Turke, the greatest and most mightie monarch of the world; to fight the battell of the highest; to assure the Christian common-weale against so puissant an enemy, and to purchase vnto himselfe immortal glorie and renowne. As for the French, there was no such thing to be feared, as was pretended, who with such slender preparation not worth the name of a fleet, was not so vnadvised as to set vpon a kingdome of such strength and power as *SPAIN*. Furthermore (he said) that it concerned not the Venetians more than the king himselfe, to haue the Turke repelled, whose kingdomes of *NAPLES*, *SICILIA*, and *SPAIN*, were no lesse than their territories, exposed to danger by sea. The good successe of their affaires in the East, would open the way for the conquest of *AFRICKE*: but if the Turke should preuaile, then were they to despair, not of *AFRICKE*, but of all *ITALIE*, *SICILIE*, yea and of *SPAIN* itselfe. The time (he said) and necessity of the warre, with the extremity of the danger of the whole and common State, required that he should with all his power and speed possible, take vpon him the defence of the common cause, or to say more truly of the Christian common-weale, then so dangerously impugned. These reasons drawn from the common good and the truth it selfe, much moued the Generall: but the kings pleasure was to be preferred before all reasons or dangers that could be alleged. But hearing afterward what resolute command the Venetian Senat had sent vnto their Admirall, he became exceeding careful: for he feared least if the Admirall should without his helpe fight the battell and gaine the victorie, he would conuert all the glorie thereof vnto himselfe; but if he should chance to be ouerthrowne, it would turne to his vtter reproach and perpetuall infamie, that in so necessitie a time he had withdrawn himselfe from the common cause. Wherefore as a man perplexed, and in doubt what to doe, he stood for a while as one at his wits end: yet at last, he vpon deliberation resolved to take a middle course, and so neither without the command of the king (by whose prescript order, all was to be done) to depart with the fleet from *MESSANA*; neither altogether to frustrat the confederats of the expected aid. And to that purpose sent two and twentie gallies vnder the conduct of one *Lilly* of *ANDRADA* (a noble gentleman) to the Venetian Admirall at *CORCYRA*; with whom went also *Columinus* with the Popes fleet. Now was *Pius Quintus* the late Pope dead, and *Vgo Boncompagnius* by the name of *Gregorius Decimus Tertius*, Pope in his stead, who vpon the same conditions with his predecessor, had entred into the league; and liking verie well of *Columinus*, kept him still for his Admirall.

Long had *Fuscarinus* expected the coming of the confederats, and albeit that the yeare was farre spent, August being then come, and no such aid sent as he had expected; yet desiring to doe something worth the remembrance and becoming their honour, he earnestly perswaded *Columinus* and *Lilly* to set forward with him toward the East, and with their vnited forces to giue the enemy battell: telling them, That if they were all of like courage, they should go not only to the glorie of the present battell, but to the great honour and aduancement of the whole Christian common-weale. After that he extenuated the power of the enemy, saying, That he could not but maruell, from whence such a number of gallies as was reported, could so suddenly be gathered; or whereupon so great confidence and boldnesse was growne vnto them, so lately ouerthrowne and put to flight: The enemies fleet (he said) was the yeare before overcome and dispersed, the captaines and mariners slaine; and that therefore it was not credible, that so many gallies could with such celeritie be built, and such a number of mariners and masters as was needfull, in so short time prouided: That the prouision of the enemy was by flying fame made farre greater

Don John in doubt whether to send aid to the Venetians, or not.

He sendeth Lilly of Andrada with 22 gallies.

A greater than indeed it was, or possibly could be; for why, they might easily guesse what the enemy was able to doe, by the Christians then selues, who could not without much adoe and great labour build their fleets, and traine vp their mariners and masters: and that therefore letting fame flie, which commonly maketh things greater and more dreadfull than they are, he was verily perswaded, that the enemy was glad to vse most vnskillfull and ignorant as well mariners as fouldiors; who suddenly taken vp in the inland countries, and put into the gallies, knew not so much as the very names of the ropes and tacklings, and other equippage; and then those gallies which they had, were like ynough to be but weake, as of them which were the last yeare rent and brused, and now againe botched vp, or in hast built of greene timber, could not be nimble or greatly seruiceable. Wherefore he exhorted them, as valiant men, to set forward against the enemy; and that with the greater courage, for that the last yeares victorie had opened vnto them the way for the gaining of another. Which if it should so fall out, as good hope there was, they should thereby take from the proud enemy both power and hope (but in long time) to be able to recouer his strength at sea: so that they in the meane time without feare might at their pleasure take the rich islands in the *ARCHIPELAGO*. Now if the Turks declining battell, should retire themselves into the *HELLESPONT*, then might they with fire and sword spoyle all the frontiers of their dominions on this side the straits, and open a way vnto the Christians to doe great matters.

Hardly were *Columinus* and *Lilly* perswaded by the Admirall: neither did they thereunto giue their consent, vntill it was decreed, That they should not in any case joyne battell with the enemy, but with their galleons and galleasses first placed in the front of the battaille, in whom consisted the greatest hope of the victorie. So setting forward toward the enemy, and come to *COMENTITIA*, letters were brought vnto them from *Don John*, certifying them, That he was now by letters from the king commaunded to come towards the East, and to joyne his forces with the confederats; but yet that for certaine dayes he could not come, vntill he were better prouided of all things necessary: and that therefore they should in the meane time carefully looke vnto all things, promising so soone as he possibly could to come vnto them. Vpon these letters *Columinus* and *Lilly* began to doubt, Whether to goe on further, or to expect the coming of the Generall: yet for as much as he had not expressly written anything concerning their staying, and *Fuscarinus* vrged them forwards, on they went, with the fleet diuided into three battels. The whole fleet consisted of an hundred fiftie five gallies, six galleasses, and twentie tall ships: in the right wing was *Superantius*; in the left wing *Canalius*; and in the middle battaille *Columinus*, *Fuscarinus*, and *Lilly*: and in the rereward followed *Quirinus*. Before each battell went two of the galleasses, still in readinesse for present battaille. In this order they came first to *ZACYNTHVS* (commonly called *ZANTO*) and so to *CERIGO*: the next day after to *COLVERARIA* (commonly called *DRAGONARIA*, outragaint *CERIGO*): Here *Angelus Surianus*, a valiant gentleman, sent before to discouer the enemy and what strength he was of, returning vnto the fleet, declared vnto the Admirall, That the Turkes fleet, consisting of an hundred and threescore gallies, threescore gallions, and foure great ships, lay about *MALVASIA*, in the entrance of the bay called *SINVS ARGOLICVS*, vpon the borders of *PELOPONNESVS*, about fiftie miles off from the Christian fleet. Shortly after the same fleet was againe discouered, making for *MALBA*: whereupon the Christians before resolved to fight wherefoeuer they should meet the enemy; forthwith put themselves in order of battaille; and so with their galleasses in the front, made with what speed they could toward him. These two fleets were thought for many respects almost equally the enemy was in number more, but inferior in strength. The Christian fleet by reason of the heauinesse of the galleasses, made but small way; and the enemy afraid of the great store of ordinarie the galleasses carried, durst not come neere them. The Turkes fleet was rather nimble than strong; but ouer more firme and forward. Looke wherein each exceeded the other, therewith they endeouored to helpe themselves and annoy the enemy. The Christians fearing to be circumscribed by the multitude of their enemies, opposed their ships and galleasses before them as a most sure fortresse: and the Turke, by how much he had had the worse successe the yeare before, was so much the more careful to beware how he endangered himselfe within the reach of the galleasses. The Christians desired nothing more than to fight, & to come to handy blows: but the Turke, who thought it sufficient for the present not to be overcome, sometime made by declining battell away as fast as he could, and by and by stayed againe, if happily he might haue taken the gallies

The number and order of the Christian fleet.

The Christian fleet and the Turkes almost equal.

The Turkes wary, but the Turke, who thought it sufficient for the present not to be overcome, sometime made by declining battell.

seperated from the gallies, neuer seeming willing to aduerture further than reason and discretion were. The enimie seeing the Christian fleet comming still on, and readie to giue battaile, first seemed as if he would haue done the like, but afterwards turned his course vpon the right hand, and kept aloofe alongst the coast of MALBA: At which time the Christians, although they were very desirous to haue followed them, yet the Turks with their nimble fleet were quickly too farre gone for the Christian fleet to ouertake them, especially with their heauie ships. That day almost spent as it were in the chase of the enimie, towards the going downe of the Sunne the enimie put into the current of the sea betwixt CERRIGO and the Harts island, in breadth about ten miles; and there deuiding their fleet into three parts, lay in good order, as expecting the comming of the Christians, with the prowes of their gallies turned, as if vpon the confidence of the place, which they had filled ouerthwart, they had purposed nothing more than to fight. Yet both fleets seemed resolu'd; the one not to fight without the galleasses, & the other not to come neare those hot ships, from whom they had but the yeare before receiued so great harme. And although the enimie, as was afterwards knowne, purposed nothing lesse than to fight, but vpon great aduantage: yet fearing by open flight to dishonour his lord and master, and by granting as it were of victorie, to encrease the fame of the Christians, the craftie pyrat made a great shew of that he least indeed purposed. For pretending a great desire to fight, he indeed deluded the Christians hope: who although the wind had failed them, yet in hope the enimie would abide them battell, with much labour and rowing came so neere him, that the great shot began to flie too and fro on both sides: but when the matter should haue come to haue been tried by dint of sword, then it plainly appeared what the enimie had indeed purposed; for still keeping the prowes of his gallies vpon the Christians, hee by little and little shrunke backe: and beside that the shadow of the night began then to approch, he caused all his great ordinance, charged only with powder, to be shot off, and so in the thicke of the smoke retired vnseene; colouring his subtil departure also by certaine lights left in their cocke-boats, making shew as if the whole fleet had still there stayed. By this meanes the Turks with great celeritie escaped, being also holpen in this, that the Christians hindered by the heauinesse of the galleasses, could not but faire and softly pursue them: for these galleasses, as they are vessels of great seruice, so are they also heauie and vnweldie, and not fit for chase. The departure of the enimie at length known, the Christians also vnwilling to fight by night, returned to CERRIGO. Two dayes after the Turks stayed in the bay of TENARVS, now called METAPAN, and the Christians at CERRIGO; contented in that, that the enimie was the cause that the battell was not fought, and reckoning his warie and couert declining of battell, as a secret confession of the victorie. The third day after, the Christians desirous of nothing more than to ioyne in battell with the enimie, in their former order set forward from CERRIGO, and sayling all the night, were in the breake of the day descried from land by the Turks: whereupon *Pluzales* by shooting off of certaine warning pieces, commanded all his men to goe abourd, and to put themselves in readinesse for battell. And now the Christians were not farre off, when as the Turkes (least declining of battell might reprooue them of feare) came out of the hauen, with their fleet deuided into three battels: whereof the left wing was extended a great way into the sea, the right wing still keeping neere vnto the maine, and in the middle battell was *Pluzales* himselfe: who came all on no faster than the tide draue them, staying their course oft times of purpose, to haue drawne the gallies of the Christians from the galleasses and ships. *Pluzales* seeing his fleet thus in order, and fearing nothing more than the galleasses, commaunded both the wings of his fleet (hauing in each of them fourescore gallies) to fetch a great compassse about, the one on the right hand, and the other on the left, aloofe off from the galleasses, and so to assaile the wings of the Christians on the sides or behind: in hope so to haue disordered their battell, and without danger to haue drawne the gallies from the galleasses and the other heauie ships. Which their intent the Christians perceiuing, in their wings turned about their gallies also, in manner of the new Moone, their maine battell still facing the middle battell of the Turks. The wings of the Turks fleet thus farre seperated from the middle battell, seemed to present vnto the Christians a great aduantage: which *Fuscarnus* (intentione to all the offers of good fortune) quickly perceiuing, and calling vnto *Columnius* and *Lilly*, and shewing them the enimies maine battell at hand, and the wings gone a great way off, requested and perswaded them, That not staying for the heauie ships and galleasses, they would with him vpon the sudden assaile the enimies middle battell, now destitute of the wings: not doubting, but so to ouerthrow the

Pluzales meaning nothing lesse, yet maketh shew of battell.

The Turkes pollicie retire.

The Christians desirous of battell, goe against the Turkes.

A the enimies greatest strength there, before the wings could, now they were so farre gone, ioyne themselves to the battell againe. What could as he said haue happened more wisely, than to haue their battell deuided? So that they might at more aduantage fight against euery part thereof, now seperated, than against all three parts at once. If they had thought themselves not orieley equally, but too strong for the whole enimies fleet vnited, should they not the better ouercome them apart and disperied? The oportunitie he said was but short, and therefore to be forthwith resolu'd vpon. If they would take the present occasion of victorie then offered, and as resolute men charge their enimies, little fearing any such thing, they should by their celeritie and valour teach the Turks, what the Christian discipline of warre and power was able to doe: but if they would therein vse delay, they should ere long in vaine wish for the like occasion, they had let slip; when as their battell was againe strengthened with the wings. This the Admirals speech was of most that heard it joyfully receiued, and his counsell well liked; and that with such a general cheerefulness of the souldiors, as shewed in them no want of courage to haue giuen the enimie present battell. But *Columnius* and *Lilly*, being of the same mind they had beene alwaies, said it were dangerous so to doe, for feare of drawing the whole three battels of the enimie at once vpon them, against which they should be too weake, without the helpe of the galleasses and heauie ships: and therefore said flatly, That without those vessels, so much feared of their enimies, they would not in any case hazard the fortune of a battell. But whether *Columnius* and *Lilly* were of that opinion, for that they so thought, or were so charged by *Don John* (of whom they altogether depended) not to fight in his absence, many doubted. The wings of the Christians in turning about, to confront the wings of the enimie, were a little disordered: which the Turks perceiuing, and taking the present oportunitie, with fiftene of their gallies were about to haue charged the stragling gallies. Which *Superantius* perceiuing, to stay their course, went out coutagiously against them with foure gallies, and made with them a great fight: in the heat whereof, *Superantius* seeing fortie moe of the enimies gallies making towards him, and doubting to be enclosed, with all speed sent for releefe, which came presently in, namely, twentie gallies; with two of the galleasses: which forthwith sent their thundering shot so thicke, and furiously amongst their enimies, that in a little time eightene of their gallies were by them all rent and torne; and the Turkes therewith dismayed, were glad in such hast to returne, as if they had rather fled than retired. *Superantius* hauing in that fight but one of his gallies shot through, returned againe vnto his place. Of this light fight many deemed what would haue been the euent of the whole battell, if the opinion of *Fuscarnus* had preuailed. Both the fleets falling againe into their order, although the Christians could not so fast follow, as the Turks went before them; yet came they so neere them, that oftentimes they changed bullets, as well with their small shot as their great. And yet for all that, it was by many signes gathered, that neither the Turks would abide present battell, neither the Christians longer delay, if by their enimies they so might. The Christians had agreed (as is before said) not to ioyne in battell without their galleasses and tall ships: which *Pluzales* well vnderstood both by the fugiues and his owne cipals, as also by their manner of sayling. And he himselfe although he had no great desire to fight: yet to be the better able to frustrate the endeouours of the Christians, who with great labour drew with them the galleasses and other heauie ships, sent his chargeable great ships to MALVASTA, there to be vnrigged; whereby he discharged himselfe of a great burthen, and made himselfe able at his own choice, and pleasure to leaue or take, to fight or not: and also with such souldiors and other necessaries as were in the same great ships, supplied the wants of his whole fleet. By which policie the matter was brought to that passe, that if the Christians would needs draw the enimie to battell, they must of necessitie forsake their galleasses, their most assured strength: or if they would not leaue them, then they could not by any meanes enforce the readie enimie to fight. The day now declining, the enimie supposing himselfe to haue done ynough for that time, both for the abating of the heat of the Christians, and encouraging of his owne people, in seemely order, as one not afraid, sayled with his fleet to CORONA. The Christians in like manner retiring themselves to CERRIGO.

Whilest things thus went, *Don John* by a frigot sent of purpose gaue knowledge to the fleet, that he was come to CORCYRA, sharply blaming the great commanders for their departure, and that they stayed not for his comming: and further commaunded them as their Generall, all other things set apart, forthwith to meet him at ZACYNTHVS, there to resolu'e of all matters.

Gggg iij

Columnius

The Turkes fleet at Corona, and the Christians at Cerrigo.

Don John sendeth word to the fleet to meet him at Zacynthus.

Columnius wholly deuoted to the Spaniards, and preferring the fauour of *Don Iohn* before the rest, hearing this message, was in such haste to haue returned, that he would haue perswaded *Fufcarinus* to haue left the heauie vessels and other weake gallies at *CARIGO*, and with an hundred of the best gallies with all speed to haue returned to the Generall. Of which opinion was also *Lilly*. But *Fufcarinus* more carefull than the rest, as he whom the danger more concerned, would not yeeld to that perswasion: for that in so doing they should (as he said) leaue the ships and galleasses, the cheefe part of their strength, in danger to be spoyled by the enemy; whom they now kept at a bay, without the helpe of the Generall; and should, as he well hoped, by often prouoking of him, at one time or other draw him to battell; and haue ouer him a notable victorie. And therefore requested them for the loue of God, and the zeale they bare vnto the common good of all Christendome, not to depart further off, nor to suffer the enemy to escape out of their hands, neither by their departure to leaue the islands of the Venetians subiect to the furie of the enemy: whereas the Generall might at his pleasure and without danger come vnto them, they lying betwixt the enemy and him. But *Columnius* and *Lilly* resolutely set downe, that what hap should, to do what *Don Iohn* had commaunded, would not listen vnto the reasonable perswasions of the Venetian Admirall, but told him flatly, That if he would not in that they had said yeeld vnto them, they would forthwith leaue him vnto himselfe, and with their gallies presently return to *ZACYNTHVS*, as the Generall had commaunded. Whilest they were yet thus discoursing, newes was brought, That the enemy was come with his fleet into the fret of *CARIGO*: which caused them all with one consent to resolute in such order to passe by the enemy, as if they should haue giuen him present battell: whereas before they were determined by the perswasion of *Fufcarinus* to haue gone to *CERTE*, and there leauing the ships and galleasses in safetie, to haue afterwards returned to the Generall. In such order the Christians passed by the enemies fleet, which lay still in the fret of the sea without moouing, standing as it were rather vpon the guard of themselves, than resolute for battell. In three daies sailing they came to *ZACYNTHVS*, where they found not *Don Iohn*, but two of his gallies, and commandement, that they should there leaue their heauie ships, and with their gallies come to *CEPHELENTA*, where they should not faile to meet him. Hereupon the Venetians were exceedingly grieved, and muttered through the whole fleet, That the Spaniards bearing themselves vpon their wealth, were too proud, and in comparison of themselves regarded neither the conditions of the league, neither any other mans credit, but trode all men vnderfoot; and would now vse the Venetians not as their friends and confederats, but as their slaues and vassales, feeding them in the meane time but with vaine hope. Yet for as much as the time and necessitie so required, they were content to be oueruled: and so leauing their ships and galleasses at *ZACYNTHVS*, went with the rest of the fleet to *CEPHELENTA*: whither *Don Iohn* was not yet come, but had sent word thither, That if they had any desire to joyne their forces with his, they should yet come further backe vnto him to *CORCYRA*. This message, which they had rather feared than expected, much troubled the Venetians: who readier to suspect euery mischeefe, than to hope for any good, began to fret and complaine, That the Spaniards could very well tell the Venetians what they had to doe, and forget in the meane time what was on their owne part to be performed. A hard thing it was to say (and yet to be said) that now they had more to doe with those their dallying friends and confederats, than with their enemies: for with their enemies they were to fight but in time of battell, but with them they were to wrestle and strue at all times and in all places. They were by them (as they said) drawne from the sight of their enemies, when as they might haue bene ouerthrowne: not to the intent that with their vnited forces they might more safely fight against them, or vnder the conduct of *Don Iohn* gaine the victorie; but rather least any thing should haue bene done, which might be to the honour or profit of the Venetians: and that time which was to haue bene bestowed in the managing of the warre, spent in lingering and delaying, and vaine going forward and backward to no purpose. One onely way there was (as they said) to haue dispatched with the Turke, which was, by ouercomming him in another notable battell, and so to haue vtterly broken his strength at sea: which course the confederats made no lesse difficult by their ofwardnesse and delays, than the enemy by declining of battell: That they had long ago by many secret signes probably conjectured, that the Spaniards had more care to hinder and crosse other mens doings, than to doe any thing of themselves: That their indeuours were, to frustrat those great hopes which promised vnto the Christian common-weale the greatest felicitie and happinesse, together with immortall

Don Iohn sends for the fleet to Cephalenia, where he also saileth to meet the.

Don Iohn commaundeth the fleet to repaire vnto him to Corcyra.

A mortall glorie: and, That the Turkes, of late discouraged with the fortunate proceedings of the Christians, might againe rejoice at their mishaps.

The Venetians, notwithstanding all these their mutmuring speeches, loath to fall off from the Spaniard, kept still on with the rest vntill they came to *Don Iohn* at *CORCYRA*, who then lay with three and fiftie gallies and eigheteen ships at *SITICA*, in the vttermost end of the island. At their first meeting, *Don Iohn* shewed himselfe not a little offended, that they had not with more dutie before attended his coming: and they againe not a little complained of his long stay, with many other their grieuances, which were tedious here to rehearse. The fleet now all with much adoe at length met together, which consisted of two hundred gallies, nine galleasses, and thirtie six tall ships: it was by generall consent agreed, that they should againe set forward toward the enemy: They were not yet vnder saile, when two of their espials brought them newes, that the enemies fleet (weakly furnished both of mariners and souldiours) was come to *NAVATINVM*: which filled them all with good hope, that the Turke fleet so euill provided, might in that place vpon the sudden be easily oppressed; and the rather, if they came vpon them v unexpected. Wherefore, because they would not be delcied, they kept not their course on right soorth, but sayling by night, kept aloofe vpon the right hand: and hauing passed *ZACYNTHVS*, came with great silence vnto the *STROPHANES*, where they lay at anchor all that day. In the euening they loosed thence, so casting their course, that the more to terrifie the enemy they might before day fall vpon him; and be seene in the mouth of the haven where he lay, before there could be any report made of their coming thither. But this course so well set, the time was so euill cast, that it was three day long before they could come to the appointed place; when the Turkes out of their watch towers discovering a farre off the coming of the Christian fleet, gaue warning thereof vnto their fellowes: whereupon an alarm was presently raised in the towne, and all men in armes ran headlong to the wals and to the haven. But the Turkes out of hope with their euill rigged fleet to be able to withstand the Christians, and not daring to tust to that weake harbour, and all now in a great hurly burly, ran confusedly hand ouer head, souldiours and mariners aboard: and whilest they had yet time, got them in haft out of that harbour, and as men chased by their enemies got them into safe harbour at *MODONA*, a strong town of *PELOPONNESVS* about six miles off. *Columnius* was sent before the rest of the fleet to haue pursued them: but they were got so farre before him, that they had recouered the harbour before he could ouertake any of them. The Christian fleet coming before the harbour, and leauing a space as it were of purpose for the enemy to come out into, there lay in the face of the towne, daring the Turkes battell. But when they had so lien almost all that day, and no man durst come out; and now toward the euening certaine signes of tempest appeared, the Christians fearing to be by force of weather driuen on ground, put farther off againe to sea. Then at length *Pluzales* sent out certaine light gallies to follow in the taile of the fleet, when the confederats suddenly staying their course, and turning their prowes vpon them, draue them headlong againe into the harbour: and afterwards retired themselves with the whole fleet into the islands *OBVSIA*, now called *SAPIENTIA*, right opposite against *MODON*. The next day wanting fresh water, they remoued vnto the bay of *MASSANA*, there to water in the mouth of the river *Pamifus*, which there falleth into the sea: where in passing by *CORONA*, they were oftentimes shot at out of the towne; and landing their men to water, were encountred by certaine troupes of horsemen, sent for that purpose by *Pluzales*. There was water deely bought with the liues of many there slaine on both sides: in the end, the Christians preuailling, watered, and so againe returned vnto the *OBVSIA* from whence they came.

METHON or *MODON* (for it is by both names knowne) standeth almost in an island stretching farre into the sea, where toward the West runneth out a long point of the land a great way into the sea; in the vttermost part whereof, standeth a great round tower. The towne it selfe is on the one side enclosed with the sea, and toward the land so strongly fortified, as that it seemeth almost impregnable. Towards the South commeth in a faire bay about three miles wide, safe from all winds except the Northerly wind only: and shut vp by a little island in the mouth of the bay, maketh a safe and quiet harbour, with two entrances thereinto on either side of the island. Within this bay lay the Turkes fleet, with the sternes of their gallies toward the land, and their prowes towards the sea. At the Southerly coming in of the bay standeth an hill, which the inhabitants call *ALVS*; on the top whereof, the enemy had placed six great pieces of ordinance, where

The Christian fleet altogether at Corcyra, setting forward againe toward the enemy.

The Christians offer the Turke battell.

The description of the bay of Modon.

wherewith to keepe the Christians from entering that way. So had they also vpon that point of the maine, which (as we said) runneth out from the towne, and vpon S. Bernards rocke, planted other great pieces of ordinance to defend that passage also. The Christians, comming vnto the mouth of the bay, there lay with their fleet diuided into foure parts, but yet doubtfull what to doe: for beside that the entrances of the bay were but narrow, they were also farre more dangerous to be entered, by reason of the great ordinance planted vpon them. Neuertheless, the Venetian Admirall in hope of good successe, and loth to let the fearefull enemy so to escape out of their hands, would faine haue persuaded the Generall, with his whole fleet to haue entered the bay, and there in the harbour to haue oppressed the enemy: which he shewed to be no matter to doe, for that the enemy was too weake in strength, and could not be from land relieved. In which doing, they should indeed ouerthrow but one fleet; but in the ouerthrowing of that one, they cut in sunder all the sinewes of the Turkish empire by sea: and raising a tumult in the bay, and filling all with a generall feare, should vndoubtedly at the first onset put the enemy to flight. Which done, what should let, but that, carrying about with them the terror of this victory, they should with their victorious fleet, take from the Turke all the islands of the *Egean*. It was truly and wisely it was said of *Themistocles*, That whosoever had the command of the sea, must needs also preuaile in the rest, and at length carrie away the victorie by land also. It was (as he said) the part of good chieftains, not to be wanting vnto themselves when occasion was offered: besides that, they were the same Turkes whom they had but the yeare before vanquished; and what had that one yeare either taken from them, or giuen vnto the Turkes; or what should they feare six pieces of ordinance mounted vpon an hill, who if they should vndertake the battell, were not to, feare the great store of ordinance in two hundred and threescore of the enemies gallees and galliots? I my selfe (said he) will be the guide and leader, in whatsoever shall seeme most difficult and dangerous: and will in person my selfe be the first that shall enter the harbour, and aduenture the first danger. Great victories (he said) were not to be gained but with great aduentures; and that therefore the matter were to be hastened, before more aid should be sent vnto the Turkes. Wherefore they should as resolute men attempt that, the Turkes thought, the Christians durst not to haue attempted; and with the same courage breake into the bay, wherewith they had but the yeare before broken the strength of the same enemy; and by the power of God, carrie away another notable triumph of the vanquished Turkes: who ouercome in a second battell at sea, must needs depart with all their maritime territories. VVith euill liking of the Spaniards was the Venetian Admirall heard. And *Don Iohn* the Generall, deeming both the time and place vnsuited for the attempting of so great an exploit; rehearsed on the one side, the strength of the enemy, the disadvantage of the place, the difficultie of the battell, with the manifold and great calamities received by the ouerhastie and rash attempts of their enemies: That the enemies strength was not to be so much deemed by the eye, or by report, as by reason; and that many in seeking to increase their former glorie, had in so doing ouerthrowne the same: That the Christians in entering and aduenturing the harbour, should on the one side be beaten with the artillerie from the hill; and on the other with the artillerie out of the castle of *Modon*: And that it was not like, that *Pluzales* should if need were, lacke aid from land, who but the other day had sent great troupes of horsemen to haue kept the Christians from watering: That a matter of so great importance, was (by *Fuscarius* his leaue) not rashly to be taken in hand, vpon an heat and haughtinesse of stomacke, but vpon graue and mature deliberation: for if they should in a place of so great disadvantage, hazard the fortune of a generall battell, it should seeme that either he knew not that kind of fight, and force of the enemy, or else would make the bay of *Modon* more famous by the ouerthrow of the Christians, than was the *Cyzlari* by the slaughter of the Turkes. Then what a shame would it be, if they which were about to oppress the enemies fleet, should themselves be ouerthrowne, and that in their owne deuise. He had rather (as he said) preseeue his owne fleet, than to take six hundred of the enemies gallees; and to account the same for a greater honour. Which he determined not, for that he would not haue any thing done, but that vnto occasions should not be too much hastened, and as it were thrust headlong forward: whereas time would giue opportunitie for the ouerthrow of the Turkes fleet, so that they ran not blindly on headlong; and that in future time, the Venetians would reioice that they had so moderated their desires. The Christians (he said) had sufficiently preuailed, if those things should fall out well, which were warily and aduisedly considered and resolved vpon.

The

A The matter thus on both sides debated, and nothing done, they returned with the fleet into the port of *NAVARINVM*. This proceeding, as it diuersly moued the Spaniards and the Venetians, so brought it forth diuers speeches, euery man speaking in fauour of his owne nation. The Spaniard openly vaunted, that he had most proudly resolved; for that how deere the counsell of the Venetian Admirall would haue cost if it had beene followed, the thing it selfe (as he said) shewed, by the extreame danger thereof presented, not in the doubtfull opinion of men, but laied open before their eyes. The Venetians on the other side more desirous of battell, the nearer they had seene the opportunitie to haue preuailed vpon the enemy, the more impatiently they endured so assured a victorie to haue beene let slip out of their hands: and thereof spake accordingly.

B The Christians lying at *NAVARINVM*, consulted of many things what they were best to take in hand: and resolving at last by sea and land to besiege the castle of *Modon*, which kept the passage into the bay, and defended the Turkes fleet; they returned againe thither, and landed seauen thousand of their best souldiours to besiege the castle. And at the same time, appointed the galleasses with certaine gallies to batter it also from sea: which the more commodiously to doe, they joynted two of their greatest gallies together side to side, which they made fast with masts and strong ropes, and so boured them cleane ouer, whereon as on a platforme, they placed gabions all afront, filled with earth, and great ordinance betwixt to haue battered the castle. But when this engine (in manner of a floating fort) should haue performed the seruice for which it was deuised, it prooued vseniceable, after it had with much adoe been brought thither, being C readie to sinke with the waight of the great ordinance and other things wherewith it was ouercharged. For which cause, and for that they vnderstood a great number of horsemen to be come into the towne, they gaue ouer the siege vainly begun, and put againe with their fleet to sea. It fortuned at the same time, that a tall ship of *VANICA* departing from *ZACYNTHVS*, and comming alongst the coast of *Peloponnesvs* with prouision for the fleet, was descried by the enemy; who thinking to doe the Christians a great dishonour, if they could almost in the sight of their fleet surprise her, they sent out certaine light gallies to haue taken her; *Pluzales* in the mean time with the rest of his fleet, lying in the verie mouth of the bay, readie to come out if the Christian fleet should once stirre to relieue her. Which the Christians perceiuing, and well hoping that so the enemy would be drawne to battell, sent out *Columnius* with his gallies to rescue the ship; and others also which lying aloofe, might get in betwixt the Turkes gallies and the bay: *Don Iohn* and the Venetian Admirall, lying readie to haue giuen battell, if *Pluzales* should haue come forth. But the Christians comming on with a small gale, the enemy being afraid, by shooting off of certaine warning pieces within the bay, in time called backe the gallies that were already gone out of the bay: who all forthwith came in, excepting *Mahomet* the nephew of *Barbarussa*, a most famous captaine amongst the Turkes, who as one of great courage, and desirous of honour, staid a little without the bay, with greater courage than discretion, expecting who should assaile him. Him the Marques *S. Crucis* set vpon, and had with him a great and terrible fight: but in the end, the Marques preuailling, slew *Mahomet* with all his Turkes, and with honour carried away the gallie. So the dishonour which *Pluzales* would haue done the Christians, fell vpon E himselfe, hauing in his owne sight lost one of his best captaines with his gallie.

The next day, because the yeare should not passe without something done, nor the hope of so great a preparation come to nothing, the Christians determined to besiege the castle of *NAVARINVM* (which was in auncient time called *Pylus*) more famous for nothing, than for that it was the natie place of old *Nestor*. The citie of *NAVARINVM* standeth vpon a rising ground, stretching somewhat into the sea; whereinto it hath a large prospect, and a faire large haven, but subject to the Northwind. It is defended with a point of the maine running compass into the sea, whereon standeth an old castle. Some sent before to view the situation of the place, brought word backe, that the castle might in three daies be woon. The performance of which exploit, was committed to *Alexander Farnesius* prince of *PARMA*, whom the Venetians furnished with F munition and victuall. He landing with two thousand Italians, a thousand Spaniards, and five hundred Germanes, began with twelve great pieces to batter the castle. And albeit that the batterie was planted so farre off, as that it did the enemy no great harme; yet happily the enterprise had taken effect, if by taking the straight and troublesome passages through a rough and thicke Forrest, the citie had been kept from reliefe: but for as much as those passages were left free, the enemy

Don Iohn refused to follow the counsell of the Admirall.

The Castle of Modon in vaine besieged by the Christians.

Mahomet slain.

The prince of Parma in vaine besiegeth Navarinum.

enemie cunningly opposed policie against force, for falling out of the citie, they gaue the Christians an hot skirmish: and in the meane time whilest the Christians were so busied, by a port toward the forrest on the other side of the citie, receiued in great number both of horse and foot. The report of this new come aid caused the prince to raise his siege, and to goe againe aboard. And now rested all the hope of the gaining of the towne in the strength of the fleet: and that not small, for that the Turks not reliued with victuals by land, were by the confederates kept from them also by sea: for at that time the Turks were troubled with two great mischeefes, the plague, and famine. For no prouision had there beene made, as in a thing not feared; and that little being spent that was in the towne, they were enforced to seeke for victuals further off: which comming but sparingly, as in time of dearth, was oftentimes by the way intercepted by the fouldiors that lay about in the countrey villages, wanting victuals no lesse than they in the citie. And the moe men the Beglerbeg of *GRACA* brought down for defence of the sea towne, so much the more the wants of all things dayly encreased. So that no man doubted, but that in short time all would be brought to extreame penurie. What a death the mortalitie had made, the want of men in the gallies well declared: for many of the gallies for lacke of mariners and fouldiors were sent away into *EVBA*, or left at *MALVASIA*, or carried away to *CONSTANTINOPLE*. Those which stayed in the bay of *MODON*, were scarce an hundred gallies, and fortie galliots: and they so slenderly manned, that the greatest gallies had scarcely an hundred and twentie men left in them, and they so meigre and faint, as that they could scarcely hold vp their weapons. The Christians vnderstanding of these things, were in good hope, that by continuing the siege, they should without danger gaine a notable victorie: For which cause *Fuscarinus* I persuaded the Spaniards, of whose constancie he doubted, to hold it out, as men of resolution; shewing them, that in the euent of this action rested for them for euer to be feared or contemned of the Turks: who except they should be changed into fishes or into birds, could not (as he said) without a notable ouerthrow escape their hands out of the Bay. But vnto this his hope and counsell the euent was not correspondent: For the Spaniards, whether it were for the tediousnesse of the siege, or for want of victuals, or for the approach of Winter, or els moued with some other reasons, began to thinke of the matter diuersly: and at the first a report was raised, That the Christians giuing ouer the siege, would shortly returne home: and the reason was, for that they wanted bisket, and had scarcely victuals left for fiftene dayes, which was to be referred for their long journey home: Besides that, the approach of Winter did call them from the action: K and that hauing done what they might, they could neuer draw the enemie forth to battell; and that therefore hauing sufficiently and as farre as was possible already discharged their duties, they were now also to regard their safetie, and to foresee that their fleet, wherein the welfare of them all was reposed, were not too farre endangered. At the first these speeches were divulged by the common fouldiours and mariners of small credit or reputation; but afterwards by moe, and they also men of better place and sort: Yea *Don John* himselfe, whether it were to some other purpose, or that he so spake in good earnest, began to lay the fault vpon others, why that hee, so lately come from *MESSANA*, should in so short time want victuals and all things els necessarie.

The Venetians
marinere against
the Spaniards.

With these vnexpected reports, and so farre different from the confederation, the Venetian Admirall with the rest of the Venetian commanders were exceedingly troubled and grieved aboue measure: for it seemed not credible, that they which but a little before were come from the most fertile and plentifull countrey of *SICILIA*, in all ages the most faithfull and abundant granarie and storehouse of *ITALIE*, both in peace and warre, could so soone want victuals. Could eightene tall ships (which ought by the capitulations of the league to haue come loaded with bisket, victuals, and other warlike and necessarie prouision) become emptie? or but to haue brought so much as might but suffice for a month onely? If this were done without the knowledge of *Don John*, where was then the care of a Generall? If he winking thereat, where was his zeale to the confederation? or to what purpose came he to *CORCYRA*? was it to auert the Christian fleet (hauing once or twice met with the enemie) from doing any good vpon him? Could it come into any mans head (besides that in so doing he was therein to extinguish the glorie of a most certaine victorie, like to worke the Turks confusion) by the infamie of a voluntarie returne to encrease the glorie and renowne of his enemie, and bring a perpetuall ignominie and disgrace vnto the honour of the Christians? verely the Spaniards, therein to shew themselves not so

willing

A willing to haue the power of the Turks abated, as the strength of the Venetians not encreased.

These things *Fuscarinus* and the Venetians sometimes fretted at amongst themselves; and otherwhiles the Admirall himselfe expostulated the same with *Don John* and *Columinus*; and in the presence of the greatest counsellours shewed, not onely how profitable but also how necessarie perseuerance was in all martiall affaires: That it was an old and vsuall matter for men in besieging of their enemies to suffer many difficulties: if they should, hauing performed nothing, returne with the fleet, who would doubt but that both their labour and charge was againe the next yeare to be renewed? And what could this delay be els, but a prorogation of their further calamities? That therefore it much concerned the Christian commonweale, although they had not all things in abundance, yet resolutely and with patience to endure the scarcitie of victuals. If want of bisket were feared, the Generall might easily remedie that matter, by speedily sending for those ships which lay laden with victuals good store at *TARENTUM*; which thing might in short time be performed. In the meane time he promised to supplie the Spaniards wants with part of his own store: and that he had rather his men should liue with roots, than to let the enemies fleet coupt vp, so to escape his hands: That the desire to protect the honour of the Christians, would ouercome all difficulties. Besides that, the matter would be but short, if it were done at once, in one continued course; and would vndoubtedly be by them performed, if they gaue not ouer the thing they had so well begun, vntill they had accomplished it. They (as he said) might in good safetie lie with their fleet in the ports of *NAVARRINUM*, *SAPIENTIA*, and *CAPRARIA*: whereas the enemie, lying shut vp in the bay of *MODON*, should haue but a bad and dangerous Winter harbour; and October being now begun, should in short time be in danger to perish with blustering stormes and rage of the sea, familiar vnto that time of the yeare; or els enforced with the extremite of the weather, and with want, to aduention into the open sea and with their weake forces to joyne battell. What should therefore let, why they should not for ten or for fiftene daies continue the siege, as best befecmed the honour of themselves, the valour of their fouldiors, and worthinesse of the Christian name? What a terrour it would be vnto the enemie, to see the Christians readie to endure all extremities and wants to gaine the victorie ouer the Turks? Again, what dishonour and discredit would it be vnto themselves, if they should suffer the enemie (shut vp and not daring to fight) to escape: especially, when as they might sitting still, end the warre? The Senat of *VENICE* he said most rested vpon the valour and courage of *Don John*, and therefore he requested him not to deceiue the great hope they had of him conceiued: For how much should he himselfe blemish his owne honour, if when he had before relieved the afflicted state of the commonweale, he should now, when it was most of all to be holpen, forsake the same? Which should not be much vnlike, as if a man should with great labour purchase great store of pretious pearles, and vpon an humourous passion cast them all into the sea: That men generally held a great opinion of him the Generall, an honourable remembrance of his victorie, and regard of his valour; all which, how much the more pregnant and honourable should they be, by the second vanquishing and subduing the most mightie monarch of the world: And that if the action well begun should be effectually prosecuted by the goodnesse of God, the direction of the commanders, and the resolution of the fouldiors, in short time the Christians should carrie the victorie from the Turkes, and make him their Generall equall not onely with the great cheefetaines of the present time, but euen with the most famous commanders of all former ages. Whereunto *Don John* replied, That the action then in hand no lesse concerned the Spaniards than the Venetians: and that he had in his life desired nothing more, than to stand the Christian commonweale in stead: That he pointed at the same marke with *Fuscarinus*, and in zeale to doe good vnto the Christian commonweale, gaue place to no man; but indeed to performe it, was a thing much more difficult than to say it: Lesser things he said were to be ouerpast, to reserve themselves for the performance of greater: and therefore marvelled that *Fuscarinus* alone could not see things most manifest before his eyes, who otherwise could with his piercing wit see through the deepest matters: Could he thinke by any other means to abate the power of the Turke, than if they kept their fleet whole? That it was euer the manner of the greatest and most worthie commanders, rather to shun the present dangers, than to encrease their territories: That nothing was so well purposed, which might not be of some wrongfully suspected: but his faithfull meaning to be pure and without spot; and albeit that the oportunitie fetted not for him to shew it, yet was his desire and endeuour nothing the lesse: And that *Fusca-*

The Venetian
Admirall per-
suadeth the Spaniards in no case
to returne from
the enemies.

Don John reph-
ceth vpon the Ve-
netian Admirall

tinus

rinus should doe well more intently to consider, what the cause, the matter, and the time required: That the manner of warre at land and at sea, were much different: And that although warres of both sorts were to giue place vnto the most vnseasonable time of the yeare, vnfit for any kind of warre; yet might men at land, better endure the winter stormes in their tents and cabins than at sea in their gallies, where oftentimes, will, skill, wisdom, nor valour helpe not: but that (except it be so prouided and foreseene, that the seasonable time of the yeare, and commodious for sayling may be taken) all must together perishe by shipwracke. What, would hee haue them to strue about their power with the winter stormes, and famine, the greatest extremities of nature? Besides that, he was verily perswaded, that the Turks enjoying the commodities of a good harbour, and of a rich citie, would there in safetie winter; the countrey of PAPHOS, NABVS relucient them with all necessaries: When as the Christians in the meane time, except they in time returned home, should lie exposed to the rage of the sea, standing as it were in a continuall watch, not laying away their weapons in the depth of winter and dead time of the yeare, which in reason ought to giue rest to all men. And that therefore euerie man ought for the present to beare his owne grieuances, and not by the harmes of his friends and confederats, to seeke his owne auail. And that he, bearing himselfe vpon the inward integritie of his good will towards the Venetians, would this say, howsoeuer *Fuscarinus* should vnderstand it, That if the kings fleet should by long staying there perishe, it would no lesse concerne the Venetians than the king himselfe: and taking God to witnesse, would solemnly promise, Nothing to be vnto him more leiser or religious, than to be prest so soone as the time of the yeare would giue leaue; and by his endeouour to make all men to know, that he had no lesse care of the Venetian State than of the kings affaires; neither desired any thing mote, than to be accounted; and in deed to be, a most constant vpholder of that most Christian league; and that beyond all expectation, euen in the iudgement of the Venetians themselves: but for the present they must pardon him, if he gaue place vnto the necessitie of the time. As for the offer of the communicating of their victuals, that would not be any helpe, but the destruction of both the fleets; for so they should both sooner feeble the want: wherefore it were much better to preserve the fleet which they might see in the next yeares warres, than wilfully to cast away the same by famine, and the rage of the sea. In brieffe, what an indignitie should the Christians sustaine, if they themselves should by the same meanes be ouerthrowne, whereby they had thought to haue ouerthrowne others.

The Spaniards
about to returne
without the
knowledge of
the Venetians.

Now the Spaniards were so resolutely set downe for their departure, that not only without the consent of the Venetians, but euen without their priuie, their departing was resolved vpon, and secret commandement giuen vnto the masters of the gallies, with all the hast that might be, to depart thence to MESSANA. Which the Venetian Admirall vnderstanding, and therewith troubled as with an vnexpected matter, came aboard the Generall, and greatly complained of his purpose, for so sudden a departure: requesting him a while to stay, vntill the two gallies made fast together in the harbour of NAVARINVM (as is before said) with the ordinance vpon them, might be put in good safetie; and neither they, or any thing else left for a prey vnto the enemy. With much adoe, *Fuscarinus* perswaded him to stay that night, that those gallies might be brought out of the harbour, and all things put in order for their departure. The rest of the night was spent in debating of the matter too and fro: where *Don Iohn* would needs haue it conceived into a publicke instrument in writing, That the fleet by the generall consent of the three Admirals, returned for lacke of victuals: whereunto the Venetian Admirall hardly consented. But when the instrument should haue been made and confirmed, *Don Iohn* better aduised by one of his secretaries, That the same would redound vnto the great dishonour both of the king and himselfe, that the fleet coming out of the fruitfull countrey of SICILIA, should in a moneths space want victuals; changed his mind for the writing, and onely requested the Venetian Admirall to credit him and *Columnius*, in that they had said concerning the want of victuals: promising him, that if vpon the way he should meet with the victuals that were sent for, he would forthwith returne and giue him aid, as the time and occurrents should require: but in the meane time to proceed by common consent, to doe that which was most needfull. Hereupon they returned: and M coming to CORCYRA, they met the expected ship laded with victuals. Now is not *Fuscarinus* vnmindfull of his dutie, but coming to *Don Iohn*, put him in remembrance of his promise; telling him, That it was not vnlike, but that the enemy so soone as he vnderstood of their departure, would come out of the bay, and returne with his fleet towards CONSTANTINOPLE; and being

A being but weakly manned, and worse furnished of mariners, might easily be ouertaken vpon the way, and ouerthrowne. But *Don Iohn* was not by any meanes to be thereunto perswaded, pretending, that he was by the king commaunded forthwith to returne. So the expectation of great matters to haue been this yeare done, came to nought but vanished into smoke: and nothing performed worth so long a discourse, more than to see with what difficultie great actions are managed, wherein the hands of many great ones are required; who jealous of their owne honour, or enuying at others, corrupt with delaies the fairest opportunities, and by their crosse dealing, no lesse than the enemy, hinder the common good whereat they would all fairest seeme to aime. From CORCYRA *Don Iohn* departed to MESSANA, and *Columnius* vnto ROME. *Fuscarinus* with greater honour than successe, returned to VANICIA; where he was with great joy receiued, both of the Senat and the citizens in generall: and so (no lesse famous for his patience and moderation towards the other confederats, than for his pollicie and valour) with the good liking of all men gaue vp his charge, in few yeares after to receiue a greater.

About this time, *Amida* king of TVNES (of whom much is before spoken in the life of *Solyman*) being but a little before driuen out of his kingdome by the Turks (who had of long by little and little encroached vpon him) and as a priuat man liued in exile with his two sonnes at GVLETTA with *Franciscus Touares* Gouverneur thereof: hearing of the great ouerthrow of the Turks at LEPANTO, and of the good successe of the Christians, sent embassadours to *Don Iohn* Generall of the confederat princes then lying in SICILIA, humbly requesting his aid for the recouerie of his kingdome, promising to defray the whole charges of the warre, and for euer to hold his kingdome of the king of SPAIN, as his vassalle and tributarie. Which his request well considered of, and the matter thought of no small consequence, for the safetie of the Christian countries lying ouer against that part of AFRICA, to haue so dangerous an enemy removed: *Don Iohn* the yeare following (in the beginning of October) by the commaundement of the king of SPAIN his brother, departing from DREPANVM in SICILIA with an hundred and five gallies and fortie ships, arriued the next day about noone at GVLETTA, where the gallies of MALTA came vnto him; and shortly after, *Io. Andreas Auria* the Admirall with nineteene mo; and *Columnius* the Popes Admirall with fourteene mo, all well appointed. At his arriuall at GVLETTA, he vnderstood by *Amida* and the Gouverneur, the whole estate both of the citie, and of the kingdome of TVNES: and that the Turks and Moores, terrified with so great a fleet, were about to forsake the citie. Wherefore hauing well viewed the place, he the next day after landed his forces about foure miles from the citie, and sent 2500 footmen before the rest of the armie to the citie; who found it all desolat, the Turks and Moores being before for feare fled, some to CARAVANA, some to BISERTA: who entring without resistance, came to the castle, wherein they found two hundred Moores, who said, they kept it for *Amida* their king; but yet would by no meanes suffer the Christians to enter. All which was forthwith made knowne to *Don Iohn*, who then because it was almost night would not moue, but early the next morning set forward with his whole armie: and entring the citie before abandoned by the inhabitants, and so coming to the castle, found nothing therein, but great store of oyle, butter, and wooll.

E *Amida* the late king, by the commaundement of *Don Iohn*, all this while staid at GVLETTA. But whilest *Don Iohn* was yet at TVNES, newes was brought vnto him the thirteenth of October, That the Turks garrison before fled out of TVNES, with diuers Moores, coming to BISERTA, were there kept out by the citizens and not suffered to enter: For which cause they began to burne and spoile the countrey thereabout. Whereupon the Generall sent *Touares* the capitaine of GVLETTA thither with part of the armie; who encountering with those Turks, ouertrew them, and had the citie by the citizens peaceably deliuered vnto him.

The kingdome of TVNES thus easily once againe recouered from the Turks, *Don Iohn* thoroughly enforced of the faithlesse and cruell dealing of *Amida* the late king, and that in detestation of the Christians and their religion, he had already had intelligence with the Turks; and F procured the death of some of the Christians: gaue this definitiue sentence vpon him, being yet in the castle of GVLETTA: That for as much as he had of long time been the authour of great discord, and endlesse troubles in that kingdome, and had most vnnaturally depriued *Muleasses* his father, first of his kingdome, and afterward of his sight; and in like manner tyrannized ouer his naturall brethren, the rightfull heires of that kingdome, whereby the Turks had taken occasion

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Amida the exiled king of TVNES
receiued aid of
Don Iohn.

1573

The iust iudgement of God vpon
Amida the late K. of TVNES.

sion both to invade and possesse the same: he should therefore by the commaundement of the king of SPAIN, be carried prisoner with his two sonnes into SICILIA, there to remaine for euer. Which heauie doome hee taking most grieuouly, and yet crying out for mercie, was forthwith thrust into a gallie, and with his wife and children transported into SICILIA, there to liue in perpetuall exile: the just reward of his mercilesse and vnaturall dealing with his father and brethren, God no doubt requiting him with the like measure he had before measured vnto them.

Mahomet, Amida his elder brother, made king of Tunis, and vassal to the king of Spaine.

After that (the king of SPAIN so commaunding) *Mahomet*, Amida his elder brother, and right heire of that kingdome, was appointed king in his place: who departing from GVLTTA to TUNES, was receiued asking, and there by solemne oath promised for euer to be the king of SPAIN his vassalle, and to doe whatsoever he should commaund.

There was before departed out of TUNES fortie thousand Moores, who now came and offered their supplication to *Don Iohn*, that they might againe returne and liue with their new king: which their request being easily granted, they in great numbers euerie day returned into the citie. Shortly after, fiftene hundred Turks, with three thousand of those wild people which some call Arabians, some Alarbes, sore troubled all the passages about the citie: who were at last by the Christians ouerthrowne, and an hundred and fiftie Christians whom they had taken prisoners, rescued. After that, *Don Iohn* by the aduise of his most expert and skilfull captaines, commaunded a strong castle to be built in the middle way betwixt GVLTTA and TUNES: and for the performing thereof, left *Gabriel Serbellio* with two thousand Italians, and *Salaçar* a Spaniard with other two thousand at GVLTTA. And so hauing performed that he came for, and disposed of all things as he thought best, returned againe into SICILIA.

A griefe of griefes it is, and sorrow almost vnconsolable, when worthie actions most happily begun, fort not to such happie end as was in reason hoped for. The greatest and the most famous victorie of all ages gained against the Turke, seemed to haue lightened the Christian common-weale: and great hope there was, that the Christians falling into vniue among themselves, would by an happy exchange make the Turkish empire the seat of their warres; and to turne into the Turkes dominions, the terrour, slaughter, and other calamities of warre, which had so many years afflicted the Christian common-weale. But by how much the more the joy was amidst such daily calamities and teares; so much greater was the sorrow, so great an hope to be comē to nought, and men to be so blinded with the darknesse of enuie and disdain, that they could not so much as thinke with what dishonour and danger of the common state, they should shrink from so iust, so honourable, and so needfull a seruice, including in it selfe the generall good of all Christendome. When posteritie shall consider what things might then haue bene done, and the deuises whereby the common cause was ouerthrowne; it will worthily blame, and greatly lament so notable a victorie and fit opportunitie, sent as it were from heauen, for the effecting of great matters, to haue been let slip and passed over so lightly regarded. This made, that they who before had reposed all their hope in armes, had now no other confidence or hope of their welfare, but in concluding of peace. Truly the Venetians both spoke and thought honourably of king *Phillip*; as of a most faithfull, iust, deuout, and honourable prince: yet greatly blaming his officers, and others of great authoritie about him, as men more regarding their owne priuat, than the good of the Christian common-weale. In these perplexities of the Venetians, king *Phillip* promised them to set forth a greater and stronger fleet against the next yere, and to be sooner in readinesse with all his forces and warlike prouision, and so to help them in all he might: who for all that, gaue small credit vnto those promises, and so to help them in all he might: times before deceiued. And therefore as trusting most vnto their owne strength, they with all carefullnesse and expedition entertained mo souldiours; of whom, some they put into their fleet, the rest they placed in their garrisons, in CRETE, in DALMATIA, and their frontier townes in EPIRVS. Neither were the Turkes then idle, as the report went; yet were they thought to manage that warre with greater fame than strength: for they had of purpose giuen it out, That they would the next Spring with diuers armies, invade the Venetian territories in CRETE, in DALMATIA, in EPIRVS, yea and in ITALIE it selfe; and with their innumerable multitude both of horse and foot, so ouerwhelme the Venetians, that they should not be able possibly to hold out. This & more too they brauely vaunted of: but in deed *Fluzales* comming to CONSTANTINOPLE, had brought his fleet so shaken and so weake, as that it seemed not possible, but in long time

The Venetians wearie of the delays and cross dealing of the Spaniards, resolve to sue vnto the Turke for peace.

to be againe repaired, and furnished with souldiours and mariners, in stead of them that had been lost, some in fight, but moe by the contagioufnesse of the infection. But howsoeuer the matter stood, the Venetians carefull with the expectation of great matters, and in small hope of good successe; comparing their owne strength with the strength of the enemy: yet were they no lesse discouraged with the delays and grosse dealing of the confederats, than with all the prouision of the enemy. It sticke in their minds, how that the Spaniards at such time as CYPRVS might haue bene defended, delayed their comming so long, that NICOSSIA being lost, it was time to returne: Neither could they forget that lingering delay to haue bene the cause of the great mortalitie amongst their men; lying in the fleet at TADERA: They remembered also, that the commodities; which of so notable victorie were most plentifully to haue bene reaped; were by the slender prosecuting of the same, so sparingly taken, that the former dangers still remained: And that *Don Iohn*, who ought by appointment to haue bene at CONSTANTINOPLE in the beginning of Summer, was scarcely come thither in the latter end of August: and that he in the third yere of this warre; at such time as their fleet was with great labour and charge againe repaired, would not or listed not to aduenture to haue againe ouerthrowne the enemies fleet; but in the very action to haue alwayes trifled away the greatest part of Summer, before his Spaniards could set forward: and when hee might safely haue come to CRETE, to haue called backe *Tuscarinus* and the rest, then facing of the enemy, and euen readie to haue giuen him battell: It was then secretly suspected, the Spaniards to haue stayed of purpose, and to haue dalked on the time, that the Venetians hauing spent their forces might be the more exposed and subject to their injuries: It sticke fast not in their minds onely, but euen almost in their eyes, what things had happened of former times in their confederations with that nation: They were grieved in the space of three yeres an hundred times, twentie hundred thousand ducats to haue bene to little or small purpose spent in that warre: Besides that, they doubted least the Flemings with their confederates should so entangle the king of SPAIN in defending of his owne territories; as that he should not be at leisure to send any aid into the East: in which case, what hope or helpe were they to looke for? How should they then defend the rest of their Seigniorie in the East? How should their emptie cofers suffice to maintaine so great armies both by sea and land, as might withstand so puissant an enemy? Long were the discourses, and effectuall the persuasions, that the Venetians had amongst themselves, to induce one another, and all in general more circumspectly to consider, not onely what had alreadye passed, or was presently in hand; but also right warily to foresee, what would be the course and what the euent of a matter so important: and betime to breake off the confederation, which they had alwayes found to haue stood them in small stead. In reuoluing of these things, onely one remedie seemed most effectuall for the curing of their afflicted state: which was, By desisting from warre, to conclude a peace with the Turke, howsoeuer: which they were the rather in good hope to obtaine, for that diuers speeches concerning the same had passed at CONSTANTINOPLE, and were from thence againe reported at VENICE. All men thus enclining to peace, the Senat referred the proceeding therein vnto *M. Antonius Barbarus* their embassadour (who all the time of these wars had liued in safe custodie at CONSTANTINOPLE) willing him therein to vse the helpe of the French embassadour, who had alwayes bene a persuader of peace.

Selymus hauing got the island of CYPRVS and diuers other places from the Venetians, and yet well wearied with the harmes and losses he had himselfe receiued both by sea and land; was also desirous ynough of peace. So that the French embassadour might, as it was thought, haue got a reasonable and indifferent peace, if he had but expected the opportunitee of time: But he, (whether mooued with the common harmes, or some other secret causes to him best knowne) in making too much hast, and seeming too desirous of peace, much hurt the common cause of the Venetians, which he most desired to haue furthered. *Selymus* hauing found him, resolued with *Mahomet* the great Bassa, what he would haue done: who at such time as the same embassadour came vnto him about the matter, told him, That he had himselfe many times mooued, yea and so farre forth as he might importuned his great lord and master for peace, but could neuer find him willing to heare thereof, vntill that now at length ouercome and wearied with the continuall sollicitation of such as might doe most with him, he had yielded thereunto. So the thing that *Selymus* himselfe vndoubtedly desired, that the craftie Bassa seemed him with much difficultie to graunt, rather vpon the instance and contemplation of them that laboured for the same, than for

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Selymus himselfe distressed of peace

Mahomet Bassa dealeth cunningly with the French embassadour, soliciting the peace in the behalfe of the Venetians.

The Venetians
send their em-
bassador of pur-
pose to Con-
stantinople, to treat
a peace.

any desire he had thereunto of himselfe. For certaine dayes at the first the French embassadour G was most courteously heard, and the Bassa with faire and cunning speech promised that the mat- ter of pacification should easily and in short time be composed: and so at their first conferences things passed rather in generall tearmes, than that any conditions of peace were particularly agreed vpon: onely this was on both parties consented vnto, That the Venetians should send their embassadour of purpose; for the full concluding and confirming of the desired peace. VVhich charge was by the Senat committed to *Iacohus Superantius*; in whose wildome and va- lour they had reposed great hope and confidence. He was no sooner come to CONSTANTINOPLE, and the Turks deliuered of the feare of the Christian sword by the dissolution of the confederation, but that all things were changed; and the Venetians glad perforce to endure the proud lookes of the Turkes, their disdainfull cares, their despihtfull speeches, their long and insolent attendance, with many other shamefull indignities: Yea the Bassa was, so shamelesse, as proudly to aske them, How they durst be so bold, as to impugne the great emperor *Selymus* his fleet at sea: VVhereunto the embassadour answered, That the Venetians had alwayes honoured the maiestie of the Turkish emperours, neither had at any time taken vp armes against them, but in their owne reasonable defence, when force was by force to be repulled; a thing lawfull, euen for the wild beasts in the wide wilderness to doe. At the first entreatie of the peace, the Bassa com- mended to put the Venetian embassadour in good hope, that the Venetians according to his request should enjoy their territories in DALMATIA in as ample manner as in former times, and bound- ed with the same bounds, whereof they had in these warres lost some part about IAPHRA. But when the matter should haue come to the shutting vp, the Turke began to shrink from that he had before promised, refusing not onely the restitution of the territorie they had indeed by rea- son got; but by cautelous expositions of his meaning, framing the conclusion of the present peace vnto the forme of their former leagues, required, That as the Turks had then yielded vnto them MALVASIA and NAVPLIUS, so now they should redeliuer vnto them other two places of like worth and importance: As for not restoring the territorie they had taken about IADERA, to col- our their deceit, they pretended, That they might not by their law restore vnto the Christians any towne or place, wherein were any church or temple dedicated or conuerted vnto the Maho- metane religion, as was there; and further, That the same territorie was alreadye giuen by *Selymus* in reward to his souldiours, men of desert, from whom without great iniurie it might not be againe taken. Hereupon the French embassadour complained, That promises were not per- formed: & the Venetians so fitted, that they were euen about to haue returned, as men shamefully deluded, without concluding of any thing. Yet when no better could be obtained, the Turke still standing vpon so hard tearmes, the embassadours by the appointment of the Senat concluded a peace with the Turke, whereof these were the cheefe capitulations: first, That the Venetians should giue vnto *Selymus* three hundred thousand ducats; one hundred to be presently payed, and the other two hundred by equall portions in two years next following: then, That the mar- chants goods should be indifferently on both sides restored: and lastly, That such places of the Venetians as the Turke was alreadye possessed of, should still remaine vnto the Turkes; but that such townes or places as the Venetians had taken in the Turkes dominion, should be againe forthwith restored. For the first payment of the money, the Turke was earnest, thereby as by a fine for an offence committed, to make this league vnto him more honourable.

A peace con-
cluded betwixt Se-
lymus and the
Venetians.

1574

The peace pro-
claimed at Ve-
nice.

This peace at CONSTANTINOPLE concluded the eleuenth day of Februarie, in the year 1574, was by the decree of the Senat confirmed: and afterwards the thirteenth of Aprill follow- ing solemnely proclaimed in VENICE, to the great wonder of the other confederates. For the better satisfying of whom, the Popes Nuntio, with the embassadour of SPAIN, were sent for into the Senat house. And although there were many things that grieved the Venetians, yet did they forebore all hard speeches, and of that their moderation receiued so much the more honour, as it is more difficult for an angrie man to overcome himselfe, than others. The duke with calme and temperate speech, framed to the purpose, declared vnto them, That anger and hope, two euill counsellors, being set apart, he had concluded a peace with the Turke: not for that he was desirous of the Turkes friendship, which what account it was to be made of, he right well knew; but for the loue he bare to the State, which was not only with losse, but euen with death it selfe, to be maintained. How he had bene spoyled of the kingdome of CYPRUS, he further declared: and that the Venetian state grew euery day weaker and weaker by the continuall war: and

A and that therefore, before it were by losse vpon losse come to the vttermost of extremitie, they not able to maintaine so heauie a warre, were to take some better course for the preferuation of that which was yet alreadye left of their Seigniorie: for that the safetie of the Venetian state should at all times be a sure forresse and defence for the Christian commonweale against all the furious attempts of the enemye, and vncertaine euent of time.

The same of this sudden and vncertaine peace was for the iust and common hatred of the Christians against the Turkes, generally euill taken: and the Venetians for the concluding there- of hardly spoken of, as if they had betrayed the whole Christian commonweale, or at leastwise their confederats. For men were for the most part of opinion, That the Turkes peace would be but fained and deceitfull; and that hauing gained time to set things in order, according to his de- sire, he would for the naturall grudge he bare vnto the Christians, come to his old course, and as he had alwayes done, breake the league, and take vp armes. Some said, That the Venetians, for- faken of their friends and confederats, would in their owne deuices perish; yet so, as that their de- struction should turne to the generall harme of all Christendome: and these men were of opi- nion, That in that case, and against that enemye, a dangerous warre was to be preferred before an vncertaine and dishonourable peace. Neuerthelesse the Venetians, besides that they for the pre- sent eased themselves of many an heauie burthen, so haue they thereby enjoyed the fruits of a long and happie peace, and found the same vnto their state both wholesome and profitable euen vntill this day. It was thought by the sequell of matters, that *Selymus* was the more willing to haue peace with the Venetians, that he might the better recouer the kingdome of TVNES, C and the strong castle of GYZZETA from the Spaniards: who with the knights of MALTA now gaped more after TRIPOLIS and the other port townes holden by the Turkes vpon the coast of BARBARIE, than how to defend the Venetians their confederates. Thus with the losse of CYPRUS, and some part of the Venetian territorie in DALMATIA, ended the mortal- lall and bloudie warre betwixt *Selymus* and the Venetians. In the course whereof is well to be seene, what great matters the united forces of the Christian princes were able to doe against this most mightie enemye, if all discord and contention set apart, they would in the quar- rel of the Christian religion joyne with heart and hand against him, and fight the battell of Christ Iesus.

The peace by ex-
perience found
profitable vnto
the Venetians.

Selymus now at peace with them who before most troubled him: to keepe his men of warre D busied, shortly after conuerted his forces against *Iohn*, Vayuod of VALACHIA, and so at length joyined all that prouince to his empire. This countrey of VALACHIA was in auncient time called DACIA: it hath on the East the Euxine (now called the Blacke Sea) on the South the fa- mous riuer Danubius, on the West TRANSYLVANIA, and on the North RVSSIA. It is di- uided into two parts, the one called TRANSALPINA, and the other MOLDAVIA (of the riuer Moldauus running through the midst thereof) but farre passing the other both in greatnesse and abundance of pasture. That part called TRANSALPINA, *Mahomet* (sumamed the Great, which woon CONSTANTINOPLE) made subject to the Turkish empire; but vpon MOLDA- VIA, the other part, he only imposed a yearly tribute of two thousand ducats. After which time the Vayuods of that countrey, aided sometime by the Hungarians, and sometime by the Poloni- E aus, rise vp oftentimes against the Turkes, and refused to do their homage. It chanced, that *Bogda- nus*, Vayuod of that countrey, fauouring the Polonians, and joyning in league with them, liued much in RVSSIA, as purposing from thence also to haue taken his wife. VVhich *Selymus* suspec- ting, with a great power chased him into exile, and placed in his stead one *Iohn* (called of his countrymen *Iwan*, and of some *Ionian*) the supposed son of *Stephanus*, sometime Vayuod of that country: who with *Teremias Czarnieueczius* (a Moldavian, who afterward notably betrayed him) hauing of long time liued amongst the Turkes, to be the more gracious amongst them, renoun- ced his faith, and being circumcised, turned Turke: and following the trade of merchandise, be- came among them a marchant of such fame, that he became very familiar & well acquainted with the great Bassas of the Court, and at length with *Selymus* himselfe. Hee vnderstanding by his friends neere about the Turkish emperor of his purpose for the remouing of *Bogdanus*, corrupted with rewards the great Bassas, to be mediators for him to *Selymus*, that commended by them, he might be preferred to be Vayuod of MOLDAVIA; still encreasing the suspicion *Selymus* had conceiued of *Bogdanus*, and telling him, That he supported by the Polonians, was like ynough in short time to reject his obedience to his imperiall maiestie. *Selymus* at the instance of the Bassas

Selymus chaseth
Bogdanus out of
Moldavia, and
places *Iohn*
Vayuod in his
stead.

H h h h iij

nomi-

nominated this *John* to bee *Vayuod* : who with a great power of the *Turkes* horsemen entred into *MOLDAVIA*, easily possessed himselfe of the countrey, *Bogdanus* being then absent in *Rvs. sia*, and as then suspecting no such matter : who yet afterwards attempted in vaine by the helpe of the *Polonians* to haue againe recovered his countrey, but finding no possibillitie so to doe, fled afterwards into *MVSCOVIA*, where he long time after liued.

John the Vayuod
falleth into sus-
pition with *Sely-
mus* and the
Bassas of the
Court.

John now quietly possessed of *MOLDAVIA*, for some few years held the same with the good liking of the *Turke*, paying him his wonted tribute : but afterwards repenting himselfe of his wicked reuolt from the *Christian* faith, and now estoones againe embracing the same, and (ignorant of his owne fortune) persecuting with too much seueritie those which withstood his coming into the countrey, especially such great men as tooke part with *Bogdanus* ; and now after his returne vnto the *Christian* faith, not fauouring the *Turkes* as he was wont, but crossing them in many matters, became suspicious both vnto *Selymus* and the *Bassas* his old friends. Which the *Vayuod* of the lesser *VALACHIA* (commonly called *VALACHIA TRANSALPINA*) vnderstanding, he became a suter vnto the great *Bassas* of the Court for his brother *Peter*, and earnestly trauelled with them, That as *John* supported by *Selymus*, had driuen *Bogdanus* out of *MOLDAVIA*, so *Peter* his brother might in like manner by his helpe driue *John* out also. In which his sute he spared for no cost, neither ceased by malicious suggestions to encrease the suspicion already conceived of *John* the *Vayuod* : who hauing rejected the *Mahometane* religion, and againe embraced the *Christian* faith, would (as he said) in short time, as had *Bogdanus*, joyne hands with the *Polonians*, and cast off his obedience towards the great *Sultan*, by whom he had bene so highly promoted. Beside that, this malicious man offered, That his brother *Peter* for such his preferment should pay yearely vnto *Selymus* twice so much more as did *John*, namely an hundred and twentie thousand duckats by the name of a tribute.

The *Bassas* before corrupted and moued with the greatnesse of the tribute, perswaded *Selymus*, by an embassadour to send for *John* the *Vayuod*, to come vnto him himselfe in person, and to commaund him to giue place to such a man as he should send thither in his stead : which if he should refuse to doe, then to denounce vnto him open warre. Hereunto *Selymus*, who had euen then much emptied his coffers with the losse of his fleet in the battell of *LEPANTO*, & the chargeable warres against the *Venetians*, was easily induced : and to that purpose sent his embassadour to the *Vayuod* : who hauing audience the one and twentieth of Februarie, at the same time that *Henry Valois*, afterward the French king was crowned at *CRACOVIA*, deliuered his message as followeth :

The comman-
ding speech of
the *Turks* em-
bassadour to *John*
the *Vayuod*.

Selymus the great emperor of the Turkes sendeth me vnto thee John, Vayuod of VALACHIA his tributarie, with this commaund (whereunto his pleasure is, that thou shouldst without delay send him answer :) first hee chargeth thee to send him not such a tribute as hee was wont, but twice so much more, to wit, an hundred and twentie thousand duckats. If thou shalt refuse so to doe, there is another readie to giue it, both for himselfe and his posteritie. But Selymus mindfull of thy constancie, fidelitie, and valour, will not be troublesome to thee in thy gouernment, if thou forthwith send the aforesaid tribute. Which if thou shalt refuse to doe, then his will is, that thou shouldst giue place to another, and thy selfe returne with me to CONSTANTINOPLE, there to answer the matter : otherwise I am in his name to denounce all hostilitie, and the calamities of warre both vnto thee and thy countrey.

This proud message of the embassadour stricke further into the mind of the *Vayuod* than any would haue thought : yet dissembling his griefe, he commaunded him to be brought to the lodging appointed for him, telling him, That in a matter of so great importance, and so much concerning the whole state of his countrey, he could not giue him so present answer as he required ; but that vpon mature deliberation had with his nobilitie and counsell, he would in short time answer him accordingly. The embassadour being gone to his lodging, the *Vayuod* forthwith began deeply to consider of *Selymus* his demands ; and that in the *Turkes* faith was no assurance, which he kept or brake with the *Christian* princes, as best fitted his owne turne : and besides that, that if he should graunt to pay that so great and heauie a tribute, in so great povertie of his kingdom, sore waisted with ciuile warre, *Selymus* would not be therewith long contented, so long as any man would giue him more, but happily would the next yeare exact a greater, and in the end

and such an one as he with all his subjects should not be able to pay ; which it should not be safe for him at any time to refuse, so long as any man would giue it. VV herefore calling together the nobilitie and states of his countrey, he brake with them in this sort.

If euer you were to consult and deliberat of a most important and difficult matter, this verily is The speech of the that time : for Selymus the Turkish emperor, enflamed with insatiable auarice, and I know not by whose persuasion, not contented with his wonted tribute, exacteth of vs twice so much more. If you shall grant it, it shall not much concerne me, as not to be paid by me your soueraigne, but by your selues and your posteritie : if we denie it, forthwith he denounceth vnto vs fire and sword, with all the calamities of warre. And in this barenesse of our kingdome, almost spoiled by ciuile warres, how shall we be able to pay it him ? wherefore declare your mindes. Verily I foresee, that if you shall in this yeeld vnto Selymus, and grant him so great a tribute, he will not therewith long hold himselfe contented, but euerie yeare extort a greater, untill he haue altogether eaten vs vp. Wherefore it were better for vs (in mine opinion) to lose our liues together with our wiues and children, than to suffer so great an indignitie : neither is it mine owne estate that troubleth me, for why it is you that are to pay it, and not I. Wherefore if you list not to endure this so dishonourable and base a seruitude, let me forthwith so vnderstand from you : and I will for my part so provide, as that I will not onely not pay vnto the barbarous tyrant the new and heauie tribute he demaundeth, but not so much as any tribute at all ; so that you be not wanting both to your selues and me. I know right well (beloued and fellowes in armes) what I owe both vnto you and the common-weale, for whose good and welfare I am alwaies readie to lay downe my life.

He had no sooner thus said, but that a secret sorrow and vnwonted silence, had as it were oppressed the whole assembly. At length, as men awaked out of an heauie and dead sleepe, they murmured among themselves, that the Turkish emperor should so without reason oppress them, with doubling and redoubling of his tribute : and were generally of opinion, That the *Vayuod* had not so plainly as truly spoken of the intollerablenesse thereof : and that therefore they had rather die, than to endure so great dishonour, joyned with so foule a slauerie. And thereupon offered vnto the *Vayuod* to setue vpon their owne charge, and with him vpon the banke of *Danubius* to meet the proud enemy, and there in defence of their liues and libertie, to fight it out vnto the last man. The *Vayuod* in few words commending their fidelitie, and taking of them an oath for the faithfull performance of that they had so resolutely promised, sent for the *Turks* embassadour, and gaue him this short answer.

I, for the auncient fidelitie and allegiance which I owe vnto my lord and dread soueraigne, the mightie emperor Selymus, would willingly yeeld vnto him the tribute he requireth, were it not that I know the minds of my people to abhorre the same : wishing rather to endure all calamities, hap what- soeuer hap may, than to yeeld vnto so dishonourable and shamefull slauerie. Wherefore since I cannot by any meanes extort the same from my subjects, tell my lord Selymus, That I most humbly request him, not to take the same in euill part ; whose amitie I wish to be vnto me, rather an ornament and refuge, than disgrace or hinderance. And that vpon that good hope I both asked, and for my singular fidelitie obtained of him the Vayuodship of MOLDAVIA : which my good hope I most heartily beseech him may not deceiue me.

With this answer he dismissed the embassadour vnrewarded, and with a safe conuoy brought him vnto the banke of *Danubius* : which his homely vsage of the embassadour, caused him not a little to be suspected, to be in mind changed from *Selymus*. The embassadour sent away, the *Vayuod* not ignorant of the sudden inuasions of the *Turkes*, forthwith began to raise his army : and at the same time, sent embassadours vnto *Henrie* king of *POLONIA* his nearest neighbour, certifying him of the dangerous state of *MOLDAVIA*, the surest bulwarke of the *Polonian* kingdom, which once ouerthrowne, opened a faire and easie way for the common enemy into *POLONIA* : and therefore requested him, that as the kings of *POLONIA* had of auncient time, euen for the safetie of their owne state, protected that countrey ; so it would please him now in like manner in so dangerous a time, to giue him aid ; or at leastwise to giue leaue vnto such of his subjects as were willing to setue for entertainment, to come vnto him, whom he would with all honour

The answer of
the *Vayuod* vnto
the *Turks*
embassadour.

The Vayuod en-
ertaineth the
Polonian Cos-
sacks.

honour and bountie vs according to their place and qualitie. Whereunto the king answered, G that for as much as he and his predecessours the kings of POLONIA, had for the space of more than an hundred yeares beene in league with the Turkish kings and emperours, he could not ei- ther send him aid, or yet giue leaue vnto any of his subjects to serue against the Turke as he desired. With this answer the Vayuod was much troubled, as there deceived where he most ho- ped for reliefe: yet hearing of certaine companies of the Polonian Cossacks, which hauing long lien in hope of prey vpon the side of the great riuier Borysthenes, were returning emptie home, he by fit messengers sent of purpose, offered them great entertainment to serue him in his warres against the Turke; of which his offer, they (as men liuing for most part by seruice) gladly accep- ted; and so without the knowledge of the king went vnto him, to the number of twelue hun- dred, with their capitaines, men of great courage and valour, of whom *Suiercenius* was chiefe: H who were by the Vayuod honourably entertained, and did him in these wars right worthy ser- uice. These Cossacks are light horsemen, lying most commonly vpon the borders of the Polo- nian kingdome towards the Tartars: an hardie and valiant kind of men, whose best liuing, is the spoile they take from the enemy; and their best lands, their horse and launce. For albeit that the Turkes and Tartars are most commonly in league with the Polonians, and seeme neuer so defi- dous of peace; yet doe they oftentimes in great numbers, vpon the sudden breake into the coun- tries of PODOBIA and RYSSIA, part of the Polonian kingdome, and there doe great harme, if they be not in time repressed or cut off by the afore said light horsemen, who for that purpose lie alwaies in wait for them, as doth the hawke for the prey.

Selymus sendeth
his forces against
the Vayuod.

Selymus vnderstanding the answer of *Iohn* the Vayuod, was therewith exceedingly enra- I gged, and the more by the bitter complaint of the embassadour, who angrie with the Vayuod that he was of him no better regarded nor rewarded, spared not to the vttermost of his power, to incense the angrie emperour against him, as if his honor had been in the person of himselfe con- temned and violated. Wherefore without delay, he sent thirtie thousand Turkes, and two thou- sand Hungarians vnto the Palatine of VALACHIA TRANSALPINA, that joyning those forces to his owne, he might take *Iohn* the Vayuod, and sending him in bonds to CONSTANTINO- PLE, to place *Peter* his brother, Vayuod in his place. The Palatine glad of this commaund, and hauing raised his owne power, together with the Turkes and the Hungarians, swam ouer the riuier Moldauus, hauing in his armie about an hundred and two thousand fighting men: a power, not onely sufficient to haue driuen the Vayuod out of MOLDAVIA, but also to haue shaken a right K puissant king in his kingdome. The Palatine in the midst of so great a strength, little fearing, and lesse regarding the sudden coming of the Vayuod, suffered his men with their horses to lie disorderedly here and there, disperfed in the large medowes and pastures all alongst the faire ri- uers side; so the better to refresh themselves, wearie of their long trauell. In the meane time cer- taine scouts came to the Vayuod then at dinner, certifying him, that the enemy with an huge ar- mie, the certaine number wherof they could not well descie, was come ouer the riuier: and now resting themselves, had turned off their horses into the rich medowes thereabout, in such disor- dered and carelesse manner, as that they might with a small power be easily ouerthrowne. The Vayuod glad of this newes, forthwith sent before *Suiercenius* with his Cossacks, and fiew thou- sand other light horsemen, more certainly to descie what the enemy did, with the manner of his lying; and he himselfe with the rest of his armie, followed faire and softly after. *Suiercenius* with great silence approaching the enemies campe, suddenly light vpon the enemies scouts, in number about fiew hundred; who enclosed before they were aware, were taken euerie man by the Cos- sacks, and by them straightly examined of the state of their armie and campe. Who for safeguard of their liues now in their enemies power, frankly confessed, how that the Palatine lay securely there by, resting his armie, not so much for the refreshing thereof after his trauell, as with greater strength to set vpon the Vayuod with his fresh souldiours: and that in the armie were about seau- entie thousand Valachians, thirtie thousand Turkes, and three thousand Hungarians; who now disperfed, and sleeping in securitie, might easily be ouerthrowne. Of all these things *Suiercenius* aduertised the Vayuod, requesting him with all possible speed to hasten his coming, for the obtaining of a most notable and assured victorie: he in the meane time lying close with his men not farre from the enemy. The Vayuod certified of all these things, came without delay, and forthwith commaunded *Suiercenius* with his men to giue the onset vpon the enemy: purposing himselfe with the rest of his armie on the other side, to charge the disordered campe in three pla- ces.

The Palatine
with the Turke
ouerthrowne by
the Vayuod.

A cc. *Suiercenius* according as he had in charge, with a great and terrible outcrie, suddenly set vp- on the secure enemies: who dismayed with the suddennesse of the vnexpected danger, stood as men astonied, not knowing which way to flie, or how to make resistance. But whiles *Suierce- nius* with his light horsemen thus on the one side filleth the campe with tumult, terrour, slaugh- ter, and feare; behold, euen as a sudden tempest commeth the Vayuod, bearing all the disordered campe downe before him: neither had the enemies any meanes to flie, hauing put their horses a great way off from them into the rich pastures; but there taken vnarmed, were miserably slain. In all the campe was lamentation and mourning, death raging in euerie place, with such furie, that of so great an armie as of late passed the riuier, few or none escaped, more than the Palatine, with *Peter* his brother, who, by great chance with much adoe getting horses, swam ouer the ri- uer, and so came to the castle of BRAILOVIA IN MACHIA. All the rest were slaine and left to be of the beasts of the field and birds of the aire deuoured. It was a most horrible spectacle to see the ground couered with the bodies of the dead, all stained with gore blood, and their wea- pons of all sorts lying by them. In the campe were found great riches, all which the Vayuod gaue vnto his souldiours, and there staid foure daies to refresh his wearied men. After that, he with his victorious armie entred into VALACHIA, the Palatines countrey, where he tooke ma- nie castles and townes, and put to the sword all that came in his way, men, women, and children, without respect of age or sex: and burnt all the countrey, townes and villages before him; he went; so that all that part of the countrey of VALACHIA TRANSALPINA, was couered with smoke and fire, to the terrour of the beholders. The aged fathers were in euerie place drawne forth to slaughter, the young babes were cut in pieces, the matrons and virgins defiled, and after- wards slaine; and in briebe, all the crueltie that could be deuised, performed: in the bloudie exe- cution wherof, the Vayuod commended his men, perswading them in like manner still to pro- secute the victorie, and that the rest of their labours was all but for prey and bootie, for the enri- ching of themselves. In this haucke of all things, it was told him, that the Palatine with his brother *Peter*, the men whom he most sought after, were in the castle of BRAILOVIA, not farre off; whereupon he forthwith marched thither with his armie. The citie of BRAILOVIA standeth vpon the riuier Danubius, and had in it a castle of some good strength, defended, both by the na- ture of the place, and a strong garrison of the Turkes which *Selymus* had appointed for the kee- ping thereof, as the key of the countrey: not farre from this citie the Vayuod encamping his D armie, writ vnto the capitaine of the castle, forthwith to deliuer vnto him the Palatine, with *Peter* his brother, his mortal enemies; who neuer wronged by him, had invaded his countrey, and sought after his life, and being ouerthrowne in battell, were fled vnto him: which if he should refuse to doe, he threatned neuer to depart thence, vntill he had to his farther harme, constrained him by force to yeeld them. These letters he sent by two Valachian captiues, to be deliuered vnto the capitaine of the castle: whereunto he returned answer by foure Turkes, two of the citie, and two of his owne seruants, by whom he also sent ten great shot, and as many small, with two Turkish arrowes, and this message.

For that I know thee to be the seruant of my dread soueraigne *Selymus*, I regard thee: and will E not denie the same men to be with me, whom thou so much requirest. But for as much as I vnder- stand, that thou of late hast slaine a great number of the seruants of the great emperour, who by his commaundment were bringing *Peter* the brother of the Palatine into MOLDAVIA: I therefore tell thee, that except thou betime raise thy siege, I will feed thee and thy followers, with such dishes as these; whereupon thou and thine armie gorged to the full, shall all afterwards dangerously surfeit and cast. Farewell.

The blint an-
swer of the cap-
taine to the Vayu-
od.

This rough answer so much moued the Vayuod, that he commaunded hands to be laid vpon the afore said foure messengers: and their noses, lips, and eares being cut off, both their feet to be with great nailles fast nailed vnto a long piece of timber, and so with their hands hanging downward, to be set vp before the citie, and so left for the capitaine and the citizens to gaze vpon. Signifying withall vnto the capitaine that sent them, that he himselfe with the other fugitiues his guests, should in like manner be serued, if they fell into his hands. Immediately after he assaulted the citie, and vsing the cheerfulness of his souldiours, by plaine force tooke the same, the desert- ants being not able to hold them out. There was made great slaughter of the Turkes, whereas

Barbarous cru-
elty.

The city of Brai-
lovia taken by
the Vayuod and
raised downe to
the ground.

no man was taken to mercie; the very babes were slain, together with their mothers, and blood ran like riuers into the Danubius. For the space of foure dayes this bloudie execution endured, no place serued for refuge; euen the most secer and obscure places were searched, and the poore creatures there found, drawne forth and slaine. The faue was so great, that no liuing thing; no nor so much as the very dogs, were spared. Much gold, siluer, plate, jewels, and other rich spoyle was there found, all which became a prey vnto the greedie souldiours: for that cite was of all others in those quarters the richest, as a place much frequented, and enjoying long peace, as after such time the Turkes were fully possessed of *Græcia*, not being troubled with any warres, untill now, that it was by the Vayuod first ranackt, and afterwards rased downe to the ground, and nothing thereof left standing, more than the bare castle it selfe, which the Vayuod durst not aduenture vpon, for that it was well fortified, and furnished with so strong a garrison, as their could nor without his great losse be taken.

The Turke again
ouertrowne by
the Vayuod.

While the Vayuod was thus buied in the spoile of *Brailova*, newes was brought vnto him of the comming of fiftene thousand Turkes to the reliefe of the castle: against whom he forthwith sent *Suiercenius* with his Cossackes, and other eight thousand Moldavian horsemen; who suddenly comming vpon the Turkes, disordered and fearing no such matter, slew almost foureene thousand of them, and chased the rest vnto the castle of *Tina*. Of this victorie *Suiercenius* in all hast certified the Vayuod; and withall, that there was another great power of the Turkes comming, which might easily be also ouerthrowne, if he leauing the siege of the castle of *Brailova*, would without delay come and joyne his forces with his. He glad of that newes, and well perceiuing how difficult and dangerous that siege would be vnto him, ile forthwith with his armie, and went to *Suiercenius*: and afterwards vpon conference had with him, laid siege to *Tina*: which cite taken without much labour, he put to sword all the people found therein, not leauing one alieue; and by the seruice of *Suiercenius* ouerthrew the Turkes comming towards *Brailova*.

Selymus in doubt
to haue bene
shrount out of
Valachia by the
Vayuod.

Selymus in the meane time much troubled with the proceedings of the Vayuod; and doubting to be quite thruft out of *Valachia Transalpinia* (which he was like ynough to haue bene, had not the treason of *Czarnieuc* hindered the matter) prepared new forces for that seruice, and after the manner of the Turkes, in time of their greatest distresse appointed generall supplications and prayers to be made vnto his prophet *Mahomet*; for the better successe of his wars; the vndoubted signe of his feare.

The Vayuod after so many victories against the Turkes, purposing for a while to breake vp his great armie, called vnto him his old friend *Ieremias Czarnieuc*, vnto whom, as vnto the man he of all others most trusted, he had resolved to commit the charge, with part of his armie, to keepe the Turkes from passing againe ouer the riuier Danubius into his countrey: and in deliuering to him his charge, spake vnto him as followeth:

The kind speech
of the Vayuod to
Czarnieuc.

Sith fortune hath hitherto answered our desires (worthie Czarnieuc) with most rare and perpetuall successe against the Turkes, our most cruell enemies, we are thankfully to take the same, and to render most humble and heartie thanks vnto Almighty God, that it hath pleased him, the author of all victorie, so to haue prospered our endeours against these fierce and deuouring enemies. Now what remaineth for the present, but to disband mine armie, wearied with labour and trauell, and to giue my soldiours leaue to depart home to rest themselves, that so I may as occasion shall require againe use their fresh forces for our better seruice: you in the meane time with thirtene thousand of my select souldiours, shall lie vpon the side of Danubius, to keepe the Turkes from passing the riuier. Haue good regard I pray you vnto this your charge, which I vpon an especiall trust, grounded vpon your ancient loue and fidelitie, haue at this time imposed vpon you. And let me from time to time with all expedition vnderstand from you of every motion of the enemy, that so we may in due time provide for him accordingly.

And so in token of his greater fauour, taking his leaue of him with a kisse (as the manner of those people is) gaue leaue vnto the greatest part of his souldiours to depart home, yet with this charge, to be alwayes in readinesse whensoever they should be called vpon.

Czarnieuc hauing receiued his charge, and promising vnto the Vayuod the vntmost of his faithfull deuoir, went towards Danubius, and there most carefully kept the passages with continuall watch and ward. It was not long but that great numbers of the Turkes were come downe

A to the other side of the riuier, and moe were still comming, yet none of them was so hardie as to aduenture the great riuier; *Czarnieuc* with his horsemen lying in the faces of them, readie to receiue them on the other side. Which the Bassa whom *Selymus* had sent with his armie, perceiuing, sent certaine men pickt out for the purpose, to *Czarnieuc*, to sound him, if he might by any meanes be drawne to come ouer, in secret to talke with him: and the more to moue him, beside his conduct for his safetie, sent him by the same messengers thirtie thousand Hungarian duckats for a present. With which so faire a bait *Czarnieuc* allured, receiued the money, and faithfully promised to come. And so shortly after, secretly passing ouer the riuier, had conference with *Peter* the Palatines brother, who then lay on the further side of Danubius, with a great power of the Turkes. In this conference, *Peter* declared vnto him in how great danger the Vayuod stood; and how highly *Selymus* was offended with him, That he his tributarie and vassale should worke the destruction of his so great armies: which his heauie displeasure he could no otherwise satisfie but with his head: and that therefore he should no longer rule in *Moldavia*, for that government was by the great emperour giuen vnto him. Wherefore (said he) if thou be wise, whilst it is yet in thy power, gaine the good will of *Selymus* by some good desert: for an easie matter it is to begin any warre, but an hard matter to end the same. For as much as it is not alwayes in the same mans power to begin warres, and at his pleasure to make an end. Euerie foole may when he list enter into amies, but must lay the same downe when it pleaseth the conquerour. Now you haue a faire oportunitie, and it is in your owne power to procure his friendship for euer, better standing with your affaires than war. And albeit you may hope well of the power of the Vayuod, yet wisdom would not, that you should preferre vncertainties before things certain: you haue now receiued thirtie thousand duckats, the earnest of your further deserts; which shall hereafter haue also their due rewards in most full and bountifull measure. Wherefore if you will doe your selfe good, and prouide both for your safetie and preferment, confound not your owne good fortune, with the broken and desperat state of the Vayuod, but suffer the Turkes to passe as friends ouer the riuier of Danubius. For I am come (said he) with a great and puissant armie from the mightie *Selymus*, to take vpon me the gouernment of *Moldavia*, and to send the Vayuod in bonds to *Constantinople*: and of me, being once Vayuod, what is it that for so great desert thou and thine may not aske and obtaine? Wherefore I pray thee conceale the comming of the Turkes, and withdraw thy selfe from the riuier: so shall we, passing ouer the riuier with our populous armie, easily oppresse the Vayuod with all his power, and at once reuenge all the former injuries and disgraces done both vnto *Selymus* and vs.

Czarnieuc
hath secret con-
ference with *Peter*
the Palatine's
brother, who cunningly
persuadeth him to giue
the Turke passage.

With greedie men what will not the foule desire of gold worke? *Czarnieuc* overcome with the golden promises of *Peter*, and forgetfull of his faith before giuen vnto the Vayuod, yeelded vnto all he requested: and drawing his forces further off from the riuier, as if it had been for his more safetie, gaue the Turkes free passage. There was then in the Turkes armie two hundred thousand men, well appointed, and furnished with great ordinance and all other things necessarie both for the field and for siege, who by the sufferance of the false traitour passed quietly ouer the riuier. *Czarnieuc* forthwith posting to the Vayuod, certified him, how that the Turkes trusting to their multitude, had passed the riuier of Danubius, against whom he was not able (as he said) to make head: and that therefore he should doe well, without delay to goe against them with such forces as he had then in readinesse; which joynd vnto his, might easily ouerthrow them. Glad was the Vayuod of this newes, and filled with the hope of good successe, demanded of him what strength the enemy might be of? They are (said he) not much about twelue thousand that be already come ouer, but are still comming more and more, and will before your comming thither be about fiftene thousand.

Czarnieuc
corrupted giueth
the Turkes leaue
quietly to passe
ouer the riuier of
Danubius.

The Vayuod lay then at the siege of the castle of *Tina* (hauing before taken the cite) but hearing this newes, raised his siege, and so in foure dayes came and encamped within three miles of the enemy: and forthwith sent forth *Suiercenius* with his Cossackes, and *Ieremias* Generall of the horsemen, with six thousand horse to take view of the enemies campe, and to vnderstand what might be of their designs. These two capitaines marching together, chanced to fall vpon the Turkes scouts, in number about six thousand horsemen, with whom they had a light skirmish, and in a short time put them to flight. Of these scouts they tooke one, and him grieuously wounded: who being examined of the strength of the enemy, and feeling himselfe wounded to death, told them dissemblingly, that the Turkes were not in number many. But the Cossackes doubting

doubting of the truth of that report, and probably conjecturing by so great a number of scouts, G that the enemy was of farre greater strength than was supposed or reported; quickly certified the Vayuod thereof, wishing him in time to provide for the safetie of himselfe and his armie, and not too much to trust *Czarnieuiche*, whom they had a good while before suspected. But the Vayuod nothing doubting of the faith of him whom he had of long time found most faithfull in the time of his hardest distresse, and vsed as a most trustie companion in all his trauels; answered nothing, but that he knew whom he trusted; and that it was not now time to stand in doubt, or to be afraid; and that he would ere long come and take a view of the enemies campe himselfe: for that he was not come so farre to flie, but to fight in defence of his countrey and subjects, euen to the last gaspe. And so fortifying his campe neere vnto a lake that runneth out of Danubius (for the more conuenient watering of his armie) he set forward with all his power against H the enemy.

Neere vnto the enemies campe was an high hill, from whence the Vayuod had thought to haue descied the number of them, with the manner of their lying: but comming thither, he could descie nothing but foure companies of scouts as farre off, one companie from another; who also vpon the sight of the Moldauians withdrew themselves of purpose out of sight vnto the armie, which then lay in a low valley behind an hill, not to be discouered vntill a man were almost vpon it. The Vayuod suspecting the enemy to be at hand, deuicd his horsemen, in number thirtie thousand, into thirtie companies, and placing before euery companie certaine field pieces, so marched readie to giue battell. His footmen, in number many, a rude and homely kind of people, but vnto him of all others most faithfull, and armed with such countrey weapons as they had, he placed by themselves. So marching on, he came to another hill, from whence he might not farre off easily descie the huge armie of the enemy, and how he had been by the treason of *Czarnieuiche* deceived: whereupon he presently sent for him; who sent him word backe againe, That he could not now come, the enemy being so nigh at hand, but that he should forthwith see him in the field as forward as the forwardest against the enemy. *Czarnieuiche* had then vnder his command thirteene thousand of the most choice souldiours in the armie: who vpon the signall of battell on both sides giuen (for the Turkes were now also readie) first according to his promise

Czarnieuiche here-
solicth vnto the
Turkes.

set forward, as if it had beene to haue giuen the onset: but being come neere vnto the enemy, forthwith (as he had before agreed) caused his ensigne to be let fall, and his men with their caps vpon the points of their speares and swords, in token of their voluntarie yeelding and submission, K to bow downe their heads and bodies; whom the Turkes with their speares and lances holden vp on high, joyfully receiued as their friends, or rather as men taken to mercie. The rest of the armie almost discouraged with this so sudden a reuolt of so great a man, retired in halt to the Vayuod, crying out vnto him, that all was lost. But he nothing discouraged therewith (as a most resolute man in the most sudden dangers) with comfortable words cheered them vp, willing them as couragious men to follow him against the enemy, whom they in all things exceeded, excepting number, which alwayes gaue not the victorie. The Turkes perceiuing the Moldauians lately reuolted vpon the joyning of the battell (as men in conscience wounded) to shrink backe, thrust them perforce into the head of their battell, making of them no more account, but to blunt the enemies swords; and such as hung backe, they themselves slew: vpon whom as false L traitors the Vayuod caused his field pieces to be most furiously discharged; so that most part of these trecherous men there slaine, some by the Turkes, some by their owne friends, receiued the iust reward of their infidelitie and treason, accompanied with perpetuall infamie.ouer

Treasures busly
rewarded.

The battell be-
tweene the Turkes
and the Molda-
uians.

The Moldauians
ouerthrowne.

by the Moldauians; and after a most cruell fight, as if they had beene discouraged, began to re- tire, but indeed of purpose to haue drawn the Christians before they were aware, within the dan- ger of their great ordinance, and ambushes, which they had before aptly and couerly placed for that purpose. Which *Suiercenius* well acquainted with the Turkes finenesse, perceiuing, with much adoe staid their further pursuit, and so auoided the danger prepared for them. The Turkes deceived of their expectation, came on againe afresh, with no lesse furie than at the first: whom M the Christians right valiantly receiued, and made with them a most cruell and mortall battell; wherein many both of the Turkes and Christians fell, and neuer rise againe. But what was so small a power against such a world of men? After long fight, the Moldauians oppressed with the multitude of their enemies, began to giue ground: and seeing no other remedie, but either to flie

A or to die, betooke themselves to flight, wherein most part of them were slaine, the furious ene- mie still hardly pursuing them at the heeles: of the Cossackes were left onely two hundred and fiftie. The horsemen (the chiefest strength of the Vayuod) thus by the treason of *Charniaiche* ouerthrowne, the Vayuod with twentie thousand footmen, and such horsemen as had now after the battell joyned themselves vnto the footmen, retired vnto a towne not farre off, which he but a litle before had rased; but was now glad in the ruines thereof to fortifie himselfe against the sudden and furious assaults of the Turkes: who the same night so beset the Vayuods campe with such a multitude of men, that no man could go in or out of the campe; or the vttermost part of that huge armie be from any place descied.

The Vayuod ha-
uing fortified
himselfe within
the ruines of an
old towne, is be-
sieged by the
Turkes.

The next day (which was the eleuenth of Iune) the Turkes shot diuers great shot into the B Vayuods campe, but to small purpose, for the Christians had (for so short a time) notably fortifi- ed themselves within the ruines of the old towne. Which the Turkes well perceiuing, and withall considering how hard and dangerous a matter it would be to assault the Vayuod in his strength: they sent messengers vnto him, to persuaide him without delay to yeeld himselfe, and to repose more trust in the mercie of the Turkes, than in his owne broken forces; especially in his so hard distresse, being so beset, as that he could not possibly escape, and out of hope of all reliefe; and therefore should by such voluntarie yeelding, seeke for grace of his enemies, rather than by a des- perat obstinacie to cast himselfe into a most certaine destruction, where no mercie was to be ex- pected. Whereunto the Vayuod answered, That he was not ignorant into what danger he was brought, rather by the treason of *Charniaiche* and his followers, than by the valour of the

C enemy; yet had left with him a strong power of most valiant and resolute men, who would in his quarrell and defence of themselves, sell their liues verie deare vnto the Turkes: neuerthelesse, that to auoid the farther effusion of blood, he could for his part be content to yeeld vnto his hard fortune, so that the great commanders of the Turkes armie would condiscend vnto such reaso- nable conditions as he should propound, and for the performance thereof giue him their faith, not once or twise, but seauen times by solemne oath to be taken. Of this his offer the Turkes ac- cepted, willing him to set downe the conditions: which were, first that the Polonian Cossackes might in safetie depart into their countrey, with their horses and armour: then, that they should without any violence offered to his person, send him aliue and in good safetie vnto the great em- perour *Selymus*, before him to answer his owne cause: as for the Moldauians, he said he nee- ded not to covenant any thing, for that the iniurie offered vnto them tended also to the hurt of

D the emperor himselfe, and of him whom he should appoint Vayuod, whose subjects they were. These conditions (as reasonable) were well liked of the Turkes, and so according to his desire, confirmed seauen times by the solemne oath of euery captaine and commander in the armie, both for themselves and their followers. Vpon this agreement, the Vayuod brought all his ar- mie out of the trenches wherein they had lien strongly encamped, and there with heauie heart tooke his last leaue of his souldiours, to the generall grieve of them all: amongst whom he diuided such money and jewels as he had, as a remembrance of his kindnesse. And there in the sight of them all disarming himselfe, accompanied onely with *Osmolius* a Polonian, went in manner of a suppliant vnto the Turkes campe, where he had full foure houres talke with the great com- mander of the armie; vntill that at last *Capucius Bassa* (either offended with his speech, or vnindfull

E of his faith before giuen) with his scimitar vpon the sudden stricke him a great blow ouerthwart of the face, and an other crosse the bellie: whom so wounded, and as yet but halfe dead, the *Tanizars* tooke and cut off his head, which was forthwith set vp vpon a lance, for all men to behold. His dead bodie they bound by the feet vnto two camels, and so shamefully rove it in pieces: and his hap was he that could get any litle piece thereof, or emburie his sword with the least drop of his blood. This was the lamentable & wofull end of *John* the Vayuod of *Moldavia*, a right valiant and worthie man, shamefully nurthered by the perfidious Turkes, who had he beene more constant in the Christian faith, had not happily fallen into so great miserie. Whose wofull fall may serue as a most notable example of the vncertainie of these worldly things: for as no man for a time had of the Turkes more or more glorious victories, so in the end, and as it were in demonstration of mans fragilitie, no man perished more miserably. The Vayuod thus perfidiously murdered, the Turkes with like treacherie forthwith set vpon the Moldauians, and slew them downeright as beasts appointed for the slaughter. Which the Cossackes beholding, and them hoping for no better measure, thrust themselves into the thickest of their enemies, and there va- hoping for no better measure, thrust themselves into the thickest of their enemies, and there va-

The Vayuod
shamefully and
perfidiously mur-
dered by the
Turkes.

liantly fighting were all flaine, except some few of the better sort reserved for raunsome, amongst whom was *Suerceuius* with some other captaines; who were afterwards for great summes redeemed, when as they could by no means be persuaded to forsake their religion and turne Turke.

All Valachia made subject to the Turkes.

The loss of Moldavia dangerous to Poland.

After this victorie and shamefull murder of the Vayvod, the Turkes ouertan all *Moldavia*, and put to sword all the nobilitie of that countrey, with many of the countrey people: of whom they also as their manner is in countreies new conquered, sent great numbers in Colonies into the farther parts of the Turkish empire: and for the more assured possession thereof, placed strong garrisons in euerie towne and castle, as they thought it most conuenient. Thus all *Valachia* (both the higher and the lower) fell into the Turkes hands in the yeare 1574, and was by *Selymus* joynd vnto the Turkish empire, none of the least things by him done: For beside the gaining of so great a countrey (the most assured bulwarke of *Polonia*) he hath thereby opened a faire and casie way for his successours, at their pleasure to enter into *Podolia*, or *Russia*, parts of the Polonian kingdome, yea and into *Polonia* it selfe: which they will undoubtedly in time doe, if God in mercie bridle not their immoderat desires, and with his mightie hand protect the dangerous state of that kingdome.

Selymus at the same time, nor a little grieued with the losse of the kingdome of *Tynes*, and that *Don Iohn* had there done the yere before; began forthwith to cast in his mind, how he might againe recouer the same, and withall, thrust the Spaniards out of the strong castle of *Gvletta*; which they had now almost fortie yeares kept, euer since that it was by *Charles* the first taken from *Barbarossa* in the yeare 1535: for hee well saw it to be a matter of no small moment, to whom that strong forresse (standing so commodiously in the frontiers of *Affricka*) belonged. There was (and still is) vpon that coast diuers of the Turkes aduenturers, which liuing altogether vpon spoile, had to that place safe recourse, as to a most assured refuge: and if no bootie were to be met with thereabout, then would they run out towards *Malta*, *Sardinia*, *Sicilia*, and the other islands thereabouts; yea oftentimes into *Italie* and *Spaine*, and from thence carrie away with them great booties both of men and cattell, and whatsoever thing else came in their way: for which cause, many of the Turkes men of warre resorted thither in hope of purchase. But after that *Gvletta* was possessed by the Spaniards, they were not onely deprived of that so commodious an harbour, but many times intercepted euen by them of that place, and by the galleies of *Malta*: which two places fetued as two most sure bulwarks against the Turkes and Moores aduenturers, by whose means they many times came short home. For which cause the Turkes, especially these pyrats (of whom the Turke maketh great account, as not his least strength at sea) wonderfully desired to haue both those strong places gotten out of the hands of the Christians. In the castle of *Gvletta* was continually a strong garrison of a thousand Spaniards, who kept them of *Tynes* in great subjection, and oftentimes cut short these pyrats and rousers, who much troubled those seas. Wherefore the Turkish emperor *Selymus*, hauing made great preparation both for sea and land seruiue, commaunded *Sinan*, *Piall*, and *Pharules*, his chiefe Bassaes, and men of great experience, with all speed to passe ouer with his fleet into *Affricka*, to besiege *Tynes* and *Gvletta*. Who when they had put all things in readinesse according as they had in charge, set forward, and with three hundred saile of galleies came before *Gvletta* the thirteenth day of Iuly: whither also resorted vnto them other the Turkes men of warre, from *Alexandria*, *Algiers*, and other places, in such number, as that all that coast seemed to be couered with shipping. The Turkes at their first arrivall laid siege to the water tower, wherein were eight hundred souldiors of all things needfull for defence, who most valiantly maintained the place, vntill such time as that most of them being by the often assaults of the enemy flaine: the rest by the commaundement of the captaine retired to him into the castle. In taking of this tower the Turkes lost 3000 of their men.

Gvletta besieged by the Turkes.

After that, they began to besiege the castle of *Gvletta*, against which they cast vp diuers mounts, and from thence most terribly battered the castle: from whence the deadly shot was sent againe amongst them not sparingly; so that in one day two hundred great shot were reckoned to haue been shot out of the castle amongst the thickest of the enemies. But after manie furious assaults, too tedious to report, and much harme done on both sides, the Turkes to their great aduantage tooke the chanell of the lake of *Tynes*; and fearing least some reliefe should be sent to the besieged, maintained their assault day and night without intermission. Neuerthelesse, certaine companies of Spaniards sent from the new castle by *Serbellio*, got into *Gvletta*: after which,

A which, they in the besieged castle sallied out, and the twentieth of August repulsed the Turkes, with an exceeding great slaughter: But the Bassaes fully resolu'd vpon the winning of the place to gage their whole forces, and without ceasing still bringing on fresh souldiors, after they had all the day continued a most terrible assault, at length about two houres after Sun set, they tooke the castle the three and twentieth day of August, when there was now scarcely two hundred souldiors left aliuie to defend the same; who altogether with the other weak people in the castle were without mercie cut in pieces. What wealth the Turkes found in this castle, is hard to say; but certaine it is, that they had therein great store of victuals, armour, shot, and powder, and foure hundred great pieces of artilerie.

Gvletta taken by the Turkes.

Gvletta thus taken, the Turkes forthwith laid siege to the new castle, appointed by *Don Iohn* the yere before to haue beene built betwixt *Gvletta* and *Tynes*, which was not yet altogether finished: wherein the two auintent and valiant captaines, *Serbellio* and *Salaazar* (left there of purpose for the building thereof by *Don Iohn*) lay with a garrison of four thousand good souldiors. The Bassaes when they gaue the first summons to the castle, the foure and twentieth of August, required to haue it forthwith deliuered vnto them: to whom *Serbellio* stoutly answered, That he had promised the king his master, to giue him a better account of the place; and being now also verie old, could not endure the Turkes heauie yoke, but would therefore hold it out vnto the last man: which both he and *Salaazar* truly performed, not omitting any thing that was by men to be done for defence of the place; and sallying out, sometimes the one, and sometimes the other, made great slaughter of the Turkes, giuing them also repulse vpon repulse when they came to the assault. But the great Bassaes, little feeling, and lesse regarding the losse of men, so that thereby they might gaine the place; after many most terrible and desperat assaults, at length (namely the thirteenth day of September) when they had with all their force for the space of six houres, furiously assaulted the castle and flaine most of the defendants, at last tooke it.

The notable assistance of Serbellio.

The new castle taken.

Serbellio shot in with two bullets, and wishing rather to die than to fall into the hand of the enemy, thrust himselfe into the midst of the Turkes, there to haue perished: but by the hastie comming in of *Piall Bassa*, both he and *Salaazar* were taken aliuie; as for all the rest that followed them, they were put to the sword. The Bassa in his rage stricke *Serbellio*, and the more to grieue him, caused his sonne to be cruelly murdered before his face. Neither was this victorie by the Turkes obtained without blood, hauing in lesse than three moneths space that the siege endured, D lost aboute thirtie thousand men.

These strong holds (the greatest strength of that kingdome) thus taken, the Turkes marched to *Tynes*, which they easily tooke, and afterwards ouerthrew the fortifications therof, because it should no more rebell. *Mehomet* the young king, but the yere before placed in that kingdome by *Don Iohn*, was there taken, and in bonds sent aboard to be carried with *Carrera* captaine of *Gvletta*, prisoners to *Constantinople*. And thus the kingdome of *Tynes*, with the strong castle of *Gvletta*, fell againe into the possession of the Turkes, to the farther trouble of the Christian countreies lying ouer against it. The proud Bassaes hauing (as they thought) best disposed of all things at *Tynes* and *Gvletta*, departed thence, and with their fleet of 400 saile, came the fourth of October within sight of *Malta*. But vnderstanding that they of *Malta* were provided for their comming, and remembering what dishonor their most magnificent emperor *Solyman* had not many yeares before there sustained, wherof diuers of them had been eye-witnesse, they turned thence, and sailed directly to *Constantinople*.

Shortly after, this great emperor *Selymus* spent with wine and women, vnto whom he had giuen his greatest strength, died, the ninth of December, in the yeare of our Lord 1574; when he had liued one and fiftie yeares, and thereof reigned eight, and lieth buried at *H Adrianople*. He was but of a meane stature, & of an heauie disposition; his face rather swollen than fat, much resembling a drunkard. Of all the *Othoman* kings and emperours he was of least valour, & therefore least regarded, altogether giuen to sensualitye and pleasure: and so dying, left his empire vnto *Amurath* his eldest sonne, a man of more temperance, but not much greater courage; who nevertheless by his valiant Bassaes and men of warre did great matters, especially against the *Perfians*, the mortall and dangerous enemies of the Turkes, as shall be hereafter in his *Historie* declared.

Selymus died.

FINIS.

Christian prin-
ces of the same
time with Sely-
mus the second.

Emperors of Germanie } Maximilian the
second.

Of England } Queene Elizabeth.

Kings } Of Fraunce } Charles the
ninth.

Of Scotland } Queene Mary.
James the first, that now
reigneth.

Bishops of Rome } Pius the V.
Julius the XIII.

1565. 12.

1558. 4.

1560. 14.

1543. 20.

1567.

1566. 6.

1572. 12.



Non ego fortis eram: Quis tanto nomine dignus?
Ni fortem faciat mens generosa virum.
Me tumidum fortuna tumens enexit in altum,
Et par fortune, mens mea semper erat.
Sic quamvis tenero mihi nil nisi molle placeret:
Nominis augendi raptus amore fui.
Emisig, meos ad fortia facta minisfros:
Per quos sublatum est, nomen in astra meum.
Mustapha, Ferrhates, Sinan, & ter maximus Osman:
Terrores orbis succubuerunt mihi
Armenios domui fortes Medosq; feroces:
Et mihi paruerat Regia Taurisq;
Sed mihi quid prodest tantorum parta labore
Gloria? Si subito maxima queque ruant?
Et nihil est tanti, quod non brevis auferet hora
Sic mea cum multis gloria victa iacet.

RICH. KNOLLIVS.

Iiii ij

The

In English thus.

The Worthies praise I challenge not:
for who deserves the same?
Except the noble Worthies minde,
deserve the Worthies fame.
Prowd fortune set me proud aloft,
in honours highest grace:
And still my haucie thoughts they were
equall vnto my place.
So that although naught pleased but that
best fitted my desire:
Yet to increase my fame, I still
did more and more aspire.
And sent my mightie Worthies out,
to mannage my great warres:
By whose knowne valour my prowde name,
is mounted to the starres.
Prowd *Siman, Ferrat, Mustapha,*
all men of high degree:
The terrours of the world so wide,
were vassales vnto me.
Th' Armenians stout I vanquished,
and fild the Medes with feare:
And Regall *Tavris* stately towers,
at my commandment were.
But what availes my glorie great,
got with such Worthies paine:
If in the twinckling of an eye,
it come to nought againe?
And nothing is of so great State,
which Time shall not cast downe:
Euen so with many others mee,
must perishe my renowne.

R. Knolls.

THE



THE LIFE OF AMVRATH,
THE THIRD OF THAT NAME,
SIXT EMPEROVR OF
THE TURKES.



He death of the late emperour *Selymus* was for feare of the insolent Ianizaries notably concealed by the great Bassaes, vntill such time as *Amurath* his eldest sonne, then in *Asia*, by speedie messengers aduertised thereof about twelue dayes after, arriued at *CONSTANTINOPLE*: and there receiued into the Seraglio, tooke possession of the empire, the five and twentieth day of September, solemne amongst vs Christians for the natiuitie of our Sauour Christ Iesus. He was about thirtie, or (as some write) seuen and twentie yeares old, when he began to reigne: of a manly stature, but pale and corpulent, wearing his beard thin and long: in his countenance appeared not the fierce nature of the *Othoman* princes, being indeede himselfe of a peaceable disposition, a louer of justice, and in the manner of his superstition very zealous. The riot and excesse growne amongst

the Turkes by his fathers euill example, he reformed, by his owne temperance, and the seuerer punishment of notorious drunkards: yet is it reported, that he would oftentimes himselfe drinke plentifully of wormewood wine: he was much subject to the falling sicknesse, and sore troubled with the stone: more spare handed than was for the greatnesse of his state: and yeelding more to the counsell of his mother, his wife, and sister, than of his great Bassaes; which was of many imputed to him for simplicitie. At his first comming to *CONSTANTINOPLE*, to appease the murmuring of the Ianizaries (griued to see themselves so disappointed of the spoyle of the Christians and Iewes, which they were wont to take in the vacancie of the empire) he beside the vsuall largesse which the Turkish emperours at their first entrance into the empire bestow vpon them, augmented also their dayly wages, and graunted them this priuiledge, That their sonnes as soone as they came to be twentie yeares old, should be enrolled amongst the number of the younger Ianizaries, and be partakers also of their immunities; wherby he wooon their fauors exceedingly. And immediatly to rid himselfe of all competitor, he after the vnnatural manner of the Turkish policie, caused his five brethren, *Mustapha, Solyman, Abdulla, Osman, and Tzibanger*, to be all strangled in his owne presence: The mother of *Solyman* pierced through with the cruell death of her young sonne, as a woman ouercome with sorrow, desperately stricke her selfe to the heart with a dagger, and so died. At which so tragicall a sight it is reported that *Amurath* let some teares fall, as not delighting in such barbarous crueltie, but that the state and manner of his gouernment so required.

In the beginning of his reigne he established diuers wholesome lawes, altered the coyn, and bountifully relieued the poore. And albeit that he was of a mild and peaceable nature, yet because he would not seeme to degenerate from the *Othoman* princes his progenitors, he prosecuted his fathers warres, and by the Tartars (called *Præcopenses*) in the moneth of October, in the yeare 1575 entred into *Russia*; part of the Polonian kingdom, where he burnt and destroyed two hundred noblemens houses, besides an infinit number of townes and villages, made great slaughter.

Amurath is killed upon him the Turkish empire the 25 day of December in the year 1574.

The description of Amurath.

He pacifieth the Ianizaries, and augmenteth their priuiledges.

He strangleth five of his brethren.

A desperate woman.

1575

Russia invaded by the Turke. Leon. Gorecius de Bello Russo.

slaughter of the poore country people, and carried away great numbers of cattell and prisoners bound in thongs made of raw hides. But whilest they were deuinding the spoyle with *Peter* the new Vayuod of *VALACHIA*, who had before solemnly promised to giue the Tartars no passage that way, the Polonian Cossackes, who had lien waiting for their returne vpon the riuer *Borylthenes*, brake into the Tartars country, and there requited them with like harme, and brought backe with them a number of old captiues, who little expected that their so sudden deliuerance.

The Polonians at this time were at variance among themselves about the election of their new king (*Henry Valois* their late king being the last yeare, after the death of *Charles* his brother the French king, secretly stolne from them into *FRANCE*, to take vpon him that kingdome: after whose departure some of the Polonian nobilitie made choice of *Maximilian* the emperor: other some no lesse enclining vnto the choice of the great duke of *MOSCOWIE*, and some vnto others also.) Whereof *Amurath* vnderstanding, and loth that either of those two great princes his enemies should be inuested or strengthened with that so great a kingdome, and so neere vnto him: to hinder that their election, and to bring in another of lesse power, and so lesse dangerous vnto himselfe, euen in the beginning of his reigne wrote vnto the Polonians to that purpose, commending vnto them *Stephen Battor* the Vayuod of *TRANSYLVANIA*, for their king, in manner as followeth:

Amurath God of the earth, Gouernour of the whole World, the messenger of God, and faithfull seruant of the Great Prophet: vnto the most honourable Nobilitie and Counsellors of the kingdome of *POLONIA*, greeting.

Amurath his letters vnto the Nobilitie of *Polonia*.

It is not vnto the world unknowne (most honourable and mightie Senatours) our noble progenitors to haue of long time and for many yeares holden good friendship and religious leagues with the kingdome of *POLONIA*: For which cause it hath seemed good and reasonable vnto vs, to put you in remembrance of this so auncient a league and bond of friendship; for that we vnderstand your kingdome to be of late become destitute of a king, by the departure of the noble king *Henry*, your crowned king (descended of the royall race of the French kings) our friend: who for the small regard you had of him (so great and worthie a prince) and for your disloyaltie, is departed out of your kingdome, without purpose of returning any more into *POLONIA*. Whereupon, as it is reported vnto vs (but how truly we know not) you passing ouer your said crowned king *Henry*, are about to make choice of a new king, and especially of *Maximilian* the emperor, or of the duke of *MOSCOWIE*, both men of running wits, and of vs greatly hated: for why, you may well know they will be troublesome and grievous not vnto every one of you onely, but euen vnto vs also. Wherefore be you ware that you be not deceived; and take heed lest your confederations and leagues cannot long by their valour and prowess be established; and withall consider well the great dangers and losses which you may thereby fall into, whereof we haue thought good to giue you a taste: wherefore beware that heavier things befall not your State. We know there are right noble and wise men amongst you, which know better than they how to rule and gouerne: and if so be it please you not to make choice of any of your owne nation; there is not farre from you one *Stephen Battor*, prince of *TRANSYLVANIA*, a man of great honour and valour, by whose labour and dexteritie you may easily procure the peace and quiet of your kingdome. Whereas if you shall doe otherwise, we take to witnesse your God, and his seruant our Great Prophet, to destroy all your wealth and goods, which together with you selves, your wines and children, shall be giuen for a prey vnto our souldiours; with the cheefe men of your cities of *CRACOVIA* and *LEPERIS*: which for all that we say not as any thing at all doubting of your fidelitie and constancie towards vs. As for the rest which it pleased vs by word of mouth to haue told vnto you, we haue giuen charge vnto this our embassadour and counsellour, vnto whom our desire is that you should giue full credence. From *CONSTANTINOPLE* the last of September in the yeare of our Prophet *Mahomet* 983, and first of our reigne.

This the great Sultans commendations so much preuailed with the Polonians, that notwithstanding that *Maximilian* the emperor was by the Archbishop of *GNESNA* and some others chosen king, yet was that his election by the greater part of the Nobilitie reuoked, and both

both he and the great duke of *MOSCOWIE* being passed ouer, the noble princeesse *Anne* (of the most honourable *Iagellonian* house) chosen queene of *POLONIA*, yet with this condition, That she should marrie *Stephen* the Vayuod of *TRANSYLVANIA*, to them by *Amurath* commended. Who afterward elected king, all the time of his life right worthily gouerned that noble kingdome, not onely defending the same in such state as he found it; but also notably extending the bounds thereof, enlarging it with such territories as he by force of armes got from his neighbours, especially the Muscouite. Of this election *Amurath* would oftentimes afterwards boast and say, That he had giuen the Polonians their king. But of him and of the league by him made with *Amurath*, more shall be said hereafter.

The yeare following great troubles arose in *PERSIA*, whereby the flourishing state of that most mightie kingdome was sore shaken; and opportunitie giuen for the Turkish emperor to inuade the same; which he laying hold vpon, entered into that bloudie warre, which to the great quiet of the Christian commonweale, for long time after exercised the forces of those most puissant princes one vpon the other. For the better vnderstanding whereof, it shall not be amisse compendiously to set down the same troubles of the Persian kingdome, the very ground of the long and mortall warre betweene those two most mightie Monarchs.

Old *Tamas* the Persian king, sonne to the noble *Hismaell*, who with great glorie had more than fiftie yeares worthily gouerned that large kingdome, and mightily withstood the often inuasions of the Turkish emperours, now spent with yeares, died the eleuenth of May in the yeare 1576, leauing behind him eleuen sonnes, namely, *Mahomet* the eldest, of an infirmie in his eies, C surnamed *Codabanda*, a man of a peaceable and quiet disposition, more delighted with the sweet pleasures of a contented life than the carefull honors of so great a kingdome: *Ismahel* the second sonne, of a more fierce and troublesome nature, so much abhorring quietnesse, that not regarding the league hardly concluded betwixt his aged father and the Turkish emperours *Solyman* and *Selymus*, he would now and then without his fathers knowledge vpon a youthfull heat breake out into the frontiers of the Turkes dominions, and there make great spoyle; for which doing although he was both of his father and the people the more regarded, yet was he by his fathers commaundement (who in outward shew seemed to mislike of those his youthfull pranks, tending to the breach of the league) restrained of his libertie, and sent to the castle of *CAHACA*, betwixt *TAVRIS* and *CASBIN*; where he remained at the time of his fathers death: *Aidere* the third sonne, no lesse ambitious than was his brother *Ismahel*, but not of like valour, kept by *Zalchan*, *Piry Mahamet*, and other his kinsfolkes, all men of great power and authoritie: The other eight were, *Mamut*, *Solyman*, *Mustapha*, *Emanguli*, *Aichan*, *Amet*, *Abrahin*, and *Ismahel* the younger.

The old king before his death had by his last will and testament solemnly appointed *Ismahel* his second sonne to succeed him in the kingdome; as of all his sonnes most fit to take vpon him so great a charge. Which thing *Mahomet* his elder brother seemed not much to dislike, contenting himselfe with such honours as his father had before bestowed vpon him.

Tamas thus dead, *Ismahel* was by the Sultans sent for to *CAHACA*, to take vpon him his fathers kingdome at *CASBIN*; when in the meane time there arose a great tumult in the citie, yea euen in the kings pallace: for *Aidere* the third brother, who in the time of his fathers greatest sicknesse had entered the chamber where he lay drawing towards his end, and in his sight most presumptuously set the royall crowne vpon his head, to the manifesting of his ambitious desires, for which he was then worthily reprobued: now after the death of his aged father, carried headlong with the same aspiring humour, and supported by *Zalchan*, and other his mightie fauourites, had so effectually dealt with the great ladie *Periaconcona*, his eldest sister, and the other Sultans counsellours of estate, put in trust to see the will of the dead king put in execution, as that the succession could not be any longer kept from him, and preferred for *Ismahel*, but by the helpe of some fine and fecter deceit. This ladie *Periaconcona* (elder than all the young princes the sonnes of *Tamas*, her brethren, a woman of great spirit and deepe conceit) left in great trust by her father, of seeing the proceeding of her brother *Aidere*, durst neither openly to moue any thing vnto the Sultans, prejudiciall to his designs; neither could she in her heart endure so great an iniurie to be done to her brother *Ismahel*, appointed by his father to succeed him. Wherefore in this perplexitie she cast in her wily head, how to satisfie her ambitious brother present, how to saue the right of *Ismahel* absent, the honour of her dead fathers will and testament, and the safetie of the kingdome.

Stephen Vayuod of Transylvania upon the commendation of Amurath chosen king of Polonia.

1576

The shewings of Tamas the Persian king.

Ismahel appointed by his father to succeed him in the kingdom.

Aidere aspires to the kingdom of Persia.

dome. For hauing thoroughly debated the matter with the Sultans, she resolved, That *Aidere* inuested in royall apperrell, and setled in the grear gallerie, should attend the acclamation of the people, and be there openly enthronised, as the very elected king. With which vaine shew the vnwise youth (blinded with ambition) suffered himselfe to be led: and being set in his maiestie, verely perswaded himselfe, that he should now be honoured both of his friends and foes as king. But vnto these his so hastie and prosperous designes, the successe that spring from the subtiltie of those counsellours and his dissembling sister, were nothing conformable: for that she by their aduise tooke order for the gates of the pallace to be presently locked, leauing at euery passage a sure guard, and onely one wicket open, safely warded with a companie of most faithfull and valourous captaines and fouldiours, wholly deuoted to *Tamas* and *Ismael*: with straight charge, to suffer euery man to enter in, sauing onely the knowne friends of *Aidere*. In this sort did he thinke to haue entertained the young man, vntill such time as *Ismael* should arriue from *Casbin*, and so put in execution what he thought best for the honour of himselfe and the generall quiet of the kingdome.

Who joyeth now but *Aidere*? in conceit a king, replenished with vnwonted joyes, receiuing honour from all men, sauing from his best friends. By meanes wherof perceiuing now the prohibition of them, and moued also with the great stirre of *Zalchan* his greatest fauourit (who discouering the deceit, and crying vpon king *Aidere*, threatened the ladie, the Sultans, and the rest that waited vpon the fained succcession, indeed ordained but for the scorn and despite of the ambitious man) stricken with an exceeding feare, and full of sorrow, he withdrew himselfe closely amongst certaine women of the Court, hoping so to find some way to escape with life.

In the meane time so greatly entreated the cries and threatenings of the friends and fauourits of *Aidere* (who now had all of them prepared themselves for some dangerous and pernicious attempt) that the counsellours with consent of the ladie his sister, were enforced to take order, That to beraue this tumultuous & seditious people of all their hope and courage, *Aidere* should be deprived of his life. Whereupon *Sahamal* the Georgian, vncle to *Aidere* by the mothers side, by the appointment of the ladie *Periaconcona* and the Sultans, after long search made for him, at last found him hidden amongst the women, and without further delay taking him by the lockes, stricke his head from his shoulders; and in the place where *Zalchan* and the rest of his vnfortunate fauourites stood crying and threatening, amongst the thickest preafe of the proud conspirators flung the head all bloudie, and as it were yet breathing for hear, crying aloud vnto them: *Behold there your king, enjoy him at your pleasure*. At which sudden and horrible spectacle euery man burned in rage and anger: neither for the present wanted there many a rash head, that vainly threatened most cruell reuenge. But in the end, when they perceiued the neere succcession of *Ismael* ineuitable, and the death of *Aidere* irremediable, euery man betooke himselfe to his owne priuat affaires, and so at last deuided themselves one from another, and so departing from the pallace, scattered themselves some one way some another euery man as hee thought best for his owne safetie.

Shortly after *Ismael* the desired king arriued at *Casbin*, where he was of his sister and the Sultans joyfully receiued, as their lawfull and vndoubted soueraigne, and with the great acclamation of the people saluted king: who as soone as he saw himselfe possessed of the royall seat, and his power now answerable to his desires, he (after the manner of the Turkish policie) most vnaturally caused the heads of his eight yonger brethren to be stricken off: and withall vsed such further diligence, that not onely all those which were neere vnto them in blood or affinitie, were bereaued of their liues, but also all the fauourits of his late slaine brother *Aidere*, were destroyed in that publicke slaughter: so that all the streets of *Casbin* were defiled with bloud, and all the citie resounded with mourning and complaints. Which vnexpected crueltie, altogether vnworthie so worthe a thought king, so altered the minds of his subjects in generall, that all their former hopes were now conuerted into new feares, and their joy into mourning. But much greater and farre more lamentable did the miseries grow, as soone as it was giuen out, That hee would change the religion of the Persians (who with great deuotion honor their foolish Prophet *Ah*) into the superstition of the Turks (who with no lesse impietie obserue and maintaine the wicked rites of *Eubekur*, *Haumer*, *Osman*, and others, by them supposed to be the most true successeurs of their great Prophet *Mahomet*.) For by meanes of this vncoouth noueltie and vnexpected change, and by force of an edict concerning that matter, published by this new king, many of his

Aidere slain, and his head cast amongst his fauourites.

Ismael saluted king.

He murdered eight of his yonger brethren.

A prophane priests, many of the gouernours of his friendly and subject cities (too much deuoted to their former superstition) were driuen some into exile, some clapt into prison, some had their eyes pluckt out (among whom was the Caliph of *Casbin*) and not a few others in sundrie sorts deprived of their liues. Yea many ladies (joyined in bloud with *Ismael* himselfe, and diuers others of his kinsfolks, to whom neither sex, nor age, nor innocencie could be a sufficient defence) endured sundrie torments and strange calamities: so that in *Persia* was neuer felt greater troubles, or a more dangerous change.

In this so great an innouation, and among these tumults, there went abroad withall a generall rumour, not in the cities of *Persia* onely, but in the regions of the Turks also, euen as farre as *Constantinople*, That *Ismael* with a puissant army of such as fauored this new proclaimed vanitie, was determined in person himselfe to go to *Babylon*, now called *Bagdat*, there to receiue the crowne of the empire, at the hands of him that he should find to be the successeur of their great Caliph, and in the chiefe place among their vnclane priests: as had sometime *Solyman* the great emperour of the Turkes, and the Persian kings of auint times. In this world of troubles, when as the feare of farther miseries increased, rather than any hope of auint quietnesse; he was when he least feared, by the helpe of the aforementioned ladie *Periaconcona* suddenly bereft of his life: but whether ouertaken in some of his owne amorous practises, or poisoned by his said sister; or that she (as some probably affirme) hauing secretly conspired with *Calil Chan*, *Emir Chan*, *Pyrr Mahamet*, *Curchi Bashi* (being all at that time men of great account, and as it were presidents of the kingdome) who disguised in womens apperrell and brought in by her, strangled him at such time as he had priuately withdrawne himselfe amongst his paramours, is vnknown. Howsoeuer it was, sufficeth it, that he by the helpe of the said ladie *Periaconcona*, was by vnnatural death taken out of this world the foure and twentieth day of Nouember, in the yeare of grace 1577; to the exceeding joy of all those nations, who by his death thought themselves now freed of many great and dangerous troubles: when he had reigned one yeare, seauen moneths, and six daies.

Ismael thus taken out of the way, the ladie began forthwith to perswade with the great Sultans (the ministers of *Ismaels* death) that as they had for the generall good of *Persia* contriued the death of the late king: so now that they would take vpon them the protection of that great kingdome, with the preservation of the maiestie and libertie thereof, vntill such time as it were knowne who should worthily succeed in that crowne, which now remained in their hands. There was at that time many of the greatest princes and Gouernours of that kingdome assembled at *Casbin*, there gaping after such mutations of those troublesome times, as might best serue their priuat designes. *Emir Chan* burning in ambitious desires, was in hope by means of a match to be made with a sister of *Periaconcona* (who was already greatly enclining vnto him) to be exalted to the soueraignie of all *Persia*. *Mirize Salmas* the chiefe Sultan, hoped on the other side to aduance into the estate, either *Mahamet Codabanda* the eldest brother of the dead king, or else *Hamze* the eldest sonne of the said *Mahamet*; and by bestowing vpon him his daughter in marriage (as afterwards he did) so to encrease the glorie of his house. Others there were, that thought they should be able to draw *Abas Mirize* (the middlemost sonne of *Mahamet*) out of *Herat*, and to make him king. Neither wanted the infant *Tamas* his aspiring friends, whose tour waited likewise for some opportunitie to settle him in the kingdome, and so by means of his greatnesse, to make himselfe greatest amongst his fellowes. A number of others there were that secretly waited vpon euerie occasion that time should present for their preferment. Howbeit in this so great varietie of thoughts, the Sultans answered the ladie with one consent, and promised her in most liberall tearmes, all the protection that their forces could afford, or their weapons procure: and yet did euerie one of them, both in action and word, clearly dissemble their feuerall imaginations, whereunto their minds were as prone and readie, as their hearts were cunning closely to conceale them.

Amurath the Turkish emperours now wakened, first at the death of the old renowned *Tamas*, and then at the rumour of the desire *Ismael* had to passe with an armie to *Babylon*, as also at the fresh report of the Turkish superstition newly published in *Persia*; and withall thoroughly instructed what harme this late king had done in *Persia*, what dissensions he had raised, and how hardly the prouinces of that empire had endured those calamities: began forthwith to thinke hereby a faire occasion to be ministred vnto him, to take vp armes against the Persians;

Ismael suddenly murdered by the deuise of his sister Periaconcona.

1577

Amurath arriues vnto the citie in Persia.

Persians, and matter sufficient suggested for him to put in execution the great desire he had of some new conquest. For it is an ancient custome, which is grown to be as it were a law amongst the *Othoman* kings, That they may not challenge their due honours in their life time, nor their proud monuments after their death, vnlesse they attempt some great and ambitious actions and enterprises, and performe some exploit conformable to their maiestie. *Amurath* therefore bent vpon these great stirs in *PERSIA*, would not direct his mind any other way, or take any other war in hand, vntill he might first see what issue these marvellous innovations in *PERSIA* would bring forth: which in the person of *Mahamet* the succeeding king, seemed to be more pregnant than euer before, and ministred vnto *Amurath* new occasions of victorious and strange hopes. For as soone as *Ismael* was dead, the aforementioned *Mirize Salmas* (in dignitie chiefe man among the Sultans, though in blood and nobilitie inferior to them all) after many letters dispatched to and fro, at last assured *Mahamet Codabanda*, how with all quietnesse of mind and securitie of person, he might come and possesse himselfe of the kingdome. He was also aduertised by the said *Salmas*, of the whole conspiracie plotted against his brother to bring him to his end: and likewise made acquainted, how the fraudulent ladie (with the Sultans) had capitally conspired against himselfe; and how the fauouring *Emir Chan*, and *Abas Mirize* of *HARI* (her nephew and his sonne) more than became her, did little regard the due and rightfull succession of him being the eldest brother. So *Mahamet* bearing himselfe vpon the faith and diligence of *Mirize Salmas*, and desirous withall to see his eldest sonne *Hami* *Mirize* aduanced to some such foueraign dignitie, as he saw was due to the liuely hope euerie man perceiued to be in him, in regard of his vertue and prudence for manning the common-wealth, and matters of warre (wherein also he shewed himselfe vnto his father jealous and suspicious, least some other man should vsurpe vpon him, that honour and authoritie which so properly appertained vnto him) resolved in the end not to leaue the kingdome in the hands of priuat persons, nor the lightnesse of an vnconstant woman of suspected modestie, and a rebellious conspiratour against her owne blood, wherewith she had without any pittie or remorse of conscience, now twise defiled her selfe. And therefore he wrote backe againe, That he was minded to take the rightfull succession vpon him; and that for the same purpose he was putting himselfe vpon his journey: with straight charge notwithstanding, that *Mirize Salmas* should before his entrance within the gates of *CASIN*, present him with the mischieuous head of *Periaconcoma*; a woman (in respect of the some executed against her brother *Aidere*, and of the treacherous death of her other brother *Ismael*, and of the peruerse imaginations which she had conceiued to cause the succession to fall into other mens hands, and of the prodigall familiaritie which she had with some of the Sultans) well worthy of a thousand deaths. Secretly did *Mirize Salmas* put in execution whatsoever *Mahamet* had priuatly enjoined him, so that by his means he was presently and solemnly proclaimed king of *PERSIA*. And afterwards hauing gathered together many squadrons of men, wholly devoted to the blood and name of *Mahamet*, the same *Mirize Salmas* met him on the way, carrying the head of that manlike *Virago Periaconcoma* vpon the point of a lance, with her haire dispersed, and some other vncouth sights to the terrour of the beholders. From which nouelties (one mischiefe as it were hudling vpon the necke of another) there sprung vp diuers inward hatreds, sundrie tumultuous seditions, and much ciuile warres: this new king by the instigation of *Mirize Salmas*, seeking on the one side to be reuenged on the Sultans for his brothers death; and they on the other side opposing themselves with all their power against him, the state of *PERSIA* began to fall into great inconueniences, and of these nouelties to reape new losses. *Sahmal* the Georgian fled into his mountaine of *Brys*, fearing the wrath of this new lord: *Leuent ogli* likewise an other of the lords of *GEORGIA*, vnderstanding of the flight of *Sahmal* his neighbour, estranged himselfe so farre from his old loue and auntient deuotion towards the Persian kings, that he seemed now to desire some new innovation. The nations also that were neighbours to the Turkes, and the people of *MEDIA ATROPATIA*, now called *STRVAN*, disliked of this new king; and in the end it appeared, that *PERSIA* vnder this king through many mutations was in short time fallen into most notable miserie, and the state thereof more weakened than it had been of long time before.

Of all these things had *Amurath* from diuers places intelligence, but more particularly from *Vitreff* of *VAN*, a citie of *ARMENIA* the greater, situate vpon the lake *Aetamar*; who sent him most perfect information of all the stirs in *PERSIA*: Discoursing vnto him of the death of *Is-*

mabel, the consultations of the Sultans, the trecheries and death of *Periaconcoma*; the broiles betwene the king and the Sultans, the nature of the new king (being diseased in his eyes, little esteemed of his subjects, besotted in affection towards his sonnes) the facilitie to ouerrule the chiefe *Gouernours* of the Georgians, and the people of *STRVAN*, euill affected towards the new king: and to be brieue, whatsoever had in truth succeeded in *PERSIA*, and might enflame the mind of the ambitious Sultan, to conuert his forces against an enemy of small counsell, and much confusion: adding thereto, that neuer was there greater opportunitie to overcome that king than now was offered; and therefore wished him, not in any case to let slip so faire an occasion, as the *Othoman* kings had neuer before, for the obtaining of so certaine and so glorious victories.

Amurath of long time wholly bent to marke the event of the troubles in *PERSIA*, now stirred vp with these aduertisements from *Vitreff*, settled himselfe more deeply in his former conceits to proue his forces in subduing the Persian king; the ancient enemy of the *Othoman* emperors, and his onely cortuall and odious competitor in the East. But no one thing did more enflame him thereunto, than to thinke, how he should haue to his enemy a king, not acquainted with deeds of armes, doting vpon his children, and weakened with the dissention of his subjects: and on the other side entering into the consideration of his owne forces, of the infinit number of his men, both horse and foot, of the meanes he had to find money, of his artillerie and engines of warre, wherein he farre surpassed the Persians; he did more and more resolute with himselfe, to take the occasion that was now offered him to begin the warre. For the compassing of which

his purpose he was greatly fauoured by the present state of Christendome, at that time being wholly in league and amitie with him. So not finding any thing contrarie to his designements, he resolved at last to confere with the chiefe Bassas, which had the gouernement of his empire, Whether it were better vpon this occasion to begin the pre-pensed warre; or if they thought not this opportunitie to be so fit, then to lay it aside, and to conuert his forces and counsell against the commonwealth of Christendome. For such is the barbarous policie, whereby this empire is managed, That it is lawfull for them to breake any league, he it by neuer so many promises or solemae oathes confirmed, whensoever any enterprise is to be attempted for the aduancing thereof. So that although this warre could not be moued either against the Persians or Christians, without breach of their promised faith: yet among the manifold consultations that passed

among the great Bassas, there was not any man found that made any account of that defect, but all with one accord, without further respect sought to set forward the ambitious desire of their proud lord and master. At last after long consultation and large discourses it was agreed vpon by the great Bassas *Mahomet*, *Sinan*, and *Mustapha*, That it would be better and lesse danger to attempt warre against the Persians, than against the Christian princes. *Mustapha* among the rest preferring the valour of the Latines (whereof he had made good triall especially at *FAMAGOSTA*) before the armies and forces of the Georgians and Persians. VV hereby it is apparent to the world, that neither the zeale of their religion, nor any iniurie received from the Persian king, but only the ambitious desire of *Amurath* (to subdue a kingdome, both in his owne conceit and other mens relations, euill gouerned, by an effeminate and sottish king, and through ciuile dissention brought into great danger) was the first prouocation of making this warre.

Vpon this resolution there arose new consultations touching the manner thereof, and vpon what coast they should begin their journey, for the more honourable successe thereof. Which point *Amurath* greatly vrged, protesting before his chiefe counsellours, That he would not enter into that war, except he were in great hope to beare away the victorie. Some thought it most conuenient to send the armie to *BABYLON*, and from thence to *SYRAS*, called in old time *PERSOPOLIS*, the chiefe citie of the countrey of *PERSIA*: others there were that gaue aduise, That the armie should be directly sent to *TAVRIS*; there to erect strong fortresses, and to take possession of all the countrey round about it: and there wanted not some (as it is reported) that thought it better to send two seuerall armies for both the forenamed places; and so by bringing the enemy into a straight, to enforce him to yeeld to whatsoever should be of him required. But *Amurath* durst not repose such confidence in his forces, as to thinke, that with his batrels decuded and so weakened, he should be able to conquer that enemy, who had alwayes most valiantly fought against the monstrous and puissant armies of his aunceltours. And therefore firmly resolved with himselfe, to send one onely armie, and so with his vnited forces to seeke the ouerthrow of

Mahamet resolved to take vpon him the kingdome of *Persia*.

Mahamet proclaimed king of *Persia*. The head of *Periaconcoma* presented to *Mahamet* on a lance.

No assistance in the Turke league.

Ambition the cause of the Persian warre.

A consultation holden amongst the Bassas about the manner of the invasion of *Persia*.

the enemy. And so preferring the strong hope he had conceived to conquer the country of *SIRVAN*, and the chiefe cities of *MEDIA* the great, before the difficultie of making warre vpon the coast of *SYRIA*, reposing also great hope in the notable help that was promised him by the Tartars called *Præcopenes*, he confirmed the great Bassaes his counsellours in the same opinion: and withall discovered vnto them a matter, which to all of them, but especially to *Siman*, seemed most strange; namely, that he was determined not to goe himselfe in person with his army, but to send one of his worthiest captaines in his stead. The causes why he so did, were many, but especially, for that he was troubled with the falling sicknesse, and feared greatly (and that not without good cause) least his sonne *Mahomet* (being much fauoured of the people) might peradventure in his absence be vntimely aduanced to the empire; beside the dangers that he suspected at the hands of the Christian potentates: and withall persuaded it to be vnto himselfe a great honour to performe those things by his seruants, which had in those countries bene vnto him attempted by his most noble predecessours in their owne persons.

While they were thus consulting about this expedition, and the great Bassaes, *Siman*, *Musapha*, and others, made meanes to be sent as the soueraine ministers of their lords designement; he dispatched away sundrie postes and light horsemen with order to the Bassaes and Gouernors of *VAN*, *BABILON*, and *ERZIRUM*, in the frontiers of his dominions; That they should by often inrodes spoyle the townes and castles of the Persians, and by all meanes to doe them what harme they could: Which they were not slacke to put in execution; and especially *Vñref* (or rather *Hufreue*) Bassa of *VAN*: who with often incursions did much mischeefe, as well in the countries tributarie, as subject to the Persian king. A forcible preparation for greater troubles to ensue.

Vñref Bassa began the war in Persia.

Now in these great preparations for the Persian warre (which for many yeares after notably exercised the greatest part of the Turks forces, to the great quiet of the Christian commonweale) *Stephen Bathor* the late Vayvod of *TRANSYLVANIA*, but now by the commendation of *Amurath* become king of *POLONIA*, in the beginning of his reigne by his embassador the great lord *Iohn* of *SYENNA*, entered into a strong league and confederation with the great Turkish Sultan *Amurath* at *CONSTANTINOPIE*. Which for that it sheweth in what tearmes that famous kingdom then and yet standeth with the Turkes great empire, and withall containeth matter well worth the Christian consideration, it shall not be impertinent to our purpose (omitting the long and glorious stile of that barbarous Monarch, seruing to no other end but to shew the greatness of his power) plainly to set it downe as it was on his part at the same time by him confirmed.

The League betwixt the most puissant and mightie Princes, Sultan *Amurath* the Turkish emperor, and *Stephen* king of *POLONIA*, agreed vpon and concluded at *CONSTANTINOPIE*, in the yeare of our Sauour Christ Iesu 1577, and of the Prophet *Mahomet* 985.

I Sultan Amurath the sonne of Selym Chan, the sonne of Solym Chan, the sonne of Selym Chan, the sonne of Baiazet Chan, the sonne of the Great Emperour Mahomet Chan, &c. Prince of these present times, the onely Monarch of this age, of power able to confound the power of the whole world, the shadow of diuine clemencie and grace, Great Emperour of many kingdoms, countries, provinces, cities, and townes, lord of MECHA, that is to say, of the house of the glorie of God, of the resplendent citie of MEDINA, and of the most blessed citie of IERUSALEM, prince of the most fruitful countrey of EGYPT, IMEN, ZENAN, ADEN, and many other such like: in most lowing manner declare, That the most glorious and renowned Stephen king of POLONIA, great duke of LITHANIA, RUSSIA, PRUSIA, MASOVIA, SAMOGITIA, KIOVIA, LIVONIA, and many other countries moe, prince of the courageous followers of Iesus, Gouernour of all the affaires of the people and familie of the Nazarets, the welcommest cloud of raine, and most sweet fountaine of glorie and vertue, eternall lord and heire of the felicitie and honour of the aforesaid noble kingdom of POLONIA, vnto whom all the distressed repaire for refuge, wishing a most happie successe and blessed end to all his actions: offering vnto vs many religious vowes and eternall praises worthe our perpetuall loue and most holy league, and with great deuotion performing these and other like honours,

A for the dispatch of his letters to our most glorious court, for the new confirming of the most sacred league and confederation with vs, sending the honourable lord *Iohn* of *SYENNA* (his most faithfull counsellour) his embassador to our imperiall court; declaring his loue and integritie, and purging himselfe of all the suspicion of hostilitie, hath requested the league and confederation to be renewed. At whose instance we haue giuen these our letters confirming the said league of peace and confederation: wherein we commaund, that none of our Counsellors, Beglerbegs, Sanzacks, Generals of our armies, Captaines or seruants, shall doe, or on my behalfe presume to doe any hurt vnto the kingdomes, countries, cities, castles, townes, islands, or whatsoeuer else to the kingdom of *POLONIA* belonging. And in like manner, that none of the Nobilitie, Generals, Captaines, or others whoe soeuer belonging vnto the king of *POLONIA*, shall dare to doe any harme vnto my kingdomes, cities, castles, or towns confining vnto the kingdom of *POLONIA*. In brieft my will is, that he being a mortall enemy vnto mine enemies, and a fast friend vnto my friends, shall doe no grieuance or harme vnto any my subjects, or things whatsoeuer vnto my iurisdiction belonging. So in like manner communding also, that no hurt by any meanes, or for any occasion be done by our people vnto the subjects, or whatsoeuer else vnto the iurisdiction of the king of *POLONIA* appertaining.

The creatures, embassadours, messengers, and men of whatsoeuer condition else, shall on both sides freely without let or trouble come and go without any harme receiuing, either in their persons or goods.

C It shall be lawfull also for the king of *POLONIA* his subjects, to seeke throughout out empire for any the Polonian captiues taken before the time of this league; and the same so found (if they haue not receiued the Turkish religion, but still remaine Christians) to redeeme, without the contradiction of any man.

And that whatsoeuer shall be taken and carried away after the confirmation of this league, shall be againe freely and without any thing paying, deliuered and restored.

That the merchants on both parts may freely traffique with all kind of merchandise in the blacke and white sea, as also vpon the maine; and so paying their vsuall and lawfull custome, so be in nothing wronged or molested.

D If any of the Polonian merchants shall die in our dominion, the goods of him so dead shall not be embezeled, but kept in safetie untill his brethren or other his friends shall come with the king of *POLONIA* his letters: vpon the shewing whereof, hauing also our letters mandatorie, the goods shall be forthwith restored vnto the dead mans heires. In which sort also my merchants shall be dealt withall, if any of them shall chance to die in the kingdom of *POLONIA*.

If any wrong be done within the limits of mine empire, vnto any belonging vnto the kingdom of *POLONIA*, after the date of these letters confirming the league; the doer of the wrong shall by my commaundement be sought out, and being found shall be punished, and the wrong done, without any delay or contradiction, forthwith recompensed. And the like iustice to be also on the behalfe of the king of *POLONIA* administered.

If any debtor shall depart out of mine empire into the Polonian territories, where soeuer he shall chance to be found by his creditor, he shall be brought to the iudge of that place to be examined, and whatsoeuer it shall be proued him of right to owe, the iudge of that place shall according to the equitie of the cause make the creditor to be satisfied.

E But if the debtor cannot himselfe personally be found, no other man shall by reason of another mans debt be taken, detained, or molested: neither shall the innocent be troubled for the guiltie, in either or both our kingdomes.

In brieft, vpon whatsoeuer conditions and capitulations the league of peace and confederation was in the time of my father, my grandfather, or great grandfather of famous memorie, made with the kings of *POLONIA*, vpon the same conditions and capitulations be it now made also.

Whatsoeuer hurt hath hitherto been done to either part by reason of the disagreement of the Gouernors and captaines, shall all be on both parties neglected and forgotten.

Also after the date of these letters confirming the league and confederation, whereas the king of *Roumania* shall in time pay certaine summe of money used to be paid vnto the Tartars; the Tartar Chan and his sonne *Murzeleby* their princes, shall restore the same againe, and not to dare to suffer his armies by any meanes to hurt the Polonian territories. So that on the part of the Tartars and their armies no harme shall be done vnto the kingdom of *POLONIA*, neither on the part of the Polonians to the territories of the Tartars. And if any harme shall be done in the king

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of POLONIA his territories, it shall by my commaundement be againe restored. And so likewise on the part of the Palatine of MOLDAVIA, or the inhabitants of the kingdome of MOLDAVIA, no harme shall be done vnto the countries subiect vnto the king of POLONIA: but if any be done and certainly knowne, to be by my commaundement againe recompeced.

On the part also of the king of POLONIA and his subiects, whatsoeuer harme shall be done vnto the territorie or subiects of the Moldavian Palatine, or Tartars; the harme so done to be recompeced, and the doers thereof punished.

Also that all such fugitives as hauing done any notorious felonies or other villanies in MOLDAVIA, and so are fled into POLONIA, shall at my request, or at the request of the Palatine of MOLDAVIA, be restored, and in no case denied.

That all the Polonian captiues within my dominions, yet professing the Christian religion, may by the king of POLONIA his subiects be redeemed, not paying any more for them than their lords and masters paid: euerie such master of the slaue taking his oath that he cost him so much. But such captiues as haue received the Turkish faith, to be forthwith set at libertie: and so the Turkes slaues in the kingdome of POLONIA to be likewise manumised.

That our embassadours on both sides (so long as we are in league and amitie) may freely come and go, and not be staied in any place; and being willing to meet together, may at their pleasure so doe. And being entred into the confines of either part, to be forthwith by some good and faithfull guide appointed vnto them, conducted vnto the place they are to go vnto. And this to be on both sides kept.

No man to dare to hurt, or slay any Merchant, hauing paid his thirtieth part, or lawfull custome.

If any of our subiects shall haue any suit with any of the king of POLONIA his subiects; the indiges shall without delay be bound to administer iustice. All theenes and robbers shall be diligently sought out; and being found, to be seuerely punished: and the goods taken away, without impeachment to be restored vnto the right owners, their heires, or to the king.

The Sanzacks of SILISTRIA and BOLOGRAVE, the Customers and water-bayliffs shall not suffer any man but merchants and such as are sent in our seruise, to passe ouer the riuer Nyetter; who passing ouer, if they shall bring with them any slaue or bondman out of POLONIA, he shall be sent backe againe. The shepheards, if they will transport their sheepe into the iurisdiction of the king of POLONIA, shall not so doe without the leane of the Polonian Gouernours; before whom they shall also number their sheepe: of whom if any shall be lost, the Gouernours shall cause them to be sought for, and to be restored vnto the shepheards, as also to pay for their hey.

The Zauzj, Ianizaries, or Posts, shall not dare in time of peace or war to take any horses from the Polonian merchants, or other the kings subiects comming into our kingdome.

The Palatines of MOLDAVIA, in whatsoeuer condition they haue been towards the former kings of POLONIA, they shall now also still so be hereafter. The thirtieths and customes of both parts, shall continue in their old manner, and not be increased. The Polonian kings subiects and merchants, as well Armenians as of any other nation, whensoever they shall enter into MOLDAVIA, or any other part of our empire, shall not trauell by vncertaine and unknowne, but by the common and high waies: wherein if they shall suffer any losse or harme, either in their goods or persons, the doers of such wrongs shall be sought for, and seuerely punished. Which merchants shall be suffered without any molestation quietly to come and go, hauing paid their thirtieths: and no merchant to be troubled for anothers debt.

If any the Polonian kings merchants or subiects, be willing for readie money to redeeme and carrie away any slaues taken out of the Polonian kingdome, and yet professing the Christian religion; the indiges shall in no case withstand them, neither presume to take them from them; or againe to redeeme them. But if any of such slaues haue received the Turkish religion, they shall not be againe demanded by the king of POLONIA.

Such slaues as haue not received the Turkish religion, if after a certaine space they shall be set at libertie by their masters, and in the letters testimoniall of their libertie, it shall be declared that they haue received the Turkish religion; yet shall they not by the iudges be therefore detained.

In the citie of BVRYSK, the Polonian merchants hauing paid their usuall thirtieths, shall not be farther pressed with any other vnsuall payment.

My will is also, that the territories at this present in the possession of the king of POLONIA hereafter to be by him taken from the Muscouite or any other the Christian princes; to be comprised within this league, and so to be royally by him possessed.

A And for the confirmation of the articles and conditions in these our letters of confederation contained, I sweare by the power of the most mightie God, and of his most holy prophet, and by the most cleane and pure spirits of all the prophets; that for all the daies of my life, and so long as nothing shall on the behalfe of the king of POLONIA be done contrarie to the peace and league, nothing shall also on my part be done contrarie vnto the same. Witnesse the Almighty, the vpright iudge and decerner of mens actions. From CONSTANTINOPLE the yeare of the holy prophet Mahomet 985, the 14 of the moneth Cziemast Eumel, and of Christ 1577.

This league betwixt these two mightie princes Amurath and king Stephen, thus concluded, and after the death of Stephen by Sigismund the third (which now reigneth) renewed; as it hath been euer since vnto the Polonian kingdome for the time commodious, so hath it as with an Adamantine band so bound that most famous kingdome, as that in the hardest distresses of the Christian common-weale, and most in deed concerning it selfe, it hath afforded no more helpe than hath the members farther off, which is (I rue to say it) none at all. As in these late and present warres betwixt the Christian emperour and the two last Turkish Sultans, is too plainly to be seene: wherein had it in due time giuen but such reasonable helpes as it might well haue spared, much no doubt might haue been done for the repressing of the common enemy, and the recouerie of the greatest part of that is lost of HUNGARIE: But this bound, standeth as a dead member, seruing to no vfe more than to the more speedie destruction of it selfe, together with the rest of the sicke bodie. For what assurance it can haue in this long (I must needs say) but euill assured peace, is well to be seene in that in the great consultation of this great Sultan Amurath with his Bassaes after the Persian warre, for the inuading of Chistendome; the Polonians for all this league so solemnly constrained, were nothing the more regarded, but laied in the same balance with the rest, and preferred onely by the Prouidence that all gouerneth: which leading the Turke against the Christian emperour their neighbour, hath giuen them that peace they were otherwise hardly to haue looked for. Vnto whom for all that, hauing to his endlesse praise maintained a long and most chargeable warre, they haue not lent any great helpe or friendly hand; yet lying themselves still in the Lyons mouth, and like enough to be the next (God grant I betherein deceiued) that is to be of him deuoured.

But leauing these the heauie conceits of a melancholy mind, and ominous forbodings of that D I will not, to returne againe toward PERSIA, Amurath his greatest care. Amongst many the ambitious competitous for the manning of these Turkish so great desseigns, was the great Bassa Mustapha (euen he, who in the reigne of the late emperour Selymus conquered CYPRVS, carrying thence together with his victorie perpetuall infamie, for his faithlesse and cruell dealing with Bragadine the worthie and renowned Gouernour of FAMAQUSTA) appointed Generall of the Turkes armie into PERSIA: and authoritie giuen him, to prouide whatsoeuer hee should thinke needfull for so great a warre. And commaundement giuen vnto the Bassaes, and other commaunders of the greatest part of the Turkish empire Eastward, that they should themselves with their fouldiors of all sorts, bound by their perpetuall annuities to go to the warre, in the beginning of the Spring this yeare 1578, repaire to ERZIRUM, a citie of CAPADOCIA bordering vpon ARMENIA, there to attend the commaund of their new Generall. Who hauing his dispatch from CONSTANTINOPLE, and for fashion sake conducted by most of the court ouer the strait to SCYTARIA, and from thence passing through the countries of AMASIA and SIVAS, in the vertie beginning of Sommer arrived at ERZIRUM; and there staied vntill such time as his people, victuals, artillerie, and other his necessarie prouision was come thither. From whence he departed for SIRVAN, hauing first taken a diligent surueigh of his whole armie, mustering the fouldiors of euerie nation by themselves: namely, of the Mesopotamians twelue thousand, of the Assyrians and Babylonians fourteene thousand, of the Sytians two thousand, of them of the lesser ASIA (now comprehended vnder the name of NATOLIA) ten thousand, of the Iewes and Philistims one thousand, and of the Cilicians foure thousand. After whom followed the fouldiors of GRECIA, the glorie and hope of all the campe, valiant men to the number of ten thousand: and after them the familiar and faithfull guard of the Generall, ten thousand Ianizaries of CONSTANTINOPLE with harquebusiers on their shoulders, and scimitars by their sides: of the citie also of ERZIRUM, and the iurisdiction thereof, appeared foure thousand vnder the ensigne of Beyran Bassa their Generall. All these were stipendiaries to the Turkish emperour: vnto whom

Mustapha Bassa made Generall of the Turke armie.

1578

Mustapha commeth to Erzerum and there musters his armie.

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whom

whom other voluntarie aduenturers joyned themselves, in number not inferiour to the rest, but better furnished, and of greater courage. So that in this generall survey of the armie were found about an hundred and ten thousand men, most part horsemen: yet was there not any stirred out of ARABIA, EGYPT, AFRICA, or HUNGARIE, or other places alongst the sea coasts: neither were the provinces from whence these souldiours were drawne, left destitute or vnfurnished of their ordinarie garrisons. Besides this multitude of men, *Mustapha* brought with him five hundred small pieces of artillerie, with many loads of money for his souldiours pay, with further order for the taking vp of more at ALEPPO, and other places, if his occasions should so require. He caused also great quantitie of corne to be transported by the Great Sea called in ancient time Pontus Euxinus, to TRAPEZONDE, so to be conueyed to ERZIRUM, being but foure dayes journey distant thence. To be short, hauing taken order for all things he thought necessarie for the warre, he in seemely array departed from ERZIRUM, and in eight dayes arrived at the ruins of CHARS, and in the fruitful country thereabout rested himselfe: but was there surprised with such a violent tempest of wind and raine, as rent in sunder his tents and did great harme, by meanes whereof many fell sicke and were constrained to forsake the armie.

Hauing stayed three dayes at CHARS, the bounder of the Turkish and Persian empires, he departed thence with his armie, and that euening lodged vnder the mountaines of CHILDER, supposed to be part of the hills PARIARDO: where hearing the Persians to be in armes, he thought it best for the securitie of his armie, so to pitch his tents as that he might well discover the comming of the enemy, and not to be assaulted at vnawares. And therefore planting himselfe in the plaine, he gaue order that *Beyran*, Bassa of ERZIRUM, should take possession of a certaine hill on the right hand; and *Deruis* the Bassa of CARABMIT should keepe another hill that stood on the left hand; and with them *Osman Bassa*, *Mahamet Bassa*, *Mustassade Bassa*, aduenturers, with many others as well stipendarie as voluntarie men, should likewise pitch their tents vpon the same hills, in such sort, as that they making as it were two wings to the campe, might discover the comming of euery man, and yet he himselfe being shadowed with the two hills, might lie vnperceiued of any.

Mahamet the new king of PERSIA, as yet scarcely settled in his kingdome, stirred vp by the fame of these motions, resolved in himselfe to stand vpon the defence of his state, and for a time to dissemble the conceiued hatred which he bare to some of the Sultans of PERSIA, and princes of GEORGIA, and to make some apparent shew that he was reconciled to them; for that without them he could not promise vnto himselfe any forme of an armie, or defence: wherein (notwithstanding all the troubled state of his kingdome) he wrought so cunningly, that almost all the great men of account tooke vpon them the protection of his state and kingdome. And so *Tocomac* a Sultan, the Chan and Gouvernour of REIVAN, a famous man; well knowne vnto the Turkes, and of great reputation amongst the Persians, was chosen Generall of this expedition; with charge, That gathering together the greatest number of men he could out of ATROPATIA, out of MEDIA the greater, and other places neere vnto the Turkes, he should by all meanes possible stop their passage into GEORGIA and MEDIA ATROPATIA. And thereupon precepts were sent out into all parts of the kingdome, That all the Chans, Sultans, and souldiours whatsoeuer should come readie prest to attend vpon their new Generall. Many obedient to the kings proclamation came, but many there were that would not stirre a foot, for their obstinacie in the broiles begun, and for the suspicion they had of vnlooked for mischeetes: at whose disobedience the king much grieued; but now there was no remedie but to make the best of the matter, and for the safeguard of his honour to make the best resistance they could. So with those few which for the loue of their prince and countrey were met together in those parts; being in number not aboue twentie thousand, *Tocomac* was dispatched about his businesse, if happily he might with these small forces oppresse the enemy in some straight or troublesome passage, where the great multitude should rather setue to the confusion of themselves than to the helpe of one another. These twentie thousand were all horsemen, armed with scimitar and bow, with some harquebuses among, and furnished with vety fine and well tempered armour; but aboue all, courageous they were and resolute, and well the more for the valour and prowesse of their Generall. So provided of all things necessarie, they set forward, and keeping the way of TAVRIS and GENG, they came to the turning of CHARS, where they were aduertised that the enemies armie was alreadye passed.

They were now come within a dayes journey of CHILDER, when they sent quicke and faithfull scouts to bring them certaine newes of the condition and number of the Turkes armie; who came thither euen at the very time that *Mustapha* was encamping his armie betwene the two hills, whereupon the two Bassas *Beyran* and *Deruis* with their people had alreadye pitched their tents. These scouts discovering the Turkish hoast aloft, perswaded themselves that there was not any other battell than those which they saw vpon the hills, whereof with all speed they could they returned newes to *Tocomac*, who at ease had followed those his scouts as fast off. *Tocomac* thus misinformed by his scouts of the number of his enemies, held on his way boldly, with purpose to assault them: and hauing discovered their tents vpon the hills, was thoroughly confirmed in the opinion he had before conceiued of the number of his enemies and the scouts relation, and with so much the more confidence set forward to assault them. But *Beyran* and *Deruis*, who quickly from the hills perceiued the Persians comming in the plaine, although they knew them to be men of great courage, yet reposing an assured confidence in their Generals battell, with all speed mounted vpon their horses and ran to meet them. So in the aforesaid plaine vnder CHILDER, within one houre after noone was joyned a most bloodie battell, wherein at last were slaine seuen of the Turkes Sanzackes, with a very great number of souldiours, without any apparent losse at all among the Persians; who fighting close together in great heat, and all bebloudied, vrged their happie and fortunat victorie.

But *Mustapha* who perceiued all that had passed, and stayed waiting till the fight was at the hottest, and the medley at the thickest, that so the flight of the enemies might breed their greater disorder: and now seeing that his people could no longer endure the furie of the enemies rage (euen as if it had lightened and thundered, and as though the earth had shaken) with such cries and exclamations as the Turkes vse in their assaults, for the more terror of the enemies, exciting his armie, ran as it were headlong vpon his aduersaries, and so renewed a most terrible battell. The Persians with wonderfull courage endured this vnexpected and dreadfull assault, and with incredible signes of valour, in that little time of daylight that was left (for the night began now to approach) continued their manifold slaughters, and at last being fauoured by the darknesse of the night, withdrew themselves with as little losse as possibly they might. Neither durst *Mustapha* any longer pursue them, but was glad by night to returne to his campe. Of the successe of this battell the Persians certified their king: as also of the greatnesse of the Turkish armie, with their further purpose for the annoying thereof. And by the Turkes also were presented to *Mustapha* (who had alreadye sent away postes with newes to *Amurath*) five thousand heads, which by their colour, countenance, and beards, bewraied themselves to be Persians, and three thousand Persians aliue. Of this victorie *Mustapha* greatly rejoyced, and to make it seeme the greater, seeking by all meanes to conceale his owne losses, and to raise a greater terror by the same thereof among his enemies) caused the heads of those three thousand that were brought before him aliue to be presently cut from their shoulders, and gaue order, that of those heads there should be framed a bulwarke in those fields for a most horrible and vncouth spectacle.

The same day that *Mustapha* employed himselfe about this barbarous and cruell work, there came vnto him certaine messengers from *Manucchiar*, the younger sonne of the Georgian widow *Dedesmit* (a great prince in that countrey) who told him, That with his good fauour and leaue *Manucchiar* their lord and maister was comming to salute him, and to offer himselfe vnto him as his obedient and deuoted seruant. At which newes *Mustapha* redoubling his joy, gaue commandement, That all the Bassas and captaines of the armie with all solemne pompe, with trumpets, drums, peales of ordinance, and all other signes of munificall and joyfull entertainment should goe forth to meet the said *Manucchiar*, and to accompanie him to his presence. Which they did accordingly, and so encountering him with all signes of honour, conducted him to the great pavillion of *Mustapha*, who there caused him to be againe saluted with like triumph. *Manucchiar* dismounted from his horse, and against his will beholding the strange and vncouth pile of heads, all pale and filthy to behold, and indeed imagining what the matter meant: yet notwithstanding, before all other things hauing done his due reuerence to the great Bassa, and according to his degree placed himselfe next to his side, after he had presented him with such gifts as his countrey yeelded, he gaue him to vnderstand, That for the honour and estimation which he bare to the Turkish valour, he was alwayes deuoted to the house of the *Othomans*; and as he had oftentimes desired to spend his goods and life in their seruice, so at this present time, moued

Mustapha at Chars.

Mustapha cunningly encampeth his armie at Chender.

Tocomac General of the Persians.

Mustapha commeth with his battell to relieve his distressed people.

A bulwarke made of the heads of the slaine Persians.

The speech of Manucchiar to Mustapha.

They

by his auncient desire, allured by the strange fame of this victorious and wonderfull armie, and stirred vp by a particular phantasie, to learne the painefull and hard precepts of the art militarie, vnder such a Generall, commaunder of other commaunders; he offered him all deuotion and seruite, more than euer he had done to any heretofore, and himselfe hauing nothing in the world more deere vnto him, consecrated his owne life to his commaundements; desiring that the same might be employed in the conflicts of warre vnder his banners, among warriours and souldiers of fame and renowne: and therefore besought him to accept of him in the name of *Amurath*, whose obedient vassall he vowed himselfe to remaine for euer.

The answer of
Mustapha.

Graciously did *Mustapha* receiue all this discourse from *Manuchiar*, and hauing stiewed him againe the pile of heads, together with his battels, armour and prouision of war, told him, That as all these forces are the gift of God, who alwayes fauours the righteous counsels of the *Othoman* emperours, in such sort, that they Lord it ouer all the world, euen to the astonishment of all that liue in the world at this day: so had he for his particular chofen the better part, in comming now to yeeld himselfe, and to submit his obedience to his lord, although it had beene better if he had done it before. And as concerning the desire he had to be his companion and fellow in these warlike affaires, he did very friendly accept of his comming, and promised him all good entertainment and assured safetie. And so in exchange of the presents which he brought him, he apparelled him in cloth of gold, honoured him with a battle axe and targuer, wrought with gold and amell, and neuer permitted him to go from his pavillion without a traine of his slaues following him.

A terrible raine
and tempest.

This Georgian prince thus solemnly entertained, the Generall gaue order through his camp, I That they should the next morning remoue from those mountaines: and now euerie man was putting himselfe in readinesse, when as there rose a most terrible tempest of wind and raine, mixt with thunder and lightening; which continued with such violence by the space of foure dayes together, as if the heauens had beene dissolued into waters. Whereby it came to passe, that out of the dead carcases and heads before mentioned, issued a most horrible stinke: so that thereby, and by the foulnesse of the weather, with the other annoyances alwaies attending vpon so great a campe, the whole armie was exceedingly troubled, and diuers diseases arose among the Turks. But at the last the weather breaking vp, *Mustapha* rose with his campe, and set forward toward *Teflis*: and being not able by reason of the foulnesse of the way to passe any further, that day stayed in the plaines, where the lake *Chielder Giol* standeth, and there refreshed his sickle K and wounded souldiers: remouing thence, the next day about noone he came to the castle of *Archichelec*, sometime a castle of the Georgians, but taken from them by *Solyman* in his warres against *Tamur*, and euer since holden by the Turks. Here *Mustapha* surueyed his armie, and by diligent account taken, found himselfe to want fortie thousand of his souldiers: whereof some were slaine in the battell, some were dead of sicknesse, and many wearie of so long and perillous a journey were by night stolne out of the campe and returned to take their ease at home. From thence the armie remoued, and lodged at night neere the marish, called of the

Mustapha surueyeth his armie
at Archichelec,
and lacketh fortie
thousand of
his men.

Turks *Pervana Giol*, or lake of slaues, and the next day came to *Triala*: where at this day are to be seene the ruines of a great citie, and of many churches; whereof some are yet repaired and maintained by deuout Christians, the reliques of those happie and religious forces, that with so great and faithfull zeale passed the seas and mountaines through those barbarous nations into the holy land, men worthie of eternall praise. The next day the Turkes ascended the high and craggie mountaine that standeth vpon *Teflis*: from the top whereof descending the day following, they seized vpon a castle of the Georgians, called by the Turks *Givroi Chala*. Departing thence, and lodging in certaine plaines, the next day they came neere to the riuer that runneth by *Teflis*. But in these foure dayes march from *Archichelec*, where *Mustapha* tooke view of his armie, many of the Turks, who in seeking for victuals for themselves and their horses, had stragled from the armie, were cut off by the Georgian captaines; who with a number of their owne country souldiers secretly followed the Turkes armie, and well acquainted with all the waies of the country, lay in ambush vpon such places as the victuallers were to passe through, and so suddenly setting vpon them, spoyled them at once both of their goods and liues.

The Turkes vnto
smallers cut off
by the Georgi-
ans.

Mustapha comming to *Teflis*, found that castle empty, for that *Daut Chan* lord thereof, hearing of the comming of the Turkes, forsooke the same, and betooke himselfe to the fields: prouiding better for himselfe in so doing, than by staying still in the castle, to haue been taken pri- soner.

A soner. This castle for the conuenient situation thereof *Mustapha* caused to be repaired and fortified, and planted therein an hundred pieces of artillerie; and appointed *Mahamet Bassa* Generall Gouvernour of that place, with a garrison of six thousand souldiers: which done, he departed for *Sirvan*. At which very time those of *Soria* which had brought a thousand loads of rent corne to the campe from *Leppo*, being themselves in number a thousand persons, with five hundred others of *Omps* (in ancient time called *Hvs*, the citie of the patient *Iob*) and other places of *Soria*, men neither of dutie bound, nor of themselves willing to follow the campe, returned homewards towards their owne country: but vpon the way they were set vpon by *Alessandro*, *Ginsuf*, and *Dauid* (three of the Georgian lords) and all slaine, except some few, who by the swiftnesse of their horses escaped with *Nassardin* their captaine.

B Now after that *Mustapha* had passed the descent of the steepe mountaines of *Teflis*, the next day he encamped in certaine low plaines: where the embassadours of *Alessandro* summoned the Great, sonne of *Leuent* a Georgian prince, came vnto him and told him, That their lord was readie, if it so pleased him to come vnto him to doe him reuerence, and by word of mouth to promise him that deuotion he had alwayes in mind borne to the *Othoman* emperours. With a glad heart and cheerefull countenance did *Mustapha* receiue these embassadours: and presently sent them backe to will their lord to come, and to tell him, That his friendship should be vnto him most deare and acceptable. And after their departure tooke order with all the commanders of his armie to receiue him with all the signes of joy that might be; which at his comming was accordingly by them performed. Who after he had presented vnto the Generall the rich gifts he C had brought with him, he offered his obedience to the Bassa with most liuely speeches he could possibly deuise, calling *Amurath* his lord: seeming to take it in euill part, that he passed not through his territorie, where he should (as he said) haue had plentie of all things for the releefe of his armie; yet hoping, that in his returne from *Sirvan*, he would take it in his way, where as he should find him most readie to bestow all that he had in the seruice of his lord: telling him moreouer, That although he could not for many vrgent respects goe with him into *Sirvan*, yet he would alwayes accompanie him in mind, and continually pray vnto the Creator of all things for his prosperitie and most happie successe. Courteously did *Mustapha* receiue both his presents and submission, and in exchange thereof bestowed vpon him certain gifts after the Turkish manner, and in magnificall tearmes gaue him answer, promising him in his returne to passe D through his country: and so dismissed the Christian duke with like honour, wherewith he was entertained at his comming.

Alessandro the
Georgian sent
his embassadours
to Mustapha.

Alessandro cour-
teously entertain-
ed by Mustapha.

Mustapha holding on his journey toward *Sirvan*, through moorish and troublesome wayes, in twelve dayes after he departed from *Teflis* came into the confines of *Sirvan*, neere to the riuer of *Canac*, and there rested on this side the riuer one day. At which time they of the citie of *Schir* bordering vpon the Siruanians and Georgians, foure dayes iourney from *Svmachia*, came to offer themselves to *Mustapha*, as subjects to the Turkes. Of whose submission the Generall graciously accepted, promising to them his assured protection.

The Turkes armie ouerwearyed with the continuall trauell of twelue dayes march, but yet farre more afflicted with hunger, not finding in those parts so much as one wild beast to assuage E their greedie desire of meat, sought by all meanes euerie man for himselfe to get something, especially when they vnderstood their Generall would passe the riuer into a country vnto them all vnknowne, where they were altogether vnertain what to find for their releefe. So whilst they were enquiring among themselves, who were able to conduct them to some such place as where they might supplie their wants, behold certaine Persians were taken; who being straightly examined on that point, after much resistance at last told them, That not far off, after they had passed certaine marshes, where *Canac* dischargeth it selfe into *Araxis*, they should find many fields full of Rysse and corne in the blade, and a little further certain fat heards of cattell, sufficient to relieue the whole armie. Of this newes was the Generall certified: who although he greatly doubted the subtilties of his enemies; yet to gratifie his souldiers, and to make them more willing to fol- F low him into *Sirvan*, he licensed euerie man that had a desire thereunto to goe and prouide themselves of victuals; and so suffered all that would to goe freely. Whereupon there went of themselves, and were sent by their captaines about ten thousand seruile persons, with cammels, horses, and mules, to fetch away this prouision of corne and cattell: but the euent answered not to their desires. For *Tocomac* with the other Persian captaines, and the rest of the souldiers that were

The Turkes armie
afflicted with
hunger.

were escaped from the ouerthrow giuen them in the plaines of CHILDER, hauing gathered together the remainder of the armie, and recouered such places as they thought safe and fitly for them, carefully attended the marching and passing of the Turkish armie. And being certainly enformed by them of RIVAN and GEORGIA what way they kept, and that of necessity they must arrive at the banks of Canac; they began to deuise how they might in some measure be reuenged of their former losse, and empeach their enemies entrance into SIRVAN. But wanting rather strength than courage to assaile the whole armie, they thought it best to lay in ambush in some fit place, vntill some part of the Turkish armie (allured with the prey of the corne and cattell) should for the reliefe of their common necessities descend into those fields. And the rather to draw them on, sent out diuers men, who as if they had gone about their owne business, and by chance at vnawares had lighted vpon the Turkes campe, reuealed vnto them as a great secret, what a good prey was hard by them. And so withdrawing themselves out of sight priuily, awaited the coming of the Turks: when as within the space of three daies it so fell out, that the aforesaid ten thousand forragers arrived at the wished place; where they had no sooner begun to charge themselves with the prey, but they were surprised by the Persians, and all slaine, sauing a few who by hastie flight saved themselves. The noise of this hoar skirmish being heard into the Turkish hoast, caused *Mustapha* to imagine that the matter was fallen out euen as in deed it was: and therefore rising with his whole armie, hasted with all possible speed to haue encouraged the poore people, who were now all slaine. And albeit he came not in so good time as to yeeld them reliefe, yet came he verie fitly to reuenge their death vpon the Persians, slaying too long to load themselves with the spoile of their enemies.

The place from whence the Turks were to haue had the aforesaid bootie, was almost in manner of an island, enclosed with the riuers of Araxis and Canac: whereinto *Mustapha* entered with his whole power, *Deruis Bassa* leading the one wing as did *Beyran Bassa* the other, and himselfe coming on in the middle with the maine battell. The Persians seeing *Mustapha* with all his forces hastening towards them, and withall remembering the late ouerthrow by them received in the plaines of CHILDER; began to bethinke themselves, how much better it had bene for them to haue contented themselves with the late slaughter of the forragers, and with speed to haue got them away out of that strait, than by staying longer to be enclosed with the multitude of their enemies, as that they could now no way escape without most manifest perill. In this perplexitie, discoursing among themselves whether it were better for them to flie, or with so great disadvantage to joyne battell, and so rather to die with honour than to liue with reproach: at last they resolved to referre themselves to the farther seruice of their prince and countrey; deeming it rather a point of wisdom than of dishonour, Not to aduenture vnto most desperat and assured death, so many worthie men as might in future time stand their countrey in great stead: yet did they not see how by flight well to escape, for that they were in such sort straitened within their expectation was by the Turkes already possessed. In these difficulties euery man began to betake himselfe to his owne priuat conceit and fortune. *Tocmac* with *Emir Chan*, and other the great commanders of the armie were the first that turned their backs, and by the helpe of their courageous horses, got ouer the riuer of Canac: whose example moued many others to attempt the like, though not with like fortune; for that their horses being not of such courage, and out of breath, lay many of them drowned in the riuer. Where with others being amazed, as perceiving inescapable death in flying present before their eyes, and reposing all their hope euen in despair, ran as it were headlong in a rage and furie vpon their enemies, and in fighting shewed unspeakable valour: but what was one against an hundred? for there they were also all slaine, though worthie of immortall fame. Thus was the Persian armie quite discomfited in this demy island, being first stained with the blood of the enemy, and afterward with the slaughter of the neighbour and proper inhabitant: and so became the perpetuall sepulcher of a most courageous and warlike people. The Turkes in this last conflict, lost not above three thousand men, beside the slaughter of the ten thousand forragers: although *Tocmac* to make his losse to seeme the more tollerable, made report to the king, of a greater slaughter made. The Persian capitaines full of sorrow for this vnexpected ouerthrow, with the licence of their Generall departed, euery man to his severall gouernment: as *Emanguli Chan* to GENOX, *Serap Chan* to NASIMAN, *Tocmac* himselfe to RIVAN; and all the rest to other cities, to the gouernment: whereof they were before

Ten thousand of the Turke forragers slaine.

The Persians flie, and in flying are many of them drowned in Canac.

fore by the king appointed, and so remained expecting his farther pleasure from CASIM.

Mustapha was now come to the riuer of Canac, which he was to passe ouer into SIRVAN, and therefore made straight proclamation through his whole armie, That euery man should be in readinesse against the next day to passe the riuer. At which proclamation all his people suddenly arose in a tumult, and with injurious tearmes euen to his face reproued his folly and inhumanitie, propounding vnto himselfe danger, and an vniuersall confusion vnto the whole armie: and therefore praised him to surcease from proceeding any farther, vnlesse he were minded to cast them all away. But his resolute mind was not by their threats or entreaties to be removed, neither gaue he them other answer than this: *That so had Amurath commaunded: and that if all the rest should shew themselves unwilling to obey their Soueraigne, hee himselfe would not nor could not, but would be the first man to attempt and performe that, which they all so abhorred and reproued. Valiant souldiours (he said) were discovered and knowne; not in idleness and ease, but in great paines taking, and difficult enterprises: who neuer ought to be afraid to change this momentarie life for euermore honour, or to shun death, if the seruice of their prince so required. And for mine owne part (said he) I most earnestly request you, that after I haue attempted the passage of the riuer, if any thing happen vnto me otherwise than well, yet carrie my dead bodie to the other side of the riuer: to the end, that if I cannot whilst I yet liue execute the commaundement of my soueraigne, I may yet at least performe the same when I am but a speechlesse and liuelesse carcas: for as much as the desire of my lords is not in any sort to be frustrated, for making too great account of mine owne life.*

The resolute answer of Mustapha to his tumultuous souldiours.

Diuers and sundrie murmurings and whisperings followed vpon this speech of the Generall, who notwithstanding the next morning did first of all wade ouer the deepe and swift riuer himselfe: after whom presently followed the Bassas with all their slaues, by whose example the rest also were induced at last to doe the like, and so continued vntill the darknesse of the night interrupted their passage; by which occasion more than halfe the armie could not then get ouer. In this passage, being with great tumult and disorder attempted, it came to passe that about eight thousand persons carried away with the violence of the riuer, were miserably drowned, with the great outcrie of all the hoast. The like happened also to many mules, camels, and sumpter horses, vpon whose backs diuers persons being mounted, in hope to haue passed drie ouer the riuer, were likewise headlong ouerwhelmed therein. With great complaints and blasphemous curings was the whole night spent, by them that were yet on this side the riuer; whose feares were not a little increased, by the example of their vnfortunate fellowes before drowned. And like enough it was, some pestilent sedition to haue ensued thereupon, had there not a shallow foord by great chance been discovered, which gaue safe passage to those that were left. For in the passage which the people made that followed *Mustapha*, the grauell of the bottom of the riuer being raised and removed by the heauie hooues of the cattell, was driuen downe the riuer to a place, where by great good hap there was also a foord: and there gathered together in an heape, had in such sort raised the depth of the channell, that it made as it were a shelve for their commodious passage, so that the remnant of the armie, carriages, and artilerie passing ouer the same, there was not so much as one man that perished. So hauing with much difficultie at last got ouer the riuer of Canac, they rested themselves that day and the next, and there staid vntill the whole armie was mustered, and againe put in order. Remouing thence, the day following they encamped in certaine barren Champaines, where was neither corne nor cattell: neither could they perceiue or learne, that in those quarters were any villages at all. By means whereof the hunger of their beasts increasing, they were enforced to giue their horses and mules, leaues, and stalkes of verie drie and withered reeds, and such other like things of little or no sustenance at all: and the men themselves were faine to satisfie their hunger with those vttermost reliques, which they were faine to picke out of such poore victuals, as now by corruption were become loathsome to mans nature: and that which worse was, they saw no end of these miseries they were so entolled into. Notwithstanding there was now no looking backe, but needs on they must, and followed into. Notwithstanding there was now no looking backe, but needs on they must, and followed into. Notwithstanding there was now no looking backe, but needs on they must, and followed into. Notwithstanding there was now no looking backe, but needs on they must, and followed into.

Eight thousand Turkes drowned in passing the riuer.

Famine in the Turke hoast.

The Turke army refreshed.

did euerie man satisfie his appetite, and forgot in part the forepassed calamities. Through this fruitfull and pleasant country *Mustapha* leading his armie, at last arriued at *Erbes*, the chief citie in that coast of *Sirvan* as you trauell from *Georgia*.

This citie of *Erbes* was forsaken of a number of her inhabitants, as soone as it was knowne that the *Turkes* were come to *Canac*; who all followed their *Gouernour Samir Chan*: who with *Ares Chan* *Gouernour* of *Svmachia*, and other the *Gouernours* of *Sechi* and other places of *Sirvan*, forsooke the cities, and altogether withdrew themselves into the mountains, as places of more suretie, attending the euent of these so great motions. So that as the *Turkes* entred the citie vndisturbed, so were they with the prey they found therein, nothing enriched: for that in this common danger, euerie man had carried away with him the best things he had. Here staid *Mustapha* two and twentie daies, during which time he erected a fortresse in the said citie: whereupon he placed two hundred small pieces of artilerie, and for the keeping thereof appointed *Caitas Bassa*, with a garrison of fiewthousand souldiours. In the meane time also he commaunded *Osman Bassa* (one of the voluntarie captaines) with ten thousand men to possesse *Svmachia*, sometime the Metropolitall citie of that prouince, with the title of Visier and *Gouernour* Generall of *Sirvan*. Giuing him farther in charge, that in any case he should cleare the passage to *Darrent*, and giue present aduersements to the *Tartarians* of his arriual there: whom he supposed by that time to be come into those quarters, for that they had before so faithfully promised to *Amurath*. *Osman* coming to *Svmachia*, presently seized vpon the citie, and was friendly entertained of those that remained there: whom he likewise courteously entreated, without doing or suffering any outrage to be done vpon them. Of which his courteous vantage they of *Darrent* vnderstanding, sent presently to offer their citie vnto him, beseeching him to receiue them into his protection, and to defend them from the *Persians*: vnder whom, although they had long liued in subiection, yet differed they from them in the ceremonies of their *Mahometane* superstition, wherein they better agreed with the *Turkes*.

Mustapha returneth out of Sirvan.

Mustapha hauing thus brought the country of *Sirvan* into the *Turkish* subiection, and finished his fortresse at *Erbes*, and put all things in such order as he thought best: importuned by the *Ianizaries* and the people of *Gracia*, and somewhat enforced by the season of the yeare, which was now faire spent; departed from *Erbes*, and turned his course homeward toward the country of *Alexander* surnamed the Great, as he had promised in his late passage into *Sirvan*. And hauing trauelled a long journey, he sent before him certaine engines and pioneers to make a bridge ouer *Canac*, so without danger to passe ouer his armie. Hauing passed the riuer, he gaue notice to *Sahamall* (one of the lords of *Georgia*) of his arriual, who presently came and yielded himselfe as vassall to the *Turkes*: and being entertained of the *Bassa* with great pompe, and rewarded after the *Turkish* manner, tooke his leaue, and so returned into his mountaines of *Brvs*.

Mustapha setting againe forward, and traueilling by night because he would not lose the opportunitie of the faire weather; by the error of his guides lost his way, and so fell into rough and difficult passages, whereby he was enforced to stay and wait for day light: which arising, did manifest vnto them, that they were now entred into the countries of his friend *Alexander*. And therefore he gaue forthwith proclamation through all his armie, That no man vpon paine of death should be so hardie as to molest or disquiet any of the subjects of *Alexander*, but to haue good respect vnto them, and to entreat them with all courtesie. The day following he still trauelled on in the same country, when there arriued from *Zaghen* certaine embassadours of *Alexanders*, with great abundance of cattell, corne, fruits, and other reliefe sent for a present to the *Generall*, with a solemne excuse, that he came not himselfe, because the infirmities of his bodie would not suffer him. Wherewithall *Mustapha* rested satisfied, and leaving the citie of *Zaghen* on the right hand, caused the messengers of *Alexander* to guide him the way to *Teflis*: which they so directly did, that within the space of three daies they conducted him thither with his armie, without the feeling of any annoiance; from whence they returned, being well rewarded for their paines by the *Generall*. Whom now come to *Teflis*, found the garrison he had there left for the keeping thereof, so hardly pinched with famine, that they were glad to eat cats, dogs, sheepskins, and such like vnwonted food: for neither durst they for feare of the enemy go out of the castle to provide for themselves; neither if they had so done had it any thing auailed, such was the carefulnesse of the enemy in keeping of his things: but now by the coming

Mustapha releueth his distressed garrison at Teflis.

A ming of the *Generall* they were relieved with meat, money, and plentie of all things: Hauing staid there two daies, he put himselfe againe vpon his way, and with fire and sword destroyed whatsoever came in his way in the *Champaignes* subject to the said citie: onely the sepulchers of *Simons* progenitors (lord of that country) were left vntouched by the *Turkes* furie. The next day they trauelled ouer rough and ragged mountains, full of a thousand difficulties, which were the more encreased by wonderfull great snowes that were fallen: by reason whereof, many souldiours, horses, camels, and mules perished. In which distresse the armie continued two daies; during which time the souldiours were fallen into such a disorder, that forgetting the feare of the enemies country, wherein they were, euerie man without regard tooke vp his seuerall lodging apart, some here, some there, where they might find either some thicke bush or some small cottage, or some quiet valley to shelter themselves in from the wind, the snow, and the stormes. Of which disorder certaine *Georgian* lords vnderstanding by the scouts which from time to time waited vpon the *Turkes* armie, joynded themselves together, and in the night secretly approached vnto it, expecting the opportunitie of performing some notable exploit: and hauing obserued, that *Hosaine Bey* had withdrawne himselfe with his regiment from the rest of the army vnder certaine mountaines, to defend himselfe from the storme and wind; they took the occasion presented, and so assailing him, slew his slaues and all his squadrons; tooke a great bootie of many loads of money and apparell; lead away with them all his horses, and whatsoever else they could find, and scarce gaue him leasure to saue himselfe, by flying into the tents of *Beyran Bassa*. The next morning the *Turkes* remoued, and in the euening came to a castle called *Chivrchala*, where they staid a whole day to make prouision of victuall: which was attempted by sending abroad many of their slaues into the fields, conducted by them of the castle; who were all miserably cut in pieces by the *Georgians*. From this place the *Turkes* armie departed in great hunger, ouer diuers rough places of the *Georgians*, where they were faine oftentimes to rest themselves: and at last came to the confines of *Dedesmit*, of her called the widowes country. In the entrance whereof, they must needs passe through a narrow strait, betwene certaine mountaines, where the riuer *Araxis* windeth it selfe with a thousand turnings in the low vallies: a dangerous place, and so narrow, that no more but one man alone could at once passe through it. Betwene this strait and a verie thicke and hilly wood, they lodged vpon the banke of the said riuer: and from thence they remoued the next morning, and trauelled ouer verie steep D mountaines and rough forrests, ouer yfe and snow more harder than marble, and ouer other hanging rocks, in such miserable sort, that many camels, mules, and horses, tumbling downe headlong into the riuer, there miserably perished. Through these ruinous crags and diuers other miseries, they marched all the next day, and after that another day also, as miserable to the armie as the former. And so at last being sore afflicted with hunger, spoiled of the enemy, tormented with the hard season of the yeare, and situation of the place, they arriued in the territories that lay vnder *ALTVRCHALA*, or Golden castle, the princely widowes pallace, where they had all manner of reliefe, for all the miseries they had endured since their departure from *Chivrchala*, by the space of six daies: which if it had been a faire common trauelled way, might haue been performed in one onely daies journey.

The misery of the Turke armie in passing the straits of Georgia.

E The widow, with *Alexander* her eldest sonne, came downe from her castle, and went vnto the pavillion of *Mustapha*; offering him diuers presents, and promising vnto him all faithfull obedience. Whom *Mustapha* courteously receiued, declaring vnto her, what honourable entertainment he had giuen to *Manuchiar* her yonger sonne there present, who had been with him in all the expedition into *Sirvan*. And for the present, dissembling the priue displeasure he bare against *Alexander* (whom he thought to haue been one of them that spoiled the *Sorians* in their returne from the campe) he embraced him courteously, and praised her to be content to leaue him also there with him: giuing her farther to vnderstand, that he would send both her sons to *CONSTANTINOPLE* to *Amurath*, with letters of credence for their yielded obedience, for their fauour shewed to his armie, in giuing it so secure passage, and so many helpes: and lastly, that for their good deserts, they might be of the said great Sultan both honourably entertained and rewarded. The aged ladie, although her mind was herewithall sore troubled, yet outwardly in her countenance shewed her selfe pleased; and seemed courteously to yeeld, what she was of necessitie constrained to grant: as well for that he was already possessed of one of her sonnes, as also for that both her selfe and her whole state were now in his power, and as it

The Georgian widow submitteth her selfe, with her sonne Alexander to Mustapha.

Mustapha com-
meth to Erzir-
um, and dischar-
geth his armie.

Mustapha mag-
nifieth his owne
exploits to Amu-
rath.

were at his deuotion. And therefore leauing both her sonnes behind her, she returned her selfe heauie to her castle.

In this place *Mustapha* hauing refreshed his armie two daies, departed thence toward *Chars*, and after many dayes trauell at last arriued at *Erzurum*, to the great reioycing of the whole armie, which was there presently discharged by the Generall, without any mustering at all, & leaue giuen for euery man to returne into his countrey.

Mustapha setting himselfe in *Erzurum*, dispatched postes with letters of plentifull aduertisements to his great lord and master, of all things that had passed: not forgetting to magnifie his owne exploits aboue measure. He certified him of the battels he had had with the Persians; the obedience he had receiued of the Georgians and Siruanians; the mutinie of his owne souldiours, the forresse he had built at *Eres*; the garrisons left in that citie with *Caiss Bassa*; and in *Symachia* with *Osman Bassa*: and in breefe, whatsoeuer els had passed; and whatsoeuer he had taken from the enemye. Neither did he faile to propound vnto *Amurath*, what he thought conuenient to be attempted the next year, for the strengthening of those places he had already conquered; and for preparing the way for new enterprises. And principally he put him in mind of a fortification to be made at *Chars*, a place very fit for any passage into *Georgia* or *Armenia*, by situation fruitfull and commodious both for men and cattell. And withall he sent vnto him the widdowes two sonnes, *Alexander* and *Manuchiar*, the Georgian princes, certifying him of their submission, and that he had receiued in their countrey all good entertainment and friendship: and withall declaring his opinion, That *Manuchiar* was the meetest man for gouernment than his brother *Alexander*, and the readier to doe him seruice. Greatly did *Amurath* commend the valour and diligence of *Mustapha*, and highly pleased himselfe with this conceit, That of these beginnings might grow mightie conquests; to the enlargement of his empire, and that by this meanes he should be able to surpass the glorie of his predecessours. And the more his ambitious thoughts were occupied about these wars, the lesse he troubled himselfe with thinking how to annoy *Europe* with his forces.

It was not long after the departure of *Mustapha* from *Eres*, but that the Tartarians hauing left the fennes of *Mabotis*, and the vnmountable shores of the Blacke sea, and hauing passed ouer the rockes vpon *Chorchis*, and surueyed the frozen crags of the mountaine *Caucasus*, were now arriued vpon the confines of *Sirvan*, and there attended the commaundement of the Turkes. These Tartarians being of them that are called *Pracopenles*, to the number of thirtie thousand, conducted by their lord and capitaine *Abdilcherai*, a young man of great valour and fame, and of a comely personage; were come according to the faithfull promise of *Tatar Chan*, with a full resolution to attempt whatsoeuer should be commaunded them in the name of *Amurath*. Now *Osman Bassa* vnderstanding of their approach, according to the charge before giuen him by *Mustapha* the Generall, enuited them to enter into *Sirvan*, and by encreasing of the Turkes forces to further these beginnings of *Amurath* his glorie, and these his conquests (or more truly to say, these magnificall & famous tearms of victorie.) All which was most diligently put in execution by *Abdilcherai*: who hauing entred the yron gates where *Dербант* standeth (which by the Turkes at this day is called *Demir Capi*, and signifieth the gates of yron) and so from thence passing into the countrey of *Sirvan*, there stayed; and thereof gaue aduertisement to *Osman*, as was by him appointed. *Ares Chan* late gouernour of *Symachia*, who for feare of the great armie of the Turkes had abandoned the citie the cheefe place of his charge, and betaken himselfe to the safegard of the mountaines, hearing of the departure of the Turkish Generall, resolved with the other Gouernours of *Eres* and *Secht* (who following his example, had in like manner fled) now to returne againe to their forsaken countrey, and to make proofe if he could by any meanes take reuenge of the iniurie done vnto him by the Turkes. So passing vnder *Symachia*, and hauing put to the sword certaine of *Osman* stragling victuallers that were gone out of the citie, he encamped with all his people a little from *Symachia*, and by good fortune surprised certaine messengers sent from *Abdilcherai* the Tartar, to certifie *Osman Bassa* of his arriuall, and to know his pleasure what he should put in execution. These Tartarians brought before *Ares*, after much torture disclosed the letters they carried: which the Persian capitaine read, and considering the great number of the Tartarians that were come (for the letters made mention of thirtie thousand) he resolved not to stay any longer in those quarters, but presently raised his campe, and retired towards Canac, meaning from thence to certifie the king of these nouelties, and vpon the

bankes

A bankes of the said riuer to attend the kings answer. The Tartarian captain comming to *Symachia*, was appointed by the Bassa to passe ouer the riuer of Canac into *Ganag*, the countrey of *Emanguli Chan*, with the spoyle thereof to enrich himselfe, and by all meanes to make his arriuall vnto the Persians most terrible. With this charge the Barbarian departed, thirsting now for nothing more than for the blood and spoyle of the enemye: and with posting iournies came to Canac, where *Ares Chan* was yet encamped: whom he vpon the sudden most furiously assailed, and like a deuouring flame discomfited all his host. And taking him aliue, sent him to *Symachia* to *Osman*, who forthwith caused him to be hanged by the necke out of a lodging in the same Starehouse where he had not long before sat as Gouernour. The Tartarian after that, swimming ouer the riuer, and courting a little aboue *Ganag*, found *Emanguli Chan* with his wife, and all his familie, and a great part of the nobilitie of *Ganag* in a valley hunting the wild Bore; and assailing him, put him to flight, tooke from him his wife, all the ladies, and many slaues, and slew many of the rest that were come thither to see the sport: and after that rode on to *Ganag*, which he tooke, and yielded it wholly to the furie and lust of his barbarous souldiours, who left no manner of inhumane crueltie vnattempted, in satisfying their immoderat and barbarous affections. And so being loaded with the spoyles, and wearie with the slaughter of their enemies, they returned merrily toward *Sirvan*: and passing againe ouer Canac, came to the hither side of *Eres* into certaine low champaigns, enuironed about with hills, and there hauing pitched their tents, without any feare settled themselves to sleepe, and to rest their wearie bodies.

In the meane time, and long before these actions, were newes come to the Persian Court of all the Turkes proceedings: whereupon the Persians hauing gathered new forces, had dispatched *Emir Hamze Mirze* his eldest sonne with twelue thousand souldiours to passe into *Sirvan*, to see what hurt the enemye had done; and to attempt the reuenge of the forepassed iniuries; but about all things to punish the villanie of them of *Secht*, and the other cities of *Sirvan*, that not induced with any necessitie, had so voluntarily yielded themselves to follow the obedience and religion of the Turkes. The Persian prince departing from *Casbin*, accompanied with his mother *Begum*, who would needs follow her beloued sonne, was on his way towards *Sirvan*, vnder the guiding and gouernment of *Mirze Salmas*, cheefe of the Sultans; and had now left behind them the countreies of *Ardovil* and *Caracach*, when he was certified by the aduertisements come from *Ares Chan*, of the arriuall of *Abdilcherai*, with his great number of Tartarians; and was thereby at the first stricken into a great quandarie, and almost out of comfort: yet prickt forward with an honourable desire of glorie and reuenge, he prosecuted his intended enterprise for *Sirvan*, and hastening his iourney, came to *Eres* long before the king his father thought he could haue so done. This his notable celeritie serued him to great purpose, for that *Caiss Bassa* was boldly gone out of the forresse, and went spoyling the countrey, carrying away with him whatsoeuer he met withall, and committing such insolencies as hungrie souldiours beyond all honestie vse to doe in strange and fruitfull countreies. But when he was in the midst of these spoyles, and least feared the enemye, he was suddenly assailed by the prince; and hauing no meanes to escape his furie in this extremitie, after a fierce and bloudie battell (wherein the Turkes although in number few, yet shewed many effects of valor) he was there slaine with all his souldiours, leauing the forresse, the spoyles, and the countrey committed to his custodie, free to the pleasure of the victor: which the Persian prince hauing once againe gotten into his possession, tooke away the two hundred pieces of artillerie that were left in the fort by *Mustapha*, and presently sent them to *Casbin* to his father.

The prince encouraged with so happie a beginning, leauing his mother at *Eres*, followed on his iourney toward *Symachia*, but by the way descending the hills, he discovered where the Tartarians lay encamped. VV hereupon he stood in great doubt, whether to aduventure vpon so mightie an enemye, or to content himselfe with the victorie he had already gotten, and so to returne into *Persia*: to returne he thought it too great a shame, and chose rather to aduventure himselfe to most manifest perill. And therefore descending the hill, and drawing nigh the enemye, he perceived that the armie was all laid downe to rest, and that their horses were some couched, some standing, but all vnadled: whereupon without any stay setting spurs to his horse, he pricked forward with all his host, and most terribly assailed the Tartarians, now buried in their spoyles and sleepe; & hauing slaine their first and second watch, although with some losse, among the tumultuarie souldiours he made an vniuersall confusion and slaughter, putting some to flight,

LIII ij

killing

Ares Chan hanged at *Symachia*

Emanguli Chan taken, & *Gerge* sacked by the Tartarians.

Eres recovered by the Persians.

Sumachia beset
by the Persian
prince.

Sumachia beset
by the Persian
prince.

Abditcherai be-
loved of the Per-
sian queen.

killing others, and taking diuers of them captiues. Among whom was their Generall *Abditcherai*, who was taken aliue, and sent to the king in *CASBIN*. After these victories the Persian prince scoured to *SVMACHIA*, and compassed the citie round about, wherein the Turkish Bassa *Osman* sat as Gouverneur, to the reproch of *PERSIA*: and there encamping himselfe; sent word to *Osman*, That if he would yeeld himselfe, he would let him depart with life and goods: otherwise, if he would obstinately hold it out, and not yeeld the citie, which he so vnjustly possessed; he should be constrained to surrender it by force, and his life withall. *Osman* who as then knew nothing of the Tartarians ouerthrow, but still hoped of their returne, thought it best to entertaine the prince with faire words: vntill their coming, and therefore gaue him courteous answere, that he was very readie to yeeld vnto the citie: but withall entreated him, that he would stay but for three dayes, and graunt him time to put all things in readinesse, that so he might freely depart, as it had pleased him in courtesie to offer. The prince glad of such an answere, supposing it to haue proceeded of a sincere meaning, expected of the Turke the performance thereof. But *Osman* meaning nothing lesse; than to commit himselfe to the faith of his enemy, and seeing that the Tartarians, whom he looked for, appeared not, he resolved to saue himselfe by secret flight; doubting, as he had good reason, that if he should longer stay, to be betrayed by the inhabitants of the citie themselves: and therefore somewhat before the assigned tearme of the three dayes appointed for the surrendering of the citie; he by the helpe of a darke night, and the couert of the high and rough crags, with great silence withdrew himselfe out of *SVMACHIA*, carrying away with him all his substance, and so in safetie arrived at *DERBENT*. The next morning the inhabitants of *SVMACHIA* opened the gates of the citie to the prince: who seeing their infidelitie, first by giuing of entertainment to *Osman*, and now by helping him to escape, without giuing him any knowledge thereof, did put in execution the effect of his wrath and indignation, which euen in *CASBIN* he had conceived in his mind against them; and with great crueltie did punish the miserable and vnfortunat citizens, laying their houses euen with the ground, raising both the old and new wals of that citie, of late so desired a receit for the Turkes. But when he was to depart thence, he stood in doubt, Whether to goe onto *DERBENT*, or to returne to *PERSIA*: the strength of that citie, the approach of Winter, and the long journey he was to take homeward, perswaded him to lay aside the enterprise for *DERBENT*, whereupon he resolved to returne to *CASBIN*: yet first to make his returne by them of *ERES* and *SACHI*, and vpon them as vpon rebels to inflict well deserved punishment. So making his present repaire thither, spared neither sex nor age, nor any condition of persons, but vpon them all poured forth his furious indignation, without exception. Which done, he with his aforesaid mother *Begum*, and his armie, though somewhat deminished, yet victorious and triumphant, returned to *CASBIN*.

Yong *Abditcherai* the Tartarian was kept safe in the kings pallace at *CASBIN*, but with such easie imprisonment as was agreeable to his calling: which was day by day so enlarged, as that he seemed not to liue as a prisoner, but rather as a companion of those of the Court, and as it were in apparent libertie. By which occasion hauing insinuated himselfe into the loue of *Begum* the kings wife, he spent his time in courtting of her, and she againe in entertaining of him in all secret and couert manner. Yet these their mutuall affections and interchangeable fauours passed not so secretly, but that in the Court and all ouer the citie it was a ripe report, That the shamelesse ladie, prodigall of her honour, had participated both her bed and her selfe with the Tartarian prisoner. Howbeit neither the king nor the prince knew any thing of it. But the king perceiuing the yong gentleman to be generally commended, valiant, courteous, and of a comely feature, and withall nobly borne (for he gaue it out that he was the brother of *Tatar Chan*) perswaded himselfe, that it would stand with the great good of his state, of a captiue to make him his sonne in law, by giuing him his daughter in marriage: whereby he was in good hope there might grow such an amitie and vnion betweene the Tartarian *Præcopenes* and himselfe, as that they would from thenceforth not onely refuse to fauour *Amurath* in those warres, but also become enemies vnto him, and in the fauour of *PERSIA* turne their armes and affections against him. Which his deepe and considerat purpose so displeased the Sultans of *CASBIN*, that they sought by all meanes they could possibly deuise to auert the king from that so strange a policie: but all in vaine, for the king being fully resolved, and now vpon the point to make a conclusion of the marriage; the Sultans entering into the pallace with their followers, and finding there the vnfor-

unat

Amurath Tartarian, ran him through the bodie, and cutting off his priuie members, flapped them vpon his mouth after a most barbarous and filthie manner. It is reported, that the queene was then also murdered by them: certaine it is, that the poore ladie neuer after that day saw the light of the Sunne: but whether it was put in execution by the appointment of the king her husband, or that the Sultans did it for the publicke interest, is not certainly knowne. Vpon these murders sprung vp many troubles, and much ciuile dissention, threatening the vtter confusion of the Persian kingdom, to the singular benefit of *Amurath*. All which tumultuous disorders the king by brideling his owne affections, and the motions of his sonne *Emir Hamze Miri*, well appeased, procuring at last a perfect vnitie, as then most necessarie for the defence of his kingdom.

Osman Bassa being in *DERBENT* (the onely place of refuge now left for the Turkes in *SIRVAN*) ceased not with all carefulnesse to deuise what he possibly could, for the assuring of that countrey (of late woon, and now againe almost lost) vnder the gouernment of *Amurath*. For the better establishing whereof, together with his owne safetie, he thought it good to enter into friendship with old *Sahamal* the Georgian, lord of the mountaine of *BVS*. With this man did *Osman* practise many tokens of good will, and he againe interchangeably towards *Osman*: whereupon there arose great friendship betweene them, at leastwise in outward appearance: whereunto in short time there was added a straight knot of alliance: for that *Osman* took to wife a daughter of the said *Sahamals*, the greatest signe of his sincere loue towards him. Neuerthelesse shortly after *Osman* vpon some reasonable conjectures began to suspect (as indeed the truth was) that *Sahamal* for all the faire shew of friendship he made towards him, might for all that receiue some secret order from the Persian king, to betray him, and to free the citie from the Turkes, and so to reduce all that prouince vnto the auncient deuotion: in which jealous suspicion he was fully confirmed by the speeches of his wife, the daughter of *Sahamal*; who rauished with the honour, valour, and riches of her husband, could not conceale any thing that she knew deuised against him, but frankly told him, That her father being secretly reconciled to the Persian king, held friendship with him, and that letters went betweene them of great matters, and particularly of the affaires of *SIRVAN*. Hereupon the Bassa perswaded himselfe, that all the friendship of *Sahamal* was but deepe dissimulation, and the marriage of his daughter nothing but a meane to procure his death. Neuerthelesse he made shew vnto his wife, as if he had made no such reckoning of it as indeed he did, but kept it in store to his owne safetie and the destruction of *Sahamal*, whom for all that he still entertained with all honour and kindnesse due vnto a most louing father in law. But to preuent the malicious purpose of *Sahamal*, hauing enuied him according to the custome to a certaine solenne feast, he acquainted certain companies of his most trustie and valiant souldiors with his determination, enioyning them, that as soone as *Sahamal* was entered into his Court, euen in the very dismounting from his horse they should all fall vpon him, cut off his head, and put all his retinue to the sword. Which his cruell command was by him accordingly at *Sahamals* coming put in execution, he in lighting from his horse being slaine, and all his followers murdered, when forthwith were sent forth by *Osman* two thousand horsemen to spoyle and sacke all the countrey of the said Georgian lord, to the great maruell and astonishment both of faire and neere. The Persian king hearing of these newes, tooke the matter grieuously, as foreseeing that the recouerie of that countrey and prouince of *SIRVAN* would proue a matter of great difficultie, and fearing greatly that it would still remaine (as indeed it doth) in the possession of the Turkes. This was the end of the Turkes attempts against the Persians in *SIRVAN* this yeare 1578, wherein they lost aboue seuentie thousand men, deuoured partly with the sword, and partly with famine, and the other miseries of warre. And so Winter coming on very sharply, euery man withdrew himselfe from the field, wholly attending the keeping of that they had already gotten, vntill the coming on of the next Spring.

Amurath aduertised by letters from *Mustapha* of all that had happened in the late expedition against the Persians, vpon these prosperous successes (which the Bassa had for the aduancing of his owne credit described to be farre greater than indeed they were) began to cast many deuices in his head touching such matters as were to be attempted the next yeare. And first he thought it necessarie to send his forces againe into *SIRVAN*, to recouer such places as were first conquered by *Mustapha*, but afterward againe subdued by the Persian, so to establish his gouernment in that countrey. But vpon better consideration he ceased further to thinke of that matter, for the great hope he had conceiued of the aid that was promised him by *Tatar Chan*, who had

LIII iij

faithfully

Abditcherai
slaine in the
Court.
The Persian
queene razed
away.

Sahamal slaine
by *Osman*.

The consultation
of *Amurath*.

faithfully assured both him and *Osman*, that he would overrun that province anew, and do great matters in furtherance of the Turkes designs: all which for all that fell out to be but windie words: yet in respect of this hope he layed *SIRVAN* aside, and committed the defence thereof to the false promises of the Tartarian, and the valour of *Osman*. And pleasing his ambitious desires with more haughtie thoughts, he began to deuise with himselfe, for sending his armie directly to *TAVRIS*, there to erect a fortresse; which being strongly fortified and furnished with a garison of most valiant souldiors, should neuer be againe subdued by all the power of *PERSIA*; and by this meanes to keepe in subjection all those great countries betwene *TAVRIS* and *ERZIRUM*. Which his conceit being of great weight and importance, was much increased by the persuation of others, very inward with him; euery man being almost of opinion, That it was an easie matter for so great an host in few dayes to performe that seruice, and to pierce not onely into *TAVRIS*, but further to passe whether soeuer he would desire. Yet after he had more deeply considered of an enterprise of so great importance, and with more indifferent judgement compared his owne forces with his enemies, he began to find many difficulties and dangers, which in the heat of his ambitious desires he at the first saw not: For beside the length and tediousnesse of the journey, he doubted that in sending his armie for *TAVRIS*, it might be on the one side assailed by the Georgians (of whose obedience he had as yet no great assurance) and on the other side by the Persians, and so brought into great danger; which he was alwayes to feare, whensoever he should haue occasion to send new supplies vnto the fortresse by him intended at *TAVRIS*. Whereupon laying aside all his former conceits, as too eage and perillous, he resolutely concluded with himselfe, first to make sure his owne borders, and afterwards by little and little to enter into the enemies countrey, still fortifying in conuenient places as he went, and so surely, although but slowly, to triumph ouer his enemies; rather than by thrusting his armie headlong vpon vncertaineties into places strongly fenced both by nature and the power of most mightie enemies, to be enforced with shame to abandon the enterprise so hastily begun.

*Mustapha care-
full to put in ex-
ecution Amura-
th his command.*

Of this his resolution he aduertised *Mustapha* by writing, giving him in charge, against the next Spring to provide all such things as should be necessarie for the building of certaine forts vpon the way that leadeth from *ERZIRUM* into *GEORGIA*: that hauing made those ways safe, and brought the people vnder his obedience, he might afterwards attempt greater matters. Whereupon *Mustapha* presently directed forth precepts to the cities of *ALEPPO*, of *DAMASCO*, *CARAEMIT*, and other places of *SORIA* and *MESOPOTAMIA*, for the taking vp of cunning workemen, of pioners, and such like, to the number of twentie thousand: and likewise wrot to all the countries, out of which he had raised his armie the last yeare, That all their souldiors (yea and in greater number also) should be in readinesse against the next Spring, to returne to the wars. The rumor whereof he caused to be spread euen as far as *EGIPT*. He commaunded also the taxes and tenths of those countries to be collected, and further vsed the chambers of *ALEPPO*, and other places, for such masses of mony as he thought necessarie for these purposes.

*Manucchiar
in his Turkish
armie.*

*Alexander con-
stant in his reli-
gion.*

In this while the two Georgian brethren, *Alexander* and *Manucchiar*, sent (as we haue before said) by *Mustapha* to *Amurath* at *CONSTANTINOPLE*, in doubtfull hope, expecting the end for which they were sent vnto the Court, were both examined, and exhorted to embrace the Mahometane religion: whereunto *Manucchiar* easily yeelded. Whereas on the other side *Alexander* his elder brother could by no allurements or meanes bee induced to consent to so infamous and damnable a change of his religion; although he knew he should therefore be deprived of his state: but protesting his obedience at all times to *Amurath*, and his loue to his brother, requested onely, That he might but as a priuat man goe and liue in his countrey, there to be buried amongst his auncestours. Which his request the Turkish emperor referred to the discretion of *Manucchiar*, to doe therein as he saw good: who consented thereunto. Hereupon *Manucchiar* was circumcised, and the name of *Mustaffa* giuen him, with the title of the Bassa and Gouvernour of *ALTYNCHALA*, and of all his mothers and brothers countries: and being thus created a Turke, had his brother *Alexander* a Christian committed vnto him, and so both returned into their owne countries.

*Emanguli Chan
saweth vpon him
the defence of
Sirman.*

Now in the Persian court at *CASBIN*, were many consultations had for the repressing of the inuasions of the Turkes. And among others carefull of those matters, *Emanguli Chan* Gouvernour of *GENGE*, doubting to loose his honourable government, by reason of the late lacke of his citie, and spoile of his countrey by the Tartarian; by those plots that were daily in continuing for

A the sending of men into *SIRVAN*, to impeach the designments of *Osman Bassa*, and (if it were possible) to driue him out of *DERBENT*; tooke occasion to offer vnto the king, vpon paine of his head to defend *SIRVAN*, and not to suffer *Osman* the Turke to attempt any new fortifications or further conquests in that prouince. Of which his offer the king accepted, and thereupon the government of *GENGE*, and guarding of the countrey of *SIRVAN* against the forces of *Osman*, was frankly committed vnto him. And commandement giuen to the Gouvernours of *TAVRIS*, *RIVAN*, and *NASSIVAN*, and to diuers other capitaines that were needest, to be readie at all times with their power to assise *Emanguli Chan*, if it should fortune either the Tartarians, or Turkes, with any great power to enter into *SIRVAN*: which order so taken, was thought sufficient for the securitie of that prouince.

B But how to protect the Georgian countrey, was thought to be a matter of greater importance, euery man being almost of opinion, That some great power of the Turkes should be sent thither, for the more assurance of the conquest thereof already begun; and for the succour of the fortresse at *TBFLIS*, which must needs otherwise fall againe into the hands of the Georgians. This matter so troubled the Persian king, as that he seemed to haue bent his whole counsels and thoughts thereupon: when *Simon* a Georgian, a famous capitaine (sometime prisoner with *Ismael* the late king, at *CAHACA*, and by the familiaritie he had with him, seduced from the Christian faith; for defence whereof he had in the time of king *Tamas* chosen to liue deprived of his libertie and state) thinking it now a fit time to obtaine at the kings hand such helpe as he had long desired, for the recouerie of his dominion vsurped by *David*, otherwise called *Dant Chan* his yonger brother (who for the obtaining thereof of king *Tamas*, had voluntarily renounced his Christian religion) offered now vnto the king his faithfull seruice, for the defence of that part of the Georgian countrey, wherein *TBFLIS* stood (being in right, part of his owne inheritance) against the Turkes: reprouing by way of disgrace, his yonger brother of cowardise, and promising the performance of great matters in himselfe, both for the defence of that cuill defended countrey, and further annoying of the enemy. With great contentment did the Persian king consent to the request of *Simon*, and named him *Chan* of all that kingdome, which he possessed before whilest he was a Christian: and sent with him *Aliculi Chan* into *GEORGIA*, with five thousand horsemen and certaine pieces of attillerie taken at *ERBS*, when *Caitas Bassa* was slaine. *Simon* afterwards comming to *GEORGIA*, was ioyfully receiued of his countreymen, and there pressed about three thousand souldiors of his own and of his neighbours; excusing himselfe that he was become a Persian, not because he preferred the Mahometane superstition before the Christian religion, but only so to be deliuered from his long imprisonment, & by that means to maintaine his estate. And in this order were the affaires of *GEORGIA* assured, and strengthened in best manner that might then be.

*Simon with Ali-
culi Chan sent
for the defence
of Georgia.*

Now began the Spring to approach, and euery man prepared himselfe to the discontinued trauels of the wars begun: and now were met together at *ERZIRUM*, out of all the wonted prouinces, all the Turkes forces, with all things necessarie for the intended warre. With this armie in all things equall with the first, *Mustapha* set forward, and in twelue daies came to *CHARS*, not perceiving in his souldiors any signe of discontentment at all. And for as much as here they were to stay, and to fortifie both with wals and ditches that ruinated citie, and that with as great speed as was possible; there was no remedie, but that beside the pioners & engineers that were brought for that purpose, many of the Spaoglani, yea and of the Tanizaries also must be set to worke. Whereupon they all suddenly in a tumult, began with bitter protestations to tell the Generall, That their stipends wherewith it pleased the Sultan to fauour them, were not bestowed vpon them to employ their forces and vertues in such seruile workes; but onely with their swords and other weapons to exercise that force and hardinesse for which they were esteemed worthe of that honour. Whereunto the Generall answered in most haughtie termes; and not yeelding one jot to their incuillitie, but vsing all meanes of authoritie and terror, brought them to worke so much as he desired. So that within the space of twentie three daies, the towers and wals were erected, the ditches digged, the attillerie orderly planted vpon the wals, and the water brought round about it. Many inconueniences happened in the armie while they were busie in this worke; and namely vpon the 25 day of August, when they had almost euen finished the whole building, the souldiors endured a most sudden cold, by reason of the snow that then fell in great

1579
*The meeting to-
gether of the
Turks armie at
Erzurum.*

*Chars fortified
in 23 daies space.
Snows as Chars
fell in August.*

CHARS thus fortified, the Generall resolved to send succours into GEORGIA TO TEF LIS; G without which it was most certaine, that that fortress would be yielded to the Georgians: but in what sort to relieue it, he remained doubtfull. To send part of his armie with some valiant capitaine, seemed dangerous: and to go himselfe with all his forces, would sound (as he thought) to his discredit with his great lord and master; whom he had already made beleue, that he had subdued all the Georgians, and brought all that prouince to his obedience and deuotion. In this ambiguity, the desire he had to preferue his credit with *Amurath* prevailed: and so he made choice of *Hassan Bassa* of DAMASCO, sonne to *Mahamet* principall Visier of the court, a gallant gentleman and of great valour, to whom he deliuered betweene eightene and twentie thousand souldiours; joining vnto him one *Resuan* capitaine of certaine aduenturers, that voluntarily offered themselves to follow the forces of *Hassan*; assigning vnto him likewise fortie thousand ducats, and many loads of meale, rife, and barley, with other things necessarie both for diet and war, and so sent him away for TEF LIS.

Hassan with this charge set forward, fully resolved to put these succours into TEF LIS, or to lose all: and at length came to the famous strait of T O M A N I S, where the ouergrowne woods on the one side, with the deepe vallies and craggie rocks on the other, would astonish a right constant beholder. When vpon the sudden, the Persians and the Georgians (vnder the conduct of *Aliculi Chan* and *Simon*) at vnawares set vpon the Turkes, and joynd battell with them. For these two valiant captaines remaining for the most part in the borders of TEF LIS and T O M A N I S with eight thousand souldiours, waiting for some opportunitie to annoy either them of the fort of TEF LIS, or else such as should come to their succours; vnderstanding by their espials of the comming of *Hassan* with this aid, had scattered themselves all alongst the said strait, in hope there to assaile the Turkes; and holpen by the aduantage of the place, to driue them headlong into the deepe valley, and at once to bereaue them both of their goods and life. But *Hassan* carefull of nothing more than how to auoid that danger, chose rather to make his journey through the thicke woods, and so as he might to escape the ambush that the enemy might lay for him vpon that straight passage. And so entring with his armie into the wood, which he was to haue left vpon his left hand, to discover what might be plotted against him, he was hardly charged by the

The Persians
assailed the Turkes,
and made of
them a great
slaughter.

The Persians
ouertrowne,
and *Aliculi*
Chan taken.

The miserie
of the Turkes
vpon at TEF LIS.

enemy, and constrained to fight with a thousand windings and turnings in and out, through a thousand crooked paths and doubtfull cranks, in a most confused medley, with great slaughter of his men: who not accustomed to this kind of fight, nor acquainted with the situation of the place, were in the skirmish driuen so farre, that downe they fell, and being not able to recouer themselves, were presently slaine. And thus with much adoe, he at length passed the strait of T O M A N I S. *Hassan* deeming himselfe much disgraced by suffering his enemies in number so farre inferiour, to haue done him so much harme, and so to haue escaped his hands: and farther, considering that in such places, sleights and stratagems more auaille than open forces; burning with desire of reuenge, would needs stay neere vnto those straights, as if it had been to refresh his wearied armie; but in deed to trie if the Persians would aduenture againe to trouble him, or no: and appointed *Resuan Bassa* with certaine bands of the souldiours of G R E C E, and of his owne aduenturers, to lie in ambush within the coverts of the strait, attentiuely to euerie stirre of the enemy. Two daies the Turkes armie lay thus diuided, and were now resolved the third day to remoue thence towards TEF LIS: when as the Persian captaines, *Aliculi Chan* and *Simon*, vainly imagining that this stay of the Turkes was for feare of the Persians, foolishly returned, and gaue a fresh onser vpon the flanke of *Hassan*'s squadrons. VVho forthwith raising all his souldiours, and giuing a signe to *Resuan*, with all speed compassed in his enemies, and straightning them on both sides, tooke some of them aliuie, cut in pieces other some, and put the rest all to flight. Among others that were taken aliuie, was *Aliculi Chan* the Persian capitaine, who ouer rashly charging vpon the face of *Hassan*, fell into his hands. The next day following (being the eleuenth day after *Hassan*'s departure from CHARS) he joyfully arrived at TEF LIS, where he found among the poore besieged Turkes, many miseries; whereof some were already dead, and some yet sicke: for they were so plagued with famine, that they not onely deuoured their horses, but euen the verie skins of the same horses, of sheepe and of dogs, and in such most miserable wants had passed the time: whom *Hassan* at his arrival comforted with gifts and good words, exhorting them to persist constant in the seruice of their king, whose honour (as he said) was neuer more than there to be respected. And for as much as the souldiours of the fort did with one voice request

Hassan

Hassan to appoint them a new Gouvernour, because they did all mislike *Mahamet Bassa*, who the last yeare was left by the Generall in that fort: *Hassan* remoued the said *Mahamet*, and put *Amiet Bassa* in his place: and so after he had filled vp the places of the dead souldiours with a new supply, and set all things in good order, he tooke his leaue, recommending the charge and custodie of that fortress to their trust and valour. *Hassan* returning from TEF LIS, and being without any trouble come to the strait of T O M A N I S, was aduertised by his scouts, that it was so strongly possessed by the enemy, and so shut vp with artillerie, as that it was not to be passed through: for *Simon* thinking (as in deed it fell out) that *Hassan* would returne that way, had so belaid that strait, as that the Turkes could not without most assured losse passe the same: which thing much troubled the Bassa, and filled his head with many conceits, how he might make his journey some other way, and decline the danger prepared for him. Thus perplexed, and altogether doubtfull what to doe, or which way to turne himselfe: *Aliculi Chan* the Persian (who to purchase his libertie could haue beene contented to haue done any thing) offered *Hassan* to shew him a short and safe cut, whereby he might without danger passe with his armie out of that troublesome countrey; yet couenanting before, that he should promise him to set him at libertie for his so good seruice: Which his request the Bassa did not sticke in large manner to promise, although he afterwards to his great dishonour performed not the same: so bending his journey on the right hand, he was guided by *Aliculi* through strange and vnknown waies out of those woods and dangers, not meeting so much as with any one of his enemies. But when the Persian duke well hoping for his libertie put the Turke in mind of his promise, he with deepe and fained sighs protested, That he was right sorie that he could not performe what he had promised to doe for him: for as much as it lay not in his power to set any man at libertie, that was taken in battell by the souldiours of his great lord and soueraigne: yet gaue him his faith, that so farre as his intreaties and fauours with the Generall *Mustapha* could preuaile, he would vse all the most earnest meanes he could to procure his libertie and returne to his owne countrey.

Simon the Georgian perceiuing that the Turkes were remoued, imagined forthwith, that they had taken this new way. But being afterward certified by his faithfull spies, that it was so indeed, he ran all headlong and as it were desperat to meet with this so happie an army. And all enflamed with rage for this great fortune of the Turkes, he fell vpon the taile of the Turkish host: which with vnmeasurable furie he wholly destroyed, leading away with him all the people, all the horses, and all the treasure of *Mahomet Bassa*, which he brought from TEF LIS, and all the treasure of *Hassan Bassa* likewise. As for *Aliculi Chan*, whom *Simon* most greedily fought for, he was sent away in the front of the armie, and so not to bee rescued. *Hassan* holding on his way came to CHARS in the space of eight dayes after his departure from TEF LIS, and there presented vnto *Mustapha* the Generall the Persian capitaine *Aliculi*, recounting vnto him the dangers he had endured, and whatsoever else had happened in that expedition. *Aliculi* the vnfortunat Persian was by the commaundement of *Mustapha* carried to ERZIRUM, and there in the castle committed to prison. Not long after *Mustapha* returned himselfe also to the said citie of ERZIRUM, with his armie fore weakened and discontented, which was there presently by him discharged.

About the same time that these things were in doing, *Amurath* to make a safer and more easie passage for his forces into GEORGIA, sent *Fluzales* his Admirall with a great fleet into the Euxine sea to M E N G R E L I A, called in auncient time C H O L C H I S, who entering the famous riuer of Phasis (now Fassa) there fortified, and layed such a beginning, that it is now one of the Turkes proud Beglerbegships, although those fortifications shortly after the departure of the Admirall, were for the present againe by the Mengrelians demolished. And this was the end of the stirres of this yeare 1579.

Of all these successes *Mustapha* afterwards sent aduertisements to the Court to *Amurath*, recounting vnto him the fortifying of CHARS, the deserts of *Hassan*, as well for the succouring of TEF LIS, as for the taking of *Aliculi* the Persian. And because the said Generall had the yeare before perswaded *Amurath*, That the country of GEORGIA and the people thereof were brought vnder his obedience, to the end he should not maruell at so many losses and so many battels, and thereby doubt of some false informations, he declared vnto him, That all these troubles were not raised by the naturall and homebred Georgians, but by two certaine captaines *Aliculi* and *Simon* sent out of P E R S I A, who had made all these stirres: of which one of them now remained with him in prison, for him to determine of at his pleasure. With great delight did the Turkish emperor

Simon destroyed
the rearward of
Hassan's armie,
and taketh from
him his treasure.

Mustapha turned
towards to ERZIRUM,
and there
discharged his
armie.

*Hasan Bassa for
his good service
rewarded by
Amurath.*

Amurath the third,

your read all that *Mustapha* had written, and by two of his gentlemen whither sent to *Hasan* a battle ax all guilt, and set full of stones, a targuer of gold and pearly, and a rich garment of cloth of gold, in reward of his good service for which hee greatly commended him; and withall gaue order, That *Miculi* should be kept where he was in the castle of *ERZIRUM*, in diligent and safe custodie.

These inuasions of the Turkes much troubled the Persian king in his court at *CASBIN*, considering that now they had both throughly acquainted themselves with all the passages into *GEORGIA* (in the difficultie and roughnesse whereof consisted the chiefe defence of that province) as also that diuers of the Georgian princes were more than inclining vnto the Turkes service: so that he could not but justly feare, that his enemies would in time begin to pierce into the noble cities of *MEDIA* the Greater, yea and peraduenture euē vnto *TAVRIS* before any of the rest: which his care of forreine inuasion was doubled with domestical feares. *Mirize Salmas* his chiefe Visier, and vpon whom he most rested, still filling his head with a jealous suspicion, That *Abas Mirize* his sonne (made Gouverneur of *HERI* by *Tamas* his grandfather) was about (in these troubles with the Turke) to proclaime himselfe king of *PERSIA*, to the great nominie of his father, and prejudice of *Emir Hamze* his eldest brother, the worthie and vndoubted heire of that great kingdome. This *Mirize Salmas* (according to his longing desire) had married a daughter of his to the said *Emir Hamze* with the consent of the king his father: but yet not content with that great honour, ceased not continually with ambitious deuises, to seeke out meanes how to bring to passe that the Persian estate might wholly remaine to his sonne in law, vndeuided and entire from the participation of his brethren: and therefore little regarding the perils that might happen from the Turkes, and blinded with the desire of his owne greatnesse, he went about to turne the king (being a man very credulous and inconsiderate) against *Abas Mirize*; either to take him and commit him to prison, or at least to bereaue him of all authoritie and commaund. And the better to persuaade the king thereunto, he discoursed vnto him how little *Abas Mirize* his sonne had respected him in diuers occasions; and that in these late wars, he had not so much as sent forth one man against the Turkes, but had forbidden such as were of his jurisdiction of *HERI* to come to *CASBIN*, at such time as they were summoned both by letters and commaundement to haue passed with *Emir Hamze* into *SIRVAN*; by reason whereof not one of them would stirre a foot, answering, That they were enjoined so to doe by *Abas Mirize* their lord: who had not onely caused himselfe to be called king of *HERI*, but had giuen it out, that he meant to claime the succession in the whole kingdome. These complaints much prevailed with the king, both in respect of the loue he bare to *Emir Hamze* his eldest sonne, and also of the credit he gaue to his Visier: especially being accompanied with the craftie packing of the said Visier; who as he was verie cunning in such practises of himselfe, so did he make them much more effectuell with the effeminate king by the meanes of diuers great ladies, and other deuises that were to him verie familiar and vsuall. Insomuch, that the king carried away with light beleefe, did continually bethinke himselfe how to find opportunitie to repress the boldnesse of his disobedient son: not forgetting for all that to make such preparation against the Turkes, as should be sufficient to stay their passage to *TAVRIS*, if they had any purpose so to doe. But leauing the Persian king to his troubled cogitations for a while, let vs againe returne vnto the Turkes General, the great Bassa *Mustapha*.

*Mustapha discharged of his
Generallship, and
called home to
Constantinople.*

He now lying at *ERZIRUM* (after many troubles abroad) was surprisid and almost overwhelmed with vnexpected quarrels at home, many grieuous complaints being made of him to *Amurath*, whereby he was induced afterwards to take from him his Generallship, and to call him to the court to giue account of his actions. Which seemed not to be done without cause, he hauing before raised a great discontentment in the mind of *Amurath*, by sending such a strong power to the succours of *TREBIZ*, whereby he conjectured, that the affaires of *GEORGIA*, were not in such securitie as *Mustapha* had already enformed him they were; and also generally offended the minds of the souldiers of his armie, who all in an vpror affected him of improuidence and prodigalitie, for that now this second yeare he had with so much ado gathered together such a number of souldiers, to the trouble of the whole empire, and infinit charge of their lord, & yet performed nothing worthy the glorie of *Amurath*, or answerable to so great a charge. Which complaints, although they were of some moment, yet would the Turkish emperour for the great fauors he bare vnto him his antient tutor, neuer haue construed them so hardly against him,

sixt Emperour of the Turks.

as for the same to haue been induced to haue depriued him of his place, if the inueterat enuie of *Sinan Bassa* had not miniftred strength and force to these hard accusations, and set (as it were) an edge vpon *Amurath* to doe what he afterwards did.

But forasmuch as the course of time and processe of the present historie, bringeth now forth these two mightie champions of the Turkes together, the enuious competitor the one of the others honours; who liuing many yeares together, haue left the woofull remembrance of their greatnesse and valour vnto the world, but especially vnto the afflicted state of Christendome, the large wounds by them made, as it were, yet bleeding: stay with me a while, and without griefe if thou canst behold the liuely counterfeits of two so great enemies (who both liued within these few yeares, and the latter of them died but the other day) as they are by the skillfull hand of the cunning workman most perfectly described, and thus to be seene.

M V S T A P H A.



*Quid Cyprum iactas? Quid Medos maris subactos?
Quid fufas Persas? Quid tua facta referes?
Dum te perfidia damnet Bragadinus: Et ipse
Theopulus indigna morte peremptus erit.*

RICH. KNOLLEVS.

What dost thou boast of *CYPRUS* won? or of the *Medes* orethrowne?
What of the *Persians* put to flight? or of thy deeds so knowne?
Whilst *Bragadinus* thee condemnes of extreme perjurie,
And *Theopulus* to thy disgrace, a shamefull death did die.

SINAN



*Mitte Sinane tuos nimium iactare triumphos:
Et virido vultu verba superba loqui.
Utar namq. aderis mox Transylvanian heros:
Qui tumidum coget te dare seque fuge.*

RICH. KNOLLVS.

Proud Sinan cease to vaunt too much of thy great triumphs woon,
Or with sterner looks for to extoll the deeds by thee erst done:
For why the Transylvanian prince will take revenge of thee,
And swelling in thy greatest pride, enforce thee for to flee.

R. Knolls.

This Sinan was a most ancient enemy to Mustapha, and in all things thought himselfe his match: For if Mustapha had subdued CYPRVS, so had he conquered TRIPOLIS, GYLITTA, with the kingdome of TUNES in AFRICK: and if Mustapha were a man of great courage, and reuerend for his yeares, Sinan would be his equall both in the one and the other: yea and did not

A not sticke to thinke himselfe his better too, for that in the enterprise of GIAMEN in ARABIA, he performed such an exploit as Mustapha neither durst nor yet knew how to put in execution, so carrying away the glorie of that famous conquest: for which euer after there was betwene them a continuall heart burning, one of them enuying at the others glorie, and both in word and deed, as occasions fell out, in all things opposing themselves one against the other. At last happens this opportunitie for Sinan: who taking the occasion of the complaints of so many against Mustapha, caused a great number of them to frame their supplications to Amurath (which he for his part did in most malignant manner enforce and exaggerate against his old aduersarie) accusing him that this second yeare he had most manifestly shewed himselfe to haue gone vnto the warres not as a worthie Generall desirous of noble and honourable enterprises, but as a man that would make marchandise of blood, and of his souldiours payes; employing the most liberall prouision of corne and money not as rewards of well deserving men, nor to the erecting of such fabrickes as were needfull, and might haue bene built therewithall, but onely to his own proper gaine; so to enrich himselfe with his peoples losses, to the great shame of his lord, and consuming of the publicke treasure: adding hereunto, that if the things done by Mustapha were well searched, it would be found, that he had neglected many good opportunities, attempted many things in vaine, and not done any good either to the emperour or his souldiours, but onely to himselfe: whom rather than they would follow againe, as their Generall, all his people in an vprore shewed themselves readie, and willing to aduenture themselves in any other farre greater labour than by their lord and fouertaigne should be commaunded them.

C These and such like complaints, with the hard opinion already conceived against him by Amurath, were the occasion why he resolved to put him from his place. Beside that, he thought it a thing dangerous to his state, to suffer one and the selfsame Generall any long time to command ouer so great armies, deeming it not so much for his honour still to employ one man, as to shew that he had varietie and choice of subjects, worthe of so great a charge. And therefore being desirous to find out the truth of that was reported to him concerning Mustapha, he sent the cheefe of his gentlemen porters with fifteene others to bring him to the Court, with his Chancellor and Treasurer, to shew the accounts of such monies as he had receiued, and to giue vp an account of their whole office. Vnto this messenger had Amurath deliuered three diuers letters, which he should warily shew as occasion serued; one of them was so written of purpose, that Mustapha in the receiuing thereof might by the same messengers be strangled: in the second was the emperours warrant for the doing of that was to them commanded: and in the third was contained, that Mustapha should forthwith send his chauncellor and treasurer to the Court by those messengers. Mustapha in the meane time by diuers meanes, but especially by the guilt of his owne conscience, venting the displeasure of the emperour towards him, and suspecting (as the truth was) his life to be by those messengers sought after, at such time as the captaine porter came to his campe, found many delays to put him off, and would not in any case be spoken withall. But when the messenger would endure no longer delay, he was at length admitted to his presence, hauing a circle appointed for him, out of which he and his companions might not stirre or approach neerer vnto him, the Bassaes guard standing in armes round about him. The messenger perceiuing the Bassaes warinesse, wisely plucked forth the third letters, concerning the sending of his Chancellor and Treasurer to the Court. Then began the craftie old Bassa to find many excuses to haue delayed the matter: but being hardly pressed by the messenger, and seeing no other remedie, he with much difficultie deliuered them both, couenanting before with the messenger to haue both their liues spared: who comming to CONSTANTINOPLE, were forthwith clapt fast into the tower called IADICVLA, as there to haue bene seuerely examined of all the doings of the Bassa. But Mustapha after long delay comming at length to CONSTANTINOPLE the ninth of Aprill in the Spring following, and vsing the mightie and potent mediation of diuers great ladies and other his gracious friends in Court, preuailed so much in that corrupt government, as that he was againe at length receiued into the fauour of Amurath, without any further proceeding against him, his chauncellor, or treasurer, who by his meanes were afterwards also enlarged and set at libertie: yet was he neuer after admitted to those honours, which he persuaded himselfe were of right due vnto him, for his good and faithfull seruice of long time done to the Othoman emperours.

In this time that Mustapha was Generall at ERZIRVM, Muhamet the Visier Bassa was treacherously

M m m m

*Sinan accused
Mustapha to
Amurath.*

*To Leuncl. in
supplement.
Annal. Turci-
corum, pag. 79.*

*Mustapha by the
mediation of cer-
taine great ladies
appears with the
displeasure of
Amurath.*

cherously slaine at CONSTANTINOPLE: after whom shortly after died also *Achmet Bassa*, who succeeded in his place: so that the said soueraigne dignitie, in honour next vnto the Turkish emperour, was by rightfull succession due to *Mustapha* the next Bassa; but that hee was not thought worthie of it by him that might and of right ought to haue graffied him therewith, as shall be a little hereafter declared, when we haue briefly set downe the sudden and strange death of the said *Muhamet* the Visier, worthie in all histories to be registred, as a mirror for all such as administer justice in so great place, to looke vpon.

The strange
death of the
great Visier Bassa
Muhamet.

This Bassa, a man of as great fame as euer was any that had gouernment in the *Orthoman* empire, in the time that he all commaunded, had for some light causes depriued a certaine souldior of CONSTANTINOPLE of his yearely pension, which with many labours and dangers he had gotten to maintaine himselfe, which pension the Bassa bestowed vpon another souldior, so that the other poore soule remained in miserie, altogether vnprovided for. Vnto which miserable estate seeing himselfe now brought, and not guiltie to himselfe of any fault worthie so great punishment, he determined with himselfe to reuenge the iniurie with the blood of that great Bassa, and to bereaue him of life that had bereft him of liuing: which because he could not by any fit means put in execution (by reason of the guard of slaues that keepe the person of the Visier, so that no man can come neere him that holdeth that high place) except he could by some meanes acquaint himselfe in the Visiers house, and so insinuate himselfe into his acquaintance, he resolved to take vpon him the rude habit of those religious which the Turkes call *Deruissars*, and after their manner to present himselfe euery morning before the Visier to aske his almes: and so hee did, counterfeiting withall a certaine kind of follic and lightnesse of mind, as doe those *Deruissars*, to make the people beleue, that they contemne all worldly things; as men rauished onely with heauenly cogitations, which yet was by some that knew him thought to haue happened in him, through the greefe he had conceiued for the losse of his stipend. *Muhamet* not onely the first time, but also at all other times that this counterfeit hypocrite came before him, caused him to be comforted with his almes, and as it were with a kind of priuat stipend, enjoyed him euery morning to come vnto him into the Diuano, and there together with others appointed for the same purpose, to say his deuout prayers, and in singing praises to their wicked Prophet, to entreat God for his saluation: for it is a custome of all the noblemen, that at ordinarie houres of prayers all their priests assemble themselves in the Diuano, which is made readie for them, and there all together the infidell wretches doe with their vncleane mouthes mumble vp their superstitious prayers or rather most abhominable blasphemies. By this meanes did this dissembling companion so insinuate himselfe into the Visiers acquaintance, that the counterfeit foole went in and out of the Diuano at his pleasure, no man gaine saying either his going in or coming out, but dayly sat in the presence of the Visier, and so hauing said his prayers, and taken his almes, with all reuerence quietly departed. At last when the craftie hypocrite thought that the time was come wherein he might most fitly execute his purpose, hauing vtterly resolved with himselfe to die, so that he might satisfie the desire he had of reuenge, so long couertly fostered in his heart; hauing conueyed a very sharpe dagger secretly into one of his sleeces, he went according to his custome, to require his almes, with an assured resolution (when he had said his prayers, and reached out his hands to receiue his wonted almes) speedily to charge vpon the Visier, and with the dagger to strike him to the heart. According to the accustomed manner was the counterfeit hypocrite (for who would euer haue suspected so long and so traitorous a designement) admitted into the Diuano, where *Muhamet* the Visier sat in his house, to giue publike audience, and after the vsuall manner, before any of the suters that attended for answeres and dispatch of their businesse suspected any such deceit, he was admitted neere vnto the Visier, and sitting right against him, according to his old wont poured out those vaine deuotions which those hypocritical Barbarians vse to mumble vp in their prayers: which being finished, whilst the Visier simply reacheth vnto him his wonted almes, the traitorous villaine in receiuing it suddenly drew out his dagger, and once or twice stabbed it into the Visiers breast, out of which so deadly wounds gushed out his blood and life together. VVhereupon the standers by astonied with the strangenesse of the fact, ran in, but loe the old hoarie Visier lay all soyled in his owne blood, deadly pale, and breathing forth his last gaspe. The mischieuous murderer they presently laied hands vpon, and bound him fast: but the rumour of the strange fact did by and by sicke vnto the emperours eares: who suspecting that some of the other great Bassas desiring to mount into that high dignitie,

A had prouoked the traitor to doe this detestable act, would needs vnderstand of the traitorous murderer, VVhat occasion had moued him so treacherously to kill his Visier. VVho resolutely answered him, That he did it to deliuer the citie of CONSTANTINOPLE from the tyrannie of him, by whom he was vnderferedly depriued of his pension: But when he could get no other answer of him, he deliuered him into the hands of the slaues of the dead Visier, who with most exquisite torments put him to death.

Muhamet thus dead, after him succeeded *Achmetes* the next Bassa, who (as is before said) shortly after died also; so that it was now *Mustapha* his course to succeed in that chiefe roome, for that he was the third in the order of the Bassas. But when he had vsed all the meanes that he possibly could, to haue obtained that so honourable a place by order due vnto him; yet could he not find so much grace in the sight of *Amurath* his great lord, as to haue it granted him vnder seale, although in effect he made him sit as Visier, and all matters of state were brought vnto him as chiefe Visier: but in his stead the seale was sent to *Sinan Bassa*, who was now made Generall for the Persian wars. VVhich disgrace not a little discontented *Mustapha*, fearing least some other strange accident should in short time light vpon him.

After that *Mustapha* was thus displaced from his Generalship, *Amurath* nominated *Sinan Bassa* to be Generall in his stead for this expedition against the Persians, and for the preservation of *CHARS* and *TIFLIS*; giuing him soueraigne authoritie to commaund, and to set in order all such preparations as he should thinke necessarie for such enterprises as he should thinke good to attempt in his first yeare: who although by reason of his great fauour he grew haughtie and glorious, yet did he not forefellow to discourtse throughly with himselfe vpon all his designsments: and namely, beside the succouring of *TIFLIS*, he determined to build a fort at *TOMANIS*, to assure the passage thither from *CHARS*; and withall to attempt all the meanes he could to induce the Persian king to send embassadours for peace, with such conditions as should be acceptable to *Amurath*. VVith these and such like discourses did he busie himselfe whilst he was yet making preparation to set forwards towards *ERZIRUM*.

Of all these changes and alterations was the Persian king aduertised, as also that this new Turkish Generall *Sinan* was carefull, how this long warre might by some meanes be appeased and a good peace concluded. Vpon which occasion, and by the persuation of *Lementogli* the Georgian, and of *Mirice Salmas* his Visier, he was induced to send embassadours to CONSTANTINOPLE, to demand peace of *Amurath*. Vpon which resolution he dispatched *Maxut Chan*, (of some called *Maxudes*) his embassador, with direction that he should go to *Sinan*, and of him to receiue guides to conduct him to CONSTANTINOPLE with letters to *Amurath*, and as much as lay in him to labour for the pacifying of all these troubles: and in any case to conclude vpon it, so that he would be content with *CHARS* and *TIFLIS*. VVith these instructions the embassador departed, and at length arriued at *CHARS*, and so came to *ERZIRUM*, and was from thence conducted towards *AMASTA*. But when he came to *SIVAS*, he found *Sinan* the Generall there encamped, gathering together his armie for the execution of his designsments: for *Sinan* vpon the arrivall of *Mustapha*, departing from CONSTANTINOPLE the five and twentieth day of Aprill, was now come so farre on his way. Of the coming of this embassadour, the Turks receiued great joy, and newes thereof was in post sent by *Cicala Bassa* to the court. The Persian embassadour enformed *Sinan* of all that he had to treat with *Amurath* on the behalfe of king *Mahamet*; and laboured earnestly to persuaide him, of the equitie of the cause, and of his request: declaring vnto him, that for as much as both the nations were conjoynd vnder the law of *Mahomet* their common prophet (though there seemed some small difference not worth those troubles) it were a verie inconuenient thing for them to contend among themselves, and to seeke the ouerthrow or vtter destruction of one another: and that therefore he was in good hope to obtaine of *Amurath* this desired peace, if he had no other cause wherewith he found himselfe agrieved, as in truth he had not. VVherefore he besought the Generall, that he would with safe conuoy conduct him to *Amurath*, to the end that if it were possible these bloudie wars might take end; at the verie report whereof the rest of the world rejoiced, and stood attentiuely waiting to see what would be the issue thereof.

This embassadour, *Sinan* entertained after the best manner the rudenesse of his nature would afford: and thinking that the verie fame of his valour, had wrought in the minds of his enemies this resolution to come to demand peace, granted vnto the embassadour a sure conuoy to conduct

1580

Sinan Bassa chosen Generall for the Persian war.

The Persian king sendeth Maxut Chan his embassadour to Amurath.

The admiration
of Sinan to the
Persian embas-
sadors.

duct him to CONSTANTINOPLE; and wrote to *Amurath* in his letters, all that he thought was fit to be demanded, representing vnto him what great and important matters (he hoped) might now be obtained. But before he dismissed the said embassadour, he aduised him not to go to *Amurath*, without resolution to offer vnto him some great good conditions, and to yeeld vnto him all that countrey which he by force of armes had before conquered: for he knew the mind of *Amurath* verie well, that hee was resolu'd in himselfe, not to yeeld so much as one hand breadth of that ground which he had woon with the sword. Which motion of the proud Bassa so troubled the embassadour, that fearing he should not be able to conclude any thing, he stood in doubt whether to proceed on his journey to CONSTANTINOPLE, or to returne back againe into PERSIA: but considering better what belonged to his duetie in so waighie a businesse, and hoping to receiue more reasonable conditions from the mouth of *Amurath* himselfe; he gaue large words to *Sinan*, and so with a safe conuoy departed from SIVAS, and by long journeyes came to SCYTARI, and so passing ouer that little strait, the fourth of August arrived at CONSTANTINOPLE.

The preparati-
on of the Persi-
an king against
the Turkes.

The Persian king in the meane time, stirred vp with the report of the Turkes preparations; to cause it to be noised, that he likewise intended some important matters, commaunded all the Chans and Gouvernours of his kingdom, to meet together with all their forces at TAVRIS, where he himselfe with the prince *Emir Hamze* his sonne met them. And after many consultations there had for the repressing of the Turkish inuasion (for as yet it was not certainly knowne what *Sinan* meant to attempt) he resolu'd to send souldiours into GEORGIA towards TRBES, whither of necessitie succours must be sent by the Turkes to them of the fort: and withall, determind also to go himselfe with all his armie from TAVRIS to CARACACH, a place verie commodious and neere to guard both TAVRIS and SIRVAN, being situat euen in the midst betwene the one and the other; and there to expect the remouing of *Sinan*, whose ambitious nature the king knowing, doubted that he to surmount *Mustapha*, would attempt some great enterprise, yea peradventure to run euen vpon TAVRIS. But when it came to the point that hee should send some of his captaines into GEORGIA, he made choise of such as had best experience of those countries, and were neere vnto them: with whom he sent *Tocomac* also, and the rest whose seruice he had before vsed against the Turkes; commaunding them to joinetheir forces with *Simon* the Georgian, and by all meanes possible to annoy the enemy: whom if they should perceiue to bend for TAVRIS, they should not faile to follow him; to the end they might joine together with him, and so encounter the enemies armie. All those captaines were resolute men, and led with them ten thousand souldiours; which being joyned with them of GEORGIA, amounted to the number of thirtene thousand: who arriuing at GENOB, gaue knowledge to *Simon* of their comming, and that in his behalfe they were readie to doe great matters.

Now was the Persian embassadour with all due honour receiued at CONSTANTINOPLE, where he was honourably entertained by the great Bassas of the court, but especially by *Mustapha*, who within two daies after suddenly died; of a surfeit taken of eating too much of muske Melons, and immoderat drinking of Zerbet (a kind of pleasant drinke which the Turkes vse, made of water and sugar): but most men thought him to haue poisoned himselfe, as fearing the former indignation of *Amurath* to be againe enflamed by the new complaints of the Persian embassadour against him, for that he in the time of his Generallship had dishonourably suppressed certaine embassages sent from the Persian king; which he now fearing to be called in question for, the former stormes as yet scarce well appeased, made himselfe now away. After his death it was commonly reported, that if he had longer liued he should haue been vndoubtedly strangled: which to preuent, he became the worthie executioner of himselfe, that had most vnjustly caused others to be most shamefully murthered. Which was the more like to be true, and the rather beleueed, for that the infinit wealth he had of long time scraped together, was immediatly after his death taken into the kings treasures, some small portion thereof being left vnto his nephews: a most certaine token of *Amuraths* indignation against him. The Persian embassadour hauing audience the seauenth of August, with many liuely reasons and much eloquence, perswaded the Turkish emperor to desist from the warre begun, as contrarie to the will and pleasure of their common Prophet *Mahomet*: as also to the peace, which was so royally, and with so many capitulations, not long before concluded betwene *Tamas* and *Solyman* his grandfather; and was not to haue been broken and warres raised, but vpon some great quarrell or iniurie done; which the Persians

A Persians had not at any time offered, but had alwaies wished vnto him all happinesse; as they had manifestly declared, by sending vnto him an embassage to that purpose by Sultan *Tocomac*: whereby he might plainly perceiue, the good mind and zeale the Persian king had for the maintenance of the peace. And although in the short raigne of *Ismael*, there was some rumour raised that he meant to go vnto BABELONIA, and some such like newes: yet that was but a youthfull part; and an effect of that heat which is commonly proper to such as being kept long in straight prison, cannot vse their libertie with moderation, and had therefore receiued due punishment for it, by sudden and v unexpected death. But as for the king that now is, he did above all others embrace amitie with his majestie; and therefore did most earnestly desire, that it would please him to temper his anger conceived, which had incensed him to take vp armes against a king so much his friend, being of the same religion, and better affected towards him than all the rest of the nations in the world.

This embassadour the Turkish emperor dismissed without any resolution at all; but onely gaue order, that whatsoeuer he had to say touching this peace, he should communicate it with his Visier. Many were the discourtesies that happened; for that the Turke required all those cities and countries, which till that time he had conquered with the sword, or (as their proud manner of phrase is) whereon his Generals horse had trod, to be yeilded again vnto him; and the embassadour on the other side, had no warrant from his king to yeeld any more than that part of GEORGIA which is on this side the river of Araxis. Whereupon the said embassadour began to feare, lest he should be suspected for a spie, and so be quill intreated: wherewithall he did find himselfe too manifestly charged by the hard speech that the Visier vsed towards him. Being thus doubtfull whereupon to resolute, perceiuing himselfe strained to the grant of these demaunds, and receiuing also some threatnings withall, he determined with himselfe to enlarge his speeches with the Visier in diuers and fundie particularities, and to giue him good hope, that he should be able to perswade with his king, the yeelding vp of so much as *Amurath* had and did demand. Hereupon was *Maxut Chan* the embassadour in friendly manner and without any outrage sent from CONSTANTINOPLE to CHARS; and commission giuen to *Sinan* (then at CHARS) that without delay, and with all fidelitie, he should cause the embassadour to be conducted to VAN, and from thence into PERSIA; wheresoever he did desire: all which was faithfully performed.

But to returne againe to *Sinan* the Generall, who from SIVAS had sent the said embassadour to CONSTANTINOPLE (as is before declared): and being departed thence, arriued at ERZIVAN, where he tooke a turney of his armie, and other prouision necessarie for this expedition; and so from thence was now come to CHARS; from whence he dispatched the Persian embassadour, much discontented that no other conclusion for peace could be wrought.

Maxut Chan at last arriuing at the Persian Court, reported vnto the king all that had happened in this his embassage: the summe whereof was, That *Amurath* would not condescend to any condition of peace, vnlesse the whole countrey of SIRVAN might be yeilded vnto him, for that he had once (as he said) conquered the same. Neither did the same embassadour forbear to tell the king, the suspicion *Amurath* had conceived of him, to haue been a spie rather than an embassadour; and of the large promises he was faine to make to the Turke, to auoid the manifest danger of imprisonment or death: all which for all that, now lay in his majesties power to performe or not. The king for the present remained well satisfied with that *Maxut* had done, and in reward of his great trauell and expences, gaue him the charge of the chamber at TAVRIS, naming him the chamberlaine of that rich and great citie. Of which new office (though verie honourable and of great importance) he tooke small pleasure, for that one *Emir Chan* his auntient enemy was chiefe Gouvernour of that citie, from whom he feared some dangerous treacherie: wherefore he appointed his depute for the execution of the office, and withdrew himselfe from TAVRIS to CASSANGICH, a place of his owne, there to passe away the time vntill it should please the king otherwise to dispose of him. But *Emir Chan*, who still nourished in his mind the auntient hatred he had conceived against him, tooke this as a most fit occasion to bring him into disgrace with the king: certifying him, That *Maxut* not contented with the great preferment it had pleased him to bestow vpon him, had in contempt of his rewards abandoned TAVRIS, and substituted in his place a most base person to represent the kings majestie and to mannage his treasure: and that he absented himselfe farre from that citie and the court there, hauing withdrawne himselfe into the confines of TYRKIE, no doubt for some mischievous intent, either to yeeld

M m m m iij

himselfe

Sinan must needs
his armie as Er-
zivum.

Maxut Chan re-
porteth vnto the
king what he
hath done, and is
for his good ser-
uice by him re-
warded.

himselfe vnto them, or els to haue intelligence with them, and was like ynough to be guiltie to himselfe of the great errour he had already committed, by offering STRVANTO the Turkish king; and making promise of so large conditions, whereby he had obtained such a sure and safe conuoy to conduct him; when as he had before discovered himselfe to be a fauourer of the Turks, and a traitor to his owne king: and that therefore it were good to make triall of his inclination, and so peradventure to decline some great mischeefe, tending to the danger of the Persian state. This malicious accusation slyly contriued, so wrought in the mind of the suspicious king, that he commaunded *Emir Chan* secretly to apprehend *Maxur*, and to bring him to the Court, and (if he could not by other meanes) then by torture to wrest from him the truth of all these matters. Glad was *Emir* to haue his enemie thus put into his hands, and thought it long, vntill he had brought this shame vpon *Maxur*: who hauing already heard some iuckling thereof, resolved with himselfe to doe any thing, rather than to fall into the power of his hatefull enemie. And therefore at such time as fifteene tall fellows were for that purpose sent vnto him from *Emir Chan*, who in the kings name summoned him to the Court, he without making any shew that he took the matter otherwise than well, entertained them courteously, and made them great chere: but when he perceiued them to be overcome with sleepe, which crept vpon them by reason of the excesse wherewith they had ouercharged themselves, he caused them to be straightly bound, and with long cords hanged them downe into a deepe well, and there shut them vp secretly covered. Then gathering together the most precious things he had in his house, and setting his wiues, his children, his brethern, and nephewes on horsebacke, fled with all his familie in the euening, and the next day arrived at SALMAS, and was there friendly welcommed by *Cicala Bassa*, and from thence conveyed to VAN, where he was also courteously welcommed by *Cicala Bassa*, and honourably accompanied, sent to *Sinan* the Generall, who very glad of his coming, sent him with all diligence to CONSTANTINOPLE to *Amurath*. And this was in effect the end of the first enterparlance of peace betwixt the Persians and the Turkes.

*Maxur Chan
flung vnto the
Turkes.*

Sinan remained at CHARS eight dayes, and there againe surueyed his armie and prouision; and afterwards set forward towards TOMANIS, with resolution there to build a fort. But being come thither, he could by no meanes put that his designement in execution, by reason of the immoderate raine, which continually by the space of eight dayes fell in such abundance, as that neither did the Sunne appeare, or the skie cleare. Beside that, *Sinan* greatly feared lest the enemie taking the opportunitie of this raine, of the straight, and of the building, should assault his armie, and finding it in euill plight and out of order, greatly endamage it: Wherefore casting off his former determination for fortifying at TOMANIS, he remooued thence, to carrie succours to TEFIS. But as soone as he was risen with his armie, and past the strait, *Tal-Ogli* capitaine of the Ianizaries of DAMASCO, and *Homar* Sanzack of SAFFRO, hauing receiued secret intelligence that hard by a little out of the way, was good store both of corrie and cattell, resolved with themselves to goe thither to fetch in that bootie: and so with two thousand souldiours greedie of prey they set forward. Now *Sinan* the Georgian and the Persians, following the Turkes armie afare off, had deuised his souldiours into all such places as where there was either corrie, or water, or any such thing as might allure the Turkes to scatter themselves from the campe: and perceiuing these hungrie Turkes carelessly to run headlong to lay hold on this desired bootie, he suddenly fell vpon them, and cut them in pieces, being disordered, so that of those two thousand escaped but *Tal-Ogli* the capitaine of the Ianizaries onely, *Homar* the Sanzacke, and all the rest being left dead vpon the ground.

*Sinan commeth
to TEFIS.*

Sinan holding on his way, in two dayes came to TEFIS, where presently he called a counsell of all the cheefe men of his armie, taking order, That euery man vpon his oath should depose the truth touching the greatnesse of TEFIS: which he did onely in reproch of *Mustapha* the great Bassa, who most vtually had enforced *Amurath*, That it was as great and populous as DAMASCO; whereas in truth it was not in any respect to be compared vnto that so famous a citie. After that he deuised the treasure and succours he had brought amongst the souldiours of the fortresse, chearing them vp with good words and promises of great matters. And because the souldiours there in garrison complained greatly against the Bassa their capitaine, he caused a bill of complaint to be framed against him, and finding him guiltie that he had conuerted the souldiours pay to his owne vse, he condemned him to the restitution thereof, and so immediately discharging him of his office, placed in his roome *Giusuf Bey*, a lord of GEORGIA, who for the ancient

enemie betweene him and *Sinan*, had yeelded himselfe to the Turkes, and was of them so welcommed, that *Sinan* trusted him with the custodie of that fort, which with so many dangers had bene maintained and defended till that day.

All things thus set in order at TEFIS, *Sinan* with his armie departed thence, and hauing *Sinan* departed againe passed the strait of TOMANIS, there came vnto him *Mustaffa Bassa*, afterwards gouernour of ALERPO, declaring vnto him, That not farre off was great store of corrie and cattell, and no bodie but only a few Georgians to keepe the same; and therefore wished him to send forth some few of them, whereof though it had bene much more, his armie then stood in great need. *Sinan* was well affected vnto this *Mustaffa*; and therefore the easilier endued by him to send for the aforesaid bootie: but moued with the fresh remembrance of that which had happened to *Tal-Ogli* and *Homar*, he gaue order, That to fetch in this corrie and cattell there should goe out ten thousand horsemen and their seruants, among whom was also the same *Mustaffa* as their Generall. Now stood *Tosomac*, *Simon*, and the other Persian captaines in secret ambush, waiting when any of the Turkes should come to fetch in this bootie. Whereupon the aforesaid souldiours being now come, as they desired, and hauing almost charged all their mules and horses with that which best pleased them to make choice of: the hidden Persians all on a sudden issued out of their lurking places among them, and with great slaughter put them to flight, and with such furie pursued the victorie, that they slew of them seuen thousand, carried away many prisoners alieue, and the mules and horses laden with the stolne bootie. *Mustaffa* was the first that fled, and the first that brought the vnhappie news of that ouerthrow to *Sinan*: which was forthwith

*Seven thousand
Turkes slaine by
the Georgians
and Persians.*

confirmed by the report of such as had by speedie flight escaped the furie of the enemie. Whereupon *Sinan* dispatched away the Bassa of CARAMANIA with a great power, charging him wherefoeuer he should find the enemie, to set vpon him; and presently rising himselfe with his whole campe, followed the said Bassa. But all too late, for the Persians after the aforesaid victory without staying had withdrawne themselves into their strong places, knowne onely to such as were well acquainted with the difficult passages of GEORGIA: and hauing there disposed of their prey, were now returning to await some fresh occasion of new slaughter. But when they detected the whole armie of the Turkes vpon the rising of a certaine hill, they were afraid to meet them, yea and stood in some doubt also, lest *Sinan* should descend from the hill, and so assault them: for which cause they retired themselves againe into the strength of the mountaines: yet not with such speed, but that the Turkes ouertooke some few of them, and slew about fiftie or threescore of them, whose heads in signe of triumph they carried a good part of their way vpon the points of their speares: and tooke prisoners about threescore and ten more.

At last *Sinan* with all his armie hauing passed these dangerous places of GEORGIA, arrived at TRALEA, where it was told him, That the Persian king in person himselfe being already departed from TAVRIS, with an exceeding great army was coming to bid him battell. At which news he caused proclamation to be presently made through all his armie, That euery man should put himselfe in readinesse for the voyage to TAVRIS, whether he himselfe meant to go to meet with the king his enemie. In the meane time (as is reported) he dispatched certaine posts to the Persian king, then at CARACACH, to entreat him to send another embassadour to *Amurath* for peace, thinking by that meanes (as some doe conjecture) to remoue the king from the resolution of coming to assaile him, if he had any such meaning. After this proclamation made, he descended into the open and large plains of CHILDA, where presently he mustered his whole armie, and gaue it out, That before he would set forward toward TAVRIS, he would make triall of the readinesse and nimblenesse of his souldiours, in such sort, as if they should presently ioyne battell with the enemie: which without further delay he put in execution the next morning, formally raising his whole armie in order of battell; and then sending out some few others, to shew themselves vpon the top of certaine hills, as if they had been enemies that came to seize vpon his armie; he caused all his attillerie to be discharged, and commanded euery man to skirmish and bestirre himselfe, altogether after the same manner as if the enemie had bene there present before them: where the thundering of the great and small shot, the thicke stormes of arrowes, with the brightnesse of the armour and weapons, yeelding forth lightenings as if it had bene fierie beames, and the noise of drums and trumpets and other instruments of warre, with the signes of blew and yellow flying in the wind, made such a medley of all things, as if it had been the tumult of a very battell indeed. In the end he caused the retreat to be sounded: and then setting

*Sinan derided of
his souldiors.*

setting all his armie in order againe, made the like shew the second time, and so the third time also: which was indeed performed with the great scorn and derision of his souldiors, who deemed it rather childrens play, than any commendation to the proud Bassa. These counterfeits shewes of warre thus finished, yet did he not set forward toward TAVRIS, as he had given it out, but layred eight dayes in those plaines of CHILDER. At which time there arrived out of PERSIA one *Aider* the Aga, as an embassadour from the king, who was by *Sinan* with great joy entertained. Divers were the things by this embassadour propounded, such as had *Maxim Chan* before: but the conclusion of all was, that the Persian king would be content voluntarily to relinquish CHARS and TEBLIS, and so remaine (as he did before) in amitie with *Amurath*, and so desired *Sinan* to conclude a peace with his master if it might be: as for himselfe, this message done, he was presently to returne into PERSIA. For this peace *Sinan* promised to deale with *Amurath*, so that the Persian king would send another embassadour to CONSTANTINOPLE. Upon which conclusion the said *Aider* returned into PERSIA, and at TAVRIS declared to his king what he had seene, what promises he had receiued of *Sinan*, and withall exhorted him to send a new embassadour vnto the Turkish Court. After this, when the publike rumour of the comming of the Persian king, was found to be false, *Sinan* in stead of going to TAVRIS returned to CHARS, where he idelly stayed a whole month with the generall inarcelling and murmuring of all his armie, astonished to see themselves (to the great charges of their king and the disturbance of his whole kingdome) brought forth not for any honourable conquest, but as it were only of purpose to make a vaine shew of warre.

*Sinan commeth
to ERZIRUM, and
there breaketh
up his armie.*

At last he departed from CHARS, for that now Winter was come on; and the frosts and snows did his armie great harme: and so comming to ERZIRUM, there presently dismissed every man to goe and winter in his owne countrey, but remained still himselfe in the same citie: from whence he by speedie posts diligently enformed *Amurath* of the succours he had left at TEBLIS, of the losses he had receiued from the enemy, of all that which was by *Mustapha* misreported, of the comming of the Persian embassadour to him, of the promise made vnto him touching a new embassadour; and to be short, of all his whole actions. Besides all this, he aduertised *Amurath*, That the enterprise of PERSIA was a very hard, long, and difficult matter, and such a one as needed another manner of preparation than had bene as yet appointed for it: and that if he desired to subdue PERSIA, it were then very necessarie that he should speake with him at large, and discourse vpon many particularities, which could not so well without exceeding tediousnesse be declared by writing. After that he sent other messengers also to sollicite *Amurath* for his returne to CONSTANTINOPLE, continually telling him, That it was not possible for him to signifie by writing, what he purposed to report to him by word of mouth, for the better accomplishing of the enterprise begun. Nothing in the world did *Sinan* abhorre more than this warre, hauing his mind altogether bent against the affaires of the Christians in EUROPE, and therefore sought by all meanes possible for the diuerting of those warres from the East into some other quarters. At last he wrought so much, he entreated so much, he writ so many letters, and sollicitated the matter so earnestly, that *Amurath* was perswaded to send for him to CONSTANTINOPLE, as soone as euer he was certified of the arriual of the new embassadour from PERSIA, of whom *Sinan* had before aduertised him: for he was resolu'd either to grow to a peace with the said embassadour, if he came with honourable conditions; or if he came not, or that after his comming they could not agree vpon the peace, then to put in execution those his conceits, wherof he must needs in particular talke with *Sinan* by word of mouth. At length the promised embassadour called *Ebraim Chan*, a man of great eloquence, and highly honoured in PERSIA, came to *Sinan*; whereof *Sinan* gaue present intelligence to *Amurath*, beseeching him againe to permit him to come to CONSTANTINOPLE: which his request *Amurath* then graunted. Whereupon *Sinan* forthwith returned to the Court, where he attended the vniuersall government of the whole empire. At his first comming to the presence of *Amurath* (wherein hee discoursed not with him of any thing, but of the comming of the Persian embassadour) the conditions were set downe which they were to require for the reducing of the capitulations of this peace to a good end. After which agreement the embassadour (being now come, and most magnificently receiued in CONSTANTINOPLE) had audience: at which time he with much glorious speech laboured to perswade *Amurath*, That his king had a most ardent desire to be reconciled vnto him, and to joyne his forces with his against the enemies of the Mahometane religion, and that for that purpose

A purpose he was now especially come thither: which his good purpose, if it were answered with like zeale on his part, there would thereof ensue the greatest vnitie and friendship that euer was betwene any Mahometane princes. Whereunto *Amurath* gaue him no other answer, but that he should thereof talke with his Visier, and with him enreat of all matters concerning the peace: and so he was by *Amurath* entertained and dismissed, both at one time.

Now had *Amurath* called to CONSTANTINOPLE his eldest sonne *Mahomet* (who afterward succeeded him in the empire) being then about sixteen yeares old, to circumsise him according to the custome of the Turkes; following therein the inueterat law of the Hebrewes. Vnto which solemnitie, many Christian princes were solemnly inuited; who accordingly sent thither their embassadours with great gifts and presents, in token of peace and confederacie, namely, *Rudolphus* the emperour, *Henrie* the third the French king, *Stephen* king of POLONIA: the State of VENICE, the king of PERSIA, the Moore kings of MAROCCO and FES, the princes of MOLDAVIA, VALACHIA, and others. With all triumph and joy was the circumcision of this young prince solemnised, by the space of fortie daies & fortie nights, in the great market place of CONSTANTINOPLE, where all the embassadours aforesaid had their scaffolds prepared and furnished according to their degrees and states, and receiued such entertainment as might be shewed at such a kind of barbarous spectacle: Only the Persian embassadour, who had also his scaffold seuerall to himselfe, but not regarded as the rest, rejoyced not at these feasts and triumphs: for among fundrie other wrongs and scornes done by the commaundement of *Amurath* vnto the Persian nation (as by hanging vp of certaine counterfeits pictures of Persians made of laths and sticks, and then burning them, and in many scornfull sorts abusing them) the Turkes, for the great displeasure he had conceiued for the harme done to *Osman Bassa* and the Turkes in SIRVAN much about that time, and for the disdain he had taken against *Ebraim Chan* (as one not condescending to the conditions of peace which he expected, nor yielding to any more than the other embassadour had done before, seemed to haue come as a spie to marke the Turkish affaires, or to mocke *Amurath*, rather than to put in execution any good matter to pacifie the minds of the two mightie princes) commaunded the standing before appointed for him, in disgrace of him to be cast downe, and himselfe with all his followers to be shut vp as close prisoners in the house of *Mahamet Bassa* at CONSTANTINOPLE: where he was so straightly kept, that though an hundred of his followers there died of the plague, which shortly after began D to wax hoat in the citie, yet could he not obtaine so much fauour as to be removed to some other place, but there was enforced to tarry it out, vntill that afterward order was taken, he should be carried thence as prisoner to ERZIRUM. To end these solemnities, *Mahomet* the young prince was circumsised, not publicly, but in his fathers chamber, by *Mechmet* one of the inferiour Bassas, sometime the emperour *Solymans* barber.

Now whilst *Sinan* as great Visier sat commaunding in CONSTANTINOPLE, the garrisons in CHARS and TEBLIS (kept in by the enemy, and hauing receiued none other reliefe than a little which *Sinan* before his departure from ERZIRUM had by good hap caused to be secretly conuaid vnto them) were thought to be driuen to great wants. Which thing *Sinan* right well knew, and fearing least those two places which had with so much adoe bene both gained and maintained, should for want of new succours fall againe into the hand of the enemy: hee both boldly and freely counsell'd *Amurath*, to send a new garrison to VAN for the safetie of the countrey thereabouts; and then vnder the conduct of some valiant captaine, to send succours to TEBLIS. Vpon which point *Amurath* asked *Sinan* his opinion, and willed him to bethinke himselfe of some fit man. Hereupon *Sinan* propounded diuers vnto him, but none of them pleased him; for why, he was before resolu'd, in despite of *Sinan* and of his counsell, to bestow this charge vpon *Mahamet Bassa*, nephew to *Mustapha* the late Bassa, and for his sake hated of *Sinan*. This Bassa *Mahamet* he sent to ERZIRUM, with the title of the Bassa of that province; honouring him withall with the name of Generall of the armie for TEBLIS. And presently gaue commaundement to *Hassan* the Bassa of CARABIT, to *Mustapha* sometime called *Manvethiar* the Georgian, to all the Sanzacks, the Curdi, and the souldiors of ERZIRUM, that they should resort to the stander of *Mahamet* their Generall, and so to follow him to TEBLIS. Whereupon there assembled together out of all the said places about fise and twentie thousand souldiors, with all things necessarie for the reliefe of the distressed garrison in TEBLIS. Commandement was also giuen to the Bassas of ALEPPO and MARAS, to repaire to VAN with all their souldiors,

Amurath circumsised his eldest sonne Mahomet.

Io. Leuncl.
Suppl. Annal.
Turc. pag. 82.

souldiors, and there to abide till Winter: which they accordingly did, not molested nor troubled by any enemy.

In the end of August *Mahamet Bassa* departed from *Erzurum*, with the *Bassa* of *Carabmit* and all his armie, carrying with him money, corne, and all other things needfull for the reliefe of *Teflis*: and in eight daies came to *Chars*, and from thence to *Archelech*, not troubled by any. At *Archelech* he found *Mustapha* (otherwise called *Manuchiar* the Georgian) with all his souldiors, whom the Generall most joyfully entertained and honoured with gifts: and withall admonished him to continue in his obedience to *Amurath*, and to conduct him with his armie the shortest and safest way to *Teflis*: for that some were of opinion, that it were best to go by *Tomanis*, and some other by the way of *Mustapha* his countrey: wherein *Mustapha* did readily resolve him, that the easiest and shortest way lay through his owne countrey, being also in his opinion the safest. This counsell of *Mustapha* pleased *Mahamet* greatly, so that he made choise of him to be the guide of his armie, reposing himself wholly vpon his good direction: and so departed thence towards *Teflis*, passing through *Altynchala*, and *Carachala*, both belonging to the said Georgian, abounding with all things necessarie for the sustenance of man, neither were they euer disturbed by any enemy. Having passed *Mustapha* his countrey, they came to a friendly castle called *Gori*, from whence they discovered in certaine fields a great armie of the Georgians, mingled with Persians, but apparelled after the manner of *Georgia*: these were those captaines of *Parsia*, sent from the Persian king (as in other yeares before) to aid the Georgians; who secretly conioyned with *Simon Chan* the Georgian, had changed their apparell, because the treatie of peace should not be disturbed, and their king accounted vnjust of his word; who vnder the colour of a treatie of peace, whiles *Amurath* attended nothing else but to succour and defend his conquered countries, without purpose to annoy any other places, went about to procure the destruction of the Turkes. These then as soone as they saw the Turkish armie, and perceived that they also themselves were by them defied, sent Heralds vnto them with haughtie words of defiance, and to offer them battell. With great griefe of mind did the *Bassa* receive this proud defiance; but hauing no other purpose but onely to bring his succours safe to *Teflis*, he dismissed the Heralds, and studied by all meanes he could to shun battell. That euening he was fauoured in his purpose by the great and continuall raine which then fell, and serued for a reasonable excuse of his delay: but the next day prouing faire, and the Sunne shining bright, both the armies marched in sight the one of the other all day, vntill about foure houres and an halfe before night; at what time the Turkes arrived neere to a riuer that separated the one armie from the other. There the *Bassa* fell in consultation with *Mustapha*, whether they should passe over the riuer before night, or stay on that side they were vntill the next morning. In which case *Mustapha* aduised him to stay, as fearing least the enemy should set vpon the armie disordered in passing the riuer, and so annoy them. Notwithstanding the Generall disliked this aduise of *Mustapha*, hauing taken a strong conceit, euen vpon the first discouerie of the enemy, that there was some intelligence and compact betwene *Mustapha* and the Persians, and that to that end he had maliciously persuaded him to come that way, and not by the way of *Tomanis*: & therefore the *Bassa* thinking, that if there were any such plot laied between *Mustapha* and the enemy, to set it in some confusion, would not in any case follow the counsell of the suspected Georgian, to stay that night; but commanded, that with the greatest speed that might be, all his souldiors with their treasure & corne should passe ouer the riuer; to the end that before night he might on the other side of the riuer encampe his armie in some good place, to the some aid and derision of his enemies. *Mahamet* his lieutenant, a bold yong man and an hardie, was the first that ventured ouer, and after him the carriages of money and of corne, and then the whole armie, with such speed, that some of the confused multitude were drowned in the passage, being rather troden downe with the horses and camels, than brought to their deaths either by the depth of the channell or swiftnesse of the riuer.

As soone as the Georgians perceived that the Turkes had passed the riuer, without any staying vntill they might settle themselves in any good order, they in great hast and furie ran vpon them, and presently assailed them whiles they were yet all in confusion and out of order: by reason whereof, the Turkes, although they turned their faces vpon their enemies, and made some good resistance, yet in short time you might haue scene the banks of the riuer in many places stained with the Turkish blood, and many carcases of the Turkes here and there scattered, without any apparant

Mahamet Bassa refused battell offered by the Georgians and Persians.

A apparant losse among the Georgians and Persians. Amongst them that fell in this slaughter, were a number of *Sanzackes*, of the *Curdi*, and *Mesopotamians*; which the rest perceiuing, and by the ouerthrow of their owne conjecturing the losse of others, turned their backs and fled: the like did the remnant of the *Mesopotamians*, and after them at last the whole armie: whom the Georgians pressed so fore in their flight, that many of the Turkes seeing no other way to escape, cast themselves into the riuer, and so (though hardly) escaped with their liues. Great was the shame, great was the confusion, but greatest was the losse they recciued; for that in the heat of the battell the kings money and corne was taken by the Georgians and Persians, euer man sauing onely so much for himselfe as he could secretly hide vpon his owne bodie, or conuie by the meanes of some trustie slaue, which by the helpe of their swift horses was preferred rather by fortune than by valour.

The Turkes thus discomfited and spoyled of their reliefe, the next morning gathered themselves together againe, one with another cursing the heauens, their king, and their aduerser fortune: some of them also threatening the Georgian renegade *Mustapha*, as though all this mischief had happened through his treacherie and secret intelligence with the enemy. Notwithstanding, when they found that they had still remaining so much money and other casements as might suffice to comfort the afflicted minds of the souldiors, besieged in the fort, they resolved to hold on their way towards *Teflis*, and in their journey used such speed, that the day following they arrived there in the euening. But when they of the fort saw their friends, whom they had so long expected, arrived in such bad sort, and so euill furnished, they were astonished, and wonderfully grieved at this common losse, and all in a confusion protested to *Mahamet*, That they would abandon the place, if they had not forthwith necessarie prouision made for them. But the Generall after he had with large promises mitigated their first furies and insolencies, presently in the morning caused a *Diuano* or counsell to be called in the castle, where hauing gathered together all the cheefe men in his armie, he spake vnto them in this manner:

For as much as it hath pleased God, that so great and important an occasion of victorie, which was offered vnto vs for the honour and glorie of euery one of vs, is now fallen out so unfortunately, that it hath not only not ministered vnto vs any matter of triumphing ouer our enemies, as we should haue done, but rather hath made them (I know not how) to carrie away from vs both the triumph, and also our armour, our horses, our slaues, and our spoiles; yea and (the remembrance whereof doth most grievously trouble and afflict me) our Sultans money, and our publicke munition and forces solemnly delivered to our conduct, is now become a bootie and prey vnto them; that the honour which might haue made euery one of vs famous among noble and valourous souldiors, is now fallen from our foreheads, and to our great detriment doth adorne the heads of strangers, or rather of our enemies; and that notwithstanding all this, we are now come to those courageous souldiors, which with their great valour haue defended this fort, euen in the midst of their enemies weapons and trecheries; and to whom we should yeeld that aid and reliefe, which the vertue of euery one of their minds doth deserue, and which king *Amurath* had put into our hands to bring hither vnto them: there is now no remedie, but to resolve vpon some good meanes, that we fall not wholly into the utter disgrace of our lord and king and that is, To maintaine these souldiors in the custodie and defence of this fort: and though it be with all our owne wants and all our owne dishonors, to comfort these that haue so long time looked for vs, and so well deserved all manner of reliefe. We cannot excuse our selues, that our enemies were better than we either in number or instruments of warre, for both in the one and the other we were farre beyond them; neither yet can we say, that they set vpon vs by night, or at vnawares: for when we saw their number, their weapons, their horses, and finally their approach, and their manner of assault, yet wee would needs passe ouer the riuer, and ioyne battell with them: which we now know hath fallen out very lamentable to vs, because we were more readie to take our flight than to endure the fight, and to use our feet than to occupie our hands. And therefore it is very requisite, as well to satisfy the rigor of iustice, as to performe the dutie of souldiors, that we suffer not our lord and king to loose his money, which he trusted into our hands, and which we haue lost, not by greater strength, nor by any trecherous stratageme of our enemies, but by our owne too too important feare, and too base a regard of our liues, before which it was the dutie of euery one of vs, to haue preferred the care of honour. For if by fighting and courageous sustaining the assaults of our enemies, though they had bene stronger and better armed than we, this misfortune had happened vnto vs, and that we could in any sort haue represented the

The Turkes discomfited, and the treasure and corne taken by the Georgians and Persians.

Mahamet with his discomfited armie cometh to *Teflis*.

The Oracion of *Mahamet Bassa* in the castle of *Teflis*.

the king and the world an honourable and bloudie battell, we should not now have had any need to seeke G
 meanes how to repay this losse, and to restore the thing that violently was taken from us by such as
 were more mightie than our selues, and these honourable souldiors also should more easily haue dis-
 gested with us this lamentable calamitie. But we haue lost that money, and in very deed haue as it
 were willingly bestowed it vpon the Georgians and Persians to redeme our liues and to saue us from
 their furie, are bound to repay it, or els for euer hereafter to be challenged as lawfull debtors to the
 king for it. And therefore my good friends and companions, if you will take a good course, let every
 one of us, without any further consultation put his hand into his priuat purse (if he haue not foolishly
 cast that also into the hands of the rauensome enemy) and with our owne money let us succour the ne-
 cessitie of these men, and haue regard to the honour of our king. So shall wee make our sight lesse
 blame worthie, we shall iustifie our actions more honestly (and that which is of greatest importance) H
 we shall the better pacifie the wrath of Amurath, which he might most iustly conceiue against us. I my
 selfe before you all am most readie to disburse fower thousand ducats towards it: if it shall please you
 all to follow me accordingly, we shall deliuer these souldiors from their great necessitie, and acquite our
 selues from the intricat bonds of most troublesome displeasures.

The Turkes a-
 mong themselves
 make a purse of
 36000 ducats,
 for the reliefe of
 the garrison of
 Teflis.

There might a man haue seene a thousand countenances changed a thousand manner of
 wayes; for one softly whispered many a curse and shame vpon the king, vpon Mahomet, yea and
 vpon God himselfe, another denied to disburse any thing; another determined priuily to steale
 away, and some said one thing, and some another; but in the end euery man was induced to fol-
 low the example of Mahomet: and thereupon haue made a purse according to euery mans I
 abilitie, there was collected thirte thousand ducats among them. And presently after, word was
 sent to Leuent Oglie at ZAGHEN, to send thither graine, muttons, and other necessarie provisions
 that they might the better continue the defence of the fort.

Two dayes onely stayed Mahomet in TEF LIS, and haue changed such souldiors as desired
 to be dismissed, and also appointed Homar Bassa Gouvernour of TEF LIS in stead of Ghusuf,
 that there gouerned before, he departed. But before his departure consultation was had, Whe-
 ther they should keepe the way of TOMANIS, or the way they came through the countrey of
 Mustassa the Georgian: and in the end they resolved to keepe the way of TOMANIS, and ther-
 upon order was taken, that they should all passe the riuer. The Curdi were the first that went
 ouer, and had already pitched their tents vpon the further side of the water; when the Generall K
 began to reuoke his former order, and sent them word, That they should returne, because he was
 now determined to goe backe the same way he came. At which message all the Sanzackes were
 in a rage, and in plaine tearmes sent him answere, That these mutabilities befecmed not them, be-
 ing men accustomed to warie, but to be rather childrens play than manly resolution, and that for
 their parts they were not minded to change their journey, but would goe on the same way they
 had begun: and so forwards they went (say the Generall what he could) and by the way of TO-
 MANIS arrived at CHARS long before Mahomet, who was much grieved at this their so great
 disobedience: but seeing no other remedie, he with the Bassa of CARAMEIT, and Mustassa the
 Georgian, put themselves on their journey euen by the same way they came to TEF LIS. At last
 Mahomet arrived at ALVNCHALA, the cheefe citie of Mustassa the Georgian, and burning L
 with the desire of reuenge of those losses which he thought himselfe to haue received by the tre-
 cherie of Mustassa; or (as some thought) seeking by this meanes to make Amurath beleue, that
 in truth all the forepassed mischeefes had happened not through their cowardise, but through the
 trecherous and malicious deuices of the Georgian, and so to make their received losses seeme
 more pardonable; he deuised with himselfe, how to find out such a plot, as that Mustassa might
 vpon the sudden be taken away, as guiltie of so foule a treason: and that he had deuised was in
 this sort. To call a counsell into his owne pauillion, as if he had received some commaundement
 from the Court, and haue caused Mustassa to come into that roome, whiles the said counterfeit
 commaundement should be in reading, to cause his lieutenant with those cheefe of his band that
 stood about him, to fall vpon him, and presently to cut off his head. This pretended counsell was M
 accordingly called, wherein sat the Bassa himselfe, and with him the Bassa of CARAMEIT, cer-
 taine Sanzackes subject to the iurisdiction of ERZIRVM, the Capigi Bassa or cheefe gentleman
 vsier, and the Generals lieutenant; with whom he had vpon their solempne oathes for secrecie
 communicated his intended deceit. The Georgian Mustassa was also called accordingly: who
 both

Mahomet deu-
 iseth how to be-
 tray Mustassa
 the Georgian.

A both because he was beloued of more than one, and had also vsed all diligent circumspection, but
 especially haue heard in the armie some priuie whisperings of such a matter, knew full well of
 all that was deuised against him, and therefore prouided also for his owne defence. But as tou-
 ching his going to the counsell, he thought he might not denie so to doe, least by his absence he
 might seeme guiltie of the fault whereof he was (peraduenture not without cause) suspected;
 and thereby to leaue his cities for a prey to their enemies, now in the heart of his countrey. And
 therefore resolving to goe, he deuised how so to doe with most safetie; and so, as if need should
 be, he might be able to turne the mischiefe intended against him vpon the head of the Generall
 himselfe. And therefore haue chosen out fiftie of his most faithfull and resolute souldiors, he
 commaunded them to follow him to the counsell appointed in the Generals pauillion: and be-
 B ing come thither, to stay there readie and attentue at his first and one onely call, suddenly and
 forcibly to rush into the pauillion with their weapons, & rather than any wrong should be done
 vnto him, to shew their valour against the Turkes, without exception of any person whatsoeuer.
 These men by nature enemies vnto the Turkes, vnderstanding well his meaning, seded themselves
 vpon the execution: and taking vnto them some other allo of their faithfull and trustie friends,
 followed him euen to the pauillion of Mahomet: where Mustassa entring into the place of coun-
 sell, desired of the Generall to know what his pleasure was; who presently caused the counterfeit
 commaundement to be read, wherein Mustassa gaue an attentue care. But when the other
 Bassaes and Sanzackes began to sit downe (contrarie to the manner of the Turkes, who whenso-
 euer any commaundement of the emperours is in reading, vs. alwayes to stand vp, and not to sit
 C down vntill it be full read) the Georgian tooke his leaue, promising to be euer readie to performe
 not onely that order of the kings, but also whatsoeuer els he should commaund. And so being
 about to depart, the Capigi Bassa (or great vsier) of Mahomet came vnto him, and plucking him
 by the sleue, would haue forced him to sit downe. Then Mustassa ctying out aloud, drew his
 sword, wherewith he stricke Mahomet's lieutenant, that was right against him, and with his left
 hand haueing caught the roll from his pate, with his right hand suddenly (to the great astonish-
 ment of all that were present) at one onely blow parted his head, his necke, and his breast in
 twaine, euen to his very stomacke: so that he died. (a strange spectacle to behold) being thus cut
 in sunder, with his clef head and two shoulders hanging downe vpon their severall sides. After
 this first, he redoubled his second stroke, aiming at the head of the Bassa of CARAMEIT: but it
 D being defended with the wythen rolls of the turbant, it slipped downe by his eare; yet so, that
 with a peece of the said turbant it carried his eare quite away, with a little also of the flesh of his
 cheek: and all enraged, eagerly assailed Mahomet Bassa the Generall (who now all in confusion
 was risen vp in the tumult) and wounded him with fise mortall wounds; which were yet after-
 wards by cunning hand healed, when they had brought him euen to death's doore. At the crie of
 this Georgian all his people rushed in together: vpon whose confused tumult, and the feare that
 Mustassa through his furie had stricke into the Turkes, the campe was presently raised: and euery
 man with all speed departing thence, put himselfe on his way towards CHARS, whether also
 were brought the two wounded Bassaes and the rest that were ill handled and greatly feared with
 these sudden and vncouth stirres.

Mustassa now
 by reuenging
 himselfe of the
 trecherie inten-
 ded against him
 by Mahomet the
 Generall.

E Of all this treacherie intended against him, Mustassa sent present information to the Tur-
 kish emperour, finding himselfe greatly grieved at the false suspicion that Mahomet had wrong-
 fully conceiued against him, to his great dishonour and wrought so cunningly, that Amurath
 in token of his good liking and contentment sent him both cloth of gold and a battleaxe all gilt.
 Mahomet on the other side entermedling here and there with all the art that possibly he could
 deuise, all hatefull and injurious tearmes, sent large aduertisements of all the misfortunes that had
 happened, and aggravated to the king both the trecheries of Mustassa, and also the slender se-
 curitie of those wayes and countreys.

As soone as Amurath vnderstood the calamities of his souldiors, the losse of his money, the
 great dishonour of his people, and the apparant danger wherein the fort of TEF LIS stood, when
 F it was like to be abandoned: all inflamed with rage and anger, he called vnto him the Bassaes of
 his court (among whom sat as chiefe the prowd and haughtie Sinan) and rated them all excee-
 dingly, reproving their lewd counsell, and recounting the losses that he had from time to time
 received, as if they had happened through their defaults, and especially Sinan, as the principall
 occasion of all these mischiefs: Who like an improuident foole (as he said) would needs reli-
 quish

quith the charge of his armie, and like a king sit idle at CONSTANTINOPLE, standing (as it were) at some publike triumph to behold and heare the miseries and misfortunes of others: having before in the time that *Mustapha* was General, most vainly boasted, with the like power that he had to fetch the Persian king out of CASBIN, and to deliuer him in bonds to *Amurath*, but had in deed performed nothing worth the remembrance. *Sinan* could doe no lesse but make answer to the wrathfull king, yet not with such mildnesse and modestie as in such a case hee should peraduenture haue done, but in prowd and peremptorie manner, without any reuerence or regard, told him plainly: That as the last yeare a little before his returne to CONSTANTINOPLE, succours had been conuied to TRAPLIS without any losse or trouble (as in truth they were) euen so had they been this yeare also, if he had put his aduise in execution as much as hee despised and contemned it: for he did then giue him to vnderstand, that *Mahamet Bassa* could not be a fit man for so great a charge, and that it was necessarie to haue chosen in his roome some other capitaine of valour and discretion; but seeing he would needs make choise of the same vnfit man, he was not now to blame any other for this error, but onely himselfe. As for his comming to CONSTANTINOPLE, it was a thing long before thought most needfull, not onely for his aduise how the matter of peace might be brought to some good passe; but also because if that treatie came not to the desired issue, then he had to talke with him how he might compasse the ouerthrow of his enemy: which thing as yet he had no fit time to declare vnto him, but was now readie to reueale it, if it were so his pleasure. Wonderfully was *Amurath* grieved with this sullen answere, when he considered that a slaue of his owne, should so arrogantly and manifestly reprove him of folly and improvidence. Notwithstanding, being desirous to know of him what that secret and important matter was, which he had to reueale vnto him for the easie compassing of his commenced enterprise, he dissembled his discontentment conceiued against him, and commaunded him to discloase those his deuises which he had to vtter. *Sinan* in briebe, of all his aduises, propounded these two things: first his counsell was, not to proceed in this warre as they had hitherto done, by seeking with forts and fortresses to hold and keepe the enemies countreies; for that their treasures were not able to yeeld such store of money, as was sufficient for the maintenance of so many and so great garrisons: contrarie to the opinion of *Mustapha* (of late dead) who with great pertinacie had perswaded that dangerous, chargeable, and difficult manner of warre. His second aduise was, that the true meanes to bring this warre to wished end, consisted especially in the resolution of *Amurath* himselfe; who if he would go in person himselfe, and against so mightie a king oppose the person of a king, then might he most assuredly promise vnto himselfe all speedie and honourable victorie: for that at the onely name of his comming, the Persians would easily come to any agreement; or if not, he might then proceed in his wars, and so obtaine most glorious conquests. This his aduise so little pleased the effeminate king, that in stead of the great opinion he before held of him, he now conceiued an enuious affection against him: and a further suspicion (fostred by the great ladies of the court, especially *Amuraths* mother) That *Sinan* had thus counselled the king himselfe to go in person, not for any good could come thereof, but onely that so he might find meanes for the prince his sonne to make himselfe king, and to driue out his father. Which suspicion was in such sort nourished in the mind of *Amurath*, especially being assured of the great affection which the prince carried towards *Sinan*, and he likewise towards him, that he resolved to rid him out of his sight; and so depriving him of all charge, presently banished him the court, and out of CONSTANTINOPLE to DEMOTICA (a cite of THRACE) from whence afterwards he by most humble supplication obtained to be remoued to MARMARA, a little beyond SELYMBRIA. And into his place of Viceroyship was preferred *Sinan Bassa* (who had married *Amurath* his sister) an Hungarian borne, a goodly personage, and of honorable iudgement: but aboue all men a seller of iustice and preferments, and yet a great friend to the peace with the Christian princes, which *Sinan* had alwaies most wickedly maligned.

The Persian captaines in the meane time, with their spoiles and diuers of their enemies ensignes, were with great joy receiued at home in PERSIA: but when the discord that fell out betwene *Mahamet Bassa* and *Mustapha* the Georgian was also reported, the former joy was redoubled; euerie man being of opinion, that these discords might bee great impediments vnto the Turkes further attempts into PERSIA, which it was feared they would the next yeare attempt, to the great danger of NASSIVAN and TAVRIS. Vpon which occasions, the Persian king perceiuing that he could not haue a fitter opportunitie to employ himselfe against

The proud answer of *Sinan* to *Amurath*.

Sinan Bassa made Viceroy in *Sinan* place.

against *Abas Miri* his sonne (then with him it disgrace) determined with himselfe, to leaue the matters on this side of his kingdome in their present state, and to march toward HERRI: whereunto he was earnestly solicited by his elder sonne *Emir Hamze Miri*, but especially by *Miri Salmas* his Visier. Vpon which resolution, committing the defence of REIVAN, NASSIVAN, and that side of his kingdome, to *Emir Chan* Gouvernour of TAVRIS; he set forward himselfe with his army towards CASBIN, and so marching through diuers prouinces, arrived at length at SASVAR, being on that side the chiefe of all the cities subject to the iurisdiction of HERRI: which cite he tooke by force, and without delay caused the Gouvernour thereof to be beheaded, although he alleadged a thousand excuses for himselfe, and objected a thousand accusations moe against the seditious Visier. The king after this departing thence, and having also put to death certaine captaines and Sultans, that were accused by the Visier to be confederats in the rebellion of his sonne, he arrived at last at the desired cite of HERRI: Verie strong is this cite; by situation compassed about with a good wall, and watered with deep channels of running springs, conuied into it by *Tamerlane* their founder, or restorer: besides that, there was in it many valiant captaines, enemies to *Miri Salmas*, readie to lay downe their liues in defence of themselves and of *Abas* their lord; so that the winning thereof, could not but proue both long and difficult. As soone as the king approached the cite, he felt in himselfe many troubled passions arising of griefe and pietie, it grieved him to thinke that hee should beget so gracelesse a sonne, who in stead of maintaining his state and honour, should seeke his ruine and destruction: it grieved him also to remember the blood of his subjects, before spilt vpon so strange an occasion; and scarcely durst he enter into the cogitation, thenceforward to shed any more of the blood of his people. Neuerthelesse, being still more and more solicited by his Visier, he attempted to vnderstand the mind of his sonne, and (if it might be possible) to get him into his hands. But while the king traueilling with these thoughts lay with his armie before HERRI, *Abas Miri* in the meane time, writ diuers letters to his father and to his brother, wherein he besought them, That they would make knowne vnto him the occasion of this their stirre: For if desire of rule had moued them to seeke the deprivation of him, being their sonne and brother, from the honour hee lawfully possessed, and which his father himselfe had procured for him of his grandfather *Tamas*; they ought to abandon that imagination, for that he was alwaies readie to spend his wealth and his blood together with his estate in their seruice, and acknowledged his father to be his good father and king: But if they were not induced hereunto for this cause, but by a desire to reuenge some trespass that he had committed to the prejudice of the crowne of PERSIA, or his fathers honour; he was most readie to submit himselfe to any amends, and with all reason to yeeld vnto them the kingdome, yea the whole world, and euen his owne life, the rather to satisfie their minds with a more full contentation. With twife and thrife reading ouer, were these affectionate letters considered and digested: and at last both the father and the brother perceiuing in them such liberalitie of words, and overcome with pitie, or if not with pitie yet with great admiration and contentment, they determined to put the matter in practise, and moderating their desire of reuenge, to attempt the reducing of the yong mans mind to some good passe. Whereupon they wrote backe vnto him, That no greedie desire to vsurpe his gouernment, had induced them to make so great a voyage, to trouble so much people, and to shed such abundance of blood; but onely his disobedience and presumption, in that he had caused himselfe to be called the king of PERSIA; and had not sent so much as one capitaine to aid them in the late warres against the Turkes. Glad was *Abas* the yong prince, when he vnderstood the accusations that were laied against him, hoping to make it manifest before all men, how the king and his brother were misinformed in these particularities: and therefore incontinently did write backe vnto them, That if they would faithfully promise him, honourably, and without any outrage to receiue his embassadours, he would send vnto them such euident matter, and so cleare information touching those his accusations, as that they should not onely clearely perceiue that there was neuer any such kind of thought in him, but also that he had alwaies desired & laboured the contrarie: and would moreover open vnto them such matter, as in respect of other men, and not of himselfe, might cause their comming to proue profitable and commodious to all the kingdome of PERSIA. Which his request they both solemnly promised faithfully to performe, being verie desirous to vnderstand what those strange nouelties should be. Whereupon *Abas Miri* sent vnto them two of his chiefe counsellors, men of great account and reuerence both for their yeares and wisdom,

Mahamet the Persian king sends to go to HERRI against his sonne *Abas Miri*.

Mahamet commeth to HERRI.

Abas Mirize by
his embassadours
purged of trea-
son.

The embassadours
of Abas accuse
Mirize Salmas
the Visier.

dome, with full instructions: Who after many speeches in the end swearing (according to their custome) by the Creator that spread out the ayre, that founded the earth upon the deepes, that adorned the heauen with stars, that powred abroad the water, that made the fire, and briefly, of nothing brought forth all things; swearing by the head of *Alh*, and by the religion of their prophet *Mahomet*, that such peruerse thoughts neuer entred into the head of *Abas Mirize*: they alledged many testimonies and manifest proofes, that most loially in all due time, as well when he was aduanced to the kingdome of *PERSIA*, as also in his battels against the Turkes, his sonne had alwaies caused deuout prayers and supplications to be made to God for his prosperitie, neither euer desired to heare any other but happie and fortunat successe of him. They brought with them a thousand and a thousand precepts and royall letters, which the young man had caused to be written, as occasions required to the Gouvernours that were his subjects, for the gouernment of the State, wherein he neuer named himselfe king of *PERSIA*; but onely, Your king and Gouvernour of *HERRI*. They prayed the king also, to cause a diligent processe to be framed against his sonne, and if there should be found in him any signe or shadow of so wicked a suspicion, then to take from him his estate and libertie; offering themselves to remaine as hostages for him. But when all this should be done, and *Abas* found altogether free from these vnjust accusations, then (falling euen to the earth and kissing it) they besought him, and as it were conjured him, not to leaue the matter thus imperfect, to the prejudice of his blood, but returning to his counsellor, to take information likewise vpon what mind and consideration he had aduised the king to take vpon him this vnordely and dangerous voyage; where no doubt he should find nothing in him; but malignant, ambitious, and wicked affections; and such as euen deserued, that with his blood there should be reuenged all the blood of those which till that houre had been brought to their vnworthie and vnderferued deaths. And for as much as nothing remained, whereof the Visier had enforced the king against his sonne, but the commaundement that was given by *Abas Mirize* to the Gouvernours vnder him, That they should not go to the wars against the Turkes: they confessed in truth that such an order was taken, but not to that wicked and traitorous end and purpose as was reported to the king by his great counsellor, but onely in respect of an invasion justly feared in those quarters by the Tartarian *Iessellbas*; who by diuers inroads had already done great harme in the countrey about *HERRI*, and put young *Abas* and his counsellors in such a feare, that they durst not disfigure their cities of their guards and forces: and therefore had commaunded the said Gouvernours, not to go to warre against the Turkes, but to stay and expect further direction. And that all this was by writing signified vnto the Visier himselfe: which he of a malicious mind had concealed, onely to trie, if in these common troubles he could bring to passe, that *Abas Mirize* and the king might be taken away, and *Emir Hamze* succeed in his place; and so he himselfe remaine the Superintendent of his sonne in law, and Moderator of that most famous kingdome. Of which so treacherous a purpose they (for all that) thought *Emir Hamze* the young prince altogether ignorant (knowing his honourable disposition and loue towards his owne kindred) but imputed it only to the immoderat and ambitious desire of the wicked traitour *Mirize Salmas*.

Of these graue speeches of the embassadours, *Mahamet* the father (by nature credulous) began to make great construction; and deeply to consider of their so earnest and important requests, which seemed vnto him so vpright and equall, as that he could not chuse but hearken vnto the same. And therefore calling vnto him the Gouvernours, the capitaines, the judges, and treasurers of all the cities that were subject to to *HERRI*: he demanded of them, how and in what sort they esteemed of *Abas Mirize*, and in what degree of honour he desired to be esteemed of them: and of them all receiued one answere, That they held him for their lord as lieutenant to the king of *CASBIN*; and that he himselfe had alwaies desired to be so taken and thought of: for proofe whereof, euerie one of them brought in diuers letters, precepts, and orders, wherein hee neuer caused himselfe to be honoured with any other title, but onely, Your king of *HERRI*. He demanded further, whether any such warres were attempted by the Tartarian *Iessellbas* or no: whereof he receiued a large and solemne information, that so it was, to the great detriment of all those territories. And thus the king was thoroughly persuaded of the innocencie of his sonne; who before was noted vnto him by his Visier, to be an obstinat rebell. Vpon which occasion only, although he might justly haue put him to death, as author of so great troubles and bloodshed; yet because he would be better enformed of the truth of the accusations laid against him by

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A the embassadours, he resolved to make a curious and diligent inquisition thereof: and therefore first of all, in great secrecy he examined *Emir Hamze* his eldest sonne, wherefore he had aduised this journey against his brother *Abas*, whom he had found guiltlesse of all those crimes that were objected against him: whereunto the prince answered, That he had no other certaintie of the pretended euill behaviour of his brother, but onely that which proceeded from the great credit that he alwaies gaue to his father in law *Mirize Salmas*, to whom as to a chiefe counsellor, his father in law, and protector of the kingdome, he had alwaies yeilded assured credence: and so discharged the whole tempests of all those mischiefes vpon the Visier. Touching whom the king made diligent inquisition, as well among those of the court as of the armie; and thereby found him guiltie of all that the embassadours of *HERRI* had accused him: and that being alwaies acquainted with the true occasions which restrained the Gouvernours of *HERRI* (subject to *Abas Mirize*) from going to the warre against the Turkes, he had most maliciously concealed the same, of purpose to hatch such a strange and dangerous discontentment, as had wrought the vnworthie death of many great men, and almost defiled the hands of the father with the innocent blood of his guiltlesse sonne. For which so foule a treason the false Visier was worthily condemned to die, and his wily head by the commaundement of the king stricke from his carkasse. Justly rewarded, with the same punishment which he vnjustly sought to haue conuerted vpon others; and with his owne destruction pacified the dissensions and hatreds that were risen betweene the two princes. And so the two brethren being reconciled together, and the sonne to the father; after that *Abas* had againe promised his wished obedience (which he afterwards most dutifully performed) king *Mahamet* returned with the prince towards *CASBIN*: where by reason of new and vnexpected motions of the Turkes, he had now bene long looked for and desired.

Amurath through the rough speeches of *Siman*, was more and more settled in his purpose for the continuing of the Persian warre; accounting it so much the more to his owne glorie, as it should in happie successe fall out contrary to the opinion of many: and thereupon began to be thinke himselfe whom he might chuse for his Generall, to whom he might commit so great a charge. Among the Bassaes of the court there was one *Ferat*, a man of ripe yeares, but yet fierce of courage, tough in opinion, in counsell as hardie as might become his age, readie for all sudden and strange adventures, but aboute all a vassall most deuoted to the king: Of this man, at last he was D resolved to make choise to haue the leading of his armie: and therefore calling him apart, declared vnto him what he had in himselfe purposed, encouraging him to take the charge vpon him, with a firme resolution to performe all things answerable to so worthie an enterprise, with the opinion he had conceiued of his valour. Verie willingly did *Ferat* accept of this new office, and thought himselfe (as indeed he was) highly fauoured by the king: and thereupon made him a large promise, to employ his strength, his wit, and vttermost deuoir, to put in execution whatsoever should be offered vnto him, either by occasion, or by his royall commaundement.

At first *Amurath* had no other purpose to employ him any further, but only to assure the passage to *TEFLIS*, and so into all *GEORGIA*; and to haue destroyed the country of *Mustassa* the Georgian, who had so audaciously injured the lieutenant of *Amurath*, and put his whole armie E in confusion; but being certainly aduertised of the troubles in *PERSIA* betweene the king and his sonne, he changed his purpose, and commaunded *Ferat* to employ all his forces to erect a fortress at *REIVAN*, a place belonging to *Tocomac*, and to assure the passage from *CHARS* to *REIVAN*; for so they should be reuenged of many harmes they had receiued by him, and lay open the way to the citie of *TAVRIS*, to the great glorie of *Amurath*. As for *Mustassa* the Georgian, although he had well deserved to be chastised for his rash attempt against *Mahamet Bassa*, being then his Generall, yet he willed *Ferat* to dissemble his euill opinion of him, and (if it were possible) so to worke, as to vse him as an instrument to conuay treasure and succours to *TEFLIS*: for by this meanes the passage, being made safe, all *GEORGIA* would without any mo fortresses be subdued, and then the next yeare they might attempt the enterprise for F *TAVRIS*.

Highly did *Ferat* commend the deuises of *Amurath* his lord, and shewed himselfe readie for any attempt. And so the time being come wherein it behooued them to set on foot their important designments, in the beginning of the yeare 1583, commaundements were sent out to all the cities of the empire, which were wont to make their appearance at these warres, That vpon

N n n n iij

fresh

Mirize Salmas
the Visier found
guiltie of treason
and beheaded.

Ferat Bassa chosen
General of
the armie in
Siman's place.

fresh summons, they should be readie to returne against the Persians, and to put in execution G that should be enjoyed them by their new Generall. The same whereof flew as farre as So-
RIA, IVRIE, PALESTINE, MESOPOTAMIA, BABYLONIA, to BALSARA, to SIVAS, to
MARAS, to all BITHYNIA, CAPADOCIA, CILICIA, ARMENIA, yea and beyond CON-
STANTINOPLE to the borders of HUNGARIE and GRECE, and in briefe to all the regions that
were wont to come to this warre: all which sent their capitaines and souldiors accordingly. And
so at the last Generall *Ferat* departing from CONSTANTINOPLE, and passing ouer to SCV-
TARI by the way of AMASIA and of SIVAS, came to ERZIRUM, where he tooke a view of all
his armie and prouision: and from thence in eight daies arriued at CHARS, conducted by the
Persian fugitiue *Maxut Chan*: and from CHARS set himselfe on his way towards REIVAN. H
Three daies before he came to REIVAN, of certaine ruines of an old castle which the Turkes
call AGGIA CHALASI (or the Castle of strangers) he erected a new fortesse, and left in it a garri-
son of foure hundred souldiors, with a Sanzacke, and certaine pieces of ordinance, and then went
to REIVAN. This countrey is distant from TAVRIS eight or nine daies journey; betwene
which two places are situat NASSIVAN, CHIVLPAI, MARANT, and SOFIAN, all enriched
with goodly gardens and pleasant greenes: but in the way are many craggie mountaines to be
climed, and sundrie hard passages either for armie or trauelier.

Generall *Ferat*
departeth from
Constantinople.

He commeth to
Reivan.

Ferat in the
space of fiftene
daies buildeth a
fort at Reivan
75000 daies.

Here then did *Ferat* encampe himselfe with his armie, and taking aduise of his chiefe captains
where he should build the fort, they all with one consent aduised him, to seaze vpon the houses
and gardens of *Tocomac*, and there to fortifie. Which he accordingly did, enclosing the gardens
with strong wals and deepe ditches round about, whereinto he conuained water from a certaine
riuier, that comming downe from the mountaines, ran into *Araxis*: Which worke was perfor-
med with such expedition; that within the space of fiftene daies the fortesse was finished, being
in circuit seauen hundred and fiftie yards. It grieved *Tocomac* exceedingly thus to lose his coun-
treie and dwelling, and so much the more, because it happened so suddenly, and as it were vnlook-
ed for. He himselfe as soone as he vnderstood that the Turkish armie was comming to that
coast, hauing withdrawne himselfe and his men of warre out of the citie hee could not keepe,
sought by all meanes to be reuenged, if not altogether, yet in some part of this so great an iniurie.
And therefore he wrote vnto the king at CORAZAN, to *Emir Chan* at TAVRIS, to *Simon* in
GEORGIA, he gathered souldiors out of the villages, and vfed all his possible endeouour to enable
himselfe to annoy the enemies armie: But from none of these places could he receiue any helpe, K
the king being so farre off in wars against his sonne, the Georgian being busied by hindering any
reliefe to be brought to the besieged in TEBLIS; as for *Emir Chan* (who by solemne promise
vnto the king before his departure to HERRI, had vnderaken the defence of that side of the king-
dome against the Turkes) he either would not, or could not stirre; neither sent so much as one
souldior, hauing as some supposed secret intelligence with Generall *Ferat*, not to disturbe him
in this his worke. So *Tocomac* destitute of all other helpe, and not able of himselfe to doe much
against so mightie an enemy; yet ceased not to lay such priuie ambushes for the Turkes as hee
could, killing of them sometimes 100, sometime 150, and sometimes 200, as they fell into his
danger. And to ease his stomacke against *Emir Chan* (who sitting still at TAVRIS as it were to
behold his miserie, would not so much as shake a sword against these spoiling Turkes) he spared L
not to dispatch certaine horsemen in hast to the king at CORAZAN, and by eloquent letters to
amplifie the cowardise of *Emir Chan*; intermedling withall some causes of suspicion, that he had
some intelligence with the Turkish Generall.

Ferat hauing thus built this new fort at REIVAN, as *Amurath* had commanded, and furnished
it with artillerie, and all other things needfull for the defence thereof; appointed *Sinan Bassa* (the
sonne of *Cicala* a renegat of GENVA, and by *Selymus* the late emperor, in the flower of his youth
created Aga or capitaine of the Ianizaries) with a garriion of eight thousand souldiors to keepe
the same. And so departing thence, by the way of AGIA CHALASI, in ten daies arriued with
his armie at CHARS.

Ferat had not long stayed at CHARS, but strange news were brought thither, That *Mustassa* M
the Georgian (to whom *Amurath* had sent thirtie thousand duckats, by two of his Capigi and
two of his Chiaus, to haue by him beene conueyed to TEBLIS for the releefe of them in the
fort) was reuolted from the Turkish obedience, and being now become a rebell, had left that for-
tesse in manifest danger to yeeld, if by some other meanes it were not relieued. Which strange
nouelties

A nouelties exceedingly troubled the Generall: who to know the certaintie thereof, called before
him all such as were the messengers of this misfortune: by whom he was certainly enformed,
That *Mustassa*, the two Capigi, and the Chiaus, hauing put themselves vpon their way towards
TEBLIS with the treasure, guarded with a conuoy of fife hundred of his souldiors, in the mid
way had met with his cousin *Simon* the Georgian, by whom he was perswaded to returne againe
to his antient faith and religion, which he had to the great perill of his soule so prophane aban-
doned, and to shake off the seruice of *Amurath*, which would yeeld him no other recompence
than an hard and infamous captiuitie, and in the end some fraudulent and trecherous death: and
that his perswasion had so preuailed with *Mustassa*, that he caused the two Capigi and the Chia-
us to be apprehended and presently beheaded; and deuiding the treasure, with his said cousin
B had with him and his other kinsmen vowed a solemne and perpetuall confederacie: and so ha-
uing withdrawne themselves to their wonted passages, lay there in wait for such succours as
should by the Turkes be brought to TEBLIS.

When *Ferat* vnderstood these and such other particularities, he all in a furie swore that he
would not returne to ERZIRUM vntill he had put all the country of *Mustassa* to fire and sword:
yet first he thought it needfull to relieue TEBLIS, which would otherwise bee in danger to bee
yeilded to the enemy: and for that purpose made choice of *Hassan Bassa*, who in the last yeate
of the Generallship of *Mustapha* had most couragiously conueyed the like succours, and taken
Aliculi Chan. Vnto him therefore did the Generall assigne fortie thousand duckats, with other
prouision necessarie for that seruice, and for the more suretie appointed him fiftene thousand of
C the most choice and valiant souldiors in all the armie to conduct the same. In ten dayes space
Hassan Bassa went and came from TEBLIS, hauing in his journey too and fro had many skir-
mishes with the Georgians, wherein he lost some few men, without any other losse worth the
remembrance.

After this the Generall sent one *Resuan Bassa* with six thousand souldiors to spoyle the coun-
treie of *Mustassa* the Georgian the late renegate, but now become a rebell to the Turkes: which
Resuan, without any long stay ouerran all his territorie, burnt his townes, and committed most
vncouth outrages, which extended euen vnto the poore insensible trees, and carried away with
him many captiue soules, with much corne and cattell, like a raging tempest destroying whatso-
euer came in his way. Now was the Generall also retired to ARDACHAN, whether came *Resuan*
D to meet him with his foresaid bootie. But because they had now performed what they had be-
fore intended, and the approach of Winter perswaded their returne, they remoued from ARDACHAN,
and by the way of OLTI retired to ERZIRUM, from whence all the souldiors were li-
censed to depart to their feuerall places of abode, and a memoriall sent vnto *Amurath* of all the
actions had beene performed; and especially of the good seruice done by *Hassan Bassa*, who for
the same was now once againe honoured by the king with cloth of gold, a batleaxe and tar-
guet all gilt.

Ferat commeth
to Erzurum, and
there breaketh
up his armie.

About this time one *Podoloni* a gentleman of POLONIA, sent by *Stephen* king of POLO-
NIA to CONSTANTINOPLE, by the leaue of *Amurath* to buy certaine horses in ANATOLIA;
returning homewards with foure and twentie goodly horses which he had bought, was notwith-
standing the great Turks Passe, by his commaundement stayed vpon the way, all his men (in
E number foure and thirtie) slaine, excepting one boy, who getting into a wood escaped, and *Podoloni*
his head stricke off. The horses brought backe to CONSTANTINOPLE, were by the ap-
pointment of *Amurath* some bestowed into his owne stable, and the rest giuen among the
Bassas, oftentimes pointed at with the fingers of the Turkes in derision of the Polonian king.
This *Amurath* commaunded to be done in reuenge of an outrage done by the Polonian Cos-
sacks against the Turkes, whereof newes was but euen then brought to the Court.

The nine and twentieth day of Nouember of this present yeare 1583, died *Hama Cadim*, the
widow of the late emperor *Selymus* the second, and mother of this *Amurath*, and lieth buried
by her husband *Selymus* and his fife sonnes, strangled by their brother *Amurath*.

The death of
Hama Cadim,
Amurath his
mother.

All the rest of this yeare 1583 *Ferat* spent at ERZIRUM, and afterwards sent out his ordinarie
F commaundements to all the accustomed cities, to summon the souldiors against the next Spring
in the yeare 1584, gathering together a greater number of pioners and engineers than cuer had
beene gathered in these warres heretofore: and withall gaue it out, That he would goe to NAS-
SIVAN, and there doe great matters. At which report the Persians were much moued, and be-
gan

1584
Ferat raiseth a
new armie.

The Persian
king with a great
armie commeth
to Tauris.

gan to cast many things in their heads about it: but about all others the king, who vnderstanding G
at CASBIN of all that had before happened at REIVAN, and of the new preparations of the
Turkes, began to feare that they would this yeare passe to TAVRIS, or at least as was reported
to NASSIVAN, and in those places build new fortresses, to the great danger of the Persian em-
pire: and therefore retaining still such forces as he brought with him from HERR, and comman-
ding as many moe as he could out of all the cities that were subject vnto him, to follow him to
TAVRIS, he arrived there with his armie not long after the arrivall of *Ferat Bassa* at ERZIRUM.
This vnexpected comming of the Persian king with so great an armie to TAVRIS, filled the
world with expectation of great matters to have beene done by him against the Turkes: in-
much that *Ferat* the Generall, before he would proceed any further, thought it good to advertise
Amurath of the matter: declaring vnto him, That his desire was to goe to NASSIVAN, and H
there to build a fortress, according to his commaundement, so to lay open the passage to TAV-
RIS; but having received certain intelligence, That the Persian king was come to TAVRIS with
an huge armie, and full resolution to encounter him, he thought it his dutie not to put in executi-
on his aforesaid determination, without his expresse commaundement. Vnto whom Amurath
presently wrote backe, That the matter so standing, he should not goe to NASSIVAN, but onely
employ his forces to assure the passage of TOMANIS and LORI, that so the fort of TEF-
LIS might the yeare following be relieved by some small band, without sending of any great armie
for the conveying of succours thither. This new commaundement of his lord, *Ferat* kept secret
to himselfe, causing the rumour of his going to NASSIVAN to be more and more encreased, of
purpose to feed the opinion that the Persians had before conceived of his comming thither, and I
so deluding them, with lesse danger to build the forts he had intended, for the quiting of those
most dangerous passages of LORI and TOMANIS.

Vpon this resolution *Ferat* having gathered together his people, with all things necessa-
rie for his purpose, removed with his armie from ERZIRUM toward CHARS, where he stayed ten
dayes, to take a new survey both of his souldiours and provision. And so departing thence, set for-
ward toward LORI, sending before him *Hassan Bassa* with five thousand light horsemen to
scour the country euen to TOMANIS, and to learne what he possibly could of the enemies
purposes, and the state of GEORGIA. Which thing *Hassan* dutifully performed, speedily scour-
ing over all the woods, and disclosing all the passages from thence to LORI, and so to TOM-
ANIS, without meeting with any vpon whom to assay his valour, more than certaine robbers vpon K
the high way, whom he caused to be slaine (as men altogether ignorant of the Georgian and
Persian affaires) and their heads to be set on the tops of their lances, and so returned againe to
LORI: where having stayed one day, he met with the Generall, to whom he recounted all that
had happened in that his excursion. *Ferat* being come to LORI, there encamped his armie. This
place did sometime belong to *Simon* the Georgian, well strengthened with an high castle, com-
passed about with very deepe ditches and a thick wall, almost a mile in circuit, but was then some-
what weakened with time: it is distant from TEF-
LIS about two daies journey, of a carriers pace.
Vpon this castle *Ferat* seized, and having repaired the wals and strengthened the breaches, he
placed therein *Ali Bassa* of GRECE with seven thousand souldiours for the defence thereof, L
and planted vpon the wals two hundred small pieces of ordinance. And so when he had set
all things there in good order, departed thence with his armie towards TOMANIS; having
before commaunded *Ali Bassa* at some convenient time to fortifie SAITAN CHALASI, a cas-
tle about ten miles distant from LORI, and therein to place a convenient garrison of souldi-
ors and artillerie.

Ferat cutteth
downe a thicke
wood at Tomanis,
and buildeth a
fort vpon the
strait.

Fourte dayes were they going from LORI to TOMANIS, being ordinarily but one dayes
worke from the one place to the other: but now the Generall would needs so make it, to take
the spoile of those rich fields, abounding with corne, cattell, and fruit, and to leaue vnto the coun-
treys people a lamentable remembrance of his being there. At last being come to TOMANIS (in
times past a castle of *Simons*, but by reason of these warres, by him then abandoned) he began to
consult with the other captaines, how and where the fortress should be erected, for the assurance
of that country. But after many discourses, it was at last concluded not to fortifie in that castle,
as being too farre from the strait, to make that dangerous passage safe and secure; but to goe a lit-
tle further, and to build a fortress vpon the very mouth of the strait. So the armie marching for-
ward a few miles, at the very entrance of the narrow passage found the ruines of another castle, and

A and neere thereunto stayed themselves. This steepe headlong castle was so compassed round a-
bout with a thicke wood, which hindered all discouerie a farre off, that it was not conuenient to
found such a castle there, from whence their ordinance could neither auail them to whom the
defence thereof should be committed, neither endamage those that should come to offend it. And
therefore the Generall commanded, that every man with all his endenour should lay to his hand
for the cutting downe of that thicke wood, and making way through thicke and thin to lay it
for an open champaigne, that was before the receptacle of a thousand dangerous treacheries. In
very short space were the trees layed along on the ground, the place made lightsome and open,
and a very commodious situation prepared for the foundation of a castle. The plot of the old
ruined castle was compassed about with a wall of a thousand and seven hundred yards, and in the
middle thereof was erected a strong keepe, sundrie lodgings and chambers builded, and two
B hundred pieces of Ordinance distributed vpon the new wals. After that, the Generall sent *Ref-
san Bassa* and the *Bassa* of CARAMANIA with twenty thousand of his most choise souldiours, to
conuey succours to TEF-
LIS: who marching closely together in the direct way, in one day arri-
ued at the said fort; wherein they bestowed their supplies, and changing the Gouvernour thereof,
substituted in his rounge one *Bagli*, being then vpon this occasion onely called a *Bassa*. Vvhilst
Refsan yet lay thus encamped vnder TEF-
LIS, *Dau Chan* the brother of *Simon*, who in the be-
ginning of these warres, at the comming of *Mustapha* the Turkes Generall into GEORGIA, had
sied out of TEF-
LIS, came now with all his familie, offering himselfe as a subject and deuoted
vassall to the Turkish emperour; whom *Refsan* entertained with great promises and large as-
C surances of all good successe, according to his desire.

In the meane while newes were brought to *Simon*, That Generall *Ferat* staying at the straits
of TOMANIS with his armie, had sent *Refsan Bassa* with a farre lesse number than indeed he
had, to succour TEF-
LIS: Vpon which report he tooke courage to encounter *Refsan*, and to
giue him battell. Vpon which resolution without further delay being accompanied but with
four thousand Georgians, partly subjects of his owne; and partly of *Manuccians*, he with all
speed possible went against *Refsan*. But whilst *Simon* was going thitherwards, Generall *Ferat*
feeling the worst, had already by chance dispatched away the two *Bassas* of CARAMANIA
and MARAS, with ten thousand souldiours, to the end that joining themselves with the souldiours
of *Refsan*, they should at all adventures be so much the stronger. Now *Simon* going resolutely
D on, found *Refsan* encamped with six thousand souldiours onely at the foot of an hill, on the back
side whereof lay all the rest of his armie, and presently gaue a charge vpon him, when the souldi-
ors behind the hill being aware of his approach, were readie all at once with their weapons to re-
ceiue him: Vvhose now perceiuing his error, repented himselfe to haue so rashly assaulted his ene-
mies, seeing now no other remedie but to be vnto vndone. But seeing that he had now so farre
engaged himselfe, as that he could not by flight but encrease his grieue and make the issue more
lamentable; with those few souldiours which he had he endured the furie of the great armie of
Refsan, so that on both sides there was joynd a most cruell battell: wherein the strange and vn-
usuall valour of those few Christians was much to be wondered at. Yet in the end the huge num-
ber of the Turkish swords and speares so preuailed vpon that small number of the Georgians, as
E that they were brought to great extremitie: yea *Simon* himselfe having his horse slaine vnder
him, fell downe headlong to the ground; and in his fall was very neere to haue beene taken pri-
soner, as was his lieutenant and many other his followers, had he not beene relieved by an vnex-
pected and marvellous chance: for whilst the battell was euen at the greatest heat betwene
them, *Refsan* discovered the two *Bassas* of CARAMANIA and MARAS, who (as is before said)
were newly sent by Generall *Ferat* to succour him, but both by the said *Refsan* and also by the
rest of his armie were indeed thought to be Persians; whereupon they were incontinently sur-
prised with a sudden feare, inso much that they now became very doubtfull of the victorie, wher-
of they thought themselves before assured. In this suspence and doubtfullnesse of mind the bat-
tell was also intermitted, and the victorie by the sight of those their friends disturbed: whereby
F the Georgians, and especially *Simon*, whose state was almost desperat, tooke the opportunitie to
the escape and saue themselves, leauing behind them most sure signes of their valour among the
Turkes; of whom many remained there slaine, many wounded, and many filled with great mar-
uell and vnexpected feare. Thus escaped poore *Simon* with the remainder of his followers into
his knowne places of refuge, there to bewaile the death and captiuitie of his subjects. But *Refsan*
after

The compass of
the castle built
at Tomanis by
Ferat.

Simon in danger
to haue beene ta-
ken, escapeth by
a strange chance.

after he had discouered the Bassaes approaching towards him, to be his knowne friends and well-willers, fletted in himselfe exceedingly, that *Simon* had so escaped his hands: yet holding on his way to *TOMANIS*, he arriued there in great triumph, drawing the standers of *Simon* all along the ground, and causing many of the heads of the Georgians to be carried vpon his souldiours launces, to the great joy of Generall *Ferat*; to whom he deliuered all the prisoners taken in the battell, and wicked *Daut Chan*, who having in times past renounced his first faith, was become a Persian, and now againe despising the vaine superstition of the Persians, had yeelded himselfe to the vanitie of the Turkes, and made himselfe a voluntarie slaue to *Amurath*.

Now was the yeare so farre spent, that euery man began to feare the *W*inters approach, and therefore the Generall determined to remoue thence, and to withdraw himselfe into places of more safetie. And so hauing set all things in order in the new fort, he appointed *Hassan* to be the Bassa of *TOMANIS*, and left with him eight thousand select souldiours, chosen out of all the armie for the defence of that fort, and the countrey thereabout. Deepely had *Ferat* layed vp the outrage committed by *Musuffa* the Georgian (being now returned to his old name of *Manucchiar*) in taking away the kings treasure, and killing the wife *Capigi* and the Chiaus: and therefore he resolved with himselfe not to returne to *CHARS* OF *ERZIRUM*, vntill he had first passed into the countrey of the said Georgian, and in most cruel manner reuenged those notable injuries before receiued. In three daies he arriued at *TRABALA*, and there encamped. But lying there such an vnwonted dearth and scarcitie of all things rise in the armie, but especially of victuals, that euery siue bushels and an halfe of *W*heat was sold for five hundred duckars, to the vniuersall calamitie of the whole armie.

From this place the Generall was minded to goe on forwards towards the countrey of *Manucchiar*, but whiles he was vpon the raising of his tents, one *Veis Bassa* of *ALBPO*, came vnto him and told him, That it was not good now to spend the time in wandering about those countreys, for that there were three very great enemies confederat together, to make this enterprise very difficult, and almost impossible and desperat: one was the season of the yeare, being now full of snowes, frosts, and tempests; another was, the want and scarcitie of all things necessarie, especially of victuall; the third was, the people of *GEORGIA*, who by a common vniting of themselves together, and peraduenture aided by the Persians, might worke some notable mischeefe against the armie. This speech of *Veis* so much offended the Generall; that he most sharply rebuked him, and with bitter tearmes reproued him, telling him flatly, That he well perceived he was brought vp among mountaines and villages, and of a villaine (as he was) vpon some superfluitie of grace, or foolish importunitie, aduanced to the honour of a Bassa; and that therefore he should not haue presumed so much as to think it lawfull for him, so impudently and malapertly to come and giue him such aduertisements; whereas it had bene his dutie rather to haue held his peace, and to haue hearkened vnto the commaundements of his betters and superiors, yeelding himselfe obedient and deuoted with all his power to performe the same. With this rebuke the Generall passed on to *ARCHALECH*, burning and in a manner destroying the countrey before him, though indeed it was in amitie and confederacie with the Turkes. But the inhabitants of *ARCHALECH* vpon the comming of the Turkes had abandoned the citie, and for feare withdrawne themselves into the mountaines. In *ARCHALECH* *Ferat* encamped, & staid the space of foure daies among the rockie crags and in a barren soyle, yeelding necessarie sustenance neither for man nor beast; so that euery man there endured vnspokeable miseries: yet for the space of foure dayes the souldiours with patience endured this so great a calamitie. But in the end the fall of an huge snow being added to these extremities, did so greatly encrease their griefes, that all the *Ianizaries* and *Spaoglans* of *CONSTANTINOPLE* arose in a tumult, and comming before *Ferat*, in despightfull and contemptuous manner with very haughtie and resolute tearmes said vnto him:

And how long shall we endure this thy tedious and insolent government? Where is the due commiseration that thou oughtest to beare towards the vassales of thy Soueraigne, thou rusticall and vnreasonable captaine? Dost thou thinke happily, that we keepe our harlots as thou dost vnder thy sumptuous pavillions, all fat and in good plight, with delicate viands, whilest others live in miserie? Dost thou beleeue that we haue, as thou hast, our daintie sugars, spices, and conserues, whereby to restore vs in the common calamitie of others? And that we haue at commaund meat and precious wines, which thou minglest with thy cleare and pleasant waters, partly provided for thee by the art of the cunning doctors,

A doctors, and partly brought to thee from farre places? From this day forward it will be no longer endured, that so much people should continue in this famine, afflicted with nakednesse, and many other inconueniencies: and therefore get thy selfe vp, and returne toward ERZIRUM, otherwise we shall be enforced to doe that which will breed more displeasure vnto thee, than to any man aliue.

The Generall in a great agonie presently called a counsell, wherein it was concluded, That they should all send their strong sumpter horses to *ARDACHAN*, and the rest to follow him into *Manucchiars* countrey, whither he had appointed to go, onely to make an intode, and with the spoile and bootie of that countrey to refresh the minds of his souldiours afflicted with the miseries both past and present. This commandement of the Generall they all readily obeyed, as well because he promised them a speedie voyage, as also for that euery man desired the sacke of *ARTYNCHALA*, and other the territories of *Manucchiar*. So *Ferat* holding on his journey through certaine low vallies betwene the high and craggie mountaines, continually accompanied with great famine and scarcitie, at length brought his armie to *CLISCA*, a place belonging to *Manucchiar*, but as then for feare of the Turkes quite abandoned and forsaken by the inhabitants; who with their wiues and children and all the best stuffe they had, were fled into remote and safe places, vntill the furie of the enemy were ouerpassed. In the fields neere vnto this place (abounding with corne and cattell & plentie of fruit) the Generall refreshed his whole armie, and hoping that all the souldiours would like it well to stay a while in such good ease, determined with himselfe to erect a fort in that place. And with this resolution gaue commaundement to *Resuan Bassa* to go vp to the tower, and in the top thereof to set vp an ensigne with a proclamation and publike report, That he would in the name of *Amurath* there erect a fort, and fortifie it as he had the other forts before. *Resuan* accompanied with *Amurath* the Bassa of *CARAMANIA*, according to the commaundement of the Generall, in the top of the tower set vp an ensigne or two: which as soone as the souldiours had espied, the forenamed *Ianizaries* and *Spaoglans*, thinking themselves too much abused by their Generall, arising againe all in an vprore, replenished with furie and indignation, ran vp in a rage to take downe the ensignes that were set vp vpon the tower, and taking them in their hands, rapt the said *Resuan* once or twice about the pate, discharging withall a thousand injurious and despightfull words vpon him, and sharply rebuked him. And then returning to the Generall (who was now come thither himselfe to countenance the action of *Resuan*) with gestures full of despight, contempt, and disdain, reuiling him with many shamefull and scornfull tearmes, they protested vnto him:

That they were not come to the warres to exercise the occupation of masons and dawbers, and to be employed in such vile and dishonourable offices, but onely to mannage their weapons, and thereby to demerit their ordinarie wages, and to purchase to themselves glorie and renoume at the kings hands. And therefore if he loued his head, and would not see those armes turned against himselfe which hitherto had bene the reuengers of the enemies iniuries, he should resolve with himselfe to leaue these new buildings and these vnseasonable designments, and giuing place to the contrarie season of the yeare, to haue due care of their common desires and necessitie.

While they were yet thus expostulating the matter with him, one more bold than the rest, and more forgetfull of his dutie, did not sticke to assault the Generall, and to threaten him to wreake his furie vpon him: which in that tumult had happily bene done, had not the Bassa of *CARAMANIA* lent the Generall his owne horse, and so conducted him to his pavilion. Yet was he neuertheless still pursued by the tumultuous souldiours, and againe sharply accused for the stay that he made there, and for not resolving presently to remoue thence: and at last after many reproachfull speeches told expressly, That if he did not the next morning remouue out of those quarters, without all faile he should loose his life for it. For all that, *Ferat* disdainfully yeelded to them that should of dutie haue been readie and obedient at euery becke of his, and seeking by all means (notwithstanding all this stirre) to stay there so long time as should be sufficient to build a fort; that would so much offend *Manucchiar*, answered them againe.

That he made no account of their threatening him with his life, which he had alwaies offered to lay downe for any seruice of his king. But if they had no care to serue their soueraigne in this new building,

A wonderfull dearth in the Turke army at Trabala.

The insolent speech of the tumultuous souldiours against Ferat their Generall.

The mutinous souldiours against their Generall.

The flowe of Ferat.

ding, they might go their waies; as for himselfe, he was resolutely minded to obey his lord in whatsoever he had commaunded him, for the honour of whom, euerie one of them ought to thinke their lines werie well bestowed.

The souldiours
ouerthrow the
Generalls tents,
and threaten to
kill him.

Vpon this answere there followed diuers railings and cursings against the king, against the Generall, and against them all; and in this confused tumult euerie man betooke himselfe to his weapons: in euerie corner was heard grumblings and whisperings, full of wrath and indignation: so that there was a great feare of some dangerous euent, but greater was the suspition of the Generalls life. And now euerie man had withdrawne himselfe to the guarding of such things as he esteemed most; when suddenly and in a trice you might haue seen the paulions of all the Bassaes and captaines fall downe flat to the ground, all the cords therof being cut in sunder by the wrath. H full souldiours: and as it were in a moment, all the muttons and other cattell which the Generall and Bassaes led with them for their ordinarie vse, were seized vpon by the same souldiours, and guarded with all diligence possible. And so farre was it off that any man durst challenge or reuenge this their insolencie, that they themselues turning afresh vpon their Generall (being now in a maze and deadly feare) began now the third time to threaten him, that if he did not forthwith remoue from those countries, and turne his iourney towards ERZIRUM, those vallies and fields should without all faile become the sepulchers of the Bassaes, and those hills retaine the eternall memorie of so bloudie a day.

With a litle liberalitie might the Generall haue done with this people whatsoever he had listed, but being loth to gratifie them with any thing, he was enforced to performe their proud and arrogant demands, and to his great shame to obey them whom with right vsage he might haue made obedient to himselfe: and therefore to auoid their despightfull threats, to his exceeding great reproach, he was glad euen as they had commanded to remoue out of those quarters. The first day he arriued at ARDACHAN, with the great trouble of all his souldiours: for whereas the journey was wont to be two waies worke ordinarily, as well in respect of the length of the way as the difficultie of the passage, the Generall would now needs haue it done in one, the rather thereby to grieue his souldiours. But of this his wilfulnesse, he receiued euen the same day the just reward; for that the chariots wherein his women rode, were conuaued away, together with the eunuchs that were their keepers: some say by the Georgians, that lay in wait for such a prey; some others say by the Ianizaries, who the more to dishonour their Generall wrought him this iniurie.

Ferat at Arda-
chan breaketh
up his campe.

Great was the reproach that Ferat receiued in the armie, but farre greater at CONSTANTINOPLE, when these newes were there knowne: but there was no remedie, he must now perforce endure it, and discontented as he was, keepe on his way towards ERZIRUM. In ARDACHAN he tooke a surceigh of his armie, and there gaue his souldiours leaue to depart: himselfe afterwards arriuing at ERZIRUM, hated of all his souldiours, enuied by his captaines, derided for the losse of his women, and fallen into the disgrace of euerie man. No lesse than the rest was the Turkish emperour discontented with him also: first for that he had done nothing worth the speaking of, in reuenge of the shamefull iniurie done by Manucchiar the Georgian, and yet so mightily discontented his souldiours: and secondly, for that without any care he had suffered Aliculi Chan the Persian prisoner to escape away; about whose flight it was thought he could not chuse but haue some intelligence. For Ferat, after he was by new order from the court to diuert his journey from NASSIVAN to the straits & narrow passages of GEORGIA, being desirous to be thoroughly enformed of those dangerous waies; in this second yeare when he remoued from ERZIRUM, tooke Aliculi Chan out of prison, of purpose to vse him as his guide in those dangerous straits, and therefore carried him vnder a guard (whatsoever it was afterwards) of his most faithfull vassals, still intreating him well, and taking such order as that he wanted nothing: at last being come to the straits of TOMANIS in GEORGIA, where the Castle (as we haue before said) was erected, he from thence secretly escaped into PERSIA. The manner of his escape is diuersly reported: some say that Ferat in discharge of his promise, for his good direction had gratified him with M his libertie: others say, that Ferat corrupted with money, gaue him opportunitie to escape; some others (with more probabilitie) that this escape was made, neither for money nor discharge of promise, but by the onely vigilancie of Aliculi himselfe, and the sleepe of his keepers; and that watching the opportunitie of the night (a friend to all escapes) he started away. Howso-

After it was, in fine, hee was deliuered from his long captiuitie to the discredit of Ferat, and returned into PERSIA, to performe such enterprises against the Turkes, as shall bee hereafter declared.

Generall Ferat (before his departure out of GEORGIA) had commaunded the Bassa of the dangerous Castle called SATTAN CHASI (in our language, the Castle of the Dimall) which how with great diligence performed, and left therein fiftie pieces of artilerie, and a thousand souldiours vnder the charge of a Sanzacke: and so quieted the passages from fort to fort, as that all the waies from REIVAN to CHARS, and from CHARS to TEHLIS were made easie and safe, and all the means taken away whereby the enimie might be able to plot any new treacherie vpon those passages: B which was no small piece of good seruice. The Persian king in the meane time lying at TAVRIS with his armie, vnderstanding that the Turkes had changed their purpose from NASSIVAN to GEORGIA, so that there was no further need to employ his armie against them for the defence of TAVRIS or NASSIVAN, at last resolved with himselfe to licence his souldiours to depart, and to apply himselfe to more priuat reuenges. For calling Emir Chan vnto him, whom he had left Gouverneur of TAVRIS, and Generall for that part of his kingdome; he required of him the occasion, why he had not performed the great promises which he had made to him before his departure to HAR, nor done his endeour to hinder the Turkes Fabrik at REIVAN: and why he went not out with other souldiours appointed for that purpose, and namely with the Turcomans (as he had promised) to reuenge so great an iniurie, and in best manner he could, to haue endamaged the Turkish forces. Sundrie excuses did Emir Chan alleadge for the colouring of his manifest default, but none sufficient to cleare him of the crimes objected against him by the king and the Sultans: wherefore he was by the king adjudged to haue his eyes burnt out with an hoar yron; and so deprived of his sight, to be deposited of all his goods and shut vp in close prison. Which heauie doome was without further delay accordingly put in execution: whereof within the space of a few moneths, the wicked Chan (but yet a famous souldior) miserably died in prison. Whose death so highly offended the Turcoman nation (who had him alwaies in great estimation) that they absolutely denied their defences for the crowne of PERSIA: and the more, when they heard that the king had bestowed the roume of Emir Chan vpon Aliculi; who although he had in many respects deserued all preferment, yet for that he was an auncient enimie to certaine Turcoman captaines, they would not in any wise endure that he should be exalted to so great an honour. And therefore they waxed more disdainfull and ill affected towards the king, whereby the Persian forces became the more weakened and diuided.

The Turkes notwithstanding the league yet in force betweene Amurath and Rodolph the Christian emperour that now is, did many times make incursions into the vpper part of HUNGARIE, burning the country villages, and carrying away the people into captiuitie: but in their returne, they were oftentimes cut off by the emperours souldiours, and slaine. Which being reported at CONSTANTINOPLE much moued the Turkish tyrant: but when he vnderstood that his men had without any cause made those inrodes into the territorie of the Christians, and so received the foresaid losses, he was againe appealed, and in the beginning of this yeare 1584, renewed the league betwixt him and the emperour for eight yeares more.

Ferat from ERZIRUM aduertised Amurath of all that had happened in his late expedition, desiring him to commaund what he would haue taken in hand the next Spring. But besides this information from him, there wanted not many others which did the like also, although in another manner: declaring vnto the king (and that in an odious sort) the whole proceedings of Ferat, the escape of Aliculi Chan, the shamefull losse of his women, his quarrels with the Ianizaries, his falling out with Vies Bassa, a man well regarded of Amurath himselfe, the disorders of his whole campe for his want of discretions; and to be short, the particularities of all such actions as had not altogether so honourably been by him performed that yeare: causes of themselves sufficient to induce the king to remoue the said Ferat from his Generallship. To which occasions, were also added, sundrie other secret respects: for euer since the last departure of Ferat from ERZIRUM, Amurath had still in his head, the next yeare following to attempt the enterprise of TAVRIS, and thereby to stirre vp through the world, a famous report of his conquests correspondent to his greatnesse. Now among the captaines whom he esteemed to be worthe men,

Amurath's
death for Osman
into Shwan.

to whom he might with trust commit this so great an enterprise, he bethought himselfe of *Osman Bassa*, left at *SYMACHIA* in *SIRVAN* by Generall *Mustapha* in the first yeare of this warre: who having in that prouince remained euer since, had without any helpe of the Tartarians; by his owne industrie and valour, to the great contentment of *Amurath*, brought that large countrey into a reasonable obedience of the Turkish empire: and that which most of all pleased the Turkish emperor, had in a countrey so farre distant maintained his armie; wherewith he had done all this without any expences at all to his king; having now a good while leuied his souldiours stipends vpon the lands and territories of that region; and still exercised a kind of government and soueraigntie ouer those places. Of all which his good proceedings, he had caused intelligence from time to time to be sent vnto the court: by which meanes, and other fauours which he had about the king, there was fostered in the mind of *Amurath* a wonderfull good opinion of him; so that now without delay he resolved to send for him to *CONSTANTINOPLE*, and for that purpose, before *Feras* was arrived at *ERZIRUM*, he had dispatched certaine *Capigi* and *Chiaus* to call this famous warrior vnto him: yet wanted there not some (and those not of the meanest sort) that went about to hinder both his comming to the court; and also these designments of so great importance. For *Sciaus* the chiefe Visier (who rather for the comeliness of his person and alliance with the king, than for any other his vertues, was mounted to that high roome) did greatly feare least *Osman*, whose course it was to sit next vnto him in the order of the greatest Bassaes, partly for his experience in matters of warre, and partly for the good affection the king did beare vnto him, should at his comming to *CONSTANTINOPLE* persuade the king to what he listed, and so peraduenture take from him the chiefeest office, and get into his hands the whole government of the empire, whereby so great wealth was to be gained. Wherefore to rid himselfe of these feares, he cast about by all meanes to keepe him from comming to the Court: but because that to attempt the same openly, might proue a matter both difficult and dangerous, he thought it better to make triall of a more commodious and secret meanes. This *Sciaus* in consideration of many gifts bestowed vpon him by *Mahomet* the Cumman Tartar king, had many times excused him to *Amurath* of diuers accusations which *Osman* by his letters had laid to his charge, For not aiding him in the subduing of *SIRVAN*, as he was both by promise and dutie bound: and for all his oversights alleadged such reasons in his behalfe, as if they did not altogether persuade *Amurath* to be kind vnto him, yet at the least not to carrie a mind of reuenge against him: and had so far proceeded in countenancing this Tartarian king, that there was betwixt them confirmed an interchangeable amitie and mutuall confederacie. Him *Sciaus* imagined to find willing and readie by all meanes possible, to hinder the comming of *Osman* his enemy to the Court, if he were but made acquainted with the matter. And therefore *Sciaus*, as soone as he vnderstood the certaine resolution of *Amurath* to call *Osman* to the Court, secretly wrote to the Tartar king, who lay encamped nere to the haven of *CAPPA* vpon the Fens of *MEOTIS*, certifying him, That *Osman* was to come to the Court, and that therefore it were good for him to call to mind, how great an enemy he had been to him, and how much he had endeouored by letters to *Amurath*, to turne all his hatred and displeasure against him: and withall, That if he was able to doe so much by letters, as if *Sciaus* had not defended him with verie reasonable excuses, the king had executed his wrathfull indignation vpon him to his great danger; he should then imagine with himselfe, what *Osman* should be able to doe when he should come in person to the presence of *Amurath*, and without any mediator, betwene themselves determine of all matters what they should thinke conuenient. These, and peraduenture worse letters which *Sciaus* wrote to the Tartar, ministred matter enough vnto him to resolve to doe what he might, not to suffer so pernicious an enemy of his to arrive at *CONSTANTINOPLE*: and especially perceiuing that *Sciaus*, in whose breast he reposed all his hope and all his protection, did so greatly feare his comming. Wherefore to rid himselfe of that feare, he commaunded twelue thousand souldiours, that changing their weapons and apparell, they should go and lie in wait for *Osman* in the borders betwene *COLCHIS* and *IBERIA*, towards the Tartarian Nomades, by which way he was to come; and so making an assault vpon him, to bereaue him of his life. Hoping that such an outrage once done could not, or would not be imputed to his procurement, but rather to the Tartar Nomades, or to the Mengrellians, or to the Georgians, or to the Moscouites, or to the robbers by the high way; and to be short, rather to any bodie else than to him. This commaundement of the Tartar king, was accordingly by the souldi-

The Tartar King
sendeth twelue
thousand Tar-
tars to lie in wait
for to kill Osman

ors put in practise: who without further stay joyned themselves together, and so rode towards the place appointed.

And now were the messengers sent from *Amurath*, come to *Osman*, who readily put himselfe on his way towards *CONSTANTINOPLE*, having left behind him at *DERBENT* and *SYMACHIA* two Bassaes, thought to be the most sufficient men in *SIRVANIA*; having also appointed very good orders in the same, and an assured establishment of all those countreies and places which *Mustapha* first had subdued, and he himselfe had afterwards maintained vnder the obedience of *Amurath*. He had also provided for the safetie of his own person, in passing those troublesome and dangerous passages through which he was to trauell, by chusing out foure thousand souldiours which he had tried in diuers battels, and brought vp vnder his own discipline; through whose valour he doubted not safely to passe through the treacheries of the Albanians, and the populous squadrons as well of the Tartarians as of the Mengrellians.

Thus departed he from *DERBENT*, and coasting along the rockes of *CANCAVS* (that at all times of the yeare are all white and hoarie with continuall snowes) leaving on his left hand *MEDIA*, *IBERIA*, and *CHOLCHIS*, and on the right hand the famous riuers of *Tanais* and *Volga*, euen at his first entrance vnto the shores of the Euxine sea, he was by the abouenamed twelue thousand Tartarians, being apparelled like theeues that lie vpon those wayes, suddenly assailed and fought withall. But like as an huge rocke lying open to tempests and waues, standing fast and vnmoueable in it selfe, resisteth the thunderings and rushings of the great and fearefull billowes: so stood *Osman* fast and firme, and couragiously sustained this trecherous assault, turning the bold countenances of his resolute souldiours against the rebellious multitude of those traiterous squadrons: who as is their manner in the beginning vsed great force, but finding so stout resistance in those few, whom they had thought with their onely lookes and shoutings to haue put to flight, they began at length to quail. Which *Osman* quickly perceiuing, couragiously forced vpon them, and in a very short space and with a very small losse of his owne, put those Tartarians to flight, killing a number of them, and also taking many of them prisoners: by whom *Osman* was afterwards informed (as the truth was) that their king for feare that he had conceiued, least when he came to *CONSTANTINOPLE* he would procure his destruction from *Amurath*, had sent this armie to seeke his death. Of which treason *Osman* caused a perfect proceffe to be made, together with the depositions of the Tartarian prisoners, which he sent the shortest way he could deuise to *Amurath* at *CONSTANTINOPLE*; with letters declaring all that had passed, enflaming him to reuenge so grievous an iniurie and so wicked a practise. *Amurath* receiving these aduertisements from *Osman*, according to the necessitie of the matter tooke order that *Vluçales* his Admirall with certaine gallies well appointed, should passe ouer to *CAPPA* to fetch *Osman*; and withall to carrie with him *Islan*, a brother of the Tartar kings, commanding *Osman* by letters, that he should (to the terrour of others) put to death the treacherous king, and place his brother in his roome.

This Tartar king was one of those mightie princes, who basely yeelding to the *Othoman* power, led vnder them a most vile and troublesome life, as their tributaries and vassals, always at commaund: whose yonger brother *Islan* (presuming of the sufficiencie of himselfe and the fauour of the people) going to *CONSTANTINOPLE*, became a surer vnto the Turkish emperor, to haue his eldest brother thrust out of his kingdome, as a man for his euill government hated of his subjects, and to be placed himselfe in his roome. Which his fute was so crossed by the embassadours of the king his brother, who spared for no cost in the behalfe of their master, that the ambitious youth was sent from the Turkes Court to *ICONIUM*, and there clapt fast vp in prison: where apparelled like an Eremit, he led his life altogether conformable to his miserie, with such a kind of externall innocence, as if he had beene void of all hope or ambitious desire of a kingdome, but rather like a forlorne and unhappie wretch with vaine affliction and impious deuotion to prepare himselfe to a laudable and honourable death. But whilest he thus liued, sequestred from all worldly cogitations, vpon the discouerie of the king his brothers rebellion he was in more than post hast sent for to *CONSTANTINOPLE*, and put into the gallies bound for *CAPPA*, with letters to *Osman* of the tenor aforesaid. Now in the meane time *Osman* had by cunning means got into his hands this Tartar king, being as is reported betrayed by his owne counsellours, corrupted with the Turkes gold: whom with his two sonnes *Osman* vpon the receit of the aforesaid letters from *Amurath*, caused to be presently strangled with a bowstring, and *Islan* his younger in his stead.

O o o o j j

Osman assaulted
by twelve thou-
sand Tartars.

Osman overcometh
the Tartars

Osman strangled
Malomet the Tartar king
with his two sons
and placed
Islan his brother
younger in his stead.

younger brother to be saluted king in his place, yet as vassale to *Amurath*. This shamefull death, the vsuall reward of the Turkish friendship, was thought iustly to haue happened vnto this Tartar king, for that he not long before, supported by *Amurath*, had most vnnaturally deposed his aged father from that kingdome, just vengeance now prosecuting his so great disloyaltie.

Osman embarking himselfe in the forenamed gallies at the port of *CAPPA*, passing ouer the Euxine sea, and entering into the Thracian Bosphorus, arriued at *CONSTANTINOPLE*, where he was receiued with great pompe and singular significations of good loue. But with most euident and expresse kinds of joy was he saluted by *Amurath* himselfe, when by his owne speech and preface he declared vnto him euery particularitie of the matters that had happened in his long and important voyage, and in liuely manner represented vnto him the perils and trauels that he had passed, and the conquests that he had made in *SIRVAN*. After all which discourses *Amurath* who longed after nothing more than to see the Persian king somewhat bridled, and the famous citie of *TAVRIS* brought vnder his own subiection, began to enter into conference with

Amurath demands *Osman's* opinion concerning the enterprise of *Tauris*.

Osman's resolution.

Osman about that enterprise, and in the end would needs throughly know of him, what issue he could promise him of this his desire; and in what sort by his aduice and counsell the forces should be employed, and the armies disposed for the subduing of that citie, which ouer all the nations of the world was so famous and so great an honour to the Persian kingdome. To all which demands his answere and resolution was, That for so much as the matters of *GEORGIA* were now well settled, the trecherous passages by the new built forts assured, and the prouince of *SIRVAN* vnder his obedience established, there was now no cause why he should any longer follow so famous an enterprise, but by the conquest of *TAVRIS*, &c erecting of a fort in that proud citie, to bring a terrour vpon all *PERSIA*, and to raise a glorious renoune of so mightie a conquest among the nations of *EVROPE*: for the accomplishment whereof he thought that either the same armie, or at the most a very little greater would suffice, so that it were raised of the best and choicest souldiours.

By reason of one of the letters which *Sciaus Bassa* had written to the late Tartar king, and by the instigation of the young Sultan *Mahomets* mother (jealous of the neere alliance of the great Bassa with her husband, as prejudiciall and dangerous to her sonne) *Amurath* had in the open Diuano deposed the said *Sciaus* from the office of the cheefe Visier, and hardly pardoning him his life, at the intercession of his wife, being his sister, had banished him the Court, so that he liued afterwards about *CALCEDON*, vpon the borders of *ASIA*, not far from *CONSTANTINOPLE*. *K* In a close pallace he had there built for his owne pleasure: in whose rounge he appointed *Osman* to be cheefe Visier; and to honour him the more, nominated him the Generall of his armie against the Persians. Such power hath vertue, that euen from the very scum of the rascall sort, and out of the rustickall rout of mountaine peasants (which notwithstanding cannot be truly justified of this *Osman*, his father being Beglerbeg of *DAMASCO*, and his mother the daughter of the Beglerbeg of *BABILON*) it doth oftentimes in the course of this variable world draw diuers men into princes Courts, and aduance them to the highest dignities. Truth it is, that from a priuat souldiour, though well borne, he by sundrie degrees grew vp to the highest honours of that so great an empire, and was at one instant created the cheefe Counsellor and Generall of the *Othoman* forces. Great was the joy that *Osman* conceived hereat, and great was the desire hee had to make himselfe worthe of so honourable fauours; and the greater confidence he perceived that *Amurath* had reposed in him, the more eagerly was hee spurred on to doe any thing possible whereby he might shew himselfe to haue deserued the same. And therefore aduising with himselfe, that for as much as the greatnesse of the enterprise required a greater armie than was leuiued in former yeares, so it was necessarie also for him the sooner to send out his aduertisements into all his subiect prouinces, and by his owne example to stirre vp the other capitaines and souldiours, euen in the Winter (though it were as yet somewhat troublesome) to passe ouer to *SCYTARIA*, and from thence to *ANQORI*, to *AMASIA*, to *SIVAS*, and there in those territories to drine out the time, vntill his souldiours which were summoned were all gathered together. And because vpon this his great speed it might peraduenture fall out, that the enemy misdoubting his purpose for *TAVRIS*, might prouide a greater armie than they would otherwise, he caused it to be giuen out, That he must goe for *NASSIVAN*; to the end, that the Persians be beguiled, should not regard the gathering of so mightie an armie as they would haue done if they should haue heard of the Turkes comming to *TAVRIS*: and so the generall coufening rumor flew, not only through

Osman Bassa made cheefe Visier and Generall of the armie.

A through all the cities subject to the Turkes, but into the countries of the Persian also: who not withstanding being very jealous of the citie of *TAVRIS*, and fearing that the matter would fall out, as indeed afterwards it did, ceased not to make most curiuous and diligent enquire about it: And although the disgrace offered to his embassadour at *CONSTANTINOPLE*, dissuaded him from sending any other for treatie of peace: yet to spie out the secrets of the Turkes, and to vnderstand the certaintie of their purpose for *NASSIVAN* or *TAVRIS*, he sent diuers messengers to *Osman*, as if he had meant to feele his mind touching a peace, but in very deed for nothing els but to sound his designements: which for all that he could not with all the cunning he could vse, possibly discouer, but still remained doubtfull as at the first, the same still running for *NASSIVAN*.

B In the beginning of this yeare, now growing towards an end, *Amurath* sent one *Mustapha*, one of the meanest of his Chiaus, vnto *Stephen* king of *POLONIA*, to excuse the death of *Podolonus* (so shamefully murdered, as is before declared): as if the same had happened by the infolencie of certaine souldiours, and not by his commaundement: who the better to colour the matter, had brought with him two base fellowes, as authors of that outrage, for the king to take reuenge vpon; but were indeed no such men as they were pretended to be, but rather (as it was thought) men before condemned for some other fact worthe of death, and now sent thither to serue this purpose: for whom the Chiaus (in proud and threatening manner in the name of his master) required to haue present restitution made of all such goods as the Polonian Cossackes had not long before taken from the Turkes, and the capitaine of the said Cossackes to be deliuered also vnto him, to be carried to *Amurath*: and so hardly vrged the matter, that (notwithstanding the vnworthie death of *Podolonus* and his followers, and the taking away of his horses) all the goods taken by the Cossackes, were forthwith restored: which the Chiaus almost in triumphant manner presented vnto *Amurath* at *CONSTANTINOPLE*.

This Summer also *Amurath* disposing himselfe with his Muts, was almost dead. These Muts are lustie strong fellowes, deprivied of their speech; who neuerthelesse by certain signes can both aptly expresse their owne conceits, and vnderstand the meaning of others: these men for their secretie are the cruell ministers of the Turkish tyrants: most horrible commaunds, and therefore of them had in great regard. With these Muts mounted vpon faire and fat but heauie and vnreadie horses, was *Amurath*, vpon alight and readie horse, sporting himselfe (as the manner of the Turkish emperours is) riding sometime about one, sometime about another, and striking now the horse now the man at his pleasure; when suddenly he was taken with a fit of the falling sicknesse, his old disease, and so falling from his horse, was taken vp for dead: insomuch, that the Ianizaries supposing him to haue bene indeed dead, after their wonted manner fell to the spoiling of the Christians and Iewes, and were proceeding to further outrages, had not their Aga or capitaine to restraine their infolencie, to the terror of the rest hanged vp one of them taken in the manner, and certaine others in the habit of Ianizaries. Neuerthelesse, *Amurath* shortly after recovered againe; and to appease that rumour of his death (openly vpon their Sabbath, which is the friday) rid from his pallace to the temple of *Sophia*; where I with many others saw him (saith *Leunclanius*) his countenance yet all pale and discoloured.

E This yeare also happened such a chance as had like to haue raised new warres betwixt the Turkes and the Venetians: which for as much as it is worth the reporting, I thought it not good in silence to passe ouer. The widow of *Ramadan Bassa*, late Gouvernour of *TRIPOLIS* in *BARBARIE*, with her sonne, her familie, and a great number of slaues of both sorts, being about to depart from *TRIPOLIS* to *CONSTANTINOPLE*, had rigged vp a faire galley for the transporting of her selfe and her substance, reported to be worth eight hundred thousand duckats: vnto which galley for her more safetie she had joynd two others, as comforts. Thus embarked, she came to the mouth of the Adriaticke, where sayling by *CORFU*, she was by force of tempest driuen into the gulfie of the Adriaticke. At which time one *Petrus Emus*, one of the Venetian Senatours, with certaine gallies had the charge for the keeping of that sea against pyrats and all other enemies wholoener. He hearing of the Turkes comming into the gulfie, without delay set vpon them, and being too strong for them, tooke them all: and hauing them now in his power, exercised most barbarous crueltie, as well vpon the women as the men: for hauing slaine the men, in number two hundred and fiftie, and the sonne of *Ramadan* in his mothers lap, he caused the women, being before rauished, to haue their breasts cut off, and afterwards to be cast ouerboard into

Io. Leuncl. sup. Annal. Turcorum, pag. 91.

A most barbarous outrage committed by *Petrus Emus* a Venetian.

into the sea, being in number about fortie. The brother of *Emus* chancing vpon a beautifull virgine, was by her most earnestly entreated to haue spared her honour; and the rather for that (as she said) she was a Christian, taken prisoner about twelue yeares before in *CYPRVS*, since which time she had liued in most miserable captiuitie among the Turkes, and being now fallen by good hap into the hands of a noble Venetian, was in good hope to be set at libertie inuiolated: which the most humbly besought him for the loue of God to doe, and not to embroie his hands with her guiltlesse blood, or to dishonour himselfe by forcing of her. But all she could say, preuailed nothing with the cruell and vnbrideled youth, who after he had at his pleasure abused her, cast her with the rest into the sea. It is thought that *Emus* suffered this so great an outrage (and so farre vnbecoming the honor of the Venetians) to be done, to the intent that none should be left alive to bewray the greatnesse of the bootie, or of the villanie there committed: which was neuertheless (God so appointing it) reuealed by one of the Turkes, who saued by a furlong of *CYPRVS*, which knew him, and afterwards comming to *CONSTANTINOPLE*, openly declared the same. With the odious report whereof the Turkes were so enraged, that in euery corner of the citie a man might haue heard them threatening vnto the Venetians most cruell reuenge: yea they had much adoe to hold their hands from the Bailo or Gouvernour of the Venetian marchants in *CONSTANTINOPLE*, and to forbear to spit in his face, as he went in the streets. At that time was one *Io. Franciscus Maurocenus* (or as they commonly called him, *Moresin*) Bailo at *CONSTANTINOPLE*: who vnderstanding that *Amurath* in his rage was about to send one of the great gentlemen of his Court, whom the Turkes call *Zausij* (the great Turkes vsuall ambassadors) to *VENICE* about that matter, found meanes to haue him stayed at *CONSTANTINOPLE*, and another of lesse authoritie sent to expositulat the matter with the Senat, and in the name of *Amurath* to require to haue the offendour punished, and the gallies with the slaues and goods restored: so should the league betwixt him and them continue firme, whereas otherwise he should be constrained by force of armes to reuenge the wrongs done to his subjects. This message being by the said messenger deliuered at *VENICE*, the Senatours after diligent examination of the matter, returned this answer: That the widow of *Ramadan* with her familie comming to *ZACYNTHVS*, an island of theirs, was there honourably entertained, and presented with certaine courteous presents; but departing thence, and comming to *CEPHELENTIA*, another of their islands, her people running on land, contrarie to the conditions of the league, made spoyle of whatsoever they could light vpon, sparing neither man nor beast: Of which their insolencie their Proueditor vnderstanding, and making after them, found them in armes within the gulfe; and comming neere vnto them, was neither by them saluted, as the manner at sea is, neither was any top saile stricke, in token that the command of that sea belonged vnto the Venetians, all which they ought by the league to haue done: for which their outrages and proud contempt their Proueditor had taken so sharpe a reuenge: neuertheless, they promised in that case to doe what befecemed them in reason and justice to doe, for the satisfying of his desire. With which so reasonable an answer *Amurath* seemed to be well contented, but being indeed loth to entangle himselfe with warres against that mightie State at sea, his warres against the Persians being not yet finished: yet shortly after *Emus* was for his dishonourable and cruell dealing with the ladie and her familie worthily condemned and beheaded, and the gallies with all the goods and slaues restored. This great woman had in those gallies foure hundred Christian slaues, all which vpon the taking of the gallies were (as the manner is) set at libertie, for whom the Venetians made restitution of as many others of the Turkes.

Ramadan Bassa, the husband of the aforesaid great ladie, was Gouvernour of *TRIPOLIS* in *BARBARIE* and of the countrey thereabouts: who hauing warres with one of the barbarous kings of the Moores, went out against him with all his forces, wherein were certaine companies of Ianizaries, sent by *Amurath* from *CONSTANTINOPLE*. Now in this countrey, as in many other places of *AFRICKA*, are great and desert sands, ouer which whofoeuer is to passe, must prouide himselfe both of victuals and skilfull guides, without which they are not without danger to be passed: *Ramadan* with his armie vnprouided both of the one and the other, hauing entered these deserts, was at length brought to that case, that he could neither goe forward, neither without losse of his men returne. Yet at length he retired, and got home, but not without the losse of some of his people, and the manifest danger of his whole armie: for which his improuidence the Ianizaries fell into such a rage, that not respecting the honour of the man, or regarding the

A displeasure of their soueraigne, they fell vpon him and slew him. At which their insolencie, if *Amurath* did winke, and passe it ouer vnpunished, let no man maruell: for why, the auncient obedience of those martiall men is not now as it was in former times, when they were with a more seuerer discipline gouerned; but now growne proud and insolent (as the manner of men is, liuing in continuall pay) with weapons in their hands doubt not to do whatsoeuer seemeth vnto themselues best; be it neuer so foule or vnreasonable. Which although it be in many places of this Historie to be seene; yet for the more manifestation thereof I thought it not amisse here briefly to set downe an example or two of their notorious insolencie.

Not many yeares before, the Ianizaries in *CYPRVS* with like insolencie slew *Achmetes Bassa* Gouvernour of that island, pretending for the colour of so foule a fact; That he had defrauded them of their pay, and oppressed them of the countrey with intollerable exactions. *Amurath* highly offended with this their disloyaltie in killing their Generall, whom they had neuer before complained of; thought it much to concerne the maiestie of himselfe, and the repressing of the like insolencie in others, not to suffer it to go vnpunished: and for that purpose sent another new Gouvernour into *CYPRVS*, with ten gallies furnished as well with other necessarie prouision, as with such a conuenient number of souldiours as might suffice to chastice the insolencie of the chiefe offendours. This new Gouvernour arrived in *CYPRVS*, dissembling the secret commandement he had for the executing of the transgressours, by certaine trustie men gaue it out among the Ianizaries, That *Amurath* was so farre from being angrie with the death of *Achmetes*, as that he thought him worthily slaine by the Ianizaries for defrauding them of their wages, and oppressing of his other subjects: which report the new Gouvernour had of purpose giuen out, to put them in securitie, and without farther trouble to bring them into his danger. Hereupon the Ianizaries cheerfully and with all due reuerence receiued their new Gouvernour: but shortly after to be sure, they by an vnexpected guile when as nothing was lesse feared, compassed in all the new come souldiours, and slew them euerie mothers sonne; and not so contented, seized also vpon the gallies that brought them. Which second outrage, though *Amurath* tooke in euill part as seeing his maiestie therein contemned, yet was he content to passe it ouer, being loth to adde domesticall troubles to the great wars he had in hand with the Persian.

But to end this matter with the opinion of one of their owne greatest Bassaes concerning these maisterfull men: It fortuneth, that whilst *Busbequius* embassadour for *Ferdinand* the emperour vnto *Solyman*, lay in the Turkes campe (at such time as *Solyman* in person himselfe was gone ouer the strait into *ASIA*, to countenance his eldest sonne *Selymus* against his younger brother *Biazeret*) that vpon a light quarell (though heauily taken) betwene the followers of the said embassadour, and certaine Ianizaries washing themselves at the sea side; the embassadour for the quieting thereof, was glad to vse the helpe of *Rustan* the great Bassa, *Solyman* his sonne in law; who vnderstanding the matter (by a messenger sent of purpose) aduised the embassadour to cut off all occasion of contention with those most naughtie fellowes: asking him farther, if he knew not that it was now the time of warre, in which time they so reigned, as that *Solyman* himselfe was not able to rule them, but stood in feare of them. Which speech fell not rashly from *Rustan*, a man right well acquainted with his lord & masters griefe: for that most notable prince feared nothing more, than least some secret & dangerous treason should lie hidden among the Ianizaries, which breaking out vpon the sudden, might worke his finall destruction; whereof hee needed not to seeke for any farther example, than to his grandfather *Biazeret*. For, as true it is, That great are the commodities of a perpetuall armie of a princes owne; so are the incommodities also not small, if they be not carefully met withall: but especially for that the prince is euer in doubt of rebellion; and that it is still in the power of those armed souldiours, at their pleasure to translate the kingdom to whom they list. Whereof there haue been many great examples, although there are many waies for the remedying of the same.

But now that we haue by occasion of the occurrents of that time a little stept out of the way, let vs returne againe vnto the wars of *PERSIA*, the chiefe object of *Amuraths* hautie desires. Now according to the commandements gone out through all the cities of the empire, the souldiours of all sorts began to flock together: and all those that were either desirous to be established in their former charges and gouernments, or ambitiously sought to be now promoted, repaired to *Osman* as vnto a king, and the soueraigne moderator of the Turkish empire, presenting him with large and liberall gifts, whereby he gathered together a huge heape of infinit treasure: and so

The villanie discovered.

Amurath sends a messenger to Venice, to expositulat the insolence done vnto his subjects.

Primo Emus beheaded.

Io. Leuncl. sup. Ann. l. Turcorum, pag. 92.

Ramadan Bassa slaine by the Ianizaries.

Achmetes Bassa Gouvernour of Cyprus slaine by the Ianizaries.

Another insolence of the Ianizaries.

Busbequius legationis Turcicae, epist. 3.

so entertaining them with all affable courtesie, and promising both rewards and honours, to such as would follow him in his purposed expedition; he leuied a wonderfull great number both of men and monies. And now was the time come that called him away to go towards *Egypt*, where he was greatly expected of his huge armie there assembled together. And now, considering the great dearth of victuall that commonly reigneth in those quarters, yet thither he must, where he arrived about the latter end of the month of July in the year 1585; and there taking a view of his whole armie, and of all the provision necessary for so important and famous an enterprise, he daily laboured to hasten his departure. In this city of *Egypt* were met together all the souldiours of the prouinces that were yent to lend help; but yet in a greater number than euer was gathered by any Generall before: for that euery man forooke his owne priuie busynesse, and vpon assured hopes of new rewards and yauoured honours, were all reduced to follow the fame of this their new Visier and Generall. Onely the people of *Egypt* and *Damascus* were busied with other more priuie quarrels at home, whereof because they were both of great importance, and also fell out at this verie instant (leaving *Osman* with his armie for a while at *Egypt*) I will in a few words as I may make a brieue rehearsal.

Hassan Bassa the queenes Eunuch sent to Caire to gouerne there.

Amurath had heretofore taken *Hassan Bassa* the Eunuch out of the Serraglio, from the charge he had there to serue in the queenes Court; and at her instance sent him, as *Bassa* to *Caire* the great cite of *Egypt*. Which great office, beside the honour belonging vnto it, is also beneficiall to them whose good hap it is to be advanced thereunto: the riches the multitude of people inhabiting therein being so great, that it seemeth not to be one citie; but rather to containe within the large circuit thereof many cities. This man being exceeding covetous, and therefore desirous to handle the matter in such sort as that he should little need to seeke for any more such grants at the kings hands, fought by all manner of meanes to oppress the whole nation, and by all importunities to wring and extort from them rewards and bribes, without regard of honestie or reason. By which his sinister and corrupt dealing, he had now made himselfe so odious and intollerable to the people in generall, that they in great number, and many times, began to go to *Constantinople*, and with humble petitions to request the king to take from them such a cruell and vnjust Gouernour; so that generally in the Court there was no talke but of the villanies and mischiefs that were reported of the covetous Eunuch. At last *Amurath* seeing that these publike exclamations went daily so farre, as that he could not for shame let them go any further without due punishment, he resolved with himselfe to call him to the Court; and having sent vnto him certaine messengers, admonished him sundrie times to returne home. But the Eunuch loth to leaue so fit an occasion to enrich himselfe, did still delay his returne, alleading diuers fained excuses for his longer stay. Which thing when *Amurath* vnderstood, thinking himselfe thereby deluded, he determined to provide for so great a disorder, and by punishing of the mischieuous Eunuch, to satisfie in some part the discontented minds of his oppressed subjects in *Caire*.

Ebrain Bassa in speech to marrie Amuraths daughter.

There sat at that time among the chiefe Bassas of the Court one *Ebrain* (or as most call him *Ibrahim*) by nation a Sclauonian, a young man of the age of two and thirtie years or therabouts, of verie faire conditions, and of a reasonable judgement: vpon whom *Amurath* himselfe had determined to bestow his owne daughter to wife; and so to make him his sonne in law. And therefore being now minded to remoue the Eunuch from his office, and to satisfie the citie; and being also willing withall to giue meanes to his said sonne in law to enrich himselfe: he resolved to send him as generall Syndic, and soueraigne iudge into *Egypt*, giuing him in particular charge, to remember how wickedly his predecessour had dealt before him. And so this new Bassa tooke his journey towards *Egypt*, although there ran before him a great rumour of his comming, and of the great authoritie wherewith he was sent. At which report, as the Egyptians rested content and joyfull, so the Eunuch waxed verie sad and sorrowfull: perswading himselfe, that this alteration could not but engender some strange issue and effect against him. Whereupon aduising himselfe, to provide better for his owne affaires and the safetie of his life, he resolved not to stay the comming of the new Gouernour: but departing out of *Egypt*, with great care and circumspection for feare of meeting with *Ebrain*, he trauelled towards *Constantinople* in hope to appease the kings wrath, or at least by mediation of bribes, and by the intercession of the queene to find him more fauourable than he should find *Ebrain*; who without doubt would not haue spared any extremitie or crueltie, to haue bereft him both of his goods

A goods and life together. *Amurath* aduertised from *Ebrain* of the sudden flight of the Eunuch Bassa out of *Egypt*, and hearing withall that he kept not the high way from *Caire* to *Constantinople*, began to feare least when he came into *Soria* he should flie into *Perisia* to the king, and so worke him double and treble damage; as one that had already gathered a huge treasure, and hauing long liued in the Court, knew the most secret affaires thereof, and had learned all the priuie deuises and fashions of the Serraglio. Whereupon he with all diligence dispatched his *Imbrahur Bassi* (whom we may call Master of his horse) with fortie of his Capigi (all gentlemen Vthers, and officers of most secret & neereest roomes about him) with charge and commaundement, that if they met him they should bring him to the Court; vsing all the aid and assistance of his people that might be requisite: and for that purpose deliuered vnto him verie effectually and large letters, after the best manner of the Court. This messenger with his appointed traine departed, and without any extraordinarie enquire found the Eunuch in *Soria*, encamped in the plaines neere vnto the citie now called *Amant*, but in times past *Apamea*; the principall citie of that countrey. As soone as the Eunuch vnderstood of the comming of the *Imbrahur* himselfe, he gaue order to his guard of slaues, which in great number with speares and arcubuses did ordinarily keepe his pavilion, that they should not grant entrance into his tent so any, but onely vnto the *Imbrahur* himselfe, and if need were, by force to keepe the rest of the Capigi from comming in. Which order was in verie good time giuen; for as soone as the kings officer had discovered the tents of the fugitiue Bassa, in all hast he ran towards the same, and seeking out the greatest among them, went presently thither to haue entred with all his followers: but the slaues being in armour opposed themselves against them, and permitting onely the *Imbrahur* to enter in, entertained the rest of his traine without. The *Imbrahur* being come in, read vnto him the commaundement which he had from the king to bring him to the Court; and most instantly moued him, that without any further resistance he would quietly go with him. To whom the warie Eunuch answered: Behold, how without any calling of the king, or conducting by you, I come of my selfe, well assured to find not onely pardon and pitie, but also fauour and grace in the sight of my lord; whose vpright and mild nature, the wicked treacheries of my false accusers cannot abuse, to the preiudice of me an innocent. And so without more adoe they went all to *Constantinople*: the Eunuch yet still standing vpon his guard.

The waitinge of the craftie Eunuch.

The politlicke and craftie Eunuch had in this meane time dispatched diuers postes with letters D to the Sultan ladies, certifying them of his comming, and principally beseeching the queene to protect him, and to appease the kings wrathfull indignation, that happily he might haue concealed against him; and so at length they arrived at *Scvta*. As soone as *Amurath* vnderstood of his comming thither, he caused all the treasure which he had gathered to be taken from him, with all the rest of his priuie substance, and the wretch himselfe to be clapt vp in prison in the *Iadricula* or *seauen towers*. Where after he had languished many daies, still fearing some deadly blow, he at length receiued from the queene, an vnexpected, but most welcome aduertisement, That he should be of good cheere and quiet himselfe, for that his wealth had already saued his life, and that she hoped in short time to procure him also his libertie: Which in deed she brought to passe; for she her selfe made earnest petition to *Amurath* her husband, that for as much as he had bereft her Eunuch of all his goods, he would yet at least deliuer him out of prison, and restore him vnto her againe. Which request of the queenes was granted accordingly, and the Eunuch enlarged: but the treasure that he had so vnjustly scraped together in *Egypt*, that remained still among the gold and other jewels of the kings.

The Eunuch cast in prison at Constantinople, and his euill gotten goods confiscated.

But *Ebrain Bassa* with his new commission now arrived in *Egypt*, had in short space by far more sinister deuises than had the Eunuch before him, scrapt together such an infinite heape of riches, as was able onely of it selfe to make him worthie of his promised wife, and therefore he was called home to the Court to accomplish the intended marriage. With this commaundement to return to *Constantinople*, he receiued also in charge, to make his journey through the people of *Druvia*; and such as he should find loyall, to confirme them in their due obedience, and to make them pay their ancient duties; but such as he should find stubborne and disobedient, he should quite root them out and destroy them. This commaundement *Ebrain* presently put in execution, and hauing packt vp together all the riches he had gathered in the time of his government, and raised good store of souldiours in that prouince, he tooke with him thirtene *Sanzackes*, that were ordinarily accustomed to sit as assistants vnder the government of the Bassa

in the ruling of the populous territories of CAIRE: and so set forwards towards GAZA, G passing ouer those vast and huge wildernes of sand that lie betwene CAIRE and GAZA. From GAZA, joyning the Sanzacke thereof with him, he went to IERUSALEM: & from thence causing the Sanzacke there also to follow his traine, he turned by SAFFETTO, by LEZIVM, by NAPLOS (called in times past SAMARIA) still taking with him the Sanzackes of all those places, and at last turned himselfe towards DAMASCO: so that before he joyined with the band of DAMASCO, he had gotten together eightene Sanzackes, with all their squadrons of souldiours and slaues. Besides these, hee had also his owne priuat Court, which was wonderfull populous, and two hundred Ianizaries of CONSTANTINOPLE, whom Amurath would needs haue him to take with him at his departure from the Court, so that he had in his armie almost twelue thousand horsemen. From DAMASCO, *Vies* the Bassa was come as farr as IERUSALEM to meet him, with all the souldiours vnder his gouernment, in number about two thousand persons. Besides that, there came vnto him by the way of SIDON the Aga of the Ianizaries of CYPRVS, with all the band of that desolat and destroyed island: which captaine with his souldiours was transported ouer into the maine in those gallies that by the kings appointment were sent to fetch *Ebrain*: who now strengthened with all these souldiours, had purposed the vtter ruine of the disobedient Drusians, and the raising of his owne glorie, by triumphing ouer them.

These Drusians, against whom these great preparations were now made by this new captaine, and of whom the Turkish emperour is so suspitious and doubtfull, are supposed to be by descent, Frenchmen, the reliques of those that with great deuotion did in times past fight those memorabile and Christian battels in IVERIE, and recouered the holy citie: but being afterwards brought low, partly by the plague, and partly by the furie of the Barbarians, mingled their seed with the circumcised nation, and so together with their authoritie and command lost also their first faith and religion: yet so, that they grew into an haired of the Turkish superstition, and abhorring the circumcision of the Iewes, betooke themselves to a new prophet of their owne called *Isman*, whose doctrine they follow. The right Drusians liue vncircumcised, neither doe they forbeare wine as doe the Turks: they make it lawfull among them (most vnlawfully) to marrie with their owne daughters: the Turkish gouernment they haue sought by all meanes to eschue, and notwithstanding all the endeouours and attempts of the Turkish tyrants, but especially of *Selymus* the second, yet haue they alwayes beene subiect to their owne naturall princes, and would neuer admit any captaine or gouernour of the Turks within the countries which they possessed. They are a people very warlike, stout, resolute, and religious obseruers of their owne superstition: in battell they vse the arcubuse and scimitar, yet some of them at this day do serue with lances and darts: they are apparelled after the manner of the Easterne people, with a turbant on their heads, and breeches they neuer weare, but in stead thereof they couer those parts with their coat, which reacheth downe to their knees, buttoning it vp before. Their feeding is grosse, and of mountaine meats. They inhabit all the country that is enuironned within the confines of IORDAN, above CAESAREA and PALESTINA, and within the riuers of Orontes and Jordan, stretching it selfe euen to the plaine of DAMASCO, neere to the hils that compasse it about vpon the coast of mount Libanus. They were all in times past good friends and confederats, so that they were greatly esteemed: but now being at variance, through greedinesse and couetousnesse, they were deuided among themselves, one seeking the destruction of another. At this time they were gouerned by fise chiefe captaines or gouernours: one of them was called *Ebne-man*, and of the Turkes *Man-Ogli*; another *Serafadin*; the third *Mahamet Ebne-mansur*; the fourth *Ebne-free*; and the fift *Ali-Ebne-Carsus*, by the Turkes called *Ali-Carsus-Ogli*. Vnder these, who indeed carrie the title and authoritie of an Emir (that is to say, King or Chiefe) there are diuers their lieutenants or deputies, whom they call their Macademi or agents. *Ebne-man* or *Man-Ogli* inhabited the mountaines and fields that are contained vnder the iurisdiccions of CAESAREA, of PTOLEMAIDA, of TIRVS, and of SIDON, and had his residence for most part vpon the hill, in a towne called ANDARA: he was very mightie in men and armour, and since the time that by treacherie his father was murdered by *Mustapha* then Bassa of DAMASCO, alwayes a deadly enemy to the name of the Turkes. *Ebne-free*, *Ebne-carsus*, and *Ebne-mansur*, were alwayes great friends, but now especially at the comming of *Ebrain Bassa* they shewed themselves more straightly confederated together. *Serafadin* and *Man-Ogli* were euer opposit against them: so that the one side procuring the ouerthrow of the other, they lost their strength, and left no means to defend themselves

The Drusian
people what they
are.

The country
which the Drusian
inhabit.

Fise chiefe rulers
or gouernours
among the Drusians.

A selues against the Turkes, who had long lien in wait for their libertie. Now as soone as the news came among them, That *Ebrain* being departed from CAIRE, was comming into SORIA to subdue them; the three confederats aboue named resolu'd among themselves to goe and meet this great Bassa, and to submit themselves vnto him, of purpose to turne all the intended mischief vpon *Serafadin* and *Man-Ogli* their enemies. And so hauing packed vp great store of money, cloth of silke, cloth of woollen, and cloth of gold, with many loades of silkes, and other things of exceeding value, euery of the three being accompanied one with some two thousand, another with some three thousand men, they put themselves vpon their journey towards *Ebrain*, and met him at IERUSALEM, where he was already arriued. This their comming *Ebrain* tooke in wonderfull good part, and courteously accepted those their rich and great presents which they brought him; and by the offers of their fidelitie, and the grievous accusations they made against the other two Drusian lords their enemies, began to conceiue great hope of his intended enterprise: for why, he saw that nothing could more easily compass their ouerthrow than this their discord. Being thus accompanied, he came by the way of DAMASCO to the champaigne of BOCCA, and there encamped. This was in the moneth of Iuly this yeare 1585. The whole army that was with *Ebrain*, reckoning also the souldiours of the three Drusian lords, was about the number of twentie thousand horsemen strong. In this place there came people out of all quarters thereabouts with presents to honour the Bassa, to whom he likewise yeelded such small fauours as his couetous nature could afford them.

From this place also *Ebrain* presently sent letters to *Serafadin* and *Ebneman*, whereby he enuited them to come vnto him, to acknowledge their obedience vnto the Sultan: for that otherwise they might assure themselves to be in short time depriv'd both of their estates and liues. For all that, *Man-Ogli* would not by any meanes come in. But *Serafadin* being poore both in wealth and forces, resolu'd to come, in hope by rich presents to purchase his attonement with the great Bassa. And therefore hauing packed vp together diuers loades of silkes, great store of money, and many clothes of good value and beautie, and also attended vpon with diuers of his subiects, he arriued at last at the paullion of *Ebrain* with these his rich presents; which were there readily receiued, and he himselfe with great attention heard: whose speech in effect tended to no other end, but onely to persua'de the Bassa, That he had alwayes beene a deuoted vassale vnto *Amurath*, and that he had carried a continuall desire to be employed in any his seruice: and that now being led by the same affection, and assured of his fauour, by the friendly and courteous offers made him in his letters, he was come to shew himselfe vnto him to be the same man, and so proffered him whatsoever lay in his slender power to performe. Whereunto *Ebrain* made no answer at all, but onely asked him the cause why he liued continually in discord and brawles with the three Emirs (who also sat at that time in the same paullion.) Whereunto *Serafadin* answered, That it was not long of him, who as one desirous of peace, had not at any time taken vp armes but in the just defence of himselfe, against the injuries of those his enemies; who because they were more mightie than he, fought continually to oppresse him. Hereat the three conspirators arose, and with their grim lookes bewraying their inward hatred, falsly charged him to haue beene euer the author of those brawles: adding moreover, That his insolencie was at that time growne so great, as that no strange vessell durst for feare of him arriue at the ports of SIDON, TIRVS, or BERITO, nor any marchant or marchandise passe ouer the plaines: but that those countries, as though they were a prey and spoyle to the theecs of ARABIA, were generally shunned of all travellers both by sea and land, to the great hinderance of the Sultans customes. *Serafadin* would hereunto haue gladly replied, but preuented by *Ebrain*, and surcharged with many injurious words, was committed to the custodie of the two hundred Ianizaries of CONSTANTINOPLE. And so being by them brought into a rotten tent that was appointed for him, was euery night from thence forward put in the stockes fast chained, and continually guarded with a trustie guard of the same Ianizaries. In the meane time came the answer of *Man-Ogli*, who wrote backe vnto the great Bassa *Ebrain* as followeth:

To the Lord of Lords, Soueraigne aboue the great ones, the mightie, the noble captaine, cousin to the graund Lord, and the worthiest among the elect of the Prophet Mahomet, the noble and famous lord *Ebrain Bassa*, God giue good successe to his haughtie enterprises, and prosperitie in all his honour. I wish (euen as thou dost lovingly inuite and exhort me) that I might come before thee, and follow thee,

Three of the
Drusian lords
meet *Ebrain* at
Ierusalem with
rich presents
and a great army
of men.

Serafadin comes
with rich presents
to *Ebrain*.

A letter of
Man-Ogli to
Ebrain Bassa.

thee, and serue thee alwaies in any occasion that it may happen thee to stand in need of my helpe: For I know that thou wouldest rest assured of the reuerence that I beare towards thy lord, and of the most fervent desire wherein I lye to serue him, and to employ both my substance and my life in his service; whereof I haue also giuen some testimonie, though but small, in the managing of his vissions: that I haue receiued: wherein I haue alwaies so carried my selfe, as that I am for his sake, ready to do any thing that Ebrin Mansur (who is now with thee) hath comd me. For although by his comings to meet thee euen as farre as IERUSALEM, he would make assay of his fidelitie; yet dost thou in more than two hundred thousand duckats of the kings; which he doth most unustly desire from him of his customes. But my hard fortune will not graunt me the favour that I may come vnto thee: for there are at this present with thee three of mine enemies, who (I know well) being not contented haue alwaies disquieted and troubled my estate; doe now seeke to bring me into so great hatred with thy heart, that if thou haddest me in thy hands, thou wouldest without any consideration breake me of my life. And I am assured, that this sending for me importeth no other thing, but onely a desire thou hast to imprison me, and so to kill me. For I know how much thou art giuen to great enterprises. Besides this, my coming is also hindered by mine auntient oath that I took: when being yet but a child, I saw mine owne father so villanously betrayed by the murdering sword of Mustapha, being at that time the Bassa of DAMASCO: who vnder the colour of vnsuited friendship got him into his hands, and traiterously stricke off his head: For in truth I carrie the image of my fathers reuerend head, all pale, and yet as it were breathing, imprinted in my mind; which sometimes presenteth it selfe vnto me, as well sleeping in the darknesse of the night, as also waking in the light of the day, and talking with me, calleth to my remembrance the infidelitie of the murdering tyrant, and exhorteth me to keepe my selfe aloofe from the hands of the mightie. And therefore I neither can nor may obey thy requests, and in that respect it grieueth me, that I shall seeme disobedient vnto thee; being in any other action and in all my cogitations wholly addicted to doe any seruice not onely to thee, who art most worthie to be reuerenced of farre greater persons than I am, but also to euery the least vassale of Amuraths. Thou wilt pardon me I hope, and thou shalt well perceiue, that if there be any thing neere me that may be acceptable to thee, all that I haue whatsoeuer, though in respect of thy selfe it may seeme vile and base, yet is it thine, and is now referred wholly for thee, and not for me. Farewell, and commaund me, and hold me excused vpon these iust causes which thou hearest, for my being so backward in coming to honour thee, as my dutie requireth.

The poore and the least among the slaues of the graund Lord,

The Sonne of Man.

Ebrin burneth
24 townes of
Man-oglis.

Ebrin perceiuing by this letter the resolution of Man-ogli, resolved also in himselfe to goe vpon him with all his armie, and either by force or sleight to get him into his hands, or at least to draw from him so many arcubuses, and as great gifts and tributes as possibly he might: and therefore rising with his campe, and turning himselfe toward the countrey of Man-ogli, he burnt and destroyed foure and twentie of his townes; and so mounting vp certaine rocks of LIBANVS, vpon the top of a large hill (that standeth ouer ANDRA and other places belonging to Man-ogli) he encamped himselfe. But whiles the armie was thus marching forward, Vais Bassa of DAMASCO with a great part of his people, and his sonne the Sanzacke of IERUSALEM, with his souldiours likewise, to the number of fifteene hundred persons, hauing separated themselves from the rest of the armie, in manner of a reward; as they were busie in raising their tents, vpon the sudden were furiously assaulted by a great band of Drusians, of the faction of Man-ogli, and discomfited. Which victorie the Drusians so prosecuted, that they became lords of the pailions, the wealth and armour of the Turks: and leading away with them their horses and their carriages, put to the sword fise hundred persons, and scarce gaue any leisure to escape either to the Bassa the father, or the Sanzacke his sonne, who fled straight to IERUSALEM, and neuer returned againe to Ebrin; but Vais his father still followed the armie with those few which he had left, and was thought worthie of all men to be pitied.

Vpon the hill aforesaid Ebrin continued foure and twentie daies together, with abundance of all things necessarie for victuall: during which time he attended nothing else, but to trie all deuises how he might draw money and presents from Man-ogli, or how he might traue him into his

A his hands. For the compassing whereof, he dispatched one Gomeda (Ebrin Mansurs Agent) to Ebrin sendeth Man-ogli, being in ANDRA; to tell him, That for as much as he would not giue credit to the promise which was made him, nor aduenture himselfe into the hand of his friend, he should send vnto him all the arcubuses he had: for that the Sultans pleasure was, that his people that went not to the wars in his seruice, should not be furnished with so great store of weapons, to the danger of their neighbours, and of the subjects themselves. With great griefe of mind did Man-ogli behold the messenger, as the man whom he well knew to be the Agent of his deadly enemy; yet in regard of him that sent him, he forbore to doe him iniurie, or to giue him any reproach; telling him, That all his people and weapons were dispersed abroad ouer his territorie, so that he could not tell what arcubuses to send him: with which cold answer Gomeda returned. Which thing when Aly Bassa of ALERPO vnderstood, he offered himselfe to the Generall, that hee would go vnto him, and that to some better purpose. Many reasons did Aly Bassa vse to persuade the warie Drusian to come and yeeld his obedience to Ebrin, swearing that no harme should be done vnto him: and withall promising him great and honourable fauours. But neuer could he remoue the resolute and prouident mind of Man-ogli, or win him to yeeld himselfe into the hands of a man, whom he thought to be so murderous: yet at last with much adoe he prevailed so much with the Drusian lord, that in signe of the reuerence he did beare towards the Generall, and of his obedience towards Amurath, he was content to send a present to Ebrin. And thereupon gaue him three hundred and twentie arcubuses, twentie packs of Andarine silks, and fiftie thousand duckats to carrie to the Bassa for a gift, and to reconcile him vnto him. For the better effecting whereof, he sent his owne mother to the great Bassa, who in the behalfe of her sonne performed a verie worthie message, excusing him as well in respect of his enemies that far there so neere vnto him, as also in regard of his oath which he had solemnly sworne, That for the treacherie of Mustapha he would neuer commit himselfe into the hands of a Turke: and therefore besought him to accept of the gifts that were sent him, and withall, a mind and heart most readie to serue and obey the king in all occasions; and that he would hold him excused, for that his excuses were both iust and reasonable. Whereunto the Turke replied, That although he had found so foule a fault in Mustapha, who vnder the assurance of his promise and fidelitie had betrayed her husband: yet for all that she ought not to feare any such wicked or infamous act at his hands, who stood vpon his honour and the word of a souldior: And so by oath protesting all faithfull and constant friendship towards him, in token of his sincere meaning he cast a white vaile about her necke, and put another vpon himselfe, and the third he gaue her in her hands: willing her to report to her sonne the oaths he had made, and to carrie him that vaile and bring him with her, protesting no otherwise to intreat him, but as a friend and a brother. The peaceable old woman went her way accordingly, but she neither could nor would go about to alter the purpose of her sonne, but returned to Ebrin such answer as did not greatly please him. After which time, he sought more than euer he did before, to get the warie Drusian into his hands, or at least without regard of shame to draw from him mo presents and weapons. And therefore once againe he sent the craftie Gomeda, to exhort him vpon the faith and promise giuen, to come vnto him: but for all the craft and lying speeches that the treacherous messenger could cunningly vse, he could obtaine nothing of the Drusian lord, but good words onely. Yet at last after much finenesse he prevailed so much, as that Man-ogli was contented by him to send another present to Ebrin, with an expresse condition notwithstanding, that he should cause Ebrin to depart out of those quarters, and that he should not himselfe returne any more to request any thing farther of him. Which he verie largely promised, only desiring him to send a good number of arcubuses, thereby to content the Bassa fully: so he gaue him fiftie thousand duckats mote, and foure hundred and fourescore arcubuses; with a thousand Goats, an hundred and fiftie Camels, an hundred and fiftie Buffes, a thousand Oxen, and two hundred Vnethers. With this rich present came Gomeda to Ebrin, declaring vnto him that this he had got from him, vpon promise that he should not molest the Drusian any more. For which promise he made, Ebrin sharply reproved Gomeda; and threatened to make him know what it was to take vpon him so dangerous a libertie: and for the greater despight both to the one and to the other, Ebrin would needs haue Gomeda himselfe to returne againe with like message to trouble the Drusian. Whereunto although he went in great feare of some mischief by the hands of Man-ogli, yet was there no remedie but needs he must follow the commaund of him, in whose power it was to take from him

P p p

him both his honour and life; and therefore on he went. But as soone as *Man-ogli* saw *Gomeda* G (thinking as truth was, that he came againe about his wonted request) he was with the verie fight of him so farre moued, as that he was euen at the point to haue throwne a dart at him, and so to haue dispatched him, had not the regard of more dangerous effects staied his furie; yet spared he not with ignominious words and deadly threats to disburden his choller. Notwithstanding *Gomeda* could doe no lesse but accomplish the effect of his fraudulent requests, and so wrought with him, that he drew from him foure burdens more of arcubuses, ten swords and ten guilt daggers, certaine siluer belts, ten packs of silke, and some few pence: causing him withall to protest vnto him, neuer to suffer himselfe to be perswaded to come againe vnto him; for if he did, he threatned to kill him, happen afterward what might of it. With exceeding joy and triumph did *Ebrain* receiue this present, and thinking now with himselfe that he had gotten a sufficient bootie from him, he determined to rise with his armie, and to sacke all the rest of *Man-oglies* country. Which he performed accordingly, and being conducted by *Emir Ebne-fre*, burnt *ANDRA* the place of *Man-ogli* his residence, and in two daies burnt and destroyed nineteene other of his townes, with vnspcakable crueltie committing all things to fire and sword. After all this sacking and rasing, *Ebrain* sent diuers messengers to *Man-ogli*, to trie whether hee would yet be perswaded to come vnto him, but nothing could moue the resolute *Drusian* to commit himselfe into his hands, but rather encreased his constancie to auoid a most certaine death. Now the great *Bassa* still thirsting after blood and reuenge, vnderstanding by a spie, that the captaine of *ANDRA* (being one of the Factors of *Man-ogli*) with three hundred and fiftie souldiours was got vp to a certaine hill, into a place of great securitie, he sent *Emir Ebne-fre* to entice him, and to tell him, That seeing his lord *Man-ogli* would not come and yeeld himselfe, he should come vnto him; which if he would doe, he would assuredly in despiight of *Man-ogli* make him a Sanzacke of some of those places which he most desired. The ambitious and vnhedie *Macademo* suffered himselfe to be easily perswaded, and being accompanied with his three hundred and fiftie followers, went with the said *Ebne-fre*, and came at last to the pailioun of *Ebrain*, hauing first caused his afore said men to stay behind in a valley two or three miles off. But *Ebrain* would not so much as see the *Macademo*, although both in respect of the nimbleness of his person, and also the fierceness of his lookes he was worthie to be looked vpon: but commaunded him to be kept in a feuerall place from *Serafadin*, and in the meane time deuised how he might with least losse of his owne men, put to death those three hundred and fiftie the *Macademoes* followers: which was by training them, by means of the said *Ebne-fre*, into a certain vineyard, and so hauing brought them into a strait, suddenly to set vpon them and kill them. Which was accordingly performed: for being by the treacherous *Emir* brought into the place appointed for their slaughter, fearing nothing lesse, they were suddenly enclosed by the *Turkes* *Sanzackes* and *Ianizaries*, and slaine euerie mothers sonne. This massacre thus finished, *Ebrain* commaunded the *Macademo* to be brought before him, and without delay to be stripped and slaid quicke: who being come, stoutly vpbraided *Ebrain* with his promise and his oath; and amongst other speeches which he vttered while they stripped him, said: *Cut me off my members, and first putting them into the priuities of that infamous Ebrains wife, put them afterwards into the mouth of himselfe: for so (I trow) he will be contented and satisfied with my flesh.* And to them that were the executioners of his painfull death, he said: *It is your great good fortune in deed, that with such violence and needlesse deformitie, ye are now able to spill my blood and to take my life from me: where as none of you all had been able, or once durst man to man to haue drawne one drop of it from me, nor to haue endured my countenance. But goe to, proceed in your wicked and vnstable desire of my blood, and fulfill the cruell command of your Master: for in the end there will also light vpon you the iust reward of this so villanous a fact.* With these and other such like speeches the miserable wretch was stripped, and three great slashes made on his backe; where they began to flea him; he in the meane time not ceasing to blasphemie their religion, & to curse their king, and their false prophet also. But the barbarous souldiours proceeding in their cruell action, made other like gashes vpon his breast and stomacke; and so drawing the skin downward, could not bring it to his nauell before he was with the extremitie of the paine dead. After this, *Ebrain* caused the followers of *Serafadin* (in number about 1500) to be cruelly slaine, and all his country to be most miserably wasted: he himselfe still remaining in chaine.

W hilest the fire and sword thus raged in the *Drusian* country, *Ebrain* by speedie posts sent

Emir Ebne-fre
enticeb Man-
ogli his Macade-
mo or lieutenant
to come to
Ebrain.

The Macademo
by the comman-
dement of Ebrain
slaine quicke.

A to *SIDON*, where his gallies lay at rode, commaunded, That disembarking foure thousand souldiours, they should sacke all those countries alongst the sea coast euen as far as *CÆSARBA* in *PALESTINE*, sparing neither age nor sex, nor any person of condition whatsoever. Which his cruell command was presently put in execution, and three thousand soules brought away captiues, great booties made of much rich merchandise, many townes burnt, sundrie castles rased and laid euen with the ground, and to be short, all the whole countrey of *Serafadin* and *Man-ogli* laid vtterly wast and desolat.

Ebrain was now in readinesse to depart for *CONSTANTINOPLE*, where he was by *Amurath* expected, as well for his gold as the accomplishment of the marriage. But bethinking himselfe, that whatsoever hitherto he had done would be accounted either little or nothing, vnlesse he provided in some sort for the quieting of those people vnder the Turkish obedience, he determined to nominate one of the three *Drusian* Emirs that came to him to *IERUSALEM*; to be *Bassa* of all those regions. And because *Emir Aly Ebne-carfus* was the richest and most obedient of them all, he thought good to commit that charge vnto him, and honoured him with that dignitie; yet not without a bribe, but for the price of an hundred thousand duckats. Wherefore he apparelled him in cloth of gold, gaue him a horsemans mase, and a sword all guilt, and deliuered vnto him the kings commission, causing him withall to sweare faith and obedience to *Amurath*. And so hauing (at least to shew) set in order the affaires of those mountaines, which an hundred of the *Turkes* great captaines had in former time vainly attempted, he returned to *DAMASCO*, where he staid twelue daies, by shamefull shifts extorting money from diuers persons. At last hauing no more to doe in those parts, he turned himselfe towards *GAZIR* and *BARVTO*, places vnder the gouernment of *Ebne-mansur*, where he arriued with all his armie, and found the gallies which he had left in the port of *SIDON*, now in the haueu of *BARVTO* as he had before commaunded. Now vpon a certaine hill about *BARVTO* nere vnto the sea, *Ebrain* had pitched his owne tent only and none other; and hauing sent all the rest of his best and goodly things which he meant to carrie with him to *CONSTANTINOPLE* aboard the gallies, shrowded himselfe only vnder that narrow and bafe tent. Thither he called *Ebne-mansur*, and in pleasant manner told him, That now it was time for him to make payment of the debt of an hundred and threescore thousand duckats, which he ought the king his lord for the custome of *TRIPOLI* and *BARVTO*: for that he could not longer stay in those quarters, but was to returne to *CONSTANTINOPLE*, which he knew not how to doe vnlesse he carried with him the discharge of that debt. Whereunto *Ebne-mansur* made answere, That it would not be long before his *Macademoes* would come with his monies, and that then he would without farther delay make payment. Which thing *Ebrain* well knew to be but an excuse, and therefore determined with himselfe to thrust him into the gallies; and because he could not carrie the money vnto the king, yet at the least to bring him his debtor. But for as much as he doubted to put this his determination openly in execution, for feare of some insurrection amongst the people, as well for that he was within the territories of the said *Ebne-mansur*, as for that he saw him greatly beloued and fauoured of the other two *Drusian* lords, *Ebne-fre* and *Ebne-carfus*: he therefore thought it better policie by concealing this his purpose, to shew him in his outward actions all good countenance, and by secret and subtile meanes to take him prisoner. Whereupon he deceitfully told him, That for as much as he was to stay there for his businesse that night, and was resolued the next day to make a road into the countrey of *Man-ogli*, he therefore praised him to doe him the fauour to be his guide: and for that purpose, when he should send for him at midnight, that he would come vnto him verie secretly, because he was minded to depart without any stirre, onely with fife hundred men in his companie. The *Drusian* lord verily beleeued the matter that so it was, and withall was in good hope by that means to find some way to escape his hands. Whereupon being called vp at midnight, he readily went to the tent of *Ebrain*, who presently charging him (whom all men thought he had especially affected) with many abhominable and foule tearmes, caused a chaine to be cast about his necke and his armes, and so fast bound to be carried into the gallies. And yet not so contented, tooke the spoile of all his countrey, whereby there was leuiued such a prey as was maruellous to behold: for besides money (whereof there was a verie huge summe) the store of clothes of silke and gold was such and so great, as might better beseme some great prince, than such a mountaine rusticall lord as he was. When the *Bassa* had conueied all this into his gallies he failed to *TRIPOLI*, where he found *Serafadin* in the custodie of

Ebrain notably
dissembleth with
Ebne-mansur.

Ebne-mansur in
chaine sent to
the gallies.

Veis Bassa and *Ali Bassa*: and hauing stayed there some few days, wherein he committed sundrie villanous and abhominable robberies, he caused the said *Serafadin* to be put into the galleys, with all his silkes and other wealth, and so departed for **CONSTANTINOPLE**: where at such time as he entered into the channell of the citie, accompanied with foure and twentie galleys, hee was encountered and receiued by a wonderfull number of his friends and fauourits, and saluted with an honourable peale of artilerie out of the Seraglio. *John Thomas Minadoi* the best reporter of this historie, as also of the late warres betwixt the Turkes and the Persians, being then at **CONSTANTINOPLE**, and hauing (as he reporteth of himselfe) good meanes to see the bountifull and beautifull presents which the spoyling and rauenous Bassa gaue the Turkish king, reporteth the summe thereof to haue bene a million of gold; besides the yearely reuenue of **CAIRE** amounting to six hundred thousand duckats, with threecore horses most richly garnished, of singular beautie, but especially of the Arabian race, a liue Elephaur, and a liue Giraffe: (which is a beast like a Cammell and a Panther) two great Crocodiles dead; a chaire of masie gold richly set with pretious stones, a casket also beset with pretious stones and gold, many packs of most fine clothes, woollen and silkes, certain other clothes with fringe of gold and siluer and the Barbarian cutworke, most fine linnen of **ALEXANDRIA**, and all the arcubuses taken from the Drusians: besides sundrie rich presents given by the proud Bassa to the great ladies of the Court, reported by *Leunclaius* to haue bene worth two hundred thousand Sultanines.

But now for as much as we haue before made mention of the Sanzacke of **IERUSALEM**, and his flight, it shall not be altogether impertinent to our historie (though somewhat out of time) in few words to declare what passed between him and the Arabians of **PALESTINE**, a little before the comming of *Ebrain* the great Bassa into those quarters: by which little, the desirous Reader may easily perceiue the wofull and troublesome state of that sometime most blessed and fruitfull but now most miserable and barren land of **IVRIE**, and of those places in holy **WRIT** so much renowned.

In the confines of **SODOME**, and in the places that lie not only betweene the lake **ASPHALITES** and **DAMASCO**, but also in the plaines and in the vallies of **ERICHO**, and of **SAMARIA**, and in other places about **BETHLEHEM**, **EMAYS**, **BETHANIE**, **BETHPAGE**, **CAPHARNAVM**, **NAZARETH**, **LEVI**, **BETHSAIDA**, **NAPLOS**, and other townes of name thereabouts, there doe haunt and liue sundrie Arabian captaines; who spreading themselves euen as far as **RAMA** and **IOPPA**, ouerrun at their pleasure all the countries there round about, and continually commit greivous outrages as well against the said cities as also vpon the goods and wealth not onely of the inhabitants there, but also of strangers: yea and their insolencie oftentimes groweth so great, that they dare to assault the fenced cities, beside the spoiling of trauellers, that by reason of their businesse haue occasion to passe from one citie to another. They are good horsemen, but vse no armour: their horses are very swift to run, and spare of diet, and are themselves bold and aduenturous theeues. These Arabians hauing had intelligence, that the aforesaid ambitious youth, appointed Sanzacke of **IERUSALEM**, was in mind to raise all the Sanzackes thereabout; and joyning himselfe with them, and his father the Bassa of **DAMASCO**, to restrain their insolent libertie, and to worke their destruction; resolved with themselves not to stay vntill he and his confederats were readie, but rather by sundrie inuasions vpon him, euen vnto the gates of **IERUSALEM**, to prouoke him to come out into the field. And the rather to induce him so to do, they compacted with a certaine Subbassi of **BETHLEHEM**, their friend, to encourage and animate the Sanzacke thereunto, by promising vnto him good successe and prosperous euents. The ambitious young man, seduced with the glorious persuasions of the false Subbassi, of whom he made good reckoning, and prouoked by their insolencies, resolved (as they had wished) to issue out of the citie into the open field: and thereupon hauing armed an hundred of his vassales, and raised all the horsemen that were vnder his gouernment, to the number of six hundred, he made a rode towards **ERICHO**, sending before defiance vnto them: against whom the Arabians came accordingly, and with their arrows and Indian canes ouerwhelming his arcubuses, as if it had been a raging flood, wrought him great woe: when in the very nicke the battell yet being at the hottest, the traitorous Subbassi fled towards **BETHLEHEM**, and left the souldiours of **IERUSALEM** in the hands of the Arabians, who put most part of them to the edge of the sword, and scarcely gaue li- bertie to the Sanzacke to saue himselfe by flight. The Sanzacke certainly enformed of this fraud of the dissembling Subbassi, to be reuenged vpon him, began also in like manner to dissemble with

The rich presents given to Amurath by Ebrain.

To Leunclaius. Annal. Turcorum, pag. 95.

The land of Iudie much troubled with the Arabian theues and robbers.

A with him, feigning that he would once more trie his forces against the same Arabians; and so vsed the matter, that the Subbassi arming himselfe, came vnto him, without any suspicion. of the mischeefe intended against him. But as soone as he was come, the Sanzacke tooke him aliue; and presently caused him in most cruell manner to be slaine quicker.

Thus hauing passed ouer the troubles that staied the people of **EGYPT** and **DAMASCO** and the countries thereabouts, from resorting to *Osman* the Turkes great Generall at **ERZIRVAN**, let vs againe returne thither where we left him, taking a view of the preparations against the Persian; and prosecute those affaires, which of all others most exercised the forces of the two mightiest Mahometane monarchs; and with the expectation thereof filled the world from the East to the West.

B The straight commaundement from *Amurath*, together with the same and reputation of *Osman* the Generall, had drawne together such a world of people of all sorts to **ERZIRVAN**; as that it seemed not the power of one king alone, but rather the vniued forces of many kings. Wherefore *Osman* perceiuing that he had gathered together too great a number of people and too huge an armie, and that it might fall out that he might want victuall for so great a multitude; neither so greatly fearing his enemies forces, as that he needed to lead so populous an armie against them; determined to discharge a great number of such as he thought most weake, and least able to endure trauell: so that out of this great multitude hee drew out about fortie thousand persons, who liberally according to euery mans abilitie redeeming the ordinarie perils of the warres, returned home to their owne dwellings. And so in *Osman* armie remained the

C number of an hundred and fourescore thousand persons or thereabouts. With this multitude the Generall departed from **ERZIRVAN** (about the eleuenth of August this yeare 1585) towards **TAVRIS**, continuing for all that the speech for **NASSIVAN**. But he had scarce marched two dayes, when diuers souldiours of **GRACIA** and **CONSTANTINOPLE** presented themselves before him, vpbraiding him with great improuidencie, and telling him that they began already to feeble the want of victuall, by wanting the same day their ordinarie allowance of corne for their horses: so that if in the beginning, and as it were in the enterance of so long a journey they felt such want; they could not tell with what iudgement or discretion hee meant to lead so great a companie so farre as **NASSIVAN**, nor by what cunning conceit he had presumed to sustaine so great an armie in the seruice of their lord. *Osman* quietly heard their complaints, and presently D provided for them, by causing such store of barley to be distributed among them, as they desired; and severely punished the officers that had the charge for the allowance of corne, who most co- uetously began to make marchandise of the common prouision, by conuerting it to their owne priuatiues. And hauing thus quieted their troubled minds, he proceeded on his journey, and by the way of **HASSAN CHALASSI** and of **CHARS** arriued vpon the Calderan plaines, famous for the memorable battels there fought betweene *Selymus* and *Hyssmaell*. In these plaines hee tooke a generall review of his armie, wherein there wanted a number, that by reason of sicknesse being not able to continue the journey were enforced to stay behind, some in one place, some in another. Remouing thence, he tooke the way not to **NASSIVAN**, as he had still hitherto giuen it out he would, but now directly to **TAVRIS**. Which so sudden an alteration of the jour- E ney, as soone as the souldiours of **GREECE** and **CONSTANTINOPLE** heard, they fell into a great rage, and comming againe before the Generall, reuelled with him in this sort to his face.

And what are we thou villaine, thou Turke, thou dolt, whom thou handlest in this sort? We are neither oxen nor sheepe of the mountaines, for the leading of whom thou thinkest thou art come out: neither can we brooke these thy lies and deceits. If thou hast publicly professed to lead us to **NASSIVAN**, and by that speech hast trained us from the furthest bounds of **GRACIA**, to what end now after thou hast wearied us so much, dost thou deceiue us with such vanities, and prolong our tour- F ney, and set before us such strange and important dangers as our minds neuer once thought on? But if this was thy first purpose and intent, and that now not foolishly or by chaunce, but vpon premeditation and good aduice thou changeest thine opinion, why diddest thou dismiss so many souldiours, as thou might haue made the armie more terrible and stronger for the enterprise of **TAVRIS**? Dost thou thinke that by suffering others to redeeme their liberties, and so to encrease thy riches, thou shalt set our liues to sale, and to make us slaues to the Persians?

At these arrogant speeches the Generall was exceedingly troubled, seeing his good meaning, and the earnest desire he had to aduance the maiestie and glorie of his king, taken in so euill part, and

The Subbassi of Bethlehem slaine quicker.

The number of Osmans armie.

The most insolent speech of the souldiours of Constantinople and Greece vnto Osman their Generall.

and those his best souldiours so highly offended. And although he could indeed haue readily vfed the sharpest and hardest prouisions and remedies for it, that in such occasions are ordinarily applied: yet vpon good aduice he forbore so to doe, and in stead of rigour and punishment resolved to worke by more easie meanes. VV hereupon causing many of the capitaines and chiefe men amongst those seditious souldiours to come before him, he first perswaded them: *That the former speech for NASSIVAN was not raised at all by him, nor that he was minded at that time to goe for TAVRIS: but all that was done, he had done to fulfill the commaundement of the Sultan, who had charged him so to doe, to the end to lessen the Persian preparations: which they would undoubtedly haue made farre greater if the speech had bene given out at the first for TAVRIS: which his princely care of their safetie they for their parts ought willingly to further, for that in so doing they should still preserve that great opinion, which both the king and the world had conceived of their valour and fidelitie. Neither needed they to feare, that the souldiours which were dismissed might weaken the armie, for that they themselves were not onely sufficient to pierce into TAVRIS, and to open the way vpon the enemies, but to daunt them euen with their lookes: and that those which were discharged, had but purged the host of all cowardise, and left nothing in it but vertue and courage.* By this mild answer of the Generall the tumultuous souldiours were sufficiently pacified, but much better apayed and contented they were, as soone as he put his hand to the common purse, and bestowed among them all a small quantitie of monies: for by this his kind vsage all their stomackes were overcome, and they themselves became so willing and so courageous, that now they durst venture not to TAVRIS only, but to CASBIN, yea euen to the furthest parts of all the Persian kingdome.

These important outrages thus appeased, the Generall turned himselfe with all his armie towards COY, a citie situate beyond VAN, in the midst betwene TAVRIS and the Marian Meere, where he refreshed his armie with all things he could desire. From COY he passed to MABANT, a citie subiect to the Persians, plentifull also of all things needfull for man or beast. From thence he leaned downe towards SOFFIAN, a fruitful place, subiect also to the Persians; from whence he began to discouer TAVRIS. Great was the joy of the whole campe, and now the mutinous souldiours of GREECE and CONSTANTINOPLE could highly commend the aduice of the Generall, or rather of *Amurath* himselfe, in giuing out the rumour of NASSIVAN for TAVRIS, as the onely meanes whereby they were in quiet come so farre, the Persians being wholly occupied (as they supposed) about NASSIVAN: in so much that euery man being waxen courageous, and replenished with joy, without any feare at all began proudly to plot vnto themselves nothing but sackings, pillings, taking of prisoners, rauishments, robberies, and all those insolent and outrageous actions that vse rashly to proceed from the greedie affections of those barbarous victors; especially they of the vauward, who being desirous of bootie, and to discouer the enemies countrey, descended downe toward certaine pleasant gardens full of all sorts of trees, springs, and fruits: where hauing satisfied their appetites, they withdrew themselves to a certaine little river neere to a bridge called *The Bridge of salt water*, and there stayed at pleasure attending the coming of the armie. But euen whiles they were thus enjoying the water, the fruits, the shade, the greene grasse, and other delights of the place, the Persian prince *Emir Hamze*, king *Mahamets* eldest sonne, who with ten thousand good souldiours had closely couched himselfe, watching still when some of the enemies bands should come downe to those resting places, suddenly set vpon them with such speed, courage, and furie, that as if it had bene a lightening and in a manner without any resistance he ouerran all those Turkes, and dispersed them, putting to the sword about seuen thousand of them. And so leading away with him many prisoners, horses, slaues, with sundrie ensignes and Turkish drums, he withdrew himselfe backe towards his blind father, who lay then encamped about twelue miles from TAVRIS with fiftie thousand souldiours or thereabouts; *Aliculi Chan* Gouvernour of TAVRIS being left in the citie with foure thousand souldiours onely. A greater armie than this, not exceeding the number of threescore and foure thousand men, was not the Persian king able to leuie; the principall occasion whereof was the death of *Emir Chan*, for which the Turcoman nation being waxen rebellious and disobedient, would not by any meanes be brought to defend that citie, whereof *Aliculi Chan* their capitall enemy was now Gouvernour: and from *GEBILAN* and *HERI* there came not so much as one souldior to relieue the necessities of PERSIA. So that with these small forces in comparison of the enemies, the Persian king had no stomacke to meet the Turkish armie in plaine battell, but sought

The Turkes re-
sist upon the
discouerie of
Tauris.

The Persian
prince overran-
neth the vau-
ward of the
Turkes armie.

A sought how he might with as little losse to himselfe as possibly he could, make triall of his forces, and by all politike meanes to weaken and annoy his strong enemy.

Osman vnderstanding of this discomfort of his vauward, forthwith dispatched *Sinan Bassa* the sonne of *Cicala*, and *Mahamet* the Bassa of CARABMIT, with fourteen thousand souldiours to pursue the victorious prince: who in their pursuit vfed such expedition, that at length they ouertooke him in the way towards his fathers campe. But as soone as the prince saw the Turkes so neere him, that without a shamefull and dangerous flight he could not auoid the battell, courageously he turned his face, and joynd with them a most bloudie conflict: which being begun two houres before night, was most fiercely maintained, vntill that the darknesse of the night be- reauing them of the vse of their weapons, enforced both the one side and the other to retire.

B Which was done with the notable losse of the Turkes, who in this second conflict (as it was commonly reported) lost six thousand men: and had (as it was thought) suffered a generall slaughter, had not the night interrupted so vnconuentionall an action, well worthie of a thousand day- lights. So that hitherto the Turkes sustained the losse of more than ten thousand souldiours, and yet had scarce discouered or seene the citie which they so greedily longed after.

The next morning the Turkes campe remoued and came within two miles of TAVRIS, where they encamped. But whiles they were setting vp their tents, *Aliculi Chan* issuing out of the citie with all his garrison, and such of the citizens as were fit to beare armes, set vpon the face of the vauward being now renewed, and with many cunning turnings and windings so charged them, that with great losse he forced them to retire euen vnto the maine battell: where after he C had espied the great artillerie, he without hurt withdrew himselfe againe to the citie. The confusion of the Turkes in this skirmish was notable, for in a verie small time the vauward was disor- dered, and almost three thousand slaine. But *Aliculi* not so contented, in the shutting in of the evening sallied out of the citie the second time, and swiftly running along that side of the armie that lay towards TAVRIS, slew the Bassa of MARAS, and did great hurt in that quarter: which done, without any stay he fled to the kings campe, and forsooke the defence of that sorrowfull citie which he could not hold. Neuertheless the Taurisians (as many of them as remained in the citie) gathered themselves together to the gates of the citie, well armed, prepared to make a bloudie entrance for the Turkes whensoever they should come. All the night was spent in watch- ing without rest on either side, and yet nothing attempted: but vpon the breake of the day, a

D great multitude of the feeble sort of the Turkes, and of the common rascall rout, without any order from their capitaines, armed with corselets, speares, and swords, went to the citie with reso- lution to haue sacked it, and so to haue enriched themselves with the spoile and pillage of that wealthie citie. But when they came to the guarded gates of the citie, they found there contrarie to their expectation, a terrible rescue, and were enforced there to joyne an hard and mortall bat- tell: so that the wals, the entrance, yea all the ground thereabouts was bathed with blood, and as it were couered with weapons and dead carcases. And yet for all that, though the Persians stood fast and firme at the arriual of this feeble rout; at the last they were constrained to yeeld the en- trance, being overcome by the multitude of them that out of the campe flowed in vpon them like a flood; and retiring into the citie, now astonied and amazed on euery side, they fortified

E themselves in their houses vnder the ground, and in the corners and winding turnings of the streets: from whence with their arrowes and some few arcubuses, they did the Turkes that entered great harme. Yet were they not able to kill and destroy so many of their enemies, but that at the last they were too mightie for them, and wrought many grievous mischiefs in that wofull citie. And so a great number of this rascall people that remained aline, returned to the Turkish campe, carrying away with them too manifest tokens of the poore oppressed citie: wherein the misera- ble women and impotent soules stood embracing and straining the doores and poasts of their houses, and kissing their native soile, with prayers, mournings, and complaints, bewailing their present miserie, and yet fearing worse to come. *Osman* the Turkes Generall now made acquaint- ed with these calamities, caused proclamation to be published, That no man should be so hardie F as to molest the Taurisians, &c. in the meane time went himselfe about the citie, viewing through- ly the situation of it, and surveying the place wherein he might both encampe himselfe safely, and with better foundation and greater securitie erect a castle or fort, for the more assurance of that conquered countrey.

The citie of TAVRIS is seated at the foot of the hill ORONTES, about eight daies journey

Osman sendeth
two Bassas with
14.000 souldiours
to ouertake the
Persian prince.

A great slaugh-
ter in the gates
of Tauris.

The description
from
of Tauris

from the Caspian sea, and is subject to winds, cold, and snow: yet of a verie wholesome ayre, G
abounding with all things necessarie for mans life: and wonderfull rich, with perpetuall con-
count of merchandise brought thither out of the East, to be conuayed vnto the West; and also
of others brought out of these Westerne parts, to be dispersed into the East. It is verie popu-
lous, so that it feedeth almost two hundred thousand persons: but yet open to the furie of euerie
armie, without wals, and vnfortified. The buildings (after the manner of those of the East) are
of burnt clay; and rather low than high. For all things it carrieth the name, and was the place of
the Persian kings residence, vntill such time as that the late king *TAMAS* removed his seat from
thence farther into his kingdom to *CASBIN*: neuertheless both before and since, although it
had been sundrie times molested by the intodes and furie of the Turkish emperors, yet was it still
in great estimation and renowne. H

Of this citie *Osman Bassa* hauing taken diligent view, caused his tents to be pitched on the
South side thereof, where was a spacious garden all flourishing and beautifull, replenished with
sundrie kind of trees and sweet smelling plants; and a thousand fountaines and brookes deriued
from a pretie riuer, which with his pleasant streame diuided the garden from the citie of *TAV-
RIS*: and was of so great beautie, that for the delicacie thereof, it was by the countrey inhabitants
called *Sechia Genet* (that is to say) the eight Paradises: and was in times past the standing house of
their kings, while they kept their residence in this citie; and after they had withdrawne their seat
from thence to *CASBIN*, became the habitation and place of abode for the Gouvernors of *TAV-
RIS*. Of these gardens and places *Osman* made choise to build his castle in; whereof he gaue the
modell himselfe, and commaunded that all the whole circuit of those pleasant greenes should be
environed with wals, and trenches digged round about them to conuay the water from the fore-
said riuer. Which was accordingly begun with the greatest care that possibly might be: the
foundation of the embattled wals laid, the ditches digged fourteen foot broad, & a mans height
in depth; and in the space of six and thirtie daies the whole worke finished and brought to an
end: great store of artillerie mounted vpon the walles, and diuers bathes, lodgings, and such
other houses necessarie for the Turkish vses built within the castle. The first day of this build-
ing *Osman* fell sicke of a feauer with a bloudie flux, which happily was the cause both of
the slownesse of the building, and of many other losses that afterwards happened, as shall
be hereafter declared. I

The castle of
Tauris built in
36 daies.

Eight Ianizaries
with certaine
Scourges found
strangled in a
bath at Tauris.

Five daies after the building of the castle was begun, newes was brought into the Turkish K
camp, That eight Ianizaries and diuers Spaogians were scene strangled in a bath within the citie
of *TAVRIS*. Whereupon the *Zaini*, *Spahini*, and Ianizaries came presently vnto the Generall,
declaring vnto him, That although he had with too much clemencie giuen order that no man
should hurt or molest the *Taurisians*, and that according to his pleasure euerie man had vsed mo-
destie towards them and obedience to him: yet the *Taurisians* themselues had most audaciously
strangled in one of their bathes eight Ianizaries and certaine Spaogians, which iniurie and inso-
lencie (they said) in their judgement was not to be suffered. This outrage so moued the Generall,
that without any farther delay he commaunded the citie to be sacked, leauing it wholly to the
pleasure of his souldiours: who forthwith so vsed the matter, not as if they would haue reuen-
ged an iniurie, but rather at once haue brought an vtter destruction vpon the whole citie. Eue-
ry place was filled with slaughter, tauishment, rapine and murder; virgins were deflowred,
men-children defiled with horrible and vnspcakable sins; younglings snatched out of their pa-
rents armes, houses laid euen with the ground and burnt, riches and money carried away; and
in briefe, all things ruined and wasted. Neither were these mischiefs committed once onely,
but the second followed worse than the first, and the third vpon that worse than the second: so
that it was a miserie almost inexplicable, to behold that citie so populous, so rich, sometimes the
court and pallace of the Persian kings, and honour of that empire, now subject to the furie of the
Turkes, plunged in calamitie and vtter destruction. L

The miserie of
the Taurisians.

The wofull aduertisement hereofore troubled the Persian king, but the young prince his
sonne much more; who moued with the passions of most inward griefe, disdain, and dispaire, M
and desiring nothing more than reuenge, resolved to attempt any thing whereby to requite so
great a wrong. In which resolution hauing confirmed his armie, he commaunded five hundred
of his horsemen to present themselues euen to the verie sight of their enemies tents, and as it
were to dare them to battell: which thing they performed accordingly, and made a gallant show

A of themselues. At the discouerie whereof, the Turkes imagining that the Persians were come in
great number to assaile the armie, order was giuen by the sicke Generall, that *Cicala Bassa*; and
Mahamet the Bassa of *CARABMIT*, with the people of *GRACIA*; and all their owne forces
should go to encounter the enemy: who presently with their ensignes displayed vnder which
there stood about foure and thirtie thousand strong, besides a number of seruile people; yet men
exercised in labours and perils, in all well neere fortie thousand, set forward. Now the five hun-
dred Persians, with a maruellous cunning kind of skirmishing dallied with the Turkish souldiours,
and drew them forward for the space of eight miles and more: and being brought so farre on, and
now forewearyed with the skirmish, were lustily assailed by the Persian prince, who with part of
his armie (to the number of about twentie thousand persons) courageously set vpon the two
Bassas, and joyned with them the deadliest and cruellest battell that euer was written of:
B Wherein the Persians hauing giuen a most perilous onser and done great harme, it was thought
that they would haue contented themselues with so luckie an encounter; and so retired: which
the Turkes minding to preuent, and not to returne without a notable victorie; hardly pressed vp-
on them, hoping in the end to put them to flight, and so to giue them a bloudie and deadly ouer-
throw. But the Persians hauing quietly and with great assurance for a reasonable space endured
their charge, at last as if they had been fresh men, made head vpon them afresh, and began a most
terrible battell anew: wherein the Bassa of *CARABMIT* (aboue named) was put to flight, and
being wholly dismaied and discomfited, fled backe againe to the campe, carrying with him the
most manifest tokens of the vnhappie issue of the battell. *Cicala* the other Bassa notwithstanding
C valiantly and with great cunning still sustained the furie of the Persians, labouring by all meanes
to encourage his souldiours, and to haue restored the battell: but when he had done what he
could, overcome at last by greater valour, he was enforced to betake himselfe to flight also; and
so altogether discomfited, came to the campe without any ensigne, hauing left behind him 8000
of his souldiours dead vpon the ground. Eight thousand
Turks slain.

The Persian prince encouraged with this so fortunat a victorie, by speedie heralds sent to the
sicke Visier (whom he thought notwithstanding to haue been in health) and gaue him to vnder-
stand, that if he were willing to fight he was readie for him, and in what sort soeuer it pleased him
to accept of battell, to make him good account of his valour; and to cause him to know, not
only that *Amurath* his master had most vnjustly raised this warre, but also that it had been good
D for himselfe not to haue taken the same in hand. Of this offer *Osman* accepted, but being not
able himselfe to go and answere the prince in person hand to hand, by reason of his sicknesse
which euerie houre mortally encreased, hee sent out all his captaines with his armie to dare
him battell.

The prince lay ten miles or thereabouts distant from the campe of *Osman*, towards whom the
Turkes set forward in this manner: The maine battell was guided by the Bassa of *CARABMIT*
and *Siman Cicala*, with all the souldiours of *ASSIRIA* and *BABYLON*: the left wing was led by
the Bassa of *NATOLIA*, with the band of *GRACIA*; and the right wing was conducted by
Amurath Bassa of *CARAMANIA*, with the people of *SORIA* to the number of threescore thou-
sand: beside such as were left behind at *TAVRIS*, with the trustie guard of the Ianizaries, and the
E artillerie, for the safegard of the sicke Visier. In this order they confronted the Persian prince, who
was himselfe in the midst of his armie, with all his people in verie good order: hauing on the
one side the souldiours of *PERBIA* and *HIRCANIA*, and on the other them of *PARTIA* and
ATROPATIA, in all to the number of fortie thousand. The Turkes feared nothing more, than
that the Persians fetching a great compasse about, should with all celeritie and furie set vpon
their tents, and the riches they had laied vp together in their pavillions: and therefore at euerie
motion of theirs, they continually feared this sudden outroad; whereof they had such especie-
all care, that resirring themselues as much as they might, and feigning as if they had giuen place
to the Persians, it wanted not much but that they had brought them euen within the iust leuell
and marke of the artillerie. Which the Persians perceiuing, without any further dallying hard-
F ly began to assaile the maine bodie of the battell. The prince himselfe being entred amongst the
souldiours of the Bassa of *CARABMIT* (who as Generall sustained the place of *Osman*) and pres-
sing into the midst of the battell, dispatched euerie man that came in his way; and hauing sin-
gled out the Bassa from the rest, smote off his head, and gaue it to one of his followers to carrie
vpon the top of his lance. Which being openly defied, brought a great terrour vpon the
Turkes, The Bassa of
Carabmit slain
by the Persian
prince, and his
head cut off.

Turkes, and exceedingly encouraged the Persians; who embred with the blood of their enemies, and intermingling themselves more and more among them, made of them a most confused and generall slaughter: wherein beside the Bassa before named, there died also the Bassa of **ERZIRVAN**, the Sanzacke of **BVRSTA**, with five other Sanzackes, and as it was commonly reported twentie thousand Turkes more. It fell also to the lot of *Amurath Bassa* of **CARAMANIA** to be there taken prisoner, with diuers other common souldiours. But night comming now on, and the Persians being come somewhat too nigh the Turkish artillerie, they gaue ouer the fight, and withdrew themselves backe to the place where their king lay encamped with the rest of his armie.

But now were diuers dayes spent wherein the new fortresse at **TAVRIS** (as we haue before said) was fully finished, when the souldiours of **GRACIA** and **CONSTANTINOPLE** wearied to see their friends and fellowes thus slaine before their faces, and hauing also safely layed vp in their owne custodie such preyes and booties as they had gotten in the sacke of the citie, resolved with themselves to procure their owne departure, and so much the rather, for that Winter was now fast comming on. And for as much as the Generall was through the immoderat flux of blood brought weake, and in despaire of life, and quite abandoned of all hope by his phisitions, and therefore not to be spoke withall; they were faine by the mouth of such as were their trustie friends about him, to represent vnto him the necessitie of their returne, and withall after many reuerent entreaties caused it also to be signified vnto him, That if he stood obstinate, and would needs stay dallying out the time in those dangerous places where no such need was, they should be enforced to withdraw themselves and to forsake him. *Osman*, who had now nothing els to doe in those countries but onely to leaue some conuenient garrison in the new fortresse at **TAVRIS**, liberally promised to satisfie their requests by departing thence the next morning. So calling vnto him *Giasfer* the Eunuch Bassa of **TRIPOLIS**, a man of a craftie and cruell nature, made him gouernour and keeper of the new built fortresse at **TAVRIS**. And the more to encourage him to take that charge vpon him, he gaue him freely for the space of three whole yeares not onely the office and authoritie, but also the rents and reuenues of a Bassa of **CARAEMIT**, lately slaine by the Persian prince, and withall honoured him with the title of the Bassa of the Court: so that hauing finished his three yeares office of **CARAEMIT**, he was then to goe and sit among the soueraigne seats of the Bassaes of the Porta. The Bassa seeing so faire and so high a way for him to mount to those high honours (greater than which there is none in the Turkish empire) readily accepted the offer, and dispatching his lieutenant for **CARAEMIT** to the government of those countries in his absence, with an hundred of his owne followers; settled himselfe in the said fort with a garrison of twelue thousand souldiours, furnished with all necessarie prouision vntill the next Spring. The Generall hauing thus set all things in order, and carefully provided for the safetie of the fortresse, departed according to his promise, and the same morning, which was the four-score and seuenth day after his departure from **ERZIRVAN**, came to a place called **SANCAZAN**, seven miles distant from **TAVRIS**.

The Turkes were now vpon the point of their encamping in a confused disorder and hurly-burly, when those that were hindermost in the armie heard the neighing of horses, and the noise of drums and trumpets, as if it had bene the comming of an armie. Which when the whole campe vnderstood, they ran all headlong, and disordered as they were to the rescue, on that side where the noise of the horses and warlike instruments was heard. But whilest the Turkes were thus intently busied on that side to expect the comming of the enemy, the Persian prince without any signe or token of battell, with eight and twentie thousand horsemen was readie vpon them on the other side: who hauing discovered the cammels and other carriages whereupon their booties, their spoiles, and their riches were laden, which they had taken in **TAVRIS**, beside much of their prouision for victuals for the sustenance of the armie, he turned vpon them, and with a proud and safe conuoy had taken for a prey eighteene thousand of the cammels and mules, well laden with the same booties and victuals; which the prince sent presently away with six thousand of his souldiours, and he himselfe with his two and twentie thousand Persians entered into the Turkes armie, who now to withstand his assault, had on that side also made head against him. A gallant thing it was, and terrible withall, to see what a mortall battell was made, what singular prowesse shewed euen presently in the forefront of the battell; for in a moment you might haue scene the tents and pauillions turned vpside downe, and their encamping lodgings

A replenished with dead carcases and blood, victorious death raunging and rainging in euery corner. The Turkes themselves were astonished and maruelled to see their enemies (so few in number, and intermingled among so populous an armie of warlike people) more like fatall ministers of death, than mortall men, to brandish their swords ouer them, as if it had lightened, and to make so generall a slaughter; and doe to this day with great admiration recount the valour and prowesse of the Persians. But they all now doubting least the enemy in this furie should forcibly haue entered the very lodgings of the sicke Visier, it was commaunded nor by himselfe (for he lay now at the last gaspe) but by him who at that time commaunded in his name, That without delay the artillerie should be vnbarred, and discharged: which in that medley and confusion of both armies, without any exception or distinction of persons, ouerthrew both friends and B foes, and did perhaps more harme among the Turkes themselves than among the Persians: for at the first thundering noise thereof the prince with all speed retired, after whom presently followed all the rest: so that the Turkes which remained behind were more annoyed with the deadly shot than were the Persians, who flying away could not feele the damage, but that the Turkes must first be well payed for their labour. The Turkes pursuing the flying Persians, made shew as if they would gladly haue ouertaken them: but night comming on, they feared to proceed any further than they might without danger returne. In this battell of **SANCAZAN** were slaine twentie thousand Turkes, without any notable losse of the Persians.

Among the rest in the same place died the Visier *Osman*, Generall of the late dreadfull but now desolate armie; not by the hand of the enemy, but consumed by the vehemencie of an ague and C a flux of blood. Whose death notwithstanding was kept secret from the whole army, euery man verily thinking, that it was but onely the continuance of his sicknesse, because the chariots wherein he lay were still kept close: and in his name *Cicala Bassa* (for so he had appointed in his will) gaue out answers and commaundements to the whole armie. Neuertheless it was disclosed to the Persians, by meanes of three young men, who in the life of *Osman* hauing charge of his jewels and treasure, were with the best thereof and the fairest of his horses fled to the Persian king, to whom they reuealed the death of the Generall. The Persians who before had thought it not possible for so great cowardise, and dishonourable kind of fighting and ordering of an armie to haue proceeded from the vertue and valour of *Osman*, of whose worth they had too manifest a triall and experience in times past; now vnderstanding of his death, were thereby encouraged to attempt the vter ouerthrow of the Turkish remnant, and so to giue them an honourable farewell. Whereupon the Persian prince with foureteene thousand men followed the Turkes, who had now raised their campe, and were remooued to a certaine riuer of salt water, not farre from **SANCAZAN**; where the prince caused a few tents to be pitched, about foure or five miles distant from the Turkish campe, the aforesaid brooke running in the midst betwene the two armies. Now the prince had purposed to haue assailed the Turkes in the morning, whiles they were loading their carriages, hoping in that confusion to haue wrought them some notable mischief: which his designement was reuealed vnto the Turkes by one of his spies whom they had caught. And therefore they did neither rise so early in the morning as their manner was; nor load their stuffe vntill such time as they were all armed, and on horsebacke readie to receiue their enemies. E By which their warie and vnusual manner of rising, the Persians perceiued that their purpose was by some meanes discovered. And yet considering that if they should loose this occasion, they should find no other good opportunitie to annoy them before the next Spring, they vterly resolved to aduenture the assault: and hauing obserued that the enemies artillerie was on the right side of the armie, they in the sight of euery man began to enter on the left. But the Turkes presently so vncovered and vnbarred their artillerie against the assailants, as was to their great losse and danger. Howbeit they were so nimble and so quicke to throwd themselves vnder the enemies armie, and to auoid the mischievous tempest, that being come now very neere the Turkes squadrons, they must needs joyne battell with them. The Persians had purposed before as soone as they saw the Turkes begin to stirre, to retire, and so to draw them on into a very filthie and deepe marish; which being then drie, was not feared or doubted of any, but onely by those that were acquainted withall, or borne thereabouts. VVhich their policie the rebell *Maxmet Chan*, and with him *Daut Chan* (as being well acquainted with those places) perceiuing, gaue notice thereof to *Cicala Bassa*: who presently caused a great compassing wing to be made, commaunding them to set vpon the Persians; and to charge them home: which was forthwith put in execution, so that

Giasfer Bassa of Tripolis an Eunuch made Gouernour of Tauris.

Osman the Generall departed from Tauris, and commeth to Sancazan.

The battell of Sancazan.

Twentie thousand Turkes slain.

Osman the Visier and Generall destroyed at Sancazan.

that their forefront opened it selfe with very large and spacious cornets vpon the prince: who no sooner saw this their vnwonted order of comming on, but by and by he perceived that his purpose was discovered. And thereupon without any stay he began to retire, calling his people after him: which could not so readily be done, but that three thousand of them remained behind, all miserably stifled, ouertreden in the mire, with very little losse to the Turkes: and this onely battell of fue that were fought vnder TAVRIS and in those quarters, was lesse hurtfull to the Turkes than to the Persians.

The Turkes
armie discharged
at Van.

The prince returned to the king his fathers campe, recounting vnto him the whole action, together with the departure of the enemy. And so the Turkes came to SALMAS, where the death of the Generall was published: from SALMAS they went afterwards to VAN, where they tooke a survey of their armie, and found wanting therein about fourescore and fife thousand persons, or as some say more. At VAN all the souldiours were dismissed: and Cicala from thence gaue notice to Amurath at CONSTANTINOPLE of all that had happened. Where first was published the death of Osman the Generall; for whom were made many signes of great sorrow: and together with his death were blazed the bloudie and mortall actions that were in that expedition performed: so that the whole citie seemed to be greatly discomforted, and in many places were heard much secret railing vpon the king, many curses of this warre, and insolent maledictions of these manifold mischiefs. After that, was dispersed the great fame of the new fortresse erected at TAVRIS, of the sacking of the citie, and of all the losse that had happened therein: and a generall edict published in the kings name, That through all the cities of his empire they should make solempne feasts, with other expresse tokens of joy and rejoycing: which was accordingly done both in CONSTANTINOPLE and other places. There was also word sent to the embassadours of HUNGARIE, of FRANCE, of VENICE, and of other countries, that they should doe the like: but they all with one accord answered, That it was neuer the custome of embassadours to make any such signe of rejoycing, but onely when the king himselfe in person returned from the like victories.

In the meane time consultation was held at VAN for the sending of succours to TELIS in GEORGIA: vnto which important seruice, Daut Chan to deserue some reward at Amuraths hand, offered himselfe: vnto whom Cicala Bassa deliuered thirtie thousand Cecchini to be conveyed to the fort at TELIS. Which piece of seruice the renegade performed, and without trouble relieved the souldiours in the fort: which was so well accepted of Amurath, that he for the same good seruice honoured him with the dignitie of the Bassa of MAHAS. Maxut Chan also the other Persian rebell, that guided the Turkish armie to Reiuau, and afterwards to TAVRIS, was in like manner by the same Amurath honoured with the great rich office of the Bassa of ALEPPO.

The miserie the
Turks armie en-
dured at Tauris.

The miseries the Turkish armie endured in this expedition for TAVRIS, beside the losses before rehearsed, were wonderfull: for as the Sanzacke of AMAN, a citie of SORTA (called in ancient time APAMEA) present in all this action, reporteth in a letter which he wrote to Ali Bassa of ALEPPO, there was such a dearth in the Turkes armie, that they were enforced to giue their cammels bisket and tice, and when that failed, they gaue them their pack-saddles to eat, and after that pieces of wood beaten into powder, and at last the very earth: which dearth endured vntill they arrived at VAN. And at TAVRIS whiles the fortresse was in building, they were of necessity constrained to giue their horses their dung in very drie powder. By reason whereof there followed a grievous mortalitie of horses, cammels, mules, and men, and the stinke which grew of this mortalitie became so great, that euery man was faine to carie a piece of a strong smelling onion still vnder his nose, to auoid the heauinesse thereof.

The fort so lately built in the royall citie of TAVRIS exceedingly grieved the Persians in generall, but especially the king and the prince his sonne: to let it alone, they reckoned it too great a shame, and how to demolish it they well knew not, finding themselves not onely destitute of artillerie, but also of such sufficient strength as was requisite for the performance of so great an enterprize: yet prickt on with desire of glorie and the necessitie of the cause, they determined even in the sharpnesse of Winter to gather new forces, and with trenches of earth to approach the ditch, and to trie if they could aduance a countermure as high as their wals, and so to attaine to the conquest thereof. But in the gathering of their men they discovered new difficulties: for, to hire any souldiours either from HARRI or GHILAN, was denied them by Abbas and Amet Chan: and

A and the Turcoman nation, which might haue been the readiest and the neerest at such a need, for the late death of Emir Chan, and for the succession of Aliculi, were growne verie contumacious: so that neither the king, nor the prince, nor the presidents and gouernours of the kingdome, could tell which way to turne themselves. At last for the common safetie they determined to draw the Turcomans to a reconciliation; hoping that by promising them any honest satisfaction for the wrong wherewith they challenged themselves grieved for the death of their captain, they would become more tractable to doe them seruice in their common necessities. Whereupon the king sent kind letters to the heads and captaines of those nations, and principally to Mahamet Chan, and to Calife the Sultan, declaring plainly vnto them the perill of his state, and of the libertie of the whole kingdome, with the confidence he had in their valour: and that therefore forgetting all that was past, as done not in shame or scorn of their nation, but onely for zeale and loue to the kingdome, they would demand such satisfaction as they desired, and that he would be ready to agree to any just request they should make. To which letters they readily answered, That they would come vnto him, to put in execution whatsoever he should for the common necessitie or the honour of his State command. Now they had craftily among themselves already concluded, not to suffer any other to sit in the roume of Emir Chan their late Gouernour, but onely young Tamas the kings third sonne. Which conclusion they had plotted to themselves, with a resolution in the end to cause him to be accepted for king at CASBIN, in despite of the king himselfe and of the prince Hamze: nothing regarding, that by this action farre greater troubles would arise in PERSIA than euer were yet heard of, but onely being wholly bent to reuenge the death of one onely Emir Chan. With this malicious and fraudulent resolution, they to the number of ten thousand (vnder the conduct of two captaines, Mahamet and Calife) went to the king, in all reuerence offering themselves with all readinesse to be employed in the enterprise wherunto they were called. The old credulous king, not suspecting any mischief plotted by these secret rebels, was greatly comforted at their comming: and although by some of his Sultans that had felt some inkling of this conspiracie, he was aduised to deale circumspectly and warily with them, and not commit any matter of importance to their trust, yet did he thinke euery houre a thousand vntill he had offered them satisfaction: promising them, that what captaines they would desire in the roume of Emir Chan, if it were possible they should haue him. Whereunto the dissembling Mahamet Chan made answer, That their desire aboue all things, was to doe him pleasure and seruice; not doubting but he would appoint them such a chieftaine, as should be valorous, noble, and acceptable vnto them. The king could stay no longer, but frankly declared vnto them, That to assure them of his good will, and to giue them an hostage in pawne thereof, he had made choise of young Tamas his sonne to succeed in the roume of Emir Chan their late Gouernour: As soone as Mahamet Chan heard this resolution of the king, who beside all expectation voluntarily of himselfe yielded them the meanes to put in execution, what they had maliciously before contriued against the peace and libertie of the kingdome: he became more iocund than he was wont to be, and outwardly shewed himselfe ready for whatsoever the king would command him: and in the nantes of the rest yielded also large promises of fidelitie and obedience, so that the matter might be performed for which he had now E given his word.

The king, who desired nothing more than to see the fort of TAVRIS raised (which could hardly be done without the helpe of those Turcomans) contrarie to the aduise of the wisest of the Sultans, and of the prince, secretly and as it were by stealth gaue his young sonne Tamas into the hands of Mahamet, as chiefe of all the Turcomans. Who to nourish the good opinion and credulitie of the king, and to secure the prince, and the Sultans, gaue a lustie beginning by the helpe of his followers, with trenches and rampiers to approach the fort. Neither was there any great time spent therein for they had now almost made their trenches and mounts euen with the enemies wall, and the ditch it selfe was almost filled vp with earth, so that there wanted but little more labour to begin the desired assault: when contrarie to all mens expectation, the false and wicked traitour Mahamet Chan, with all his Turcomans, leading away with them the child Tamas, departed in the night time and vpon a sudden, from so noble and honourable an enterprise. And blinded with desire to put in execution his ill hatched purpose, courtly and without any noyse, removed from the besieged wals, and put himselfe on his way towards CASBIN: still teeming Tamas by the name of the king of PERSIA, and sundrie waies abusing and mocking the

Ten thousand
Turcomans offer
their seruice vnto
the Persian
king.

The Turcomans
forsake the siege
and fall into re-
bellion.

the poore old king and the prince. This so sudden and so dangerous a rebellion, whereby not onely so honourable and so necessarie an enterprife was to be abandoned, but the whole state of the kingdome like to be endangered, exceedingly grieued all good men, but most of all the old king and the prince his sonne: who no lesse carefull of his rightfull succession, than was the aged king of his present estate, both now hazarded by this rebellion; wholly incensed with griefe and anguish of mind, began to cast a thousand deuises in his troubled head, what course to take, and what to resolute vpon. To abandon the siege it grieued him about measure, and to suffer so pernicious a rebellion to go forward, seemed too dangerous for the state of PERSIA: and to provide for both these mischiefs at once, was altogether impossible. In these huge waues of contrarie thoughts, he resolute at last to turne himselfe against the Turcomans, and to suppress that rebellion as most dangerous to the State. And so with twelue thousand souldiors, and a part also of the kings ordinarie guard, all couragious and hardie men, he followed after the rebellious Turcomans; and marching directly toward CASBIN, he ouertooke them at a place called CALISTEZA, a daies journey on this side CASBIN, and there joyned battell with them. Wherein many of them being sorie for that they had done, would not so much as draw their swords against the prince: many others fled alway for feare, so that he easily obtained a wished victorie ouer them. The seditious *Mahamei Chan* was taken prisoner, and by the princes commaundement presently beheaded: so was also *Calife* the Sultan, and diuers other captaines of this pestilent conspiracie. Young *Tamas* was also taken, and by the direction of the prince sent to the castle of CAHACA. Five thousand Turcomans of the late followers of the rebell *Mahamet*, fled out of the battell towards BABYLON by the way of SIRAS, and yielded themselves to *Solyman Bassa* of that citie; who afterwards repenting themselves of their folly, sought to returne againe into the fauour of their king, but all in vaine: so that being become rebels to the one, and suspected to the other, they did at one time loose their countrey, their libertie, their honour, and the fauour of all men as well friends as foes. The prince after this victorie held on his way to CASBIN, and there staying, laboured to gather the dispersed Turcomans, especially those that moued with the honestie of the cause, would not beare armes in so vnjust an action; intending afterwards to returne to TAVRIS, to attend the besieging and conquest of the fort. This was the end of this dangerous rebellion, the chiefe cause that TAVRIS was not againe recouered out of the hands of the Turks, to the great weakning of the Persian kingdome.

The Turcomans
discomfited, and
Mahamei Chan
and Calife the
Sultan beheaded.

Giasfer Bassa
sends to Cicale
his Bassa for aid

Now *Giasfer* the Eunuch Bassa Gouverneur of the castle of TAVRIS, fearing least the Persian K prince would with a greater armie againe returne to the siege: perceiuing himselfe to waxe euery day weaker and weaker, by reason that many of his men secretly fled from him, beside them that perished with sicknesse, and others slaine in aduenturing too boldly to go abroad to seeke for victuals; sent aduertisement thereof to *Cicale Bassa* at VAN, signifying farther vnto him by writing, That if the prince should againe returne to assault the fort, he should of necessitie be enforced to yeeld it: and that therefore as he tendered the honour of his Sultan, he would be carefull to send him succour, whereby he might be able to maintaine the fort: adding moreouer, That now it was most easily to be done, because there was no forces of the enemies in those quarters, saving onely a few which remained about the king, lying twelue miles off from TAVRIS. *Cicale* moued with the importance of the enterprife propounded, and withall desirous to gaine some credit of glorie and renowne with his king, entertained the aduices of *Giasfer*, and getting him to horse with a traine of three thousand harquebusiers and good store of munition, set forward toward TAVRIS. The Persian king aduertised thereof, sent out spies to learne what way they held, meaning to meet them and to set vpon them: but these spies comming neere to SALMAS were apprehended by the forerunners of *Cicale*, and being put to torture, reuealed at last how that their king was in armes, and on his way towards SANCAZAN. At which newes *Cicale* was greatly astonied, as well for the danger whereinto the forces and munition which he had with him were likely to fall, as also for that by any losse which his troupes should sustaine in this expedition, the citie of VAN (being indeed the greatest and most noble frontier towne in all those countries) must needs be in hazard to be lost, hauing left in it but his lieutenant with a verie few M souldiors. Whereupon he determined to relinquish this dangerous enterprife, and to withdraw himselfe backe to the defence and preferuation of the citie committed to his trust and gouernment. But although these expected and desired succours were not conuaid to TAVRIS as was intended, yet had *Giasfer* as good fortune as he could wish: for the preparations of the prince

A prince were so long and so troublesome, and his returne so much prolonged, that there was time enough yielded vnto the Turkes great Generall now newly chosen (as by and by shall be declared) to go with a strong armie into those quarters; and so to preserue all that which the only expedition and celeritie of the enemy might haue put in great hazard, and almost haue brought to a desperat case.

In the meane time, *Amurath* the Turkish emperour was greatly troubled at CONSTANTINOPLE in making choise of a new Generall: on the one side *Osman Bassa* hauing by his last will left *Sinan Cicale* to be his successour, as a man of approued valour; and the many dangers he had run through in the late seruice about TAVRIS, with the great fauours he had in the Court, did not a little encline the king to his election: on the other side, he heard of a publike rumour spread amongst the souldiors, that they could by no meanes endure to be commaunded by so young a captain, and that some in plaine teames should say, That they would not obey him: which caused *Amurath* to doubt, that some dangerous discord might thereof ensue in the armie, if he should proceed to make choise of him. Then there was also *Ferat Bassa*, the same man which had already sustained that charge before *Osman*; who now verie ambitiously sought againe for this honour, hauing of late performed some good seruice to the good liking of the king. Of any other to make better choise he had none, so that he stood in great doubt what to doe. In the end, because he was in good time to provide for his affaires, he made choise of *Ferat Bassa*, the same man whom he had before made prooue of: a man of great fidelitie, of an honourable carriage, and already experienced in the leading and commaunding of such an armie, to whom hee granted the ordinarie authoritie, to manage at his pleasure such affaires of the empire as concerned his journey. Vpon this resolution generall precepts were sent out to all cities within the kingdome, to the Ballies and other Gouvernours with speciall commaundement, That all their souldiors, together with their taxes, tenths, munitions, victuals, armour, artificers, and to bee short, all their necessarie furniture and prouision should be readie and in order, vpon the first warning should be sent them the next Spring. Great prouision of money was made, and in SORIA (besides the ordinarie summe that is bestowed vpon the yearly pay of souldiors in RIVAN, ERZIRUM, LORI, TOMANIS, TEFELIS and CHARS, which swallow vp all the reuenue of that countrey, and of the citie of TRIPOLI, amounting to the summe of six hundred thousand duckets) there was taken vp in prest of priuat merchants in the citie of ALBPO only, the summe D of threescore thousand Cecchini, to be repaid vnto them with the first monies that should be received by the officers of his custome houses. A matter that moued an extraordinary grudging among the people, for that it seemed to euery man a verie strange and intollerable exaction, beside so many grieuances laid vpon them, for corne, for carriages, for pioners, and for workmen, to endure this burthen also of lending their money without hope of restitution thereof: yea and indeed euery man did greatly wonder how they were thus ill aduised, to make it knowne to the Christian princes what scarcitie and want of money they had. The Generall had also with him four hundred pieces of artillerie, and did beside so worke the matter, as that *Maxut Chan* (who was appointed Bassa of ALBPO) was granted vnto him to be the guide of his armie, as hee had been of *Osman*; and that *Cicale Bassa* of VAN (scarce his good friend) was removed from thence, and sent farther off out of his way as Bassa to BABYLON.

The reuenue of
Soria six hundred thousand
duckets.

E And thus hauing put all things in readinesse, he departed from CONSTANTINOPLE in the moneth of Aprill, in the yeare 1586; and passing ouer the strait into ASIA, came to SIVAS something later than he should haue done, being hindered partly by the plague which then raged exceedingly in CONSTANTINOPLE, and partly by other occasions incident to such actions. At SIVAS he staid so long for the comming together of his armie, and in mustering men, that it was the latter end of Iuly before he departed thence; staying in deed the longer at SIVAS, by reason of the exceeding dearth and want of victuals at ERZIRUM: which dearth was also so great in ALBPO, that a VENICE bushell of wheat was sold for twelue Cecchini.

Ferat yet making his aboad at SIVAS, but readie to depart, was aduertised by certaine postes F sent from *Giasfer* the Bassa of TAVRIS, how that the Persian prince was hourly expected with a great armie, and that if he did foreflow to send succours, and to preuent the comming of the prince, and so to giue him time and leisure to assault the castle, he doubted greatly how he should be able to hold the same. Vpon which aduertisement *Ferat* presently removed, and so hastened his journey, that about the beginning of August he was at ERZIRUM and still hearing more and more

1586

Ferat departed
from Constantinople
and commeth to Sivas.

more of the princes comming, stayed not there, but hasted to VAN: where hauing gathered together all his souldiours, and taken a new suruey of his armie, he departed thence; and being presently come into the open and large champaines, to make prooue of the readinesse of his souldiours, he marshalled them in such sort as if he should forthwith haue joined battell with the enemy, and so in seemely order marched on.

The Turkish Generall continually feared least the Persians should come vpon him with some sudden assault: besides that, the constant report of the princes comming to TAVRIS with his armie, much encreased his troubled thoughts. But on the other side, he reposed great confidence in the conspiracie that was now plotted against the life of the prince, with the priuie of *Aliculi Chan* the protectour and champion of *Abas Mirza* of HERRI: who vnder colour of accompanying the prince to assise his forces, had resolutely concluded with himselfe, and absolutely promised *Abas* (hauing also giuen intelligence thereof to the Turkish Generall) to rid the prince *Hamza* of his life; or at least (which he thought might more easily be brought to passe) in the sundrie revolutions and variable chances of the battell at some time or other to make him fall into the hands of *Ferat*, and so to settle his lord and master *Abas* in his estate. Vpon these treacheries *Ferat* grounding himselfe, began with greater confidence to dispose his designments, and somewhat lesse to feare the fame of the huge preparations of PERSIA against him. Which preparations in truth as by most wicked deuices and malicious conspiracies they were turned quite contrarie from that end whereunto the prince *Hamza* had continually appointed them: so if they had bene employed with such faith and fidelitie as so righteous a cause required, without all doubt the writers of our time should haue had matter ynough in this fourscore and sixteene years before going. But for as much as rebellion and discord, the two infernall ministers of the diuell, haue for the vtter vndoing and ouerthrow of the glorie of PERSIA continually fauoured the Turke armies, no maruell it is that the Persian nation cannot vaunt of any reuenge taken for the indignities offered them by their enemies; and that our writers cannot chuse but write of the true and vndoubted victories of the Turkes, and the bare shadowes of the Persian exploits; which notwithstanding many Christians vainly beleue, because they most earnestly desire them to be true, although they doe see to the contrarie the manifest prospering and euident conquests which the Turkes haue in diuers their states and countries.

The Persian prince about the latter end of Iuly arriued at TAVRIS with the greatest part of his armie, where he (contrarie to the opinion of all men) stayed not, for what cause is vncertaine. But vnderstanding that *Zeinel Bassa* of SALMAS, by nation a Curdo, lay encamped before the citie, who of a Persian was become a Turke, and had done great harme against the state of PERSIA; he determined suddenly to set vpon him, and to chastise him for his rebellion. According to which resolution, being accompanied with twelue thousand souldiours, he rode to SALMAS, where finding *Zeinell* with all his people encamped as he had bene before enformed, he gaue him the assault. *Zeinell* more readie to flee than to fight, and his souldiours as readie as he, fled presently, and fell before the Persians, so that the Bassa himselfe with a few others had much adoe to escape and saue themselves in the closest corners thereabouts, leauing the citie committed to his charge, for a prey vnto the angry enemy: who entering into the same, sacked and spoiled it, exercising thereon all such cruelties, as partly the naturall desires of souldiours vse to practise, and partly such as the Turkes themselves shewed vpon them in that miserable and most lamentable lacking of TAVRIS the last year. The like spoyle did the Persian armie in all those quarters round about, and so would haue peraduenture returned to TAVRIS, but that certaine spies arriued vpon them, with aduertisement, That the Bassa of RERVAN being issued out of his forresse with fiftene hundred arquebusiers, had committed the like outrages in the villages and fields thereabouts, as the prince had done about SALMAS. With which newes the prince was greatly moued; and immediatly rising with his armie, and marching towards RERVAN, not farre from the citie encountered the Bassa: who discovering the enemies forces afarre off began in great disorder to flee and retire into his fort, leauing the greatest part of his souldiours (making not so much speed in flight as himselfe) to the furie of the prince, who put them all to the sword, and did what harme he possibly could in all the places thereabouts.

At the very same time great troubles arose in the Drusian country for *Man-ogli* the valiant Drusian (of whom we haue before spoken) in reuenge of the injuries done vnto him and his people

A ple by *Ebraim Bassa*, and by a violent kind of restitution to recompence himselfe of all those bribes and presents which by so many shifts and subtilties were by the couetous Bassa wrung from him (as is before declared) had now taken vp armes, and hauing wasted and sacked all the territorie of *Ebne-manfur* and of his other enemies who had yielded their obedience vnto the Turkes, without let forced all that country with sudden inuasions and inrodes, euen very neere vnto the cities of BALBECK and TRIPOLI, and did there exceeding harme. For redresse whereof, *Amurath* was glad to dispatch away from the Court *Ali Bassa* borne at ALBPO, with the title of the Bassa of DAMASCO, and with authoritie to muster fresh souldiours, and so wholly to attend the vtter subuersion of *Man-ogli*. But comming thither, he found all againe quiet, so that his presence in that country serued rather for a reconciliation and peace making amongst them, than for the prosecuting of any further warre; which at that time was most necessarie for the Turkes to be auoided, as well for want of money in the common treasure, as for the exceeding scarcitie of victuals.

Now the Persian prince hauing made an end of the outrodes and spoyle before mentioned, retired himselfe to TAVRIS, and so towards his fathers campe; where the rest of his armie was now arriued, to the number of about fortie thousand: of whom the prince dispatched away the souldiours of HERRI to the number of eight thousand, vnder the conduct of the traitorous *Aliculi Chan* their Generall; and part also of the Turcomans, vnder the leading of *Emanuli Chan*; with speciall charge, That they should by the way in places of most aduantage meet and receite the enemies armie, and in those narrow and troublesome passages to doe them what mischief they possibly could. Which the prince thus appointed, thinking by this meanes to weaken the enemies forces, and so at their arriuall at TAVRIS to come vpon them with all his power, and so vtterly to destroy them.

Both these captaines departed accordingly, making shew that they would with all affection accomplish the commaundement of their prince: yet neuer was there heard any seruice of moment put in execution by them: For *Aliculi* full of treason, after their departure began to allege many forced reasons and excuses, Why they should surcease from meeting with the Turkes: and *Emanuli* as yet vtterly ignorant of the wicked purposes and mischievous treacherie of *Aliculi*, suffered himselfe to be misle-led by him also. By the delays and negligence of these two Persian captaines, the Turkish Generall tooke leisure without any losse or hinderance at all to arriue at TAVRIS, and to put the desired succours into the fort: at what time the Persian prince by good hap had got knowledge of the treacherie of *Aliculi*, and of the designments which many of the Sultans had lately continued, for the betraying of him aliue into the hands of the Turkish Generall. Of which suspicion he being greatly afraid, durst not onely not trust himselfe to performe those battels that he had before determined to haue performed; but quite abandoning this noble and honourable enterprise, wholly employed all his care and studie for the safetie of his own person, and so left the triumph of the matter in the power of the Turkes. And thus those great hopes and expectations which the Persians had conceiued of great exploits to haue bene done against the enemy, did not onely prooue vaine and come to no good issue, but contrariwise by this discouerie were converted into most strange disturbances, and all PERSIA thereby endured sundrie alterations and reuolutions of most important consequences. For both *Aliculi Chan* and his complices were pursued by the prince, as rebels and traitours: and also *Abas Mirza* of HERRI was manifestly discouered for a wicked and treacherous contriuer of his brothers death: whereby the common mischiefs were encreased more than euer they were before, and the publicke calamities yielded greater hopes vnto the Turkes than they had euer before conceiued in all the course of these warres.

When *Ferat* had thus reliqued them in the castle of TAVRIS, leauing for the custodie thereof *Giasfer* the Bassa with his former companies, he returned towards EZIRVM: hauing first caused a fort to be erected at CVRCHIVE TAVRIS, a place neere vnto TAVRIS, another at COV, and the third at CVM: in euery one of which forts he left a conuenient number of souldiours, with all things necessarie and sufficient for their maintenance, and defence of the places they were to keepe. He sent also succours to the fort at TEBLIS in GEORGIA, which they had long expected, and now most joyfully receiued. But the Persian prince hauing hunted *Aliculi Chan* out of the quarters of TAVRIS, thought himselfe now wholly deliuered from the great feare of treason and rebellion, wherein he of late liued: and therefore in as great hast as he could, put himselfe

The glorie of the Persian long-dome ouerthrowen by rebellion and discord.

Aliculi and *Emanuli Chan* performe nothing against the Turke, as was by the prince expected.

Ferat putteth succours into the fort at TAVRIS.

selfe on his journey towards GANGE: in which place hauing gathered together a good number of souldiours, he determined to remoue thence, to intercept the succours that were by the Turkes to be brought to TAPLIS. Now he had alwayes found *Emanguli Chan* to be both faithful and wise, and in him he reposed an assured confidence for performing any enterprise that he had in hand, and communicated with him euery deuice that he had conceiued in these wars. And therefore he made head and joyned with him; and lodging most familiarly in his citie, he stayed there for the setting in order and disposing of his foresaid designement, being very desirous not to let such an oportunitie to ouerslip, without signification vnto the world of some notable noueltie, which might be correspondent to the fame that of matters passed and performed the yeare before, was now spread and published abroad ouer all the world. But when he was euen at the very fairest to haue put this his desire in execution, and least of all feared any treacherie or treason, vpon a sudden in the night time as he slept vpon a pallet he was miserably stricken through the bodie, by an Eunuch of his that attended vpon him: and so the most resplendent and bright lustre that euer shined in PERSIA, was utterly extinguished. What was the occasion thereof, and who procured his death, diuers and sundrie are the opinions of men. Some thinke, that his brother *Abas Mirize* of HERRI, who had before conspired to haue had him betrayed into the hands of the Turkish Generall, had now by force of money and gifts enduced the wicked Eunuch thereunto. Others deemed it not to haue beene done without the priuie of his father, as more desirous to preferre *Abas Mirize* his other sonne vnto the kingdom. Diuers others doe diuersly reason of the matter; so that to affirme of a certaintie, that thus or thus the death of so worthie a prince was procured, were great rashnesse: and therefore we leaue it, with the further proceesse of the Persian state, vnto the further discouerie of Time, the auntient mother of truth.

Notwithstanding the league betwixt the Christian emperour *Rodolph* the second and *Amurath* the Great Turke, many sharpe skirmishes oftentimes fell out betwixt the Christians and the Turkes vpon the frontiers of their territories and dominions, especially in HUNGARIE, CROATIA, and STIRIA: as now in the latter end of this yeare 1586 in the month of December, the Turkes after their insolent manner making an inrode into the borders of CROATIA, receiued a notable ouerthrow by the Christians, being in number much fewer: where amongst others the Bassa of BOSNA with his brother was slaine; whose head with certaine prisoners was sent to VIENNA to *Ernestus* Archduke of AVSTRIA, the emperours brother. This Bassa of BOSNA and his brother, slaine in this conflict (as we haue said) are reported to haue beene the sonnes of *Muhamet* the late great Visier, by one of the daughters of *Selymus* the second, *Amurath* his sister. For diuers yeares following *Amurath* did no great matter worth the remembrance, contenting himselfe (as it should seeme) with that he had already got from the Persians: and holding his league in some reasonable sort with the Christians: yet not so, but that many a bloudie broile tending at last euen to the breach of the league passed betwixt the Turkes and the Christians, which for the continuation of the historie we will briefly set downe, as they are vnto vs by the writers of our time reported.

1587

The castle of Koopan in Hungarie surprisid by the Christians.

In Februarie the yeare following, which was the yeare 1587, the Christians prouoked by the often outrages of the Turkes, setting vpon the castle of KOPPAN, not faire from the lake of BALATON, being then frozen, by good fortune surprisid it. There was at that time in the castle three of the Turkes Sanzackes, and about a thousand Turkes, of whom an hundred and ninetie of the better sort, with seuentie women, besides diuers of the meaner sort, fell into the hands of the Christians; the rest sauing themselves by flight, or by creeping into secret corners. An hundred horses for seruice were there taken also, and so much bootie as was esteemed to be worth fortie thousand duckats. Of the three Sanzackes that were there present, *Alis* Sanzacke of KOPPAN was taken, and brought first to VIENNA, and afterward presented to the emperour: Another of them standing vpon his defence in a vault vnder ground, was there smothered: The third escaped by flight, but was afterwards the same yeare taken, with diuers others, as shall be forthwith declared.

The eight of August following, foure of the Turkes great commaunders in HUNGARIE, viz. the Bassa of ZIGERT, the Sanzackes of MOHAS, of QVINQVE ECCLBSIA, and the new Sanzacke of KOPPAN, with fise thousand souldiours brake into the borders of the Christians, and in most cruell manner destroyed seuenteen countrey villages about LIMBACH: carrying away with them

A them all the miserable countrey people, with the spoile of the countrey. Whereof *George* Countie *Serinus* (sonne to that most valiant Countie *Nicholas Serinus* slaine at ZIGERT) commaunder of the garrison of CANISIA vnderstanding, with as much speed as was possible raised such forces as he was able out of his territorie betwixt the riuers of Draus and Mura: and calling vnto his aid the Countie *Nadastis*, the Lo. *Bathianus*, and some other valiant captains that had the charge of those frontiers, with such diligence tooke the straits and passages whereby the Turkes must needs returne amongst the marshes, that the Turkes comming backe againe that way with a verie rich prey and many prisoners, being in the breake of the day hardly charged by those most expert and resolute souldiours, in those straight and troublesome passages about a mile from CANISIA, were at length discomfited and put to flight; with such a miserable slaughter, that many of them yeelded vp their scimitars, pitifully crying for mercie; other some fled backe into the woods and Forrests, and many running headlong into the marshes there perished, or sticking fast in the deepe mud, cried together for metcie and helpe of their enemies. In this conflict *Muhamet* the Sanzacke of QVINQVE ECCLBSIA (sonne to *Hali Bassa* slaine in the battell of LEPANTO) was taken prisoner. *Sinan Beg* Sanzacke of MOHAS, thinking to escape thorough the marsh, stucke fast with his horse, and was shot through the head with a small shot, and there died. The Bassa of ZIGERT with *Chasan* the new Sanzacke of KOPPAN, seeing all desperat and lost, fled betimes out of the battell: but he of KOPPAN, wandring vp and downe in the woods, was the next night after the battell, with others taken: the Bassa of ZIGERT almost spent with hunger and griefe of mind, escaped on foot seauen daies after to BRESENZA. There were taken of the Turkes a thousand three hundred, of whom manie died afterwards of their wounds. In this battell there was slaine of the Turks, with them that perished in the marshes and woods, about two thousand: and of the Turkes horses were taken about fiftene hundred. All the prey before taken by the Turkes with the miserable captiues, was againe recovered. The number of them that performed this notable seruice, was in all but fiftene hundred foot and fise hundred horse: of whom there was but eleuen slaine, but most of the rest wounded. Foure hundred heads of the slaine Turkes were (after the manner of those bordering souldiours) carried for shew to CANISIA, with fise hundred prisoners. The Christian souldiours with the helpe of the countrey people, ceased not for certaine daies to hunt after the Turkes that were fled into the woods, as after wild beasts; of whom they found a great number: diuers others also seeing no means to escape, came forth of their lurking places and yeelded themselves.

Amurath vnderstanding of all these troubles that had so happened, commaunded *Ali* the Bassa of BUDA to be strangled, for that he had broken the league, and not restrained the insolencie of his Sanzackes, whom he might haue commaunded: And in his stead placed *Sinan Bassa*, whom before in disgrace, he had now at the request of his wife againe receiued into fauour and restored to his former dignitie. About this time also, *Sigismund* (the king of SVEDEN his sonne) now after the death of king *Stephen* chosen king of POLONIA, and *Maximilian* the emperours brother rejected: euen in the beginning of his raighe sought to renew the league, which *Stephen* his predecessour and other the Polonian kings had before made with *Amurath* and his predecessours the Turkish Sultans. And to that purpose writ vnto him as followeth.

Sigismund the third, king of Polonia; vnto *Amurath* the third, emperour of the Turks, sendeth greeting.

The Almighty long keepe and preferue your maiestie in health and honour. Most mightie prince, our best beloued friend and neighbour, after that we by the grace and goodnesse of God were chosen to gouerne the kingdome of POLONIA, and the embassadours of that kingdome had signified so much vnto us: we providing vs of necessaries, came to DANKSKE the 18. day of October, from whence we send *Iohn Zamogil* our Secretarie to give your maiestie to vnderstand of this our coming. For being told by the Polonian embassadours, that we were chosen vnto the gouernment of that kingdome vpon condition, That according vnto the custome of our predecessours the Polonian kings, we should keepe loue and friendship with the most excellent * Muslman emperours: we promise vnto your so-ueraigne maiestie, that we are willing with the like or greater zeale and deuotion, to continue that amitie and friendship with your most excellent maiestie, and the Othoman emperours your successours. For confirmation whereof, so soone as we shall come vnto CRACOVIA the regall citie of POLONIA,

Ali Bassa of Buda strangled by the commandment of Amurath. Sinan Bassa againe receiued into fauour.

Sigismund the Polonian king his letter vnto Amurath.

* The Turke's deuotion to be called Muslman, which in their language signifies a right believer.

LONIA,

LONIA, and there be crowned; we will forthwith send our great embassadour vnto your maiestie. In the meane time we most earnestly request your maiestie, that our kingdome may on your maiesties behalfe rest in safetie and peace: which we perswade our selues you will easily grant. So wishing vnto you all health and happinesse, we bid you farewell, from DANKS the 18 of October, in the yeare 1587, and of our raigne the first.

Vnto which the kings request and letters, Amurath not long after returned this answer in writing.

Amurath the third, emperor of the Turkes, vnto Sigismund king of POLONIA greeting.

Amurath his
answer vnto the
letters of Sigis-
mund.

I take it well, and as a token of your loue, that your embassadour Iohn Zamogil came with your letters vnto our most high and glorious Court, the refuge of distressed princes: wherein you haue giuen vs to vnderstand, how that in stead of the most excellent and famous king Stephen of worthie memorie late king of POLONIA; you, descended of the same noble stocke and race of the Polonian king, are by the free election of the whole State of the famous kingdome of POLONIA, and the great kingdome of LITHVANIA, chosen king of POLONIA: and being sent for by lawfull embassadours, by the fauour and goodnesse of God to be come vnto the citie of DANKS, and from thence to be about to go vnto CRACOVIA the chiefe citie of the kingdome of POLONIA. And when you are there arriued, to send your great embassadour vnto our most high and glorious Court, to confirme, preserve, and establish the league and amitie commodious and necessarie for both our kingdomes, honoured and kept by your auncient predecessours, with our grandfathers and great grandfathers; yea and that with greater Zeale and deuotion than any your noble aunccestours. And therefore your embassadour in your name requesteth, That no inuasion on our behalfe be made into the borders of the kingdome of POLONIA, or any harme there done: and that the most noble Tartar prince Isbam Gerai (whom God bleesse) should be warned and restrained, that he neither make nor suffer any incursion to be made into the confines of the kingdome of POLONIA. All which things in your letters contained, with the rest which your embassadour hath by word of mouth deliuered, are with speed orderly by vs conceiued. Know you therefore our most stately and magnificent Court to be alwaies open vnto such as resort thercunto, and that from thence neuer man had repulse, neither shall hereafter haue: wherefore it becometh you, as soone as these our letters shall be brought vnto you, to open your eyes, and to beware that nothing be on your part done against the maiestie of our Court, and the league; and that our peace and amitie be neither in much or little disturbed, but as best becometh, well and sincerely kept: and so perswade your selfe it shall on our part also be most inuiolably obserued. Our letters are also directed vnto the most excellent Tartar prince Isbam Gerai, whom God bleesse, straightly charging and commaunding him, not to make or suffer any incursion to be made into the borders of POLONIA. In brieft, the league and amitie shall on our part be religiously kept: and whosoever shall presume to doe any harme vnto the kingdome or confines of POLONIA, shall therefore without faile receiue from vs due punishment. So on your part also it is requisite that the same be done, and that in declaration of your loue you forget not oftentimes to intimate vnto our most high and glorious Court, such certaine occurrences and newes as shall happen in those parts; which shall be vnto vs a signe of your sincere loue and friendship. So know you, and giue credit vnto this our scale from CONSTANTINOPLE.

Neither was king Sigismund vnmindfull of this his promise before made for the sending of his embassadour: but being possessed of the Polonian kingdome, sent Christopher Dziercius (his Secretarie) embassadour vnto Amurath for the confirming of the league: which he hath euer since so firmly kept with the Turke, as that he could neuer by any inuention of the emperor, or of the princes electors, or others, or in respect of the common danger, be drawne into the fellowship of this long and religious warre, so hardly maintained by the emperor, and some few other Christian princes his confederats; first against Amurath whilest he liued, and euer since against Mahomet his sonne, which now raigneth: the issue whereof, God grant it proue not as well vnto the Polonians as others farther off, in fine lamentable.

The yeare following, Ferat (yet the Turkes Generall in PERSIA) tooke the citie of GENGE, being before for feare of the Turkes quite abandoned and forsaken by the inhabitants; who yet vpon his faith giuen for their safetie returned againe, yeelding to pay vnto the Turke a yearly tri-

1588
Genge taken by
Ferat.

A bute of fise thousand duckats. But when he would haue gone farther into the enemies countrie, hauing part of his armie cut off by the way, he was by his mutinous souldiors foully intreated, wounded, and enforced to retire. Cicada Bassa also passing ouer the riuier Euphrates, had in those quarters diuers bloudie skirmishes with the Persians, sometime carrying away the better and sometime the worse, as the fortune of the field serued. Vntill at length Amurath himselfe, no lesse wearie than his people of that long and chargeable warre, and the Persian king also enclining to peace; hee by the persuation of Sinan Bassa (but lately before receiued into fauour) was now contented to be entreated to hearken vnto the same: moued thercunto as well by reason of new troubles then in other places arising, as for the great famine and plague then raging in CONSTANTINOPLE. And considering withall what a great territorie he had woon from the Persians, and how necessarie it was for him by peace to confirme himselfe in those his new conquests, and by the building of certaine strong forts for the succour of one another, and by the placing of his Timariots therein to assure the same vnto him: all which without peace he could not possibly doe, as the old Bassa right wisely told him. For which reasons he yeelded to peace; and so embassadours passing too and fro, a peace was at length agreed vpon betwixt these two great Mahometane princes: the Turke couenanting to keepe vnto himselfe the places he had already gained, namely TAVRIS, GENGE, SIRVAN, and CHARS, with all the profits thereof arising, for the maintenance of his garrisons and Timariots there. Whereof it was thought new stirres would eessoones arise; the Turkes growne insolent of their late victories, being not able to content themselves with the conditions of the league; and the Persians not willing to liue in continual feare of the Turkes, especially seeing themselves to be daily by them more and more oppressed; and withall doubting least the Turkes after they had taken fast footing in those new conquered countries, and so growne strong, and gotten better knowledge of the passages, should (after their ambitious manner) seeke to possesse themselves of the rest; not keeping the couenants agreed vpon betwixt them, nor at all regarding the capitulations of the league. Which was neuertheless (as we said) on both sides for the space of ten yeares orderly confirmed, with all due circumstances and ceremonies in like occurrences by the great potentats of the world vfed; and for the more assurance thereof, one of the Persian kings sonnes (or as some others say, one of his nephewes) giuen vnto the Turkes in hostage, as Amurath required.

These long warres thus ended, shortly after a great sedition was raised at CONSTANTINOPLE by the souldiors of the Court, which retuning out of PERSIA, with great insolencie demanded their pay. For the satisfying of whom, by the consent of the great Sultan himselfe, the value of the coine was enhauned; and a new kind of subsidie for leuying of money imposed vpon the subjects in generall, none excepted: who standing vpon their auncient liberties and priuiledges, refused to pay it, especially the Ianizaries and other souldiors of the Court. Wherefore their Aga (or capitaine) was commaunded to appease them, and to perswade them to pay the demanded tribute: in attempting whereof he was in danger to haue been slaine by the insolent Ianizaries, and yet neuertheless for preuailling no more with them, was in displeasure thrust out of his office, and another placed in his rounge, that should haue married Amuraths daughter; of whom for all that the Ianizaries would not accept in any case, but threw stones at him, and threatened to kill him. The next night a great fire arose in the citie, for the quenching whereof, the Ianizaries were commaunded (as their dutie was) to put to their helping hands: which they not only most obstinately refused to do, but also kept backe others that brought water for the quenching thereof, and together with the other souldiors of the court did what they might to make it burne the faster. With the rage of this fire were consumed scauen of their temples, fise and twentie great Innes, fiteene thousand houses, with many warehouscs and shops. To appease this dangerous stirre, and to prevent farther mischief, commaundement was giuen to the Beglerbeg of GRACIA, and David Passy a Jew, the first authors of this new imposition, that they should either gather the aforesaid tribute by them deuised, and pay the souldiors, or by some other meanes to giue them contentment. But here began the priests publicly to dissuade the people from payment of this new tribute, or any other such like; perswading them in any case to defend their auncient liberties and customes: whereupon the churches were by the priests shut vp, publike prayers for the health of the Sultan intermitted, the Bassas houses assaulted, and all the citie on a new hurly burly. For the appeasing whereof, Amurath was glad to yeeld vnto the Ianizaries, to pay the souldiors out of his owne treasure, to reuoke his mandates giuen out for

The Ianizaries
in a tumult
at Constantinople.

Great harme
done by fire in
Constantinople.

the exaction of the new tribute, and to deliuer the two persuaders thereof to the pleasure of the Ianizaries; who drew them vp and downe the streets at horses tailes, and afterwards cutting off their heads, in scorne toffed them from hand to hand one to another, as if they had bene tennis balls.

About the latter end of September *Sinan Bassa* of *BVDA* hauing with the assistance of the *Sanzacks* about *FILIB*, raised an armie of eleuen thousand soldiours, with purpose to haue spoiled all the vpper part of *HUNGARIE*, came the sixt of October before the castle of *PVTNOG*, and gaue thereunto summons: but finding them in the castle better provided and more resolute than he had before supposed, he departed thence, and passing the riuier *Schayo*, came to *SIXO*, a towne of about fife hundred houses, which after a fore batterie he tooke, and burnt it downe to the ground. In the meane while *Claudius Russell*, Generall for the warres in that part of *HUNGARIE*, hauing assembled his forces, came vpon him, and after an hard fight put him to the worke, when he had slaine of his Turkes about two thousand fife hundred, besides three hundred other drowned in the riuier *Schayo*. Shortly after, the Christians in like manner breaking into the frontiers of the Turkes, tooke from them the castles of *B LAVENTSTEN*, *GESTES*, with some other small forts thereabouts in the vpper part of *HUNGARIE*.

Sinan for that he had contrarie to the league, and without commaundement from *Amurath*, so vnfortunately attempted warre in *HUNGARIE*, was the next yeare in great displeasure sent for to *CONSTANTINOPLE*, and *Ferat Bassa* of *BOSNA* (late Generall of the Turkes armie against the Persians, and now but newly come home) placed in his rounge at *BVDA*.

Amurath before not ignorant of the great preparation that *Philip* the king of *SPAIN* had made, and of the inuincible Armado (as it was tearmed) by him set forth for the inuasion of *ENGLAND* (the same whereof had long before filled a great part of the world;) as also of the euill successe thereof the last yeare, viz. 1588; and of the purpose her Majestie of *ENGLAND* had for the troubling of his rich trade, especially into the West Indies, and for the relieuing of *Don Anthonio*, by him driuen out of *PORTINGALL*: writ vnto her about this time concerning those and such like matters as he had bene moued of by her Agent as followeth.

Amurath the third, Emperour of the Turkes, vnto Elizabeth, Queene of ENGLAND, FRANCE, and IRELAND, greeting.

Most honourable Matrone of the Christian religion, mirror of chastitie, adorned with the brightness of soveraigntie and power amongst the most chaste women of the people which serue Iustismistris of great kingdomes, reputed of greatest maiestie and praise among the Nazarets, Elizabeth queene of ENGLAND, to whom we wish a most happie and prosperous raigne. You shall understand by our high and imperiall letters directed vnto you, how that your Orator resiant in our statelie and magnificent Court, hath presented vnto the throne of our Maiestie a certaine writing, wherein he hath certified vs, how that about foure yeares agoe you haue made war vpon the king of SPAIN, for the abating and breaking of his forces, wherewith he threateneth all other Christian princes, and purposeth to make himselfe the sole Monarch both of them and all the world beside: as also how that the same king of SPAIN hath by force taken from Don Anthonio, lawfully created king of PORTINGALL, his kingdome: and that your intention is, that his ships which go and come into the Indies, may from henceforth be imbarred and stayed from that nauigation: wherein are yearely brought into SPAIN precious stones, spices, gold, and silver, esteemed worth many millions, wherewith the aforesaid king with a great treasure enriched, hath meanes to molest and trouble all other Christian princes: which if he shall still proceed to doe, he will make himselfe dayly stronger and stronger, and such an one as may not easily be weakened. After that, your aforesaid Orator requested our Highnesse in the beginning of the next Spring to send out our imperiall fleet against him, being assured that the king of SPAIN could not be able easily to withstand it for that he had now already receiued a great overthrow by your fleet: and being scarce able to withstand you alone, if he should be on diuers parts inuaded, must needs be overcome, to the great benefit of all the Christian princes, as also of our imperiall state. Besides this, that whereas the aforesaid Don Anthonio is by force driuen out and deprived of his kingdome, that (to the imitation of our noble progenitors of happie memorie, whose graues the Almighty light should also giue the aid and succour of our magnificent state; as did they vnto all such as had reuen) should also giue the aid and succour of our magnificent state; as did they vnto all such as had reuen) course vnto their high Courts and pallaces for reliefe. In briebe, all these things, with many others,

A which your aforesaid Orator hath at large declared vnto our imperiall throne, we haue well understood, and layed them up in our deepe remembrance. But for as much as we for many yeares past haue made warres in PERSIA, with a full resolution and intent vnto to conquer and subdue the kingdome of that accursed Persian hereticke, and to ioine the same vnto our antient dominions; and by the grace of God and helpe of our Great Prophet, are now vpon the point for the satisfying of our desire: that once done, due prouision shall be assigned vnto all such things as you haue of vs requested or desired. Wherefore if you shall sincerely and purely continue the bond of amitie and friendship with our high Court, you shall find no more secure refuge or safer harbour of good will or loue. So at length all things shall goe well and according to your hearts desire in your warres with SPAIN, vnder the shadow of our happie throne. And for as much as the king of SPAIN hath by fraud and deceit got whatsoeuer he holdeth, without doubt these deceitfull deceimurs shall by the power of God in short time be dispatched and taken out of the way. In the meane time we exhort you not to loose any opportunitie or time, but to be alwayes vigilant, and according to the conuentions betwixt vs, fauourable vnto our friends, and vnto our enemies a foe. And giue notice here to our high Court of all the new wars which you shall vnderstand of concerning the said king of SPAIN, for the behoofe both of your selfe and vs. To be briebe, your embassadour after he had with all care and diligence dispatched his embassage, and here left in his place one Edward Bardou his Deputie and Agent, now by our leaue maketh his returne towards your kingdome, being for the good and faithfull seruice he here did, worthie to be of you esteemed, honoured, and before others promoted: who when he hath obtained of you all those his deserved honours and preferments, let him or some other principall embassadour without delay be appointed to our imperiall Court, to continue this office of legation. This we thought good to haue you certified of vnder our most honourable Scale, wherunto you may giue vndoubted credence. From our imperiall pallace at CONSTANTINOPLE the 15 of the blessed moneth * Ramazan 1589.

* September.

Yet for all these faire shewes it may seeme vnto him that looketh more neere into the state of the Turkish affaires at those times, and that which hath ensued since, that *Amurath* glad of the discord of these two so great Christian princes, and not yet well assured of his new conquests in PERSIA, had no great mind to the inuasion of SPAIN, as too farre from the strength of his empire, an enterprise not to be so easily managed by sea, as were the wars he shortly after undertooke against the Christian emperour *Rodolph* by land: wherewith for all that (God be thanked) he found his hands full all the remainder of his life, as hath his sonne *Mahomet* that now reigneth after him, euen vnto this day.

About this time also the Polonian borderers (whom they call *Cossackes*) a rough and warlike kind of people, after their wonted manner making an inrode vpon the Turkes and Tartarians, vpon the sudden surprised *KOSLAVA*, a port town within a daies journey of *CAPPA*, where they had the spoile of many rich warehouses of the Turkes marchants, and the rising of certain ships lying there in harbour; and hauing taken their pleasure, burnt the rest, and so with a great boote returned to their lurking places. With which iniurie the Tartars prouoked, and set on by the Turkes, to the number of fortie thousand brake into *PODOLIA* and the prouinces neere vnto *PODOLIA*, and resting in no place, but burning the countrey before them, slew the poore countrey people without mercie; and making hauocke of all that they light vpon, beside the spoile, carried away with them many thousands of most miserable captiues: the greatest part whereof for all that, the Polonians rescued, with the notable slaughter of the enemy, surprised in his returne. Whereupon such vnkindnesse rose between the Turkish emperour and *Sigismund* the Polonian king, that it was thought it would haue broken out into open warres, had not the Polonian by his embassadours and the mediation of the queene of ENGLAND wisely appeased the angry Turke, and so againe renewed his league.

Amurath now at peace with the world, from which he by nature abhorred not, and sitting idle and melancholic at home, was persuaded by the Bassas his counsellors to take some new warre in hand. For that great empires (as they said) could not without the continuall vse of armes long stand or continue: as appeared by the Romane state, which so long as it was at wars with *CARTHAGE*; or their great captaines and commaunders occupied in armes against their neighbour princes, still remained triumphant, and commaunded ouer a great part of the world; but giuing it selfe to ease and pleasure, and the martiall men not after their wonted manner employed, it in short time by ciuile discord fell, and of the mistresse of the world became it selfe a prey euen vnto the

Sinan Bassa of BVDA inuadereth the vpper part of Hungarie.

Sinan ouerthrowne.

1589

Nicholaus Reusnerus epist. Turcic. lib. 12. pag. 42. Amurath his letters vnto the queene of ENGLAND.

The Polonian Cossacks inuade the Tartarians and Turkes.

1590

The reasons wherewith the Visier Bassas perswade Amurath to make warre.

the basest nations. Which old *Cato* in his great wisdom foreseeing, cried out in the Senat, That the souldiours and men of warre were to be kept still busied in armes farre from home: for that in so doing all should goe well with the state, and the glorie thereof encrease. VVherunto the *Othoman* emperours, his noble progenitors, hauing respect, propounded not peace as the end of their warres (as do other weake princes, hauing their owne forces in distrust) but as inuincible conquerours still sowed warres vpon warres, making one victorie the beginning of another: whereby they not onely brought that their empire vnto that greatnesse it was now of, but by such continuall employment made their souldiours more couragious and readie, and also kept them from rebellions and tumults: wherunto, in time of peace and liuing at ease, these martiall men are most commonly enclined, learning (as all others doe being doing nothing) to doe that is euill and nought. Euery thing (as they said) was by the same meanes to be maintained, whereby it was at the first encreased: and that therefore great empires as they were by warres begun and augmented, so were they by continuall wars also to be from time to time established; whereas otherwise the souldiours liuing in peace, and forgetting their martiall prowesse, would for most part grow cowardly, as giuing themselves ouer to the loue of their owne dwellings, of their wiues, and of their children, and other pleasures; or els conuerting their studies vnto marchandise or other profitable trades, would in time forget the vse of armes, and be therunto againe hardly drawne: vnto the great weakening of his strength both by sea and land, and the deminishing of the number of his great commanders and expert capitaines, not to be had without the continuall vse of warre. VVith these and such like reasons, the great Bassaes of the Court perswaded *Amurath*, That he must of necessitie take some new expedition in hand, and not to suffer his valiant souldiours, but now lately returned out of *Persia*, to grow lasie or insolent for lacke of employment. Which they did not so much for the loue of their prince, or zeale vnto the State, as for their own particular profit, especially the two old Bassaes *Sinan* and *Ferrat*, the enuious competitors the one of the others honour: who although they both much and almost all commaunded both in peace and warre, yet was their honours greater, and their profit farre more in commaunding of the Turkes great armies abroad, than in sitting in the Diuano at home: vnto which no lesse honourable than profitable preferment they both with like ambition aspired, accompanied with the hot desires of their great and many fauourites both at home and elsewhere. These perswasions well pleased *Amurath*, who although he were himselfe no souldior, yet was he desirous of new conquests, and to encrease his name: accounting it no lesse honour vnto himselfe by his seruants at his appointment to performe great things, than it was vnto his aunccestours to doe that they did themselves in person. But in this so serious matter, and of so great consequence, *Amurath* at the first could not tell what best to resolve vpon; not for that he was not desirous of warres, but because he as yet certainly knew not against whom he might with greatest profit and lesse difficultie and danger conuert his forces: vpon which point his counsellors agreed not, but for diuers reasons were of diuers opinions. Which for as much as they containe matters of greatest importance of all things then in the world done, but especially concerning the profit of the Christian commonweale, I shall not thinke it vnworth my labour to set them downe in such order as I find them credibly reported: hauing moreouer in them many secters and most weightie matters not yet come to all mens knowledge: as also opening the deuices of the Turkish tyrant against the Christian princes; a motiue not onely for them to joyne in counsell together how to withstand him, but for the common Christian commonweales sake to forget & forgiue all their priuat displeasures, and with their vnitd forces and power honorably and couragiously to make warre vpon him, and so at length by the mercie of God to ouerthrow him, together with his tyrannicall empire, the greatest terrour of our time.

The great Bassaes concerning the intended warre were of eight sundrie opinions: whereof the first was, That the warres against the Persian should be renewed: the second, for the inuasion of the king of *Morocco* and *Fes*: the third, for warre to be taken in hand against the king of *Spain*: the fourth, for the besieging againe of *Malta*: the fifth, was to set vpon the Venetians: the sixth, for the inuading of some part of *Italy*: the seventh, for the king of *Polonia*: the eighth and last was, for warre to be made vpon the emperour and the kingdome of *Hungarie*. VVith all the which aforesaid princes, except the Spaniard, although the Turke were then in league, and could not with all or any of them make warre, without the notable breach of his faith and honour: yet was that neuer made question or scruple of, but only, Which might best

A stand with the profit of his state for him to set vpon: his barbarous law allowing him that libertie, for the more assuring of his state or enlarging of his empire, to breake all faith and promise especially with the Christians; not more in any thing to be pitied, than in reposing any credit or confidence in the faith of such a miscreant.

The reasons the great Bassaes alledged for the renewing of the Persian warre, were, For that the Persian king was of himselfe like to breake the league so lately with him concluded, so soone as he should know the Turkes entangled in any other warre; moued thereunto, as well for the recouerie of his countrey to his great dishonour lost, as also in reuenge of so many and so great injuries to him of late done by the Turkish emperours. Beside that, the Christian princes would persuade him and pricke him forward thereunto: especially the Spaniard, who for the neerenesse of *India* might without his great charge procure him so to doe, and also conveniently furnish him with great ordinance and canoniars, which it was well knowne he of late did. The countries also but lately conquered, were not yet (as they said) in quietnesse or safetie, and the fortresses therein but of late built, together with the garrisons therein, to be in great danger, being for the length of the way and difficultie of the passage, not to be still speedily relieved: inso-much, that if the Persians did them no other harme, but onely to forrage and wast the countrey about them, they should bring the inhabitants into such distresse, as that those new conquered countries were againe by the defendants to be forsaken, or else they must themselves with hunger perish. True glorie (they said) consisted not so much in conquering, as in the vse of the conquest, and the prosecution of the happy victorie: and that therefore *Amurath* should take heed, C that he prouoked not the wrath and indignation of the Great prophet *Mahomet* against him; who hauing by his good fauour and guide obtained mo victories than any of his predecessours against the enemies of his religion, ought as a religious and deuout prince seuerely to reuenge the wrong by them done both to God and man. Vnto which religious warre *Vsbeq Han* the Tattar king, as also the prince of *Grilan* offered their readie helpe: as for the cunct of the victorie now as good as in his hand, he was to judge by the successe of his former warres. Neither that he need to feare the Persian horsemen, although they vsed Arabian horses, being by his men many times shamefully put to flight: or yet to doubt least the Georgians in fauour of the Persians should take vp armes, for that many of them were already vnder his obedience, and subject vnto the Bassa of *Trebis* and other his commanders; the rest were his vassals, or else such D as following the fortune of their princes, *Simon* and *Alexander*, sought after no greater matter, but contenting themselves with their own countrey, although but small, thought themselves well if they might keepe and defend the same; by nature and situation so strong, as that there is scarce any way into it, by reason of the high and broken mountaines, the thicke woods, and strait passages.

The second opinion which was deliuered, was for the transportation of his warres into *Africa* against the king of *Morocco*, commonly called the Seriphe: and that for these causes most, It would be a great shame and reproach (as they said) vnto the *Othoman* empire, that it was not yet able to subdue these Moores and people of *Africa*, in number but few: neither was it lesse shame or dishonour vnto the *Othoman* emperours, to haue so small a territorie in *Africa*, being the third part of the world, which by reason of the neerenesse vnto *Italy*, had long time held wars with the Romans. Beside that, *Algers* and *Tynes* could neuer be safely kept by the Turkes; neither that the subjects and pyrats which inhabited those cities would be content or at quiet, vntill they had againe got that kingdome into their hands. The promontorie of *Agverro* and port of *Larace* (two ports without the straits) were (as they said) to be taken, as places verie commodious for the Turkes friends, seeking in those seas after bootie, and for the securing of their trade. And although the Seriphe were himselfe a Mahometane, and held his kingdome as a tributarie vnto the *Othoman* empire; yet had he secret intelligence with the Spaniard and the knights of *Malta*, whereby they not long since had vpon the sudden almost surprisid *Tripolis*, he in the meane time as it were winking thereat. And that although F the Spaniard possessed in *Africa*, *Maraschebir*, *Oran*, *Pregon*, *Tanger*, *Agdz*, *Zilla*, *Magaga*, *Cevteor Septa*, places whereby he might helpe and assist the Moores; yet might his force and attempts by a strong fleet be easily hindered, and *Spain* it selfe infested. Beside that, the Spaniards had yet in such fresh remembrance the losse of *Tynes* and *Gibraltar* (places by them thought inexpugnable, and yet by *Sinan Bassa* to his immortall praise taken)

Rrr

The causes why
Amurath would
not suddenly re-
solve vpon warre.

Eight several
opinions of the
Bassaes
concerning the
warre to be ta-
ken in hand.

The second opi-
nion for making
of war vpon the
king of Fez and
Morocco, & the
reasons thereof.

The first opinion
and reasons of
them that would
haue the warre
renewed in
Persia.

ken) as that they would not for the Moores sake easily seeme to attempt any thing against the G
Turkes.

The third opinion was concerning the war to be made against them of MALTA, which was by a strong fleet to be performed: for that the gallies of MALTA did daily great hurt, as well vnto the Turkes merchants, as vnto such as for deuotion sake travelled by sea vnto M^ECHA. And that therefore the warre was thither to be transferred, not onely for religions sake and to assure the passage thither from the incursions of the Malteses, but also in reuenge of the old and late injuries by them done; and especially to blot out the infamie and disgrace which the Great Sultan *Solyman* had incurred, at such time as he had in vaine besieged that island, and to requite the losse by him there sustained. Beside that, they also alleadged the common complaints of the subjects: for that there were many which pitiously lamented the miserie and calamitie, some of H their friends, some their kinsfolke, whom they knew to liue in most wofull seruitude with those knights, and whom they most earnestly desired to haue now set at libertie: complaining, his subjects to haue been so farre from suffering of any such things from those knights in the time of his auncestors, as that contrariwise they themselves were by them driuen out of the island of the RHODES, the strongest bulwarke of the Christian common-weale toward the East. Being moreouer worthie also to be chastised, for that they had holpen the rebellious Moores with all kind of munition, and had themselves attempted to haue surprisid M^OON.

The fourth opinion for warre to be made against the K. of Spaine, and the reasons thereof.

In the fourth place were they which were of opinion, that it were best for him to make war vpon the king of SPAIN^E. These men alleadged it to be impossible for the Turkish empire to aspire vnto the Monarchie of the whole world (whereunto all the Turkes actions and deuises were alwaies as at a certaine marke directed) except the Spaniard his great strength and power were first weakened, wherein he seemed to surpasse all other the Christian kings and princes: and that there was no feare least he should besiege ALGIERS, which he knew to be now much better fortified than it was in the time of the emperor *Charles* the fifth. And that although the Spaniards without ceasing befought their king for the vndertaking of that expedition, by reason of the new losses and harmes which they daily received from the pyrats of AFRICA; yet would he not hearken vnto their request, for feare of the danger imminent both to himselfe and his subjects from the enemies fleet, which he should in so doing draw into the Spanish seas: neither would the Spanish gallies easily come into the Turkes countries in the East, for being too farre from their owne country, which for the most part stood in need of their helpe. And that the king of K SPAIN^E was with the multitude of his businesse, or other his vrgent affaires still so hindered, as that he could not suddenly put in execution what his counsell for the wars should decree. As also how much it was to be gathered by that which happened not long since at PREVEZA and NAVARINUM, That the Spaniards shunned the *Othoman* forces: as also how warily the king delt in all his affaires, least at length against his will he should be enforced to enter into warres with the Turke, was most manifest; as was to be seene when as of late about the end of the Persian warre, he refused to giue aid vnto the Persian king whom he might haue holpen, and was so before wont to doe. And in case that he would stand vpon his guard, and by force seeke to repell force; yet should he scarce haue so much strength as (beside those wars which he now maketh in diuers places) to be able to vndertake also a new warre, and to find so many souldiours, with so much coine and other things necessarie for so great a war. It stood him in hand (as they said) to defend the low countries, and to recouer againe the prouinces there lost, which of themselves wonderfull strong, both by reason of the sea and the multitude of the riuers, were also with wonderfull courage and pertinacie defended by the inhabitants, for their libertie and religions sake. VVhereunto the English (at deadly hatred with the Spaniard) might many waies giue great helpe, if they should inuade PORTINGAL, or with their ships lie in wait for his Indian fleet, or make incursions into other his kingdomes, as they did not long since at the GROINE and CADEZ; places most fit to trouble SPAIN^E, and to hinder his traffique into the Indies or other places. Beside that, he was at that time so entangled with his warres in FRANCE, as that he could scarce find how to dispatch himselfe thereof, without the losse of his honour and credit. And ad- mit he should make peace with the aforesaid princes, in such sort as that he should not be thence- forth from them receiue any harme; yet were other means to be sought and taken in hand for his farther disturbance; as by troubling his rich trade for spices and other merchandise, whereof he receiued great profit; as also if need were, by driuing his ships out of the Persian gulf, by the helpe of

A of those gallies which still lie at road at POSSIDIVM, which we now call SVZ. And that the fortresses and strong holds he there possesseth, were to be set vpon, and if it might be taken from him; as was once attempted against the Portugals at DIV and ORMVZ: the like whereof *Alfonso Albuquerque* (the king of PORTINGAL his viceroy in INDIA) attempted, when as with his light horsemen ruining through that countrey, he thought vpon the sudden to haue spoyleid M^ECHA, and to haue robbed the Sepulchre of *Mahomet* (as had happened vnder the empire of the Sultans) and as *Traian* the emperor had long since in like manner attempted to rage and spoile. Those places which he possessed in AFRICA, were (as they said) to be set vpon, and the coast of SPAIN^E towards the Mediterranean to be infested; so at length to gratifie the Moores his subjects, who still instantly requested the same, that so they might more safely traf- B fique and trauell, and that so the Moores might at length be deliuered from the importun com- mand of the Spaniards: of which exploit Sultan *Selymus* lately before dead, was in this time well perswaded; but might now at this time be much more commodiously done; for that the Moorish nation was now greatly increased, and much oppressed by the Spaniards; and hauing got great wealth by the trade of merchandise, euen by nature and religion had conceived a fier- tall hatred against the Spaniards: whereunto might not a little auaile the poise in AFRICA, whereinto the Turkes fleet might at all times in safetie retire: And in briefe; that which was of greatest importance to the better successe of this war, the French king and the queene of EN- C LAND, had of their owne accord promised the continuation of their warres; and that the French king should inuade NAVARRE, and by force of armes recouer the right he pretended vnto that kingdome; whilest in the meane time, the queene of ENGLAND should not only trouble him in the West Indies, and other places of the Ocean towards the North and the West, but might also stirre vp new broiles in the kingdome of PORTINGAL, where most part of the people with great impatientie beare the proud command of the Spaniard: as perswaded (and that truly) all their prosperitie and quietnesse to haue been lost, together with their last king their true and law- full soueraine. For he at peace with the kings of FRANCE and ENGLAND, exceedingly there- by enriched his subjects by traffique: whereas since they fell into the hands of the Spaniard, they daily complaine of their new losses and dangers by reason of his perpetuall wars. Moreouer, that there was to be found great store of exiled Spaniards dispersed here and there, which being malecontent and wearie of the Spanish gouernment, were fled not only out of PORTINGAL; D but euen out of ARAGON & other parts of his kingdome: which now liuing in FRANCE, ENGLAND, and CONSTANTINOPE, both secretly and openly liberally offered great helpes: the like whereof many of the Moores also promised. All which together seemed to promise a most easie expedition and certaine victorie, if any should vpon the sudden inuade SPAIN^E; for that there was almost no vse of armes, the inhabitants at home seldome times exercising themselves therein; neither in places needfull hauing any ordinat garrisons, and but few horses fit for ser- uice. And that in fine it was to be considered, SPAIN^E to be greatly bared of men which knew how valiantly and courageously to mannage armes, for the often choise they make of them; which are almost daily transported into the Indies, ITALIE, and the Low countries, whereby the strength of his countrey must needs be exceedingly impaired: so that if they should be inua- E ded with any strong and mightie armie, they might seeme hardly able to be holpen or defended by their owne people, but should need of the aid and helpe of the other neere prouinces subject vnto this kingdome: which if they should be either letted or stay to come in good time, they should leaue so much the more easie victorie vnto their enemies.

In the fift place were they which went about to persuaide *Amurath* to breake his league with the Venetians, vsing reasons rather probable than true; although they might seeme vnto the Turkes lesse doubtfull, for that men easily and willingly beleue such things as they themselves desire. These men went about to proue no expedition to be of lesse difficultie than this, as jud- ging of things present by the euent of former warres passed; wherein the Turkes had alwaies taken something from the Venetians: who to redeeme their peace, were diuers waies enforced to F satisfie the Turkes. That the Venetian common-weale was afraid of the Turkes and abhorred warre, was manifest they said in that, that in all actions it had propounded vnto it selfe peace, as the end thereof; and after the manner of their auncestors, neuer entered into warres; but enforced thereunto: and would happily vpon the first denouncing of warres, willingly depart with cer- taine places for feare of greater harme, or to be vtterly overcome, as it appeared they did in the

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The fift opinion for the inuasion of the Venetians, and the reasons why.

yeelding vp of CYPRVS. The power and force whereof was not so great, as that it could alone stand against the great Sultan: and to confederat it selfe with others, would require no small delay, for the great and many difficulties which commonly vsed to arise in making of leagues; not being now so conioyned with the Spaniard as in times past, of whose aid it being of late destitute, was constrained to make an hard peace with *Selymus*. And if so be the Spaniard would needs joyne himselfe vnto the Venetians against the Turkes, yet that he could by no means affoord vnto them such aid and supplies as were of necessitie to be required vnto so great a war, he himselfe being in his warres otherwise so entangled: as for all other confederation they could make without him, to be but weake and to no purpose. That which the Pope could do herein to be but little: for albeit he should according to his dutie exhort other Christian princes to giue aid, and to stirre them vp vnto this warre, yet that beside some little supplie of mony hardly drawne out of his owne cofers and the ecclesiasticall reuenues, he could scarcely performe any thing more; or when he had done his vttermost deuoir, could but joyne fise gallies of his owne vnto the Venetian fleet: which with the gallies of the duke of SAVOY, of the knights of MALTA, and of the Florentines, could but make a fleet of some twentie gallies, which was but a small matter. Besides that the Turkes were perswaded, that betwixt the Venetian state and the other Christian princes was no such friendship and good agreement, as the greatnesse of the imminent danger of that warre, and as the necessitie of the cause would require: and that hitherto their treasures had bene so exhausted in paying the debt they were run into in the last warre, and in building of fortresses, that happily they were not now so furnished with coyne, as was requisite for the defraying of so great a warre. And vnto this warre against the Venetians, consented almost all the Visier Bassaes, differing only in this, VV here or against what place of the Venetian territorie this warre were to be first begun: some naming one place, and some another (for diuers reasons them therunto leading) which for breuitie we passe ouer.

The sixt opinion for the attempt- ing of Italie, and the reasons thereof.

Other some of the Bassaes in the sixt place, reiecting all the former opinions concerning the warre to be taken in hand, would haue had all the forces of the *Othoman* empire, as well by land as sea, to haue bene conuerted against ITALIE: for that otherwise the Turkes should neuer come vnto the Monarchie of the whole world (whereunto as at a marke they had directed all their actions) except they did first subdue ITALIE. For that this countrey, as the centre of the whole world, was wont to giue both counsell and aid vnto the rest of the limbes, whereby the deuices of others were crossed: and that the Romanes had at length commaunded ouer all the world, especially for that they held in possession this countrey: Hereat did the Hunnes, the Alani and Gothes, the Vandales, the Frenchmen, Spaniards, and Sarasins, direct all their thoughts and cogitations. In fine they concluded, That no expedition could be taken in hand more honourable or profitable than this: for that ITALIE was as a queene amongst other prouinces, for conimodious situation, the wholesomenesse of the aire, the plentie of all things necessarie for mans life, for great, faire, and most rich cities, for the auntient glorie and maiestie of the Romane empire, and many other causes also. Neither that this expedition was to be deemed of much difficultie, for that ITALIE was vnder the rule of diuers princes, vnto whose commaund most of their subjects vnwillingly obeyed: as also for that the inhabitants of that countrey had now for many yeares liued in continuall peace, and were therefore the more effeminate and fearefull, and so vnfit for the warres: and that if that expedition were in one or diuers places taken in hand before the corne were full ripe, the Turkes in that so fruitfull a countrey could neuer want necessaries for them to liue vpon; whereas the inhabitants in great number wanting the same, and shut vp within the wals and fortifications of their cities and strong townes, should be brought into extreame wants: which was the more euidently to bee seene, for that at this time wherein they were at peace, they had not corne sufficient in the countrey for such a multitude of people to liue vpon, but were glad to haue it brought vnto them from other places, especially from PELOPONNESVS, CONSTANTINOPLE, and the cities vpon the coast of the great Ocean. Furthermore, that it was to be considered, That most part of the Italians liued by no other meanes than by their handie labour, or the trade of marchandise; of which meanes if they were depriued, they should in short time be brought to that point, as to be glad to accept of such conditions as the victor should propound vnto them, or as tributaries to submit themselves vnto the *Othoman* government. Neither that the souldiours would vnwillingly be drawne vnto that war, for that they were not to passe through barren regions of the enemy, frozen with yse, or desolate, either

A either by rough woods or inaccessible mountains; but were all the way thither to traueill through their owne country, and as it were in the sight of their own houses: and if the Turkes could oftentimes enter so farre, when as they had their confines more remote, and their passages more difficult, that the same might now much more easily be effected, when as they had a far greater opportunity, and their enemies so neere at hand.

The seuenth opinion was theirs, which thought it best to haue the war transferred into POLONIA, and from thence into HUNGARIE and GERMANIE: for which they alledged these reasons. First, for that they thought it a disgrace vnto the maiestie and reputation of the *Othoman* empire, That the king of POLONIA had sometime refused to pay his tribute due (for so the Turkes account of all such presents as are vnto their Sultan vsually sent by their neighbour princes, of courteisie) and that therefore he was by force of armes to be compelled therunto. VVhich they thought would the more easily be obtained, for that there was much secret hatred and heart-burning amongst the Polonian nobilitie. Neither that it would be any difficult or dangerous warre to bee taken in hand: for as much as POLONIA was confined with MOLDAVIA, the Tartars, and the Sanzacks of ACHERMAN, BENDERA, and VOSTA: and moreover, for that the Turkes could neuer haue any assured or full possession of MOLDAVIA or VALACHIA, except the insolencie of the Polonians were repressed; the Vayuods of which countries, when they had enriched themselves with much wealth, vsed still to flie into the kingdome of POLONIA. Besides that, they should thereby reuenge themselves for the injuries done them by the Cossackes, and haue more free and safe trafficke into MVSCOVIE, and bring a tertour vpon the duke of MVSCOVIE, by reason of the highnesse of the country: which great duke was an impediment vnto the *Othoman* emperour, that he conquered not the whole kingdome of PERSIA. And when they had by this meanes by little and little drawne neere vnto GERMANIE, happily it might lo come to passe, as that the Christian emperour should thereby receiue some notable losse, his empire being still more and more exposed and enuironed with the Turkes forces & garrisons. POLONIA they said to be a plaine and open countrey, neither to haue any strong places for to withstand them, and the inhabitants to haue small skill in martiall affaires, for that they had now long liued in peace. For as for the war that they had with Maximilian the Archduke of AVSTRIA, it continued not long: and king Stephen in the late wars he had with the Muscouite, vsed for most part the Hungarian souldiours, and ended those wars rather by besieging than fighting.

D They which in the eight and last place delivered their opinions concerning the intended war, perswaded, to haue it conuerted vpon the Christian emperour; whom the Turkes call the king of VIENNA. The causes they alledged for the beginning of this warre was, For that the Vscocchi were growne so insolent as to make good prife of the Turkes both by sea and land; in such sort, as that not onely for the harmes which they did, but euen for the maiestie and honour of the *Othoman* empire, their insolencie was not longer to be suffered. By whose injuries it was especially brought to passe, that the marchants to their great hinderance in priuat, and the Sultans great losse in common, hauing left the towne of NARENTO or NARONA in the Turkes dominion, had removed their mart to SALONA (now called SPALATO) a towne of the Venetians: and that yet for all that was not so sufficiently provided for the securitie of the said marchants, although there were peace betwixt the emperour and the Venetians: for that these vnuly men for most part liuing vpon the spoyle, troubled all both by sea and land with their robberies, driving away mens cattell, burning the villages, and taking away the young babes out of the mothers armes and laps. VV hereby it was easily to be seene, what mind they were of: and that it was not to be doubted, but that if occasion should serue for them to surprize any of the Turkes strong holds vpon the frontiers, they would with all their power attempt the same: which what a dishonour and infamie (not to speake of the losse) it would be vnto the whole *Othoman* empire, euery man might easily ghesse. Neither that it was vnknowne how little the Christian emperour had esteemed of the Turke, at such time as he was in warres with the Persian, paying his tribute too late at his pleasure; an euident signe rather of violating than of establishing the league. And that the good successe of this warre was not to be deemed either difficult or doubtfull: for that the attempt might be giuen both by CROATIA, HUNGARIE, and AVSTRIA, countries abounding with all things necessarie for the maintenance of a great armie; as also for that they were almost to traueill all the way in the Turkes owne territorie. Beside that, the chiefe fortresses of HUNGARIE, namely BELGRADE, BUDA, and ALBA REGALIS, with many other strong places,

The seuenth opinion for war to be made against the Polonian, & the reasons thereof.

The eight opinion for warre to be made against the Emperour, and the reasons thereof.

ces, were already holden by the Turkes garrisons, whither their armies might in all cases of extremity retire, or out of the same garrisons repaire their losses, if any should be. The Romane empire (as they said) was more desirous of peace than war; and the princes, of nothing more carefull than how to heape up and preserve their treasures: and the people of GERMANIE for that of long they had had no warres, to be lesse fit now to beare armes, and worse to be commanded by their captaines; alwayes having in distrust the Hungarians, the Italians, and Spaniards, for that those nations are not beloued, but rather hated of the Germans, being not at unity among themselves, but devided, especially about matters of religion. Neither that it was to be feared, least forraigne princes should giue aid vnto the emperor in this warre: For the Polonian and Transylvanian to liue now in peace with the Turke, and therefore would by no means turne the heat of this warre into their owne bosomes; as also for that the Polonians were afraid, lest in doing they should be driuen out of their countrey, and enforced to remoue themselves toward the frozen sea: and the Transylvanian having receiued his souerainetie from the Turke, no lesse in feare (if he should do so) to be of him againe stript and spoyle of the same: As for the king of SPAINIE, although he were of such power, as might affoord vnto the house of AVSTRIA great aid, yet that he was in other places now too much buied: and that the bishop of ROME could not in all places be readie to serue his turne: the princes of ITALIE would not spend their subjects and treasures to pleasure another man: and that the Venetian State would not rashly stirre up the Turkes armes against themselves, but rather at ease expect the event of the warre than to entangle themselves with other mens dangers. These were the chiefe opinions of the great Basses concerning the warre to be taken in hand, not so much proceeding from any tipe or sound aduice (as commonly they doe) but rather from a certaine barbarous insolencie and contempt of others, wherewith they moued, doe oftentimes vainely persuaide them of the easie performance of diuers expeditions: which in prooffe they find to be not onely most difficult, but vnto themselves also most pernicious.

In this so great diuersitie of opinions stood *Amurath*, of long in doubt what to resolute upon: desirous he was in all places to shew his power, and (if it were possible) to exceed the glorie of his predecessours, as he thought himselfe to haue already done in PERSIA, hauing as he boasted, by his seruants there performed more than they could themselves in person with their mightie armies. Wherefore contenting himselfe with that he had already done in the East, he resolved now to turne his forces against the Christian emperor towards the West, and that for diuers respects. First, it grieved him to see the honour of the house of AVSTRIA; and that it durst to make head against him: besides that, to make warre vpon a countrey confining vpon his owne, would be a thing of farre lesse difficultie than was the Persian war, where his armies were now still to be led through his owne peaceable countries, from whence they were to bee at all times plentifully relieved with victuals and whatsoever els they needed. In which opinion he was also confirmed by *Sinan Bassa*; who hauing in vaine persuaaded him to haue made warre against the Venetians, furthered now this warre, in hope thereby to recover his credit and reputation, (before greatly empaired abroad by the litle he did in PERSIA, as also at CONSTANTINOPLE, by the discord betwixt him and *Ferat Bassa*, commonly called the Blacke Serpent) as also to encrease his wealth and riches: which shortly after sort to his desire, being by the great Sultan *Amurath* appointed Generall for those wars. But about all others, *Hassan Bassa* of BOSNIA furthered this matter, in hope thereby to haue gained great riches (as the Turkes manner is) together with the greatest honours of the field, as hee was most vainely persuaaded by his cold prophets, to whom he gaue no small credit. He therefore daily certified *Amurath* of the harmes which the Vscocchi and other the Archduke his seruants and subjects did vpon the frontiers of his territories: telling him of their burnings, spoylings, and robbings, inciting him to begin his warre in CROATIA, and so to continue the same either against the emperor, or the Venetians, or els vpon the sudden that way to breake into ITALIE, as had sometime the like beene done in the time of *Mahomet*, *Baiazet*, and *Solyman*, his noble progenitours: whereby to bring a great terror vpon all the princes of ITALIE, and to enrich his souldiours with rich spoyles. By which his importunitie he (as a most mortall enemy not onely vnto the house of AVSTRIA, but vnto all Christendome) got leaue to begin those stirres in the frontiers of the empire, which were first fatall vnto himselfe, and haue euer since euen vntill this day notably exercised the armes of these two last *Othoman* emperours *Amurath* and *Mahomet*; as also the Christian emperor, with others

Others his friends and confederats. Yet vnto this leaue granted vnto the Bassa, was this condition at the first annexed, That he should not seeme to doe it by the commaundement of *Amurath*, but of himselfe, vnder colour to restraine the Vscocchi; who as well by land as by sea (as he pretended) spoiled both the Christians and Turkes, by the great libertie of the princes of AVSTRIA, hauing small care to chasten them.

Now was it no great matter for *Hassan Bassa* to doe what *Amurath*, his great lord and master had commaunded, for the disturbing of the peace betwixt him and the Christian emperor: the Turkes leagues with their neighbour princes beinge seldome so religiously kept, but that as well their souldiours in garrison vpon their frontiers by land, as their adventures by sea, might to keepe themselves doing, vpon a militarie insolencie (as the Turkes tearme it) now and then at their pleasures make incursions for bootie both by sea and land: which answered with the like from their neighbours so molested; there neuer wanted new grieuances and just causes of complaint, to the stirring vp of greater troubles, euen amongst the greatest princes. The Venetians thus wronged at sea; and their merchants robbed; by their embassadours complained at CONSTANTINOPLE of the injuries done them by the Turkes pyrats, requiring to haue them called home, and justice done vpon them. In like manner the emperor also, seeing many things both this yeare and the next attempted by *Hassan Bassa* in CROATIA, and the other Turkes in HUNGARIE, contrarie to the league, to the great disturbance of his subjects in both those countries, by his embassadour then lying at CONSTANTINOPLE, complained of these outrages, desiring to know whether they were done by the consent and knowledge of *Amurath* or not; and if not, C then to require that order might be taken for the restraining thereof: which was accordingly done, and those incursions for a while staied; and the former peace continued. *Amurath* still making shew as if he were willing that the league agreed vpon for eight yeares, should not be in any wise on his part infringed. At which time the Persian kings sonne (the league not long before concluded) died in the Turkes Court; where he lay in hostage: whose dead bodie *Amurath* caused to be honorably sent home to his father into PERSIA: with an Apologie in defence of himselfe, against the suspicion conceived by some, that he should haue bene the cause of the vntimely death of that young prince; still vrging withall the confirmation of the league, which by the death of the prince was like enough to haue been broken. Whereof *Amurath* was the more desirous, for that persuaaded by his Bassaes (as is aforesaid) to make warres with the emperor (although he notably dissembled the same) he was in hope thereby to adde vnto his empire the reliques of HUNGARIE, with some good part of the territories of the house of AVSTRIA also, and so to open himselfe a way into the heart of GERMANIE. For which purposes he now caused very great preparation to be made, and a strong armie to be raised: and at the same time put a great fleet of gallies into the Archipelago for the safetie of his islands in that sea.

According to these designments, the Bassa of BOSNIA, by the commandement of *Amurath*, with an armie of fiftie thousand entred into CROATIA, and without resistance burnt and destroyed the countrey before him, sparing nothing that came in his way. And not so contented, laid siege to the citie of WHITZ, being the metropolitane citie of that countrey, strongly situated as it were in an island, compassed about with the riuer Yna: Which citie, after he had sore battered, and twice assaulted, was by the distressed defendants (now despairing of reliefe, and unable longer to hold it out) yeilded vnto the Bassa vpon composition. That the German souldiours there in garrison, might in safetie with bagge and baggage depart; and that such of the Christian citifens as would, might there still remain without hurt from the Turkes, either in bodie or goods. Which conditions the Bassa faithfully performed to the garrison souldiours, whom in number but foure hundred, he sent with safe conuoy into their owne territorie: but afterwards contrarie to his faith and promise, exercised all manner of Turkish tyrannie vpon the poore citifens. The emperor troubled with this vnexpected inuasion of the Turkes, sent the lord *Petzen* (whom he had many times employed in embassages to the Turke) to pray aid of the German princes against the common enemy: who according to the greatnesse of the danger, in large tearmes promised their helpe. The first that made head, was *Ernestus* archduke of AVSTRIA, the emperours brother; who with fife thousand souldiours came from VIENNA to SAVARIA, commonly called GREIS, the Metropolis of STIRIA: to whom repaired daily more strength out of CARINTHIA.

In

1591

The Persian hostage dies in the Turkes Court.

1592

Whitish the Metropolitane citie of Croatia; yeilded to the Turkes.

In the meane time, the Turkes armie daily encreasing in CROATIA, enclosed six thousand footmen, and five hundred horsemen of the Christians, who had taken the mountaines, woods, and strait passages, and so straitly beset them, that of all that number few escaped with life; amongst whom many valiant souldiours and expert captaines were slaine; namely, *James Pyant, George Plesbach, and John Weluerdurff*. The Bassa after the barbarous manner of the Turkes, to make his victorie more famous, laded six wagons with the heads of the slaine Christians. The Turkes thus raging in CROATIA, brought a generall feare vpon all HUNGARIE, BAVARIA, BOHEMIA, STIRIA, CARINTHIA, SILESIA, and the rest of the prouinces thereabouts. Whereupon the emperour calling together the States of SILESIA and MORAVIA, declared vnto them the imminent danger; perswading them to joyne their forces with the rest; for the repulsing of so dangerous an enemy, and so imminent a danger.

After long delay, *Ernestus* the archduke (the tenth of August) came to the emperour his brother, with the embassadour of HUNGARIE; and the seauenth day after were called together the embassadours of the kingdomes and prouinces of the empire, where it was thoroughly debated, how the Turkes were to be resisted, and their attempts infringed; as also from whence, forces, money, and other warlike prouision was to be raised. For now it was manifestly seene, that longer to delay the matter was dangerous: and the rather, for that the Beglerbeg (or great commander) of GRACIA, with threecore thousand select souldiours both horse and foot, of long time exercised in the Persian warres, was ere long expected; who joyning with the rest of the Turkes armie, might doe great matters both in HUNGARIE and the places adioyning. For preventing of which so great and manifest dangers, they sat daily in counsell at PRAAG, yea of tentimes euen from morning vntill night: for the Hungarians, and especially the lord *Nadasti*, a most noble & valiant gentleman amongst them, instantly vrge to haue succours sent into HUNGARIE; for as much as the Turkish emperour, if he should get into his hands the rest of the townes and castles yet holden by the Christians in HUNGARIE, it was to be feared lest he should in short time after endanger the whole State of GERMANIE: the strength whereof the Turke feared not so much, as hee did those poore reliques of HUNGARIE. Others were no lesse carefull of the dangers of CROATIA and STIRIA, as more proper to themselves, the enemy now there raging. In these so great dangers, the Hungarians with the rest of the distressed, cried vpon the emperour for helpe; and he likewise called vpon the princes of the empire. Diuers assemblies were made in BOHEMIA, HUNGARIE, MORAVIA, SILESIA, and the other prouinces of the emperours, and embassadours sent from almost all the Germane princes to the emperour: all was full of consultation, but as for helpe, that came in verie slowly; yet such as was to be had, was forthwith sent into CROATIA, to defend the fortresses there against the farther attempts and proceedings of the furious enemy.

Certaine vaine attempts of the Turkes.

The eighteenth of September, the Turkes with all warlike prouision, vpon the sudden by night assaulted the strong castle of TOCCAY in the vpper HUNGARIE, in hope to haue surprised it: but finding it a matter of more difficultie than they had before imagined, they departed thence, and attempted the lesser COMARA, which standing in a marish ground, was also easily defended. At which time also the Bassa of BVDA, with his power entred into the frontiers of the Christians, but hauing well viewed the cities, townes, castles, and forts vpon those borders, and finding nothing for his purpose, he without any thing doing returned againe to BVDA.

Turopolis spoiled by the Turkes.

The six and twentieth day of September, *Hassan* the Bassa of BOSNA encamped with his army betwixt the riuers of Kulp and Sauus, and in the darknesse of the night passing ouer part of his armie into TVROPOLIS, with fire and sword most miserably spoiled all that pleasant and fertile island; the lord *Bonny* to whom the keeping thereof was committed, labouring in vaine to defend the same.

About the end of this moneth, the Bassa of ZIGET, with the Sanzackes of MOHAS, KOPAN, and QVINQVE ECCLESIE, and other Turkes of great name, came with a strong armie, and encamped betwene ZIGET and RODSTO. And shortly after newes was brought to the emperours Court, that KANSIA a citie of STIRIA (not farre from the riuier Zala) was hardly besieged by the enemy, and that the Turkes in comming thither had taken many Christians captiues, whom they had sent to be sold at CONSTANTINOPLE; and that there was in the Turkes armie about an hundred & threecore thousand men. But for as much as the Christian armie daily encreased also, and was now grown to the number of threecore thousand, men began to hope well,

A well, that the enemies rage would be staied from any farther proceeding. About the same time *Ernestus* the archduke appointed Generall of the armie, with the Marquesse (sonne to *Ferdinand* the archduke) his lieutenant, came both vnto the armie.

In these preparations, about the beginning of October heauie newes was brought vnto the emperours Court, how that seauen thousand men whom he but a little before had sent into CROATIA, vnder the conduct of *Thomas Artelius Beane, George Gleichspacher, and Dionysius Denke*, to hinder the course of the Turkes proceedings, being encamped betwixt WHITZ and CAROLSTAT; and hauing the twelfth of September discovered from an high hill certaine companies of the Turkes (which were in deed of purpose come thither to view the armie of the Christians) sent out fiftie horsemen to discover the Turkes armie where it lay, and what it attempted.

B Who finding no mo of the Turkes than those whom they had before seene from the mountaine, returned againe vnto the armie with such simple intelligence: whereunto the Christians giuing credit, became secure in their tents, as men out of feare of the enemy, and so kept but negligent watch. But in this their so great securitie, the enemy on a sudden came vpon them, and with an hundred thousand men brake into their trenches: where the Christian footmen for all that, for the space of foure houres, maintained a notable fight; wherein many were on both sides slaine. But the poore Christians being beset round, and oppressed with the multitude of their enemies, were there slaine almost all: yet the captaines seeing the danger, by speedie flight saued their liues; for which their cowardise and carelesse negligence, they were afterwards apprehended and beheaded. Almost all the common souldiours were there slaine: yea such as fell alieue into the hand of the enemy, were most cruelly cut in pieces. The spoile also of the tents of the Christians, fell vnto the enemy: wherein beside abundance of other things, they found sixtie thousand dollars, brought but two daies before from LINZ for the souldiours pay. The Turkes after their barbarous manner, in ostentation of their victorie, laded foureene wagons with the heads of the slaine Christians, which they sent vnto diuers of their places thereabouts. This was indeed a great victorie, but gained by the Turkes with much blood: for the Christians fighting as men desperat, slew of their enemies aboue twelue thousand, and died themselves as men rather with number oppressed, than with true valour vanquished.

The night following, the Turkes vpon the sudden in the dead time of the night, surprised the castle of S. George, and without respect of age or sex cruelly put to the sword all them that were therein, except an hundred and fiftie persons whom they carried away captiues; and so setting the castle on fire, departed. At the same time, diuers companies of the Turkes were seene about STIRIA, who led away with them about six hundred Christians into most miserable captiuitie. And that nothing might be wanting vnto the calamities of this so miserable a wasted countrey: three hundred wagons charged with all manner of prouision sent out of the prouinces thereby for the reliefe of the garrison souldiours in CROATIA, were all intercepted by the Turkes, and so carried away.

The emperour prayeth aid against the Germane princes.

The emperour considering these proceedings of the Turkes, and that their strength daily encreased, gaue notice by writing to all the princes and states of the empire, what incursions the Turkes had of late made into CROATIA and the frontiers of HUNGARIE, with other places neere vnto them: and that the Beglerbeg of GRACIA, with the Bassaes of BOSNA, BVDA, and TEMESVAR, without regard of the league yet in force, had taken diuers cities, townes, castles, and strong places, and so extended the bounds of their dominion aboue fortie Germane miles, hauing slaine or carried away into captiuitie the poore inhabitants of those countries; and now to be growne to that height of pride, that except their farther proceedings were with like forces repressed, they would in short time set foot into GERMANIE it selfe, and possessing themselves of STIRIA and CARINTHIA, would from thence daily more and more encroach vpon the empire; which to hinder was not in his power onely, but required their helpe in generall: wherefore he requested them now at length, in so publike a danger to open their cofers, and to send out their forces against the common enemy. Which request of the emperours, with the due consideration of so great a danger, moued not only the princes and states of the empire, but others also farther off, to yeeld liberall contribution vnto so necessarie and generall a cause.

The Turkes now hearing of the great preparation of the Christian princes, beside the armie which was already in the field; and that they had made a strong bridge ouer the riuier of DRAUUS, which they had also fortified, thereby in safetie at their pleasure to transport their armie: without

without further delay furnished such places as they had gotten with strong garrisons, and so withdrew themselves into their owne territorie: which they did the rather, for that the plague then raged sore in CONSTANTINOPL, insomuch that there died a thousand a day. Which contagion had also taken hold of the Turkish armie: so that the Christians for feare of infection forthwith slew what Turke soever fell into their hands. And thus ended the troubles of this year, being but as it were an introduction for greater to ensue the year following.

1593

Diwers incursions of the Turkes into the frontiers of the Christians in Croatia and Hungarie.

The Turkes together with the beginning of the new year began also their wonted incursions into the frontiers of the Christians. They of the garrison of PATRINIA (a strong fort but lately and contrarie to the league built by the Turkes vpon the river Colapis or Kulp, for the further inuasion of CROATIA) made dayly excursions out of that new fort, and entering into the island TROPOLIS, spoyle and burnt the towne and castle of BACK-VICROVAINA, and hauing made a great slaughter, carried away with them foure hundred prisoners. And in HUNGARIE, the Turkish garrisons to supplie their wants, made diuers rodes vpon the Christians; and did exceeding much harme; of which aduenturers six hundred in passing ouer the frozen lake, were all drowned in the midst thereof. In another place three thousand of them nere vnto NYMVS, deuided themselves into two companies, whereof the one shewed it selfe in the sight of the townesmen, the other still lying close in ambush: They of the towne vpon the sight of these Turkes sallied out, and causing them to retire, followed them so far, that they were past the place where the rest of the Turkes lay: who presently starting vp, ran with all speed toward the towne in hope to haue surpris'd it, and wanted not much of that they desired: for there was scarce an hundred of the Germanes there in garrison left in the towne, who had scarce so much time as to draw vp the bridges: which done, they with the great ordinance from the wals enforced the Turkes to retire and forsake the towne. About the same time also, the Turkes in garrison at PATRINIA sallying out vpon the sudden, tooke the towne of MARTENIZE, which they spoyle; and hauing slaine and taken about seuen hundred persons, set fire on the towne, and so returned, hauing lost in this exploit not past an hundred and fiftie of their owne men. Not long after, the same garrison souldiours of PATRINIA tooke another castle, three miles distant from the river of Kulp, whereinto the Christians dwelling round about, had for feare of the enemy conveyed all their wealth with great store of victuals: all which the Turkes tooke, and hauing slaine six hundred men in the castle, returned with an exceeding rich boorie to PATRINIA: which they bought, with the liues of five hundred of their fellowes, slaine in taking of the castle. With like infolencie did also the other garrisons of the Turkes rage in all the other part of HUNGARIE. About CASSOUIA, in the vpper HUNGARIE, they carried away about three hundred Christian captiues: and in the nether part of HUNGARIE they tooke the strong castle of S. Hedwig vpon the lake of Balaton, which they spoyle and burnt: and so likewise the castle of ISNA: but attempting the lesser COMARA, they were by the garrison souldiours valiantly repulsed. They also fortified the castle of STOK, which they had but a little before taken, that so it might serue for a safe refuge for their aduenturers. Which their manifold outrages, contrarie to the league, euidently declared the desire they had to begin that bloudie warre which presently after ensued: and was indeed the more suspected, for that at the same time the emperours embassadour Fredericke Crocowitz was by the commaundement of Amurath shut vp close in his house at CONSTANTINOPL, and not suffered to speake with any man, neither to write or to send any messenger to the emperour: which caused him the more to suspect some great matter to be by the Turke intended, and therefore began to raise new forces. The Hungarians and Bohemians also seeing their townes and castles thus taken, their prouinces spoyle, infinit numbers of people led away into captiuitie, and the enemy dayly encreasing in strength: at length agreed, vpon their owne charges to maintain a certaine number both of horse and foot, for the repreffing of these the Turkish incursions.

Now although the emperour knew right well all these outrages of the Turkes, contrarie vnto the league, could not be done without the knowledge and good liking al of Amurath: as before enformed thereof by his embassadour from CONSTANTINOPL: yet to shew himselfe willing to haue the league on his behalfe kept, as also to make a further prooffe of Amurath his resolution for peace or warre, he wrote vnto him as followeth:

Rodolph

Rodolph the second, Emperour of the Romanes; vnto Amurath king of the Turkes.

whereas nothing is hitherto on our behalfe omitted, for the preservation and continuance of the league and amitie betwixt your most excellent maiestie and vs, by the renewed capitulations of peace; and that we haue with all sinceritie and loue performed, and are hereafter readie to performe whatsoever is on our part to be performed and done; and as we haue hitherto, so for ever hereafter also make offer of the same: we most assuredly promise vnto our selues on your maiesties behalfe, that you in like manner will not suffer any thing on your part to be wanting; but gladly and willingly to doe all things which shall be meet and needfull for the preservation and keeping of this our mutuall loue and friendship. Vpon which good hope grounding our selues, to declare our plaine meaning and sinceritie indeed, we will cause our honourable Present (which is now readie) to be brought vnto your most royall maiestie, at such time as shall bee agreed vpon betwixt our embassadour and you: vnto whom in all such matters as he by our commaundement shall haue to deale with your most excellent maiestie, your visitors or seruants, we request you to giue full credence. In the meane time your excellencie shall doe well to provide, that as we haue now seuerely commaunded our subiects to keepe the peace vpon our frontiers, so that your souldiours also make no incursions as enemies into our territories, nor doe in them any harme, but to endeuour themselves also to peace and quietnesse: and especially, that all such things as contrarie to the capitulations of the league haue bene there of late taken from our people or otherwise vniuilly possessed, may be againe restored, the losses recompensed, the new fort of PATRINIA demolished, and the Bassa of BOSNA and others the authors of breaking of the league punished and displaced: whereby we shall gather your royall maiesties most noble and kind affection towards vs and our State: which as it shall be a thing most iust, so shall it be a singular confirmation of our league. But concerning these matters, and others to the same belonging, our embassadour is to declare our mind more at large, that so our preft desire for the continuance of our league and friendship with your maiestie, may more plainly be knowne. So wish we all health and prosperitie vnto your most royall maiestie. From PRAGE the eight of March, 1593.

The emperour also at the same time and to the same purpose writ to Sinan Bassa in this sort.

Rodolph the second, Emperour of the Romanes; to Sinan Bassa the chiefe Visier, greeting.

We write at this present vnto your most excellent Emperour, our most honoured friend and neighbour, concerning such matters as we thought fit for the preservation of the peace and league betwixt vs, least happily otherwise we might seeme to haue forgotten our dutie. Now it shall well beseeeme your vprightnesse and good will, which we haue at other times proued, for the high place and authoritie which you hold (and which we reioice to be againe restored vnto you) to giue vnto these things such easie passage before his maiestie, as that we may acknowledge your kindnesse and fauour, and haue occasion therefore to shew our selues vnto you thankfull. First we offer our selues most readie to continue the peace, & to performe whatsoever is according to the conuentions of the renewed peace on our part to be performed: as also to send the honourable Present (which is not as yet by vs sent) when as our embassadour shall haue with you appointed any certaine time wherein it may be sent. And we also assuredly hope so to preuaile with your Emperour, that on your part the places within our territories, by surely hope so to preuaile with your Emperour, together with all such things as haue bene wrongfully taken away, may your people forcibly possessed, and the fort of PATRINIA raised. The Bassa of BOSNA also (who we think would haue bene kept within the compasse of dutie, if you had at that time held the place of the chiefe Visier) haue bene kept within the compasse of dutie, if you had at that time held the place of the chiefe Visier) and whosoever els, guiltie of the wicked breach of the league, to be worthily according to their deserts do punished and displaced, and your souldiours seuerely charged not to make any further incursions, nor to do any thing that may tend to the breach of the league: as we likewise shall with new and straight commandments most carefully restraine our garrison souldiours vpon our frontiers from all such excursions and enemies actions. But of these things our embassadour is more fully and at large to entreat with you: vnto whose speech we desire such credence to be giuen, as vnto our owne; and we will so provide, that you shall haue good prooffe of our great good will towards you. From PRAGE the eight of March 1593.

Vnto which the emperours letters Sinan returned answer as followeth.

Sinan

*Sifeg besieged by
Hassan Bassa.*

fortresse of **TRANSCHIN**, which with continuall batterie and often assaults he at length tooke, sacked the towne, slew most part of the inhabitants, except eight hundred or thereabouts of the younger sort, whom he carried away with him into captiuitie. And being proude of this victorie, remoued thence by a bridge which he had made, passed ouer the riuer, and so the twelfth of Iune came and encamped before the monasterie of **SISEG**: and after vaine summons giuen to the same, the next day caused his great ordinance to be planted, and with great furie thundring against the wals, in short time ouerthrew the new tower, in the fall whereof two of the Christian canoniars perished. This furious batterie he maintained by the space of ten daies without intermission, giuing no time of rest vnto the besieged; so that it seemed not possible for the monasterie to be any long time defended, if it were not with speed relieved. The bishop of **ZAGARIA**, and **Rupertus Eggenberg** Generall of the emperours forces that then were at **ZAGARIA**, gaue knowledge thereof to **Andrew** lord **Auersberg** Gouverneur of **CAROLSTAT**, craving his aid and counsell: who calling together his owne forces, raised a good number both of horse and foot, and called also vnto him the bordering horsemen of **KARNIA** and **CRANIA**; who the seuenteenth day of Iune met all together not far from **INSTAVVITZ**, and there taried that night. The next day passing ouer the riuer **Sauus** neere vnto **ZAGARIA**, they joynted themselves with the emperours forces, and marched the nineteenth day in good order to **SCHELINE**, where they expected the coming of Countie **Serinus**. The twentieth day **Peter Herdelius** with his Hussars, and the lord **Stephen Graswein** came into the campe, with many of those light horsemen whom the Hungarians call **Vscocchi**. The one and twentieth day they lodged at **GRADIVM**, still expecting the coming of the Countie **Serinus**, who otherwise busied, could not come. The next day after, a souldior sent out from the besieged, came into the campe, who gaue the capitaines to vnderstand, that except they made hast that day to relieue the distressed monasterie, it would vndoubtedly be lost: for that the enemie had made it faultable, and would that night giue the assault; and the defendants, doubting how they should be able to maintaine the place, began before his departure thence to thinke of composition with the enemie. Vpon which newes the capitaines forthwith began to consult among themselves, what course to take in so doubtfull and dangerous a case: where **Auersberg** was of opinion, That it were best to march on, & to giue the enemie battell; with whom also agreed the lord **Rederen**: The rest of the captains being of a contrarie mind, for that the strength of the Christians compared to the Turkes, was too weake; and therefore they thought it better in time to retire whiles they yet might, than to hazard vnto most manifest perill the liues of so many valiant men, at so great ods. At which counsell **Auersberg** was at the first much moued, but afterwards (as he was a man of great eloquence) plainly set before them the necessitie of the cause, and with liuely reasons cheered vp the fearefull Croats; notably perswading them all in generall, to put their whole trust and confidence in God, to whom it was as easie to giue victorie by few as by many: and to fight like valiant men, for their religion, their countrey, their liues, their wiues, their children and friends, and whatsoever else they held deare; against that cowardly enemie, whose valour neuer brought him into the field, but onely the vaine trust he had in his multitude; and would therefore no doubt easily be put to flight, if he should contrarie to his expectation find himselfe but a little hardly laid vnto. With these and other like reasons hee preuailed so much, that they all yeelded vnto his opinion, and with one consent resolved to go against the enemie, and to doe what they might to relieue their besieged friends. So vpon a signe giuen, the whole armie (in number not about foure thousand) forthwith remoued, and with great speed hasted towards the enemie; and being come within a mile of the campe, put themselves in order of battell. The Turkes by their espials vnderstanding of the approach of the Christians, brought all their horsemen ouer the riuer of **Kulp**, by a bridge which they had made, and hauing put themselves in order, came on to joyne battell with the Christians: who had in their vaungard placed the Croats and Hussars; in the left wing them of **CAROLSTAT**, and the harquebusiers of **KARNIA**; in the right wing the borderers of **CRANIA**, all horsemen; in the maine battell the rest of the souldiors, with the horsemen of **SILBIA**, vnder the conduct of **Sigismund Paradise**; the rearward was enclosed with three companies of the emperours souldiors. The Croats and Hussars in the vaungard gaue the first charge vpon the enemie: but hauing for a good space made a great fight, they were about to haue retired, and discouraged with the multitude of the enemies, were euen vpon the point to haue fled: when **Auersberg** (Generall of the Christian armie) came on with his Squadron, and not onely restored the

*A great battell
betwixt the
Turkes and the
Christians.*

A the battell, but so resolutely charged the maine battell of the Turkes, that the Bassa was constrained at the first to retire, and afterwards to flie, after whom all the rest of the armie followed. The Christians still keeping their array, pursued them with great speed, and comming to the new made bridge before them, tooke from them that passage, to the great discomfite of the Turkes, who seeing the miserable slaughter of themselves, and no way to escape, ran headlong some into the riuer **Odera**, some into **Kulp**, and were there for most part drowned; the rest were all slaine by the Christians, before determined not to take any prisoners. In the meane time, the Turkes that remained at the siege, vnderstanding of the ouerthrow of their fellowes, set fire on their powder and other prouision, and so in great feare betooke themselves to flight. Whose tents the Christians immediately after tooke, and in them nine great pieces of artillerie; and good store of great shot of 44 and 45 pound waight a piece, with the sumptuous paviilion of the Bassa, and much other rich spoile, which was all carried into the monasterie of **SISEG**. The number of the Turkes slaine in this battell, and drowned in the riuers, is of diuers diuersly reported, but most agree vpon eighteene thousand. And amongst them was **Hassan Bassa** himselfe, found in the riuer neere vnto the bridge, knowne by his most rich and sumptuous apparell; and neere vnto him **Mahomet-Beg**, and **Achmet-Beg**. In other places were also found the dead bodies of **Saffer-Beg** the Bassa's brother, of **Memi-beg**, **Haramatan-Beg**, **Curti-Beg**, **Operd-Beg**, and **Gofchus**, the Bassa's chiefe counsellour and master of his household. But of all others, the vntimely death of **Sinan-Beg** **Amurath** his nephew, his sisters onely sonne, sent thither to haue learned the feats of armes vnder **Hassan** the great Bassa, was of the Turkes most lamented. Of twentie thousand Turkes that came ouer the riuer **Kulp**, scarcely two thousand escaped. This so great a victorie obtained, all the armie of the Christians went thrise about the monasterie, and euerie time falling all downe vpon their knees, gaue vnto God most heartie thanks for the same, as by him miraculously giuen, and not by themselves wooed; and afterwards made all the shew of joy and gladnesse they could possibly deuise.

Sifeg relieved.

*Eighteene thousand
Turkes
slaine.*

SISEG thus deliuered, and the Turkes armie ouerthrowne, the Christians with all speed laid siege to **PETRINIA** the strong new fort of the Turkes, which they for the space of five daies most furiously battered: but hearing that the great Gouverneur of **GRACIA** (whom the Turkes call the Beglerbeg of **ROMANIA**) was with a great power comming to the reliefe of the fort, they raised their siege, brake vp their armie, and returned euerie man to his wonted charge.

D Whilest these things were in doing at **PETRINIA**, a post came from **CONSTANTINOPLE** News of the ouerthrow of the Turkes at **Sifeg**, brought to **Buda**, to **BUDA**, who brought thither the first newes of the ouerthrow of **SISEG**; for the report thereof was not as yet come to **BUDA**. Wherefore the Bassa called vnto him the messenger, author of so bad newes, and diligently examined him of the truth thereof: who told him, That at his departure from **CONSTANTINOPLE**, nothing was there knowne of that losse, but that vpon the way as he came he met with diuers horsemen but lately escaped from the slaughter, who told him of a certaintie, that the Bassa was slaine and his armie destroied. Wherevnto the Bassa of **BUDA** replied, That he was happie in his death, for that if he had by chance escaped, he should for his indiscretion vndoubtedly haue suffered some other more shamefull death at the Court.

E When newes of the aforesaid victorie was brought to the emperour at **PRAGA**, he commanded publike prayers, with thanksgiuing to almighty God to be made in all churches: and sent a messenger with letters to **Amurath**, to know of him how he vnderstood these insolent proceedings of his souldiors, and especially this late expedition of the Bassa of **BOSNA** and his complices, contrarie to the league yet in force betwixt them. After which messenger he sent also the lord **Popelins**, with the yearely Present (or rather tribute) he vsed to send vnto the Turkish emperour at **CONSTANTINOPLE**; yet with this charge, that when he was come as farre as **COMARA** in the borders of **HUNGARIE**, he should there stay vntill the returne of the aforesaid messenger: who if he brought tidings of peace from **Amurath**, then to proceed on his journey to the Turkes Court; otherwise, to returne againe with his present: as he afterwards did. For **Amurath** enraged with the notable losse received at **SISEG**, and prickt forward with the teares and prayers of his sister (desirous of nothing more than to be reuenged for the death of her sonne) at the seauenth of August caused open war to be proclaimed against the Christian emperour, both at the **CONSTANTINOPLE** and **BUDA**. The manning whereof he committed to **Sinan Bassa** the old enemie of the Christians, his lieutenant generall, and perswader of this warre: who departing from **CONSTANTINOPLE** with an armie of fortie thousand, wherein were 5600 Janizaries,

Still ij

was

was by *Amurath* himselfe and the great men of the Court brought a mile on his way: having in charge from the great Sultan, by the assistance of the Beglerbeg of *Greece*, the Bassaes of *Bvda* and *Temesvare*, and other his Sanzackes and commanders in that part of his empire, to revenge the death of his nephew, and the dishonour received at *Siso*.

This warre *Amurath* with great pride denounced vnto the Christian Emperour and the rest of the princes his confederats in this sort.

Amurath the third, by the grace of the great God in heauen, the onely Monarch of the World, a great and mightie God on earth, an invincible Caesar, King of all Kings from the East vnto the West, Sultan of Babilon, Soueraigne of the most noble families of PERSIA and ARMENIA, triumphant victor of Hierusalem, Lord possessour of the Sepulchre of the crucified God, subuerter and sworn enemy of the Christians, and of all them that call vpon the name of Christ.

The proud and blasphemous denunciation of warre given out by Amurath against Rodolph the Christian Emperour.

We denounce vnto thee Rodolph the Emperour, and to all the Germane nation taking part with thee, vnto the great Bishop also, all the Cardinals and Bishops, to all your sonnes and subjects: we earnestly (I say) by our crowne and empire denounce vnto you open warre. And giue you to understand, that our purpose is, with the power of thirtene kingdomes, and certaine hundred thousands of men, horse and foot, with our Turkes and Turkish armes, yea with all our strength and power (such as neither thou nor any of thine hath euer yet seene or heard of, much lesse had any proofe of) to besiege you in your cheefe and metropolitall cities, and with fire and sword to persecute you and all yours, and whoeuer shall giue you helpe, to burne, destroy, and kill, and with most exquisite torments we can devise to torture vnto death and slay such Christian captiues as shall fall into our hands, or els to keepe them as dogs, captiues in perpetuall miserie; to empale vpon stakes your fairest sonnes and daughters: and to the further shame and reproch of you and yours; to kill like dogs your women great with child, and the children in their bellies: for now we are fully resolved to bring into our subietion you which rule but in a small cuntry, and by strong hand and force of armes to take from you your kingdome, as also to oppresse, root up and destroy the keyes and See of *Rome*, together with the golden scepter thereof: and we will prouue whether your crucified Iesus will helpe you and doe for you as yours perswade you. Beleue him still, and trust in him, and see how he hath holpen his messengers which haue put their confidence in him: for we neither beleue, neither can we endure to heare such incomprehensible things, that he can helpe, which is dead so many worldes of yeares agoe, which could not helpe himselfe, nor deliuer his owne cuntry and inheritance from our power, ouer which we haue so long time reigned. These things & yee poore and miserable of the world, we thought good to signifie vnto you, that you with your princes and confederats may know what you haue to doe and to looke for. Giuen in our most mightie and imperiall citie of *Constantinople*, which our auncestours by force of armes tooke from yours, and hauing slaine or taken prisoners all their citisens, reserved such of their wines and children as they pleased vnto their lust, to your perpetuall infamie and shame.

Sig taken by the Turkes.

Sinan with his armie thus setting forward, kept still on his way towards *Bvda*, but the Beglerbeg of *Greece* with a farre greater power marched towards *Croacia*, as well to relieue the forts distressed by the Christians, as againe to besiege the strong castle or monastrie of *Siseg*: which he with his huge armie at his first arriuall compassed about without resistance, and with continuall batterrie ouerthrew the wals thereof, giuing no time of rest vnto the defendants. Which breaches they for all that valiantly defended, and with restlesse labour notably repaired, the very fearefull women bringing tables, stooles, and whatsoeuer els came to hand, that might any wise helpe to keepe the enemy out, of whom a great number was in the breaches slaine. But what was that handfull against such a multitude? At length the third day of September the Turkes by maine force entered the Monastrie, and put to sword all the soldiours therein: amongst whom were two hundred Germanes, of whom the Turkes cut some in pieces, and the rest they threw into the riuer Kulp. One religious man there found among the rest, they did flea quicke in detestation of his profession, and afterward cutting him in small pieces, burnt them to ashes. So taking the spoyle of all that was there to bee had; and leauing a strong garrison for the keeping of the place, they passed ouer Sauus, burning the cuntry before them, and carried away with them

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A about a thousand poore Christians into perpetuall captiuitie. These inuasions of the Turkes caused the Emperour to craue aid both of the states of the empire, and other forraigne princes farther off, which was by some easily graunted, but not so speedily performed.

About this time *Peter* surnamed *le Hussar* (for that hee commaunded ouer those horsemen whom the Hungarians call Hussars) capitaine of *Pappa*, by the appointment of *Ferdinand* countie *Hardeck* gouernour of *Rab*, lay in wait for the Turkes Treasurer in *Hungary*, who had the commaund of five thousand Turkes: him this Hungarian tooke at aduantage, as he was mustering and paying certaine companies of his souldiours, mistrusting no such danger, and desperately charging him, slew him with diuers of his men, and put the rest to flight, and so with the spoyle and some few prisoners he returned againe to his castle, carrying with him the Treasurer.

B Now *Sinan* the Generall being come with his armie to *Bvda*, resolved with himselfe to begin his warres in that part of *Hungary*, with the siege of *Vesprim*. This episcopall citie was by *Solyman* the great Turke taken from the Christians in the yeare 1552, and againe by them recouered about foureteene yeares after, about the yeare 1566, since which time vntill now it had remained in the hands of the Christians. *Sinan* without delay marching with his armie to *Vesprim*, compassed the citie round, and encamping as he saw good, planted his batterrie wherewith he continually thundered against the citie. The Christians there in garrison easily perceiving that the citie was not long to be holden against so great a power, placed diuers barrels of gunpowder in certaine mines they had made vnder the wals and bulwarkes of the towne, with traines that should at a certaine time take fire. Which done, they departed secretly out of the citie in the dead time of the night, hoping so in the darke to haue escaped the hands of the enemies: which they did not so secretly, but that they were by the Turkes descied, and most of them slaine. *Ferdinand* *Samaria* Gouernor of the citie, after he had for a space valiantly defended himselfe, fell at last into the enemies hand, and so was taken aliue, together with one *Hofkirke* a Germane capitaine. The Turkes entered the citie the sixt of October, striuing who should get first in, for greediness of the prey, when suddenly the powder in the mines tooke fire, and blowing vp the very foundations of the wals and bulwarkes, slew a number of the Turkes that were within the danger thereof, and wonderfully defaced the citie.

From *Vesprim* the Bassa remoued with his armie to *Palotta*, and gaue summons to the castle: but receiuing such answer as pleased him not, hee layed siege vnto it with all his power. Which at the first *Peter Ormand* capitaine of the castle chearefully receiued: but being afterward without any great cause discouraged (the castle as yet being but little shaken, and but one man slaine, and the rest of the souldiours readie to spend their liues in defence thereof) he sent vnto the Bassa, offering to yeeld the castle vnto him, so that he with his souldiours might with bag and baggage in safetie depart. Of which his offer the Bassa accepted, and graunted his request. But he was no sooner come out of the castle with his souldiours, and readie to depart, but the faithlesse Turke contrarie to his oath and promise caused them all to be cruelly slaine, except only the capitaine and two other. After that the Bassa without any great labour tooke in all the cuntry thereabouts neere vnto the lake of *Balaton*.

Now at last, though long first, about the middle of October the Christians began to muster their armie, in number about eightene thousand, all good and expert souldiours: with which power they shortly after passing ouer *Danubius*, at the first encounter with the Turkes put them to the worke, slew a great number of them, and rescued a number of poore Christian captiues.

In the latter end of this moneth countie *Hardeck* Gouernour of *Rab*, and Generall of the Christian armie in that part of *Hungary*, departing from *Komara* with all his power, came in and layed siege to the strong citie of *Alba Regalis*, which by the force of his artillerie hee in short time made faultable; but in assaunting the breaches, was by the Turkes there in garrison notably repulsed. So hauing made sufficient proofe both of the strength and courage of the defendants, and perceiving no good could be done without a long siege, for which hee was not as then provided; after consultation had with the rest of the captains, he resolved to raise his siege: which he did the second of Nouember, remouing that day but halfe a mile from the citie, because he would be sure of all his armie. But as he was about the next day to remoue, news was brought him by his espials, that the enemies power was at hand, and euen now almost in sight, which he proued to be so indeed. For the Bassa of *Bvda* by the commaundement of *Sinan Bassa* the General, was come forth with thirtene Sanzackes and twentie thousand souldiours, thirtie field pinnerall, was come forth with thirtene

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ces, and five hundred wagons laded with victuall and other warlike prouision, to raise the siege, and to relieue the citie; and was now euen at hand, comming directly vpon the Christians: whereupon the countie, assisted by the countie *Serinus*, the lord *Palsi*, the lord *Nadasti*, *Peter le Huffer*, and other valiant captaines of great experience, with wonderfull celeritie put his armie in order of battell, and so courageously set forward to encounter the enemy. The Bassa seeing the Christians marching towards him, tooke the aduantage of the higher ground, and from thence discharged his field pieces vpon them; which mounted too high, by good hap did them little or no hurt at all. The Christians for all that desirous of battell, and nothing regarding the disadvantage of the ground, but calling vpon the name of the Almighty, mounted the hill, and joyning battell with the Turkes, by plaine force constrained them to flie. In this armie of the Turkes, being for most part horsemen, were about five thousand foot, and many of them Ianizaries, who in flying, oftentimes made stands, and wounded many, and yet neuerthelesse were almost all there slaine, with many others: amongst whom were three great men, the Sanzacks of *STRIGONIVM*, *SECHINE*, and *NOVIORAD*; seven Chiaus, and many other men of marke, the most valiant captaines of the Turkes borderers. The lord *Nadasti* with some others taking view of the Turkes that were slaine and lost in this battell, deemed them to haue bene at the least in number eight thousand: few prisoners were saued, all being put to the sword, which caused *Sinan* to sweare by his *Mahomet* neuer more to spare any Christian. All the Turkes artillerie, wagons, and prouision became a prey vnto the Christians: many ensignes were there found, and weapons of great value. It is hard to be beleued, how much this victorie encouraged the Christians, & daunted the Turkes. Whereupon the countie with great joy brought backe his armie to *ALBA REGALIS*, and encamped neere the bulwarke called *STOPASCH*, where the Turkes most feared to be assaulted. *Palsi*, *Nadasti*, and some others, earnestly perswaded with the countie, not to depart from the citie before he had woon it: But he considering the hard time of the yeare, the strength of the citie (which was now full of souldiours, by reason of them that were fled in thither from the late ouerthrow) with the want of things necessarie in his armie to maintaine a longer siege; and fearing also after long lying to be enforced with dishonour to forsake it, would not hearken to their perswasions, but calling a counsell, resolved to raise his siege, and to content himselfe with the victorie he had already gotten, which was afterward imputed vnto him for more than an ouerfight. So setting fire vpon the suburbs of the citie, he rose with his armie, and departed thence the first of Nouember, and returned to *RAE*.

Sabatza taken by the lord Teuffenbach.

Not long after, *Christopher* lord *Teuffenbach*, the Emperours lieutenant in the vpper part of *HUNGARIE*, who lay encamped at *CASSOVIA* with his armie of foureteene thousand souldiours, remooued thence, and marching along the countrey two dayes, came and layed siege to *SABATZKA*, one of the Turkes strongest castles in those quarters, out of which they vsually did much harme among the Christians. This castle *Teuffenbach* battered in three places; and hauing at length made it faultable, tooke it by force the nineteenth of Nouember, and put to the sword all the Turkes there in garrison, in number about two hundred and fiftie, and instead of them left a strong garrison of his owne: whereby all the countrey thereabouts was restored to great quietnesse.

Filek besieged by the Christians.

SABATZKA thus taken, the Christian Generall remoued with all speed to *FILEK*, a strong citie of the higher *HUNGARIE*, which *Solyman* the Turkish emperour tooke from the Christians in the yeare 1560, and placed therein a Sanzacke, vnder the commaund of the Bassa of *BUDA*. The Generall encamping before this citie, the next day after planted his batterie, and in most terrible manner without intermission thundered against the wals and gates of the citie. The Sanzacke Governour thereof, considering the power of the Christians, got out secretly by night with a few souldiours, to acquaint the other Turkish Sanzackes his neighbours with the comming of the Christians, and the number of their armie; and further to consult with them how the citie might bee relieved. The Bassa of *TMBESVARE*, with the Sanzackes of *GIVLA*, *HADVVAN*, *SCANTZAG*, and *SIRME*, vnderooke the matter: and therupon the Bassa sent for eight hundred Ianizaries, of late left by *Sinan Bassa* in garrison at *BUDA* and *ALBA REGALIS*; who all flatly refused to goe to this seruice, saying, That they would not be led as beasts to the slaughter, as were their fellows but a little before at *ALBA REGALIS*: neuerthelesse they enforced the Armenians, whom *Sinan* and his sonne had brought thither, to goe; but of *BUDA*, *ALBA REGALIS*, and *SCAMBOTH*, were sent onely fifteene hundred common souldiours. For all that, the Bassa

- A Bassa with the Sanzackes his followers, firme in their former resolution for the reliefe of the distressed citie, hauing made great preparation, and raised an armie of eightene thousand strong; with many field pieces, by night drew neere vnto *FILEK*, and staid within two miles of the citie. But the Generall of the Christians, with *Stephen Bathor* and the other captaines, vnderstanding of their comming, with seauen thousand good souldiours chosen out of the whole armie, went out presently against them; and the one and twentieth of Nouember suddenly assailing them in their tents, ouerthrew them and put them all to flight; whom the Christians fiercely pursued with a most terrible execution. In this fight and flight there was slaine six thousand Turkes, and but few or none taken. The Bassa himselfe, with the Sanzacke of *FILEK* and many others of great name, were found amongst the bodies of the slaine Turkes. This victorie gained B with little or no losse, yeelded vnto the Christians a rich prey, many gorgeous tents, and faire ensignes, much cattell, and nine and twentie field pieces, with two hundred wagons laded with victuall and other prouision; all which they carried into the campe at *FILEK*; and so more straightly besieged the citie than before. The same day the lord *Palsi* and *Martin Lassa* came to the campe with six thousand souldiours: and forthwith three trumpeters were sent to tell them of the citie, That if without farther resistance they would forthwith yeeld the citie, they should haue leaue in safetie to depart with life and goods, although the Turkes had of late in like case broken their faith with the Christians at *PALOTTA*: but if they refused his grace, and would needs hold it out to the vttermost, then to denounce vnto them all extremities. For all this, the Turkes nothing dismayed, refused to yeeld: whereupon the batterie began afresh, and in more terrible manner C than before: so that though the citie was most strongly fortified both with wals and rampiers, yet had the Christians in three daies space, with continuall batterie made a faire breach into it, whereby they in despite of the enemy entred without any notable losse the fouthe and twentieth of Nouember, ransacked the citie, and burnt a great part thereof. The same day they also tooke the vttermost castle, wherein the Sanzackes pallace stood: this castle standeth vpon a verie high hill, strengthened both by art and nature, and had in it a strong garrison of valiant souldiours, who spared not lustily to bestow their shot amongst their enemies, of whom they slew a great number. Neuerthelesse, the Christians after they had for the space of two daies and two nights with a most furious batterie shaken the wals, by plaine force entred the castle the six and twentieth of Nouember, and put to sword all the garrison souldiours; except such as had in good time forsaken this castle, and retired themselves into another more inward. Who being in number eight hundred, with their wiues and children, without hope of reliefe, and seeing the cannon now bent vpon them, set out a white ensigne in token of parley: which granted, it was agreed that they should depart with life, and so much of their goods as euerie one of them could carrie. Vpon which agreement, the castle was yeelded the eight and twentieth day of Nouember, and the Turkes D with a safe conuoy brought vnto the place they desired. In this castle was found a great bootie, many pieces of artillerie, with much other warlike prouision, but of victualls small store. The Generall with the rest of the captaines entering the castle, fell downe vpon their knees, and with their hearts and hands cast vp towards heauen, thanked God for their victorie, and for the recoverie of that strong citie; but especially for the deliuerie of so many Christians out of the E Turkish rhdome: For it is reported, that there are about eight hundred countrey villages subject to the iurisdiction of *FILEK*, the poore inhabitants whereof were now all freed from the Turkish seruitude, by the taking of this only citie. The Christians forthwith repaired the wals, bulwarks, and trenches, and strongly fortified euerie place against the enemy: and so leauing a sufficient garrison in the citie and castles, departed with their armie, now in number about twentie thousand, towards *SODOCH*, six miles from *FILEK*. But as they were vpon the way, newes F was brought vnto the Generall, how that the Turkes had for feare abandoned the castles of *DRI*, *VIN* and *SOMOSKE*: whereupon he sent out certaine companies of souldiours to take in both those places; who comming thither, found them in deed forsaken of the enemy, but yet many pieces of artillerie and other warlike prouision there still left.
- In the latter end of Nouember the Generall marched with his armie towards *SATSCHEIN*, a strong towne in the diocesse of *AGRIA*, but the Turkes in that place had two or three daies before prepared themselves to flie, and sent their wiues, their children, and the best of their substance, some to *HATVVAN*, some to *BUDA*: and now hearing of the approach of the Christian armie, set fire on the towne and fled. The Christians immediately entering, did what they could

Filek taken by the Christians.

Satichine, Bladenstein, and Sallak abandoned by the Turkes.

Nowigrad besieged by the Christians.

pitching their tents, and encamping themselves: yet before night they had planted certaine great G pieces vpon a high hill, from whence they might see into the castle; whereof the master of the ordinance caused three of the greatest (about the going downe of the Sunne) to be discharged against the castle, to giue the Turke to vnderstand that they wanted nothing for the siege. The same night also the Christians cast vp a great mount in the valley, from whence they presently sent six great shot into the castle: but early in the morning the Sunne being yet scarce vp, and all things now in readinesse, they began to batter the castle, and that day out of ten great pieces discharged three hundred great shot against the castle; but to small purpose, for the castle was built vpon a most strong rocke, fortified with high and thicke wals, and a deepe ditch hewen out of the maine rocke, which compassed the castle round; and for the more strength thereof was so fortified with pallisadoes made of strong timber, as that there was no acceffe vnto the wals: yet by the H commaundement of the General, certaine companies of the Christians prepared themselves to assault the breach, such as it was; who besides their weapons, carrying with them drie faggots, and setting them on fire, burnt the pallisado in diuers places, and so opened the way vnto the wals; and encouraged with the successe, approached uicer, and slew diuers of the Turkes vpon their rampiers: who discouraged with their owne weakenesse and the forwardnesse of the enemy, faintly defended themselves, and yet slew diuers of them, beating them downe from the wals with stones, timber, fire-workes, and such like. This assault giuen in the night, was continued vntill foure a clocke in the morning, and so giuen ouer. Shortly after came the Archduke with a thousand horse into the campe, and caused the batterie to be againe renewed: whereby it chanced, that the chiefe canonier in the castle being a renegade Germane, was taken with a great shot, and slaine; whose death so dismayed the rest of the defendants, that they presently set forth three white ensignes in signe of parle: which for all that the Christians seemed not to regard, but still continued their batterie. The Turkes then pitifully crying out, named two capitaines, whom they desired to haue sent vnto them, with whom they might fall to some reasonable composition. So for a while the batterie ceased, and those capitaines being sent into the towne, brought nine of the best of the Turkes in the citie with them vnto the Archduke: who by their interpreter declared, That they well considering the force of the Christians, and seeing no reliefe to come from the Bassa of BUDA, as he had promised, thought themselves to haue already discharged the parts of good souldiours, and seeing no other remedie, were contented to yeeld the castle, yet so, as that with bag and baggage they might in safetie depart. Whereunto the lord Passi taking vpon him the person of the Archduke (for that he himselfe would not be knowne) answered, That for as much as they had not yeelded at the first summons, but holden it out to the losse of many of his mens liues, and his great charge, they were vnworthie any fauour, yet of his owne clemencie he would receiue them, if they would absolutely without any further condition yeeld themselves to his mercie. This answer being reported to the Sanzacke, gouernour of the towne, pleased him not, and therefore said he would still stand vpon his defence. Whereupon the Christians were about to haue begun a fresh assault. But after a new parley it was at last agreed, That the Turkes yeelding the towne vnto the Archduke, should in safetie depart with their apparrell and scimitars onely. With which agreement two of the Turkes were sent backe into the castle, and the rest detained. Foure houres the Turkes in the castle delayed the time, as men doubtfull what to doe: but being earnestly called vpon by the lord Passi for a resolute answer, and seeing the Christians ready againe to assault them, they for feare yeelded: and so foure hundred and fiftie of them came forth, amongst whom was the Sanzacke gouernour of the towne, with his wife and daughter, the Sanzacke of SLENDRE, sent thither to haue aided him, and one Chiaus lately come from the Court. These great men brauely mounted, were commaunded to alight from their gallant horses, and had in their steads other bad jades giuen them to ride vpon: and as they passed by, as well the women as the men were searched, that they carried with them nothing more than their clothes: if any thing els were found, it fell vnto the souldiours share for good bootie. This strong towne of NOVI GRAD, had continued in the possession of the Turkes about threescore yeares, and serued as it were for a bulwarke to PESTH and BUDA, which now recovered out of their hands, opened a way vnto their further harmes. The keeping of this towne was by the Archduke committed to the lord Rebei, a noble man of HUNGARIE, and kinsman to Passi, with a strong garrison and certaine troupes of Hussars.

The Sanzacke of NOVI GRAD, after he had lost the towne, comming to BUDA, was presently apprehen-

Nowigrad yeelded vnto the archduke.

A apprehended by the Bassa, and layed in prison: who although he excused himselfe, by alledging that the towne was not possibly to bee holden with so small a garrison against so great a power; and that if any fault were, it was to be imputed to them of BUDA, for not sending reliefe in time; and therefore appealed vnto the further hearing of Amurath himselfe: yet all serued him not, but was by the Bassas commandement in the night hanged vpon a tree nere vnto the gate of the citie; and afterwards cut in pieces.

Whilest these things were in doing, the Emperour sent his embassadours to the great duke of MVS COVIA, the king of POLONIA, and the prince of TRANSYLVANIA, to proue how they stood affected towards those his warres against the Turke, and what aid he might procure from them. Into MVS COVIA was sent one *Warkusich* a gentleman of SILESIA, who comming to B MVS CO, found in that Court the embassadours of the Tartar, the Turke, the Persian, the Polonian, and the Dane. Of all these, the embassadours of the Tartar and the Turke could haue no audience, but were with contumelious words rejected, as miscreants. The emperours embassadour was honourably entertained, and after the manner of that countrey, a large proportion of wine, meade, aquauita, flesh, fish, and foule of sundrie sorts allowed him daily all the time of his abode. At length hauing audience, he declared vnto the great duke the cause of his comming, and in the name of his master requested his aid against the Turke. Whereunto the duke answered, That he would giue the emperour towards the maintenance of his warres against the common enemy, five hundred thousand ducats, and allow him yearely foure hundred thousand, during the time of that warre; requesting him not to make any peace with the Turke, and promising to send him aid also of men in this warre, if he should so need. The Persian embassadour also notably feasted the emperours embassadour, and had with him great conference concerning the warres of the Christians with the Turkes; and in his masters name promised the continuation of his wars against the Turke, so that the emperour would likewise promise not to haue any league with him, so to giue him leisure to turne all his forces againe into PERSIA. This embassadour after he had almost foure moneths tarried in MVS COVIA, returned to the emperour. At which time doctor *Wacker*, the emperours embassadour into POLONIA, returned also with joyfull newes, how that the Polonians with an armie of eight and twentie thousand had stopped the passage of an hundred thousand Tartars, whom the Turke had sent for against the emperour; and that if he needed, he should be aided with the Polonian Cossackes: But vnto the rest of his requests he could haue no answer of the states of that kingdome, for that the king was then absent in SVEDEN, and was therefore referred to be further answered at his returne.

At the same time countie *Serinus* with three hundred harquebusiers and certaine troupes of Cerraine castles of the Turkes vpon the borders of Sirlia taken by the countie Serinus. horsemen, and the footmen of SIRTIA and the countries thereabout assembled, to the number of ten thousand, departed from CANISIA, to besiege BRESENZA, a castle of the Turkes: but they vnderstanding before of his comming, conveyed away the best of their substance, and setting the castle on fire, departed the three and twentieth of March. The earle comming thither, tooke the forsaken castle, and put thereinto a garrison of his owne souldiours. In like manner he tooke also SIGESTA, forsaken by the Turkes, where he also placed a garrison of the Christians. And so going on to BABOTSCHA, besieged it: which castle although it was strongly situated in a marish, and could not easily haue beene woon, was for all that for feare abandoned by the E Turkes, and so taken by the countie: by recouerie of which places there was a safe and easie way layed open euen to ZIGERT, the Bassa whereof stood in no small doubt to haue beene euen then besieged.

Amurath intending by all meanes he could to vex the Emperour, had determined to send his fleet into the Adriaticke, to besiege ZEGNA, a citie of the Emperours, situate vpon the sea coast in the bay QVERNERO, called in auncient time FLANATICVS SINVS. Which the better to effect, he sent one of his Chiaus embassadour to the Venetians, to request them, That his fleet might by their leaue passe alongst the Adriaticke, and haue the vse of their ports and harbours, as need should require. Which his request the Venetians hearing, refused in any case to yeeld thereunto: fearing (and not without cause) the vnfaithfulnesse and trecherie of the Turkes, whose oathes and promises are no longer strong, or by them regarded, than standeth with their owne good and profit: neuertheless, they most honourably vsed the embassadour, and so sent him away, without obtaining of that he was especially sent for.

In the vpper part of HUNGARIE Christopher lord Teuffenbach the Archdukes lieutenant ha-

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Havnan besieged
by the Christians

uing gathered an armie of twentie thousand souldiours, the sixteenth of Aprill laid siegeto HATVVAN, a strong towne, six miles from BVD, fortified with a triple ditch, and bulwarkes of exceeding strength. Against which although the Christians could not doe much either by mines or mounts, by reason it was so enuironed with water: yet they so shut vp all the passages therunto, that nothing could be brought or caried in or out of the towne. They of the towne seeing themselves thus blockt vp, by secret messengers certified the Bassa of BVD, in what case they stood, praying him of aid: who with ten thousand chosen souldiours, which he had then in readinesse, and the Sanzackes of SERNAH, GIVLA, LIPPA, LERVVOG, and TSCHANGRAD, with five thousand moe, forthwith set forward toward HATVVAN to raise the siege: and the last of Aprill being come within sight of the Christian armie, about one of the clocke in the afternoon, encamped on the side of the river Sagijwa: but when he could not or els durst not for the deepnesse of the way, the abundance of the water, and needenesse of the enemye, adventure to passe the river, he retired backe againe, to passe ouer at Iasperin, (otherwise called Iasbrin) where the river was joynted with a bridge, and not farre off a good fount also to passe ouer at: thinking so, to haue come vpon the backs of the Christians, and with more safetie to haue relieued the besieged towne. But Teuffenbach perceiuing his purpose, forthwith after his departure passed the river with much difficultie, and ouertaking him with his armie the next day, being the first of May, about one of the clocke in the afternoon, between ZARHA and FVCSALVA, with his great ordinance disordered the rereward of the enemies battell; and coming on courageously with his whole armie, began a most cruell fight: which the Turkes a great while endured with wonderfull resolution: but now destitute of their wonted multitude (their greatest confidence) and hardly layed vnto by the Christians, they in the end turned their backs and fled; whom six thousand Hungarians and Germanes fiercely pursued, and had the killing of them almost to BVD. In this battell the Christians tooke all the enemies great ordinance, with seuentene ensigs, and also the cattle of Iasperin, which the Turkes had for feare abandoned; wherein was found good store of vituals, certaine great pieces, with much other warlike prouision. Of this notable victorie Teuffenbach by letters presently aduertised the Archduke, after he was againe returned to the siege of HATVVAN. Which letters because they containe many particularities and circumstances of this battell, I haue thought it not amisse here to insert.

The copie of the
letters of the lord
Teuffenbach to
Matthias the
Archduke, Ge-
nerall of the em-
perours armie a-
gainst the Turke

Although (sayth he) I haue by a speedie messenger vpon the very kalends of May certified your excellence of the notable victorie, which God of his great goodnesse gaue vnto vs the same day ouer our hereditarie enemye: yet afterward vpon diligent inquisition we vnderstood many particularities, as well of the captiues themselves, as of the inhabitants about ZOINOCK, PESTH, and BVD, whereof I thought good to aduertise you. The captiues themselves confesse, That the Bassa of BVD, with the Sanzackes of ZOINOC, ZARVACE, GIVLA, and TSCHANGRAD, CIPPAIO, GENNE, and others, had with great celeritie raised an armie of thirteene thousand souldiours, amongst whom were many Tartars, with purpose to haue relieued the besieged towne of HATVVAN, and vpon the sudden to haue oppressed vs in our tents: Filled with which hope, they in great hast came with all their power the last of Aprill towards HATVVAN: but for as much as they could not passe ouer the river Zaggiwa, by reason of the height of the water, they were the next day, being the first of May, conducted by the captaine of Iasperin to a more commodious passage, so to come the neerer vnto vs, and the next day in the morning to haue surprised vs in our tents. But our most mercifull God hath auerted this so great a mischiese from vs, and turned it vpon their owne heads. For as it is most constantly reported from ZOINOC, PESTH, and BVD, and confirmed by the inhabitants of the same places, there are two thousand five hundred of the Turkes slaine, and as many wounded, of whom many perished, and are found dead vpon the high wayes leading to PESTH and ZOINOC: of these wee haue sent a thousand heads to CASSOVIA, and caused many of the Turkes to be buried for feare of infection in this so great heat. Verely it was a bloudie battell, so that the old souldiours say, they haue not remembered or seene the Turkes (no moe in number) to haue stood so long in battell, and to haue so fought it out without flying. Many men of great name & place there perished and fell, amongst whom are reckoned the Sanzackes of PESTH, NOVIORAD, & TEMESKE: GENNE, ALAVUS, BOGSTE, ALVSTAF, MARIELAVS, and certain Chiaus lately sent from the Court, with the Bassa his guard, wherein were eight hundred right valiant soldiours, of whom few escaped with life. Many fell that would haue yeilded great ranfome; but it was agreed vpon betwene the Germanes and the Hungarians, not

A to spare any of the enemies, but to put them all to sword; and that whosoever did otherwise, it should be imputed vnto him for dishonour. So that more than sixteene common souldiours, none were taken prisoners; of whom we might learne how things went amongst the Turkes, with other circumstances of the battell. We tooke thirteene field pieces, whereof foure were greater than the rest; which they called organes; and foure and twentie of the enemies ensiges. The Bassa of BVD (beside other three wounds by him received) was grievously wounded in the side. Of our men were lost about an hundred, and many of them most expert souldiours: and about six hundred others grievously wounded, of whom there is small hope, many of them being already dead. Neither is the losse small we haue receiued in our horses and armour, for there be few amongst the Germanes horsemen, which haue not lost one, two, or three of their horses or seruants, whereby our horsemen are wonderfully weakened. Yet B was the victorie great, to God be the praise, to him be the glorie and thanks therefor. Let vs in the meane time prosecute the siege begun. The last night I commaunded the water to be drawne another way, so that now our trenches may be aduanced many paces; and bulwarks raised within two hundred paces of the wall. We haue already planted five great pieces of artillerie in one bulwarke, and hope the next night to place fise moe vpon a mount fast by; and will doe what shall bee needfull for a strong siege: and when time shall serue, undertake the towne with all our power; God graunt vs therein good successe and victorie.

The Turkes in garrison at ZAROLA, a fort thereby, discouraged with the overthrow of their friends, forooke the fort; which for strength and greatnesse was comparable with TOCLA or C ERLA. Which strong place the Christians without any losse now recovered.

Whilest this valiant captaine the lord Teuffenbach thus lay at the siege of HATVVAN, Matthias Strigonium be-
Sieged by the
Christians.
thias the archduke Generall of the Christian armie in HVNGARIE, encouraged with the good successe he had at NOVIORAD, came with his armie (being 44000 strong) before STRIGONIVM (sometime the Metropolitall cite of HVNGARIE, but now of long a sure receptacle of the Turkes) and the sixt of May encamped his armie about a quarter of a mile from the castle in a most pleasant meadow, from whence both the cite and the castle were plainly to be seene. Vpon whom the Turkes out of the castle, and three gallies that lay vpon the river, discharged certaine great pieces without any great harme doing: but after that the Christian fleet was a litle before night come downe the river, and with their great ordinance began to answer D them againe, the crierie ceased shooting, and lay still that night. In the meane time it fortuned; that a Turkish youth taken in a garden thereby, and brought into the campe and examined; confessed that there was no garrison in the cite, more than foure hundred Ianizaries, and that a new supply was daily expected from BVD. The Christians labouring that night, were by the breacking of the day, come with their trenches to a hill ouer against the castle, where they placed their batterie; and forthwith began to batter the cite. The same day (being the seauenth of May) two and twentie Turkes heads were presented to the archduke, and foure men taken alite, newly sent out of the cite to haue viewed the Christian campe. About night certaine bales of wild fire were shot into the cite, whereof one fell vpon the tower called S. Adelbert, and set it on fire; wherewith first the church, and afterward a great part of the towne fell on fire. The Sanzackes E house, with all his horses and armour, and a great quantitie of powder was then burnt, and inestimable hurt done in the cite. The next day, the Christians had with continuall batterie made a breach in the castle wall: but adjoyning vnto the wall was an high and broad sandie rampier, which could hardly be battered; for all that the Germanes gaue a fierce assault vnto the breach, hoping to haue entred by the ruines of the wall, but being not able to get ouer the sandie rampier; were enforced with losse to retire. The day following they began againe the batterie with eightene great pieces; when about eight a clocke in the morning, the Rascians that were in the old cite gaue the Generall to vnderstand, That if he would at a place by them appointed, assault the greater cite to draw the Turkes thither, they would in the meane time deliuer vnto the Christians certaine litle posternes, and receiue them into the old cite; vpon condition, that no violence should be done vnto them or theirs. Which being so agreed vpon, the Christians accordingly gaue the assault the eleuenth of May in the euening, and by the helpe of the Rascians F tooke the cite; who according to promise were all taken to mercie, and the Turkes slaine; except such as by their good hap recovered the new towne. The keeping of this cite was committed to the charge of two companies of Germane footmen, and six hundred Hungarians, with

The old cite de-
liuered by the
Rascians vnto
the Christians.

The castle as-
saulted.

three hundred Rascians and other townesmen. Thus was the old citie of STRIGONIUM gained by the Christians; the suburbs whereof they presently burnt; neuertheless the new towne with the castle was still holden by the Turkes. Wherefore the Christians hauing cast vp certaine trenches and mounts, and placed their artillerie as they thought most conuenient, began againe to batter the castle, and after they had by the force of the cannon made it faultable, with great courage assailed the breach, which the Turkes valiantly defended: so that the Christians were glad to retire, leauing behind them about an hundred and thirtie of their fellows slain in the breach. The Turkes a little before the coming of the Christians, had fortified an hill, whereunto the castle was something subject, called of the Christians *S. Nicholas* his hill; this hill so fortified, the Christians with continuall batterie and assault gained the 17. of May, and put all the Turkes left aloue therein to the sword, and turning the ordinance, from thence also battered the castle. The two and twentieth of May, a little before the going downe of the Sunne, certaine ensignes of footmen were drawne out of the campe, to haue the next day assaulted the lower towne; who taking the benefit of the night, attempting to haue entered the towne in the dead time of the night, were notably encountered by the Turkes falling out of the towne vpon them. The Christians for all that hauing enforced them to retire, persecuted their former resolution, and with much adoe got ouer the vttermost wall: but finding there, contrarie to their expectation, such a deepe and broad countermure as was not possible to be passed, they stood as men dismayed; neither could they in the darknesse of the night, well see how to get backe againe ouer the towne ditch, but disorderly retiring, flucke fast many of them in the deepe mud, and there perished. In this assault there were about a thousand of the Christians wounded and slaine: and albeit that they twice or thrise renewed the assault, yet preuailed they nothing, but were still repulsed with losse. Many also of the Turkish garrison were likewise slaine; yea the Sanzacke himselfe hurt with a great shot, with many other wounded men sent downe the riuier to BYDA, brought thither true newes of the aforesaid assaults, and of the state of the besieged.

The Rascians
rise up against
the Turkes.

In the meane time newes was brought to the campe, That *Sinan Bassa* the old enimie of the Christians, and the Turkes great lieutenant, coming towards HUNGARIE with a great armie, and hauing by boats conuayed ouer part thereof, was set vpon by the Rascians (these are poore oppressed Christians dwelling on both sides of Danubius, who weary of the Turkish thraldome, and desirous of their auncient libertie, haue oftentimes taken vp armes against the Turkes, as they now did, encouraged by the good successe of the Christians on the other side of HUNGARIE) and that after diuers skirmishes, they had taken thirteene of the Turkes vessels, wherein beside victuals and certaine great pieces of artillerie, they found about 2400 waight of powder, 447 hundred of lead, 46454 bundles of match, 1200 great shot, whereof 1005 were of 66 pound waight, and of small shot for harquebusiers 48500, with much other warlike prouision: a great part whereof was brought into the campe at STRIGONIUM, and the rest referred to future vses. This losse so troubled the great Bassa, that he altered his purpose before intended for CASSOUIA.

The fourth of Iune, about five hundred Turkes sent vp the riuier from BYDA, conducted by two Sanzackes vnder two red and white ensignes, landed neere to GOKARA on the farther side of Danubius, ouer against STRIGONIUM: where after they had a while refreshed themselves, and left some few for the more assurance of the place, all the rest were conuayed ouer the riuier into STRIGONIUM, where they had been long looked for, the old garrison being now sore weakened by the former assaults. Foure daies after, the Turkes encouraged with this supply, sallied out vpon a sudden, and had entered one of the forts of the Christians; but were forthwith againe repulsed, hauing lost six and twentie of their men, and two of their ensignes: not farre off lay a troupe of hostemen, who if they had in time come in, not one of the Turkes had escaped. Long it were to tell, how often and in what manner the Christians assaulted this citie, but were by the Turkes so receiued, that in five assaults they lost five thousand of their men, amongst whom were diuers captaines, lieutenants, auncients, and others of good account: three and twentie canoniours were also slaine, and ten great pieces of artillerie so spoiled, as that they were no more seruiceable. The garrison of this citie consisted for most part of the Ianizaries (the Turkes best fouldiours) whose notable valour in holding out of this siege, was both of their owne people and their enemies much commended: whatsoeuer was beaten downe by day, that they againe repaired by night; and still relieved with victuall and things necessarie from BYDA, did what was possible

Five thousand
Christians lost at
the siege of Stri-
gonium.

A possible to be done for defence of the citie. About the same time certaine Turkes chainging vpon a troupe of Germane horsemen, in fight slew about fiftie of them, and put the rest to flight: whereupon an alarm being raised in the campe, many ran out to the rescue of their fellowes, taking with them certaine small field pieces. Which the Turkes perceiuing, began to flie: whom the Christians eagerly pursuing, were suddenly assailed by other Turkes, falling out of a fort fast by, and enforced shamefully to retire, and to leaue their field pieces behind them. Which the Turkes ceizing vpon, cloyed them, brake their carriages, and made them altogether vseruiceable.

All this while the lord *Teuffenbach* lying at the siege of HATVAN, about this time requested aid of the Archduke, for that his power was with often conflicts, hunger, and other difficulties B alwayes attending long sieges, so much weakened, as that he had scarcely six thousand found men in his campe, to whom the Archduke forthwith sent twelue hundred footmen, being loth to spare any moe, for too much weakening of his owne armie.

The Archduke
sendeth aid to
the siege of Hat-
van.

Amurath disdainig to see the frontiers of his empire in so many places impugned by the Christians, and dayly to receiue from them so great harmes, fought by all meanes to bee reuenged: wherefore beside the great power of his owne, which he was now about to send with *Sinan Bassa* into HUNGARIE, he had also procured from the great Tartar a wonderfull number of those rough and sauage people, to be sent into HUNGARIE, there to ioyne with his armie. These wild people to the number of seuentie thousand, according to direction giuen, breaking into PODOLIA, WALACHIA, and MOLDAVIA, gathered together an incredible number of oxen and C kine; to this end and purpose, that driuing them before them, they might both be assured of victuals, and the safer trauell through a part of POLONIA. But when they were come vnto the borders of that countrey, and there found the power of *Samocheie* the great Chancellour and the Polonian Cossacks in armes, they easily perceiued that they could not that way passe without great losse. Wherefore they placed the aforesaid herds of cattell, some before, some behind, and some on each side of the armie, and so enclosed round about with those cattell as with a trench, marched on. But when they were come neere vnto the Polonians, this rude deuice serued them to no other purpose than the ouerthrow of themselves: for the Polonians discharging their great ordinance, so terrified the cattell, that they turned vpon the Tartars, and ouerthrowing whomsoeuer came in their way, did exceeding much harme: whom the Polonians immediatly D following, and hardly charging the confused armie, armed onely with bow and arrowes, after some small fight put them at last to flight, and obtained of them a notable victorie, with an exceeding rich prey. Of the Polonians were lost about eightene hundred, but of the Tartars were slaine thirtie thousand. The rest retiring into PODOLIA, and passing the riuier Nester by the way of TRANSYLAVANIA, where they did exceeding much harme, came to THAMESVARA, and so afterwards further into HUNGARIE: vnto whom the Turkes sent seuen hundred horsemen, to conduct them to the armie.

But to returne againe to the siege of STRIGONIUM. The fourteenth day of Iune the Christians betweene eight and nine of the clocke in the morning with great furie assaulted the towne in three places: which assault they most notably maintained, vntill it was almost three a clocke in the afternoon. Neuertheless, the Turkes so valiantly defended themselves, that at last the Christians were glad to giue ouer the assault, and with losse to retire. The Archduke from an high place beholding the assault, had one of his footmen slaine fast by him with a small shot. Many of the Turkes were also slaine in this assault, and amongst them one of the three Sanzackes that defended the citie. The night following there arose a most horrible tempest, with such raging wind, and abundance of raine, that many thought they should neuer haue seene day: with the violence whereof the Archdukes tent was ouerthrowne, and diuers others blowne downe or rent in sunder, were in the aire carried from place to place. About the same time the lord *Palfi* within the sight of the castle cast vp a notable fort, with high mounts and strong trenches (euen in the selfesame place where *Solyman* lay about fiftie yeares before, when he besieged and woon STRIGONIUM) by which fort so built, the enimie was embarrat to conuey any thing vp the riuier. For F reliefe of the citie, to the great discomfiture of the besieged: for to haue hindered the which worke, the enimie oftentimes sallied out, but to no purpose. This fort being brought to perfecti- on, the Christians tooke also another fort in an island on the further side of the riuier, which the Turkes had but a few dayes before taken from the Christians, and cloyed the great pieces there- T t t t ij in

Strigonium as-
saulted.

Teuffenbach governor the siege of Hainan.

of such souldiors as he thought meetest for the assault, was in the performing thereof so notably repulsed by the Turkes, that he was glad to retire. with the losse of his best and most resolute souldiors: which put him out of all hope of taking the towne by force. For beside the losse of these good men, he had scarce so many sound men left, as might suffice to furnish his garrisons for defence of those frontiers: by reason that the Hungarians were almost all shrunke home, and of the Germanes were left scarce two thousand. Besides that he had oftentimes craued new supplies of the archduke, but all in vaine: for which causes he was glad to abandon two strong forts he had built before HATVAN, and to leaue the towne now brought to great extremitie. Thus two notable cities, which were now as it were in the hands of the Christians, and by the recovery whereof the broken state of the afflicted Christians in HUNGARY had been much strengthened, were as it were againe restored vnto the barbarous and cruell enemies.

Whilest the Christians thus lay at the siege of STRIGONIVM and HATVAN, the Rascians (of whom we haue before spoken) struing still more and more to rid themselves from the Turkish thraldome, gathered themselves together to the number of fifteene thousand, betwene BVDA and BELGRADE, vnder a Generall of their owne chusing. For feare of whom, the Bassa of TEMESVAR with an armie of foureteene thousand, went to fortifie and victuall LIPPA, doubting least it should by them be surpris'd: but hauing done that he went for, in his returne he was met with by the same Rascians, and twise fought withall in one day, and both times put to the worke, with the losse of the greatest part of his armie. After which victorie the Rascians tooke BACSKA a strong towne, standing in a marsh foure miles from BELGRADE, and slew all the Turks they found therein. After that they tooke a castle called OTTADT, and dealt with the Turks in like manner. From thence they went and besieged BACHA, a castle standing vpon the riuier Tibiscus or Teise, where the towne adjoyning vnto it yeelded presently; but they in the castle standing a while vpon their guard, offered at last to yeeld also vpon certaine conditions. But the Rascians knowing that the Turkes thereabouts had conuaid into that castle the best part of their wealth, and withall that it was but weakly manned, would accept of no conditions, but needs haue it absolutely deliuered vnto their pleasure. In the meane time the old Bassa of TEMESVAR and his sonne, knowing it to tend to their dishonour to suffer this base people so to rage at their pleasure about them, gathered together 11000 Turkes, and so in great hast came to relieue the besieged castle. Vpon whom the Rascians turned themselves, and in plaine battell ouerthrew the Bassa, and so pursued the victorie, that of those 11000 Turkes scarcely escaped 1000: the Bassa himselfe being there slaine, and with him three Sanzacks, his sonne escaped by flight. In this battell the Rascians tooke 18 great picces of artillerie: and not long after tooke also WARSZTA and LUTZ, two strong places. After which so happie successe, they sent vnto the archduke Matthias for aid, but especially for canonicers, professing themselves now vnto enemies vnto the Turkes. The Rascians also about TEMESVAR sent word vnto the other in the campe, that they would come and joyne with them. And they which inhabite the country betwene the riuers Danubius and Tibiscus, by messengers sent of purpose vnto the lord Teuffenbach (the archdukes lieutenant in the vpper part of HUNGARY) offered in short time to send him ten or twelue thousand men, so that he would receiue them and their country into the emperours protection; which he easily granted them, and thereof assured them by writing. And to the archduke himselfe they sent also their trustie messengers, requesting him to send them a Generall to lead them, promising vnto him all obedience: which messengers departing from them the fourteenth of Iune, shortly after returned with such answer as was thought most conuenient for their present state. Thus against the coming of Sinan, was HUNGARY almost all on a broile.

A Diet of the empire holden at Ratisbone for the withstanding of the Turke.

The emperour long before distrusting the Turkes purpose for warre, and well considering what a difficultie it would be for him with his owne forces only to withstand so puissant an enemy as was Amurath; had by his embassadours praied aid of diuers Christian princes, but especially of them of the empire, as those whom this warre concerned most. Wherefore he after the ancient and wonted manner of his state in so common and imminent a danger, appointed a generall assembly of the Princes and States of the empire, to be holden at RATISBONE, in the latter end of Februarie: which for sundrie vrgent causes was put off vntill March, and againe vntill Aprill, and so afterward vntill May. At which time the emperour in person himselfe, with the Princes Electors, and other the great States of the empire, being met together with great pompe

The emperour graciously complaineth vnto the Princes Electors, and States of the empire, of the infidelity of the Turke, and craueth their aid.

A ponipe at RATISBONE, and solemnly assembled into the bishops pallace, began there to sit in counsell the 2 of Iune. Vnto the which Princes and States so assembled, after that the emperour had first by the mouth of Phillip Countie Palatine of RHENIA, giuen great thanks for their ready appurance, & briefly declared the cause of their assembly; he himselfe after some complaint made of the Turkish infidelity, in expresse words declared vnto them, how that he by his embassadour then lying at CONSTANTINOPLE, had in the yeare 1591 made a league for eight years, with the present Turkish Sultan Amurath: which league Amurath himselfe had approued and confirmed, and thereof sent him publike and solemne instruments: wherein it was prouided, That no hostilitie should be on either side during that time attempted. And yet notwithstanding that he, contrarie to his faith giuen, as an hereditarie enemy of the Christians, had violated this league, and by sundrie incursions barbarously spoiled and wasted, not HUNGARY onely, but other of his imperiall prouinces also: But especially by Hassan Bassa of BOSNA, who first with a strong armie besieged, battered, and tooke RABITZ, an ancient frontier castle, and after that WHITZ, DRESNIK, CRASSOVITZ, with other places of name: And had in his dominion and territorie built PETRINIA a most strong fort, hurtfull to all that countrey, out of which he had done incredible mischiefe in CROATIA, WINDISMARCH, and the most fruitful island TYROPOLE; and had out of those places carried away aboue fife and thirtie thousand Christians into most miserable captiuitie. Of which shamefull injuries and breach of faith, he had many times by his embassadours complained vnto the Turkish Sultan at CONSTANTINOPLE, and requested, that all hostilitie set apart, due restitution might haue been made, but to haue therein preuailed nothing: and that the same Bassa in stead of condigne punishment, had been for the doing thereof honoured by the Great Sultan his lord with honourable gifts, the sure tokens of his fauour: Whereby he was so confirmed in his barbarous proceedings, that he began to make open warre, and hauing raised a full armie, and strengthened also with certaine companies of Ianizaries sent from the Court, had passed ouer the riuier of Kulp, and besieged the castle of SISEG: but by the iust judgement of God the reuenger of wrongs, had there receiued the reward of his faithlesse and cruell dealing, being there slaine, and almost all his armie vtterly destroyed by his small forces, raised in hast for his owne lawfull defence. Neuerthelesse the faithlesse Turke (as if he had beene highly wronged himselfe) to haue made this his breach both of league and faith forthwith knowne to all the world, by commanding open warre to be solemnly proclaimed against the kingdom of HUNGARY, both in CONSTANTINOPLE and BVDA: and by the Beglerbeg of GRACIA, to haue againe besieged and taken the strong fortresse of SISEG. Whereas on the other side (because nothing should on his part be wanting, which might make his desire of peace more knowne) he had againe, and oftentimes by his embassadour put the Turke in remembrance of his league made, and confirmed by his faith: who for all that had changed nothing of his purpose, but sent his great Visier Sinan Bassa with the Beglerbeg of GRACIA, and many inferior Bassas and Sanzacks into HUNGARY, who with fire and sword enforced the inhabitants and countrey people (such as they left aliue) to sweare vnto the Turke obedience, and to become his subjects: and at the same time tooke VESPRINIVM and PALOTTA, two famous fortresses of that kingdom. And that the same Bassa by commandement from his lord and master, had contrarie to the law of nations imprisoned Frederik Kreckowitz his embassadour, first at CONSTANTINOPLE, and caused the greater part of his followers to be thrust into the gallies; and afterwards to haue sent him with a few of his seruants to BELGRADE, and there to haue kept him so long in prison, that he there miserably died. In reuenge of which so great and open wrong, and for the defence and comfort of his afflicted subjects so neere the enemy, he had raised a good strength both of horse and foot, by whose helpe and the assistance of almightie God, the Bassa of BOSNA had reaped the fruit of his perfidious dealing: as had also the Bassa of BVDA, with many thousands of their great souldiors; ouerthrowne neere vnto ALBA REGALIS; besides many of their castles and townes taken or rased. Yet for all that was it easie to be seene, these so great victories by the goodnesse of God had and obtained against so mightie and cruell an enemy, not to suffice; but that there was still need of a perseverant and continuall supply for the maintenance of a perpetuall warre: and that it was daily to be expected, rather euen now presently to be desired, That the Turke in his quarrell which he deemeth alwaies just against the Christians, and in reuenge of these ouerthrowes, would draw forth all his forces, and aduenture his whole strength. For which causes he had by the knowledge and consent

sent of the Princes electors of the sacred empire, appointed that present Diet of the empire; and not for the aforesaid causes only, but for diuers others both necessarie and waighthe also: as the generall peace of the empire, the pacification of the Low countries, the reformation of justice, and amendment of the coine: but especially and aboue all other things, to make it knowne vnto the world, how much it concerned to haue the Turkes pride betime abated, and some effectuell defence for HUNGARIE (now in danger) at length provided; being the most sure defence and strongest bulwarke of that part of Christendome. And that whereas his owne hereditarie prouinces were not of themselves alone sufficient to maintaine so chargeable a warre, he therefore requested the Electors, Princes, and States both present and absent, not to grudge to be present with their helpe, their counsell, and whatsoever else should be needfull against so puissant and dangerous an enemy. So ending his speech, he caused all his demands before conceived into writing to be read, and so deliuered vnto them. For answering whereunto, the Princes electors and others there present required time; which granted, after many sittings & long consultations, they at last with one consent answered, That it was a hard matter by reason of the late death, and other like occasions, for them to grant such helpe and aid as the emperor had in writing required: yet hauing before their eyes the great and imminent danger wherein the Christian common weale then stood, they not regarding their owne proper and neere difficulties, had in regard of his sacred and imperiall maiestie, for the comfort and defence of the endangered Christians, and for the represing of the Turkish furie, of their owne free will and meere compassion, granted beside their accustomed contribution, such farther reliefe for the space of six yeares, as they thought sufficient for the maintenance of a defensiu warre, both for the present and the time to come. What was by them farther decreed concerning the emperours other demands, as not pertinent to our purpose, we willingly passe ouer.

*Sinan Bassa with
an armie of 150
thousand be-
twene Ruda and
Alba Regalis.*

Of all these things, as also whatsoever else had happened at STRIGONIVM, HATVAN, or other places of HUNGARIE, was not *Sinan Bassa* ignorant: who now euen vpon the departure of the Christians from STRIGONIVM, was come with an huge armie betwene BUDA and ALBA REGALIS: vnto whom also fortie thousand Tartars, that by force had made themselves way through PODOLIA and the vpper part of HUNGARIE, had now joyned themselves: so that in his armie were reckoned aboue an hundred and fiftie thousand fighting men; to the great terrour, not onely of HUNGARIE, AVSTRIA, STIRIA, CROATIA, BOHEMIA, and the prouinces therabout, but also of the whole State of GERMANIE. With this great armie the old *Bassa* had purposed to haue ouerwhelmed the Christians in their campe at STRIGONIVM: but now that they were before his comming departed ouer the riuier towards KOMARA, he resolved to keepe on his way, and to besiege the strong citie IAVRINVM, now called RAB. And to make all sure before him, he thought it best to take in his way DOTIS, a strong towne of the Christians, in the mid way betwene STRIGONIVM and RAB, about fise Hungarian miles short of RAB. The Christian armie but newly passed ouer Danubius, in marching towards KOMARA, might see the mountaines and fields on the other side the riuier all couered with the multitude of the Turkes armie: who though they were in deed many, yet marching dispersedly, made show of more than in truth they were. So both armies marching in sight the one of the other, and seperated onely with the riuier, held on their way: the Christians to KOMARA, where they encamped vnder the verie wals of the citie, yet in such sort, as that they might a farre off well descie one another; and the Turkes towards DOTIS, where the *Bassa* with all his armie encamped the 21 day of Iuly. The night following, hauing planted his batterie, he began in furious manner to batter the castle, the chiefe strength of the towne; the Christian armie looking on, but not daring at so great ods to relieue their distressed friends. So whiles the *Bassa* granteth no breathing time vnto the besieged, but tireth them out with continuall batterie and alarums, they of the towne despairing of their owne strength, and to be able for any long time to hold out against so mightie an enemy, within three daies after yeilded the towne, being in that short time fore battered, and also in diuers places vndermined: yet with this condition, That it should be lawful for the garrison souldiours and townesmen, with their wiues and children in safetie to depart. Which was vnto them by the *Bassa* frankly granted, but not so faithfully performed: for at their departure many of their wiues and children were staid by the Turkes, and the lord *Baxi* Gouvernour of the towne foully entreated. Immediately after, the *Bassa* without much adoe tooke *S. Martins* castle also, not far from DOTIS, being by the captaine yeilded vnto him.

*Dotis and Sain
Martins yeilded
to the Turkes.*

In the meane time the countrey villages round about forsaken of the poore Christians, were by the Turkes most miserably burnt, and all the countrey laied wast. Yea some of the foretunn-ers of the Turkes armie passing ouer the riuier Rabiniz, ran into the countrey as farre as ALTENBURG, within fise miles of VIENNA, burning the countrey villages as they went, and killing the poore people, or that worse was, carrying them away into perpetuall captiuitie: yet not without some losse, foure hundred of these roaming forragers being cut off by the lord *Nadaszi*. *Palfi* also, and *Brun* Gouvernour of KOMARA following in the taile of the Turkes armie, set vpon them that had the charge of the victuals; of whom they slew a great number, tooke 120 of them prisoners, and 150 camels and 30 mules laded with meale and rice, which they carried away with them to KOMARA.

DOTIS and *S. Martins* thus taken, *Sinan Bassa* constant in his former determination, set forward againe towards RAB, and being come within a mile of the citie, there encamped; the Christian armie then lying not far off on the other side of the riuier. This citie of RAB is a strong Christian citie, honoured with a bishops See, and was worthily accounted the strongest bulwarke of VIENNA, from whence it is distant about twelue Germane miles, standing vpon the South side of Danubius, where the riuier diuiding it selfe, maketh a most fertile island called SCHVT; in the East point whereof standeth the strong citie of KOMARA. The defence of this citie of RAB was committed to Countie *Hardeck*, a man of greater courage than fidelitie, with a garrison of twelue hundred choise souldiours, vnto whom a little before the comming of the *Bassa* were certaine companies of Italians joyned, who together with the citicens made vp the number of fise thousand able men: a strength in all mens judgement sufficient for the long defence of that place. The last of Iuly (*Matthias* the archduke about the going downe of the Sunne departing out of the citie of RAB, ouer the riuier into the island ouer against it) came *Sinan Bassa* with his huge armie and beset it round, casting vp trenches and mounts, whereon he skillfully placed his gabions and great artilerie, and whatsoever else was necessarie for so great a siege: and that with such celeritie, as was to the beholders thought most strange. The second of August, he with great furie battered the citie, and brought his trenches within musket shot of the wals. At which time foure thousand Tartarian horsemen swam ouer the Danubius between RAB and KOMARA; after whom followed six thousand Turkes, who being with much adoe got ouer to the farther side, suddenly surprised a fort of the Christians next vnto the riuier; and forthwith turning fise great pieces of ordinance which they found therein, discharged them vpon the campe of the Christians: who terrified with the sudden accident, rise vp all in armes, and hardly charging those desperat aduēturers, slew many of them; especially such as seeking after bootie had dispersed themselves from their fellowes, and forced the rest againe to take the riuier, wherein most of them perished. About fise daies after, the Tartarians (liuing for most part vpon prey) swam againe ouer the riuier, and vpon the sudden burnt a village in the island, and slew certaine Christians in their tents, but being quickly encountered by the Christian horsemen, they were easily ouerthrowne, and many of them slain: the rest casting away their weapons and forsaking their horses, ran headlong into the riuier, trusting more to their swimming than to their fighting; whom the Christians hardly pursuing, in the verie riuier slew about two thousand of them: and by this victorie obtained many of the Tartarian swift horses, with their scimitars, their bowes and arrowes, and such ensignes as they had. All this while *Sinan Bassa* without intermission, lay thundering with threecore great pieces of batterie against the citie: but to little or small purpose, for as yet he had made no breach whereby to enter, but the harme that was done was vpon the towers or high built houses, or in the campe, by such rondon shot as flying ouer the towne fell by chance among the tents of the Christians. And the Ianizaries intentiue to all opportunities, in a great raine furiously and with a most horrible crie (as their manner is) assaulted the viter bulwarke of the Christians, which they for feare forooke, and retired themselves into the citie; vpon which bulwarke so taken, the Ianizaries had set vp three of their ensignes: When the Christians ashamed of that they had done, and better aduised, taking courage vnto them, forthwith sallied out againe, and couragiously charging the Ianizaries but now entred, slew many of them, and recouered againe the bulwarke.

Sinan Bassa leauing nothing vnattempted that might further his desire for the winning of the citie, was now casting vp a great mount against the citie: which whilest he dayly surueyed, he chanced to fall sicke, and therefore appointed one of the *Bassas* in his owne stead to ouersee the worke;

*The Turke and
Tartars passing
ouer the riuier,
ouerthrowne.*

*The Tartarians
the second time
ouerthrowne.*

Rab battered.

A Bassa slain.

worke; who whilst he was walking too and fro, hastening the worke, and commaunding this G and that thing to be done, he was taken with a shot out of the towne and slaine.

The fifteenth of August certaine Turkes before the rising of the Sunne getting ouer Danubius in boats, assailed a fort of the Christians: which the souldiours that had the keeping of it, presently forooke, and left it to the enemye. Which *John de Medicis*, lately come into the campe with two thousand Italians, perceiuing, forthwith came to the rescue of the fort, draue out the Turks, and hauing slaine diuers of them, forced the rest into the riuier, where they were all drowned. At which time five thousand Tartars in another place, passing ouer the riuier into the island, were encountered by the lord *Palsi* and the Hussars his followers, and without any great resistance put to flight, wherein many of them were slaine: the rest taking the riuier, were in good hope to haue got ouer, and so to haue saued themselves. But other Turks meeting them in the riuier, would with their weapons haue beaten them backe, and stayed their flight: against whom the Tartars opposing themselves, made with them in the very riuier a most cruell fight, but with such losse vnto the Tartars, that of the five thousand which aduentured ouer, few returned to carrie newes vnto their fellowes how they had sped. Now began great scarcitie of victuals in the Turks campe, so that the souldiours were faine to feed vpon vnripe fruit and such other vnwholesome things: whereof ensued the bloudie flux, with many other dangerous diseases: which raging amongst them, did wonderfully consume the Bassas armie. Beside that, they of the cite with continuall shot had slaine many, and among them a sonne in law of the great Bassas, whose death he is reported to haue taken to vnpatiently, that he fell sicke for griefe, but in short time after passed it ouer, and recouered againe.

The Tartars not yet warned by their often losses, but passing againe ouer the riuier into the island the nineteenth of this moneth, were there three thousand of them slaine. In the mean time certaine companies also of the Turks hauing secretly passed the riuier, in another quarter assailed the Christians in their campe: in which hurlyburly other of the Tartars got ouer the riuier not farre from *KOMARA*, hoping now at length to performe some great matter, which they had before so often to their cost vainly attempted. But finding the Turkes ouerthrowne before their coming, and the Christians (contrarie to their expectation) in armes readie to receive them, they were easily discomfited, and two thousand of them slaine. In this conflict the Sanzacke of *STRIGONIVM*, with two others, and many moe of great account among the Turkes perished. Shortly after the Christians fallying out of the cite, slew a great number of the Turkes, and so retired with small losse. Thus was the Turkes armie daily diminished, besides that the want of victuals with the bloudie flux so encreased, that many perswaded the Bassa to haue raised his siege, and to haue remooued with his armie to some other more wholesome place, and of greater plentie: but he resolutely set downe not to depart before he had either woon the towne, or enforced them therein to yeeld, would not hearken to any persuasions to the contrarie.

Whilest *Sinan* thus lay at the siege of *RAB*, *Maximilian* the emperours brother tooke *Cra-Howitz*, a fortreffe of the Turkes vpon the borders of *CROATIA*, and put to sword all the Turkes there in garrison. After that he layed siege to *PETRINIA*, a strong fortreffe of the Turkes, which they but a few yeares before had contrarie to the league built in the emperours territorie, for the annoying of *CROATIA*, and for the exceeding strength thereof was thought almost impregnable. Yet such was the indutrie of *Maximilian* and his souldiours, that what with continuall batterie and mines they so terrified the Turkes there in garrison, that they for feare set fire on the fort, and flying away by night, made shift euery man for himselfe, as he might. Which they in the castle of *SISEG* hearing, set fire also vpon it, and so left it to the Christians: whose example they also of *GARA* followed: by which so prosperous and happie successe of *Maximilians*, not the frontiers only, but euen the whole countrey of *CROATIA* was for that time deliuered of a wonderfull trouble and no lesse danger.

The eight and twentieth day of August twentie thousand of the Christians passing ouer the riuier by a bridge out of the island, and joyning with them of the towne, sallied out vpon the Turkes campe. The Hungarian Heidons in the foreward at the first onset tooke two of the Turkes M bulwarkes; and hauing beaten out the enemies, cloyed certaine of their great pieces: but the Turkes returning with greater power, enforced the Christians to retire, and recouered again their lost bulwarkes. In this conflict many were slaine, as well Christians as Turkes. In the meane while *Thonhause* a great captaine of the Christians, and *Geitzhofer*, countie *Hardecke* his lieutenant,

A fight in the
riuier betwixt the
Turkes and the
Tartars.

A great skirmish
betwixt the
Turkes and the
Christians.

A nant, with fifteene hundred Hungarian and Germane footmen came in great boats to haue holpen their fellowes; but landing somewhat too late, they were by the enemye beaten backe, and enforced with such speed to retire, that many of them being not able to recouer the boats, were drowned in the riuier, amongst whom *Geitzhofer* himselfe perished, and *Thonhause* was deadly wounded in his breast. Yet the Christians not discouraged with this losse, but gathering themselves together vnder the very wals of the cite, gaue a second assault vnto the enemye. In the foreward were the footmen, who were by the enemies horsemen easily repulsed: but by the coming in of the lord *Rinsberg* (who was at the first onset slaine) the Turkes were enforced into their trenches, except some few, which deuided from the rest hid themselves in the vineyards, but being found out by the Christians, were there all slaine: In this skirmish the lord *Palsi* was grievously wounded in his thigh. Of the Christians were slaine foure hundred, and of the Turkes about two thousand. These conflicts endured from seven a clock in the morning vntill twelue, at which time the Christians returning into the cite, and so into the campe, amongst other spoiles carried away with them seuentene of the enemies ensignes.

No day now passing without some skirmish, at length the ninth of September ten thousand Turkes, some in boats, some by other meanes, hauing got ouer the riuier of Danubius into the island of *SCHVR*, suddenly set vpon the Christians, all sleeping in securitie, and little fearing any such danger: of whom they slew about two thousand, and after some small fight put the rest to most shamefull flight, in such sort, that *Matthias* the Archduke himselfe with the other noble men and captaines had much adoe by flight to escape. Thus whilst euery man surprised with C feare, made what shift he could for himselfe; the enemye in the meane time entered the trenches, tooke their tents, the great ordinance, the shot and powder, and all the money which but a little before was brought for the souldiours pay; besides about a thousand waggons, and two hundred boats well loaded with prouision for the campe; and ten gallies, wherein were an hundred and twentie pieces of great ordinance. The losse received this day was valued at five hundred thousand duckats. And albeit that this victorie cost the Turkes two thousand and five hundred of their liues, yet thereby they gained the masterie both vpon the riuier and the land, so that now roming farre and neere without resistance, they spoyle the countrey all about, and burnt certain countrey villages not farre from *VIENNA*: so that for many miles space the countrey townes were for feare of the enemye forsaken by the inhabitants; of whom some were taken and slaine, D some carried into captiuitie, and some others (referred to a better fortune) with such things as they had, got themselves farther off into places of more securitie. And the more to encrease these calamities, the Tartars shortly after passing ouer Danubius neere vnto *ALTENBURG*, first sacked *WBISENBURG*, and after burnt it, with certaine townes thereabout: but aduenturing to haue gone further into the countrey, they were with losse enforced to returne.

Whilest the Turkes thus preuaile in *HUNGARIE*, *Cicula Bassa* the Turkes Admirall then at sea with a fleet of gallies, landing his men in diuers places of *ITALIE*, did exceeding much harme but especially in *CALABRIA*, where he vpon the sudden surprised *RHEGIVM*, rased the towne, and afterwards burnt it. From thence taking his course towards *SICILIA*, he in the sight of *MESSANA* landed certaine of his men; who aduenturing too farre ashore, were by the countrey E people ouerthrowne and put to flight. So the Turkes returning againe to *RHEGIVM*, vnto the towne, sed what they had before left of that towne. In the meane time not farre from *MESSANA*, euen in the sight of the garrison of the towne, they tooke a certaine ship coming out of the East into the East, they changed some few shot with them, but to no great purpose. And so turning their course, and sailing alongst the coast of *CALABRIA*, they oftentimes landed certaine companies, and which skirmishing with the Calabrians, had sometime the better and sometime the worse, and so with such fortune as befell them, were againe receiued into the gallies. They of *MESSANA*, vnto whose eyes these dangers were dayly presented both by letters and speedie messengers, gaue the Viceroy knowledge thereof (who then for his pleasure lay at *PALERMO*) requesting his pre- F sent aid: but he dallying of the time, they for the more safegard of the cite and of the sea coast, of themselves raised five hundred horsemen, whom they committed to the leading of *Philip Cicula*, the renegade Turke: *Admirals* brother; and beside stored the cite with all such things as they thought necessarie for the enduring of a siege, if it should chance the Turke to haue any such purpose: of all which they certified the king of *SPAIN*, as also of the negligence of the Viceroy,

Two thousand
Turkes slaine,
and 17 of their
ensignes taken.

A great spoile
taken by the
Turkes.

Rhegium rased
by the Turkes.

Viceroy, requesting his speedie aid against these terrours of the Turks. In the meane while the Neapolitanes for safegard of their coast put to sea thirtie gallies vnto whom the Pope, the duke of FLORENCE, the Genowayes, and the knights of MALTA, joyned also theirs; in all to the number of about fourescore gallies, vnder the conduct of ANTONIO. The prouident Venetians also although they were as then in league with the Turke; yet for the more safetie of their itate, put to sea a fleet of about an hundred saile, some ships, some gallies, vnder the leading of PASARIN their Admirall. Which two fleets sayling vp and downe those seas, deliuered TRALLI, STERIE, DALMATIA, with many other prouinces and islands of the Christians of a great feare.

Rab assaulted
by the Turke.

Turke thousand
Turke slain.

Siman Bassa hauing before encouraged his soldiours with great hope and large promises, commaunded an assault to be giuen to the citie of RAB, which was accordingly by them begun the three and twentieth day of September, the Sunne being as yet scarce vp, and furiously maintained all that day from morning vntill night. But they of the towne so valiantly defended themselves, that at last the Turkes were glad to giue over the assault and with losse to retire. Neuerthelesse the next day the assault was again renewed, and most desperately continued by the space of two daies; wherein about twelue thousand of the Turkes there lost their liues, the other with shame retiring themselves into their trenches. In few dayes after, the Turkes by a mine blew vp one of the bulwarkes of the towne, with the fall whereof the towne ditch was in that place somewhat filled: whereby the Turkes with all their power attempted thrice the next day to haue entered, but were by the valour of the defendants still notably with losse repulsed. Yet notwithstanding all this chearefulnesse and couragiousnesse of them in the towne, the puissant enemy ceased not with continuall batterie and furious assaults to attempt the citie; vntill that at length he had gained two of the bulwarkes, from whence he might to his great aduantage, by the rubbish and earth fallen out of the battered bulwarkes and rampiers, haue acceffe vnto the towne, to the great terrour of the defendants. Whereupon countie Hardeck the Gouvernor (who corrupted by the Turke, had of purpose many times before said that the towne could not possibly be long defended) now tooke occasion to enter into counsell with the other capitaines of the towne (diuers of whom he had already framed to his purpose) what course were best to take for the yeelding of it vp. And so after a little consultation, holden more for fashion sake, than for that he doubted what to doe; resolved to send a messenger vnto the Bassa, for a truce to be graunted for a while, to see if happily in the meane time some reasonable composition might be agreed vpon. Yet the Gouverneur considering vnto what scorne and danger he should expose himselfe, by yeelding vp of so strong a towne; to colour the matter, and to excuse his doings vnto the rest of the nobilitie and garrisons of HUNGARIE, caused a publicke instrument to be in his and all the rest of the capitaines names conceiued in writing, wherein they solemnly protested vnto the world, That for as much as it was impossible (by reason of the weakenesse of the garrison) for them longer to defend the towne against so mightie an enemy, without new supplies in stead of them that were slain, which they had oftentimes in vaine requested, they were therefore of necessitie enforced to come to composition with the enemy. Which protestation so made, the Gouverneur with the chiefe capitaines confirmed with their hands and seales. So after a truce granted, and pledges giuen on both sides, at length it was agreed vpon, That all the garrison souldiours, together with the countie and other capitaines should in armes with ensignes displayed with bag and baggage depart in safetie; and with a safe conuoy be brought to ALTENEVRG. Which agreement though by oath confirmed, was not on the Turkes part altogether performed: for when the countie had the 29 day of September, at ten a clock in the forenoone deliuered vp the citie vnto the Bassa, and the Christian garrison was all come out, the countie himselfe with a few of his friends was with a conuoy of Turkes brought in safetie to the appointed place: but the Italians and other garrison souldiours that came behind, and ought to haue bene by the Gouverneur protected, were contrary to the Turkes promise spoyled of all that they had, and hardly escaping with life, came that night to HONSTRATE, and the next day to ALTENEVRG. Thus was RAB, one of the strongest bulwarkes of Christendome, traiterously deliuered vnto the most mortall enemy of the Christian religion; being euen then when it was giuen vp, vidualled for a yeare, and sufficiently furnished with all things necessarie for defence: all which prouision together with the citie fell into the hands of the faithlesse enemy. A losse neuer to haue bene sufficiently lamented, had it not bene about foure yeares after, euen as it were miraculously againe recovered, to the great reioysing of all that side of Christendome, as in the proceffe of this Historie shall appeare.

Siman

A Siman glad of this victorie, as of the greatest trophie of his masters glorie ouer the Christians, gaue him speedie knowledge thereof, both by letters and messengers. Of whom he was for that good seruice highly commended; and afterward bountifullly rewarded: for now had Amurath already in hope deuoured all AVSTRIA, with the prouinces thereabout. The great Rab repaired the rent citie, new fortified the battered bulwarkes, enlarged the ditches, and filled the cathedrall church with earth, in manner of a strong bulwarke, where vpon he planted great store of great ordinance: and with exceeding speed dispatched all things necessarie for the holding of the place. In the meane time he sent certaine Tartars to summon the towne and castile of PARAB; which castile and little towne subject therunto, the Christians the night following set on fire, because it should not stand the enemy in any stead for the farther troubling of the countrey, and so fled.

The Bassa hauing at his pleasure disposed of all things in RAB, and leading there foure thousand Ianizaries, and two thousand horsemen in garrison; departed thence with his armie and laid siege to KOMARA, a strong towne of that most fertile island, which the Hungarians call SCHUT; which situated in the verie point thereof about foure miles from RAB, is on the East, South; and North enclosed with the two armes of Danubius. All these waies Siman with his fleet (which he had there notably well appointed) laid hard siege vnto the towne, and gaue thereunto diuers assaults: and by land, the Beglerbeg of GRACIA ceased not both by continuall batterie and mines, to shake the wals and bulwarkes thereof. Thus was the citie on all sides both by water and by land hardily laid vnto. But the Christians within, with no lesse courage defended themselves and the citie, than did the Turkes assault them; shewing indeed, that the libertie of their religion and countrey, was vnto them dearer than their liues. Matthias the archduke in the meane time, not ignorant how much it concerned the emperour his brother to haue this citie defended, hauing after his late ouerthrow gathered together a good armie of Germanes, Bohemians, and Hungarians, resolved to go and raise the siege: and so marching forward with his armie, came and encamped the 28 day of October at NITRIA, about fife miles from KOMARA. Now were the Tartars a little before departed from the campe, with purpose to returne home: yea the Turkes themselves wearie of the siege, and wanting victuall both for themselves and their horses, began also as men discouraged to shrink away. Which the Bassa well considering, thought it not best with his heartlesse souldiours and armie now fore weakened, to abide the coming of the Christians: and therefore vpon their approach he forthwith forooke the citie, which he had by the space of three weekes hardily besieged, and by a bridge made of boats transported his armie and artillerie ouer Danubius to DORTS, where the next day after he brake vp his armie. Immediately after the Turkes were thus departed, the breaches to be repaired, the mines to be filled vp, and new bulwarkes and rampiers to be made in diuers places for the more strength of the citie, leaving the charge thereof still vnto the lord BRAUN the old Gouverneur, who in the defence thereof had receiued a grievous wound in his right knee: of whom also this notable fact is reported. The Bassa in time of the late siege of KOMARA, vnder the colour of a parley, had sent fife Turkes into the citie to the Gouverneur, but in deed to prone if he were by any means to be wooon to yeeld vp the citie, and not to hold it out to the last: The faithfull Gouverneur, hauing giuen them the hearing vntill they had discharged their whole treacherie, presently caused foure of their heads to be stricken off, and to be set vpon long pikes vpon one of the bulwarkes for the Bassa to looke vpon; but the fift (the beholder of this tragedie) he sent backe vnto the Bassa, to tell him, That although he had found one in RAB to serue his turne, he was much deceiued if he thought to find Countie Hardeck; and that he wished rather to die the emperours faithfull seruant in the blood of the Turkes, than to betray the citie committed to his charge.

F Countie Hardeck late Gouverneur of RAB, generally before suspected to haue treacherously betrayed that strong towne vnto the Bassa, was therefore sent for to VIENNA, and there by the emperours commaundement committed to prison. Where among many things laid to his charge, as that he should in the beginning of the siege negligently haue suffered many things to be done by the enemy, which afterwards turned to the great danger of the towne: and that in the time of the siege, he had caused some of the canoniers to discharge certain great peeces against the enemy, with powder onely without shot: and that seeing one peiece among the rest to do the

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enemy

Countie Hardeck
corrupted by the
Turke, yeeldeth
the strong towne
of Rab vnto Si-
man Bassa.

Komara besieged
by Siman Bassa.

Siman Bassa rais-
eth his siege.

Counsellor Hardeck
condemned and
executed for be-
traying of Rab.

enemie much harme, he had caused the same to be remooued, and so placed, as that it serued to little or no vse: beside that, he (as it should seeme) making small reckoning of the towne, should oftentimes say, That if the Turkes should win it, he should be but one towne the richer: with diuers other such things, giuing just cause of suspition. The thing that lay most heauie vpon him, was the testimonie of one of *Sinan Bassa* his chamber, who being taken young by the Turkes, and seruing in the Bassas chamber, was now fled from the Turkes, and comming to the Archduke in the time of his siege, declared vnto him, that there was treason in his campe: and that he but three daies before by the commaundement of his master, had deliuered two bags full of duckats vnto two Christians, of whom the one had a notable scarre in his face, and was afterwards known to haue bin one of the Counties seruants. Vpon this and such like proofs, the Countie was after many daies hearing, in open court by the judgement of seauen and fortie noblemen and captaines of name, condemned of treason, and adjudged to be hanged, his dead bodie to remaine vpon the gallowes by the space of three daies, and all his lands and goods to be confiscated: The rigour of which sentence was afterward by the emperor mitigated, and the traitour by him adjudged to haue his right hand (by him before giuen to the emperor, in pawne of his faith) and his head struck off vpon a scaffold at *VIBENNA*, and so buried. Which seuer sentence was afterwards accordingly put in execution: for the tenth of Iune following, the traitour being brought to the scaffold built of purpose in the hie street of *VIBENNA*, after the sentence of his condemnation there solemnly read, commending himselfe vpon his knees to the mercie of God, with his eyes couered, & his right hand laid vpon a blocke couered with blacke, had both his hand and head so suddenly struck off by the executioners, as that the beholders could hardly judge which of them was first off. His dead bodie with his head and hand, was presently by his seruant wrapped in a blacke cloth and laid in his coach, which stood there by of purpose couered with blacke, and was afterwards buried amongst his aunccestors.

The Tartars but lately before departed from *Sinans* campe, passing ouer Danubius at *STRIGONIVM*, had purposed through the vpper part of *HUNGARIE*, and by the borders of *TRANSYLVANIA* and *MOLDAVIA*, to haue againe returned into their countrey: of whom two companies falling into the hands of the lord *Palfi*, were by him cut off and vterly defeated: the rest comming vnto the borders of *TRANSYLVANIA*, and finding the passages so beset by the Prince and the Vayuod of *VALACHIA*, as that they could not without most manifest danger passe that way, returned againe the same way they came: and hauing rifled and burnt certaine towns and villages in the vpper *HUNGARIE* about *TOCKAIE*, passed the riuer againe at *STRIGONIVM*, and wintering at *VESPRINIVM*, *PALOTTA*, and other places in the countrey about *RAB*, liued vpon the spoile of the poore Christians, vpon the frontiers of *AVSTRIA*, euen as far as *MEINERSDORF*.

These Tartars (of whom we haue so often spoken) at their first comming to the aid of *Sinan*, by direction from the Turkish Sultan, staid vpon the frontiers of *TRANSYLVANIA*, of purpose to haue surpris'd that countrey, and either to haue thrust *Sigismund Bator* the young prince out of the government thereof, or else to haue sent him in bonds to *CONSTANTINOPLE*: For it was commonly reported, That he wearie of the heauie tribute which he yearly paid vnto the Turke, and had now after their greedie manner been diuers times enhaunfed: had purposed to reuolt from the Turkish Sultan, and to enter into confederation with the Christian emperor. Which innouation and change, certaine of the nobilitie and chiefe States of *TRANSYLVANIA*, sought by all meanes to hinder: and acquainting *Amurath* with the matter, and entering into conspiracie with the Tartars, vnderooke to deliuer the whole countrey into their hands, and to send the Prince prisoner to *HVSZ*, where the Tartars then lay vpon the borders encamped. Wherefore dissembling this their purpose, they cunningly perswaded the Prince, that *Samosche* the great Chancellor of *POLONIA*, in the confines of his countrey lay with a great power expecting his comming, to consult with him of matters of great importance. And the better to colour this their treacherie, they had counterfeited letters to that effect from the Chancellor to the Prince, and had wrought so effectually, that the Prince not suspecting any such treason, gaue credit to their perswasions, and so put himselfe vpon his way towards the Chancellor (as he supposed: but by the way, he was aduised by some of his friends which had got some suspition of the matter, not to go any farther, for that his comming was not attended by the Polonians his friends (as he was perswaded) but by the Tartars his enemies, who lay in wait for him at *HVSZ*, to be

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A reace him of his life and government. The Prince astonished with the noueltie of the matter, listned vnto their perswasion, and retired with his traine to the strong fort of *KEHVVERE*; where he staid foureteen daies, as if it had been onely for feare of the Tartars. In the meane time, hee gaue notice to the nobilitie and gouernours of the countrey; his friends, of the imminent and common danger; who forthwith repaired vnto him in armes. But the traitors proceeding in their purpose, ceased not to perswade *Bornemissa*, who had the leading of the princes armie, that to fight with the Tartars was a matter of no small danger: and that therefore if he wished well to his countrey, he should not haue to doe with them, but onely shew himselfe neere vnto them, and that he was not vnprovided for them: which was accordingly done, and the Transylvanian army brought so nigh vnto the Tartars, as that they might heare the noise of their drums and trumpets. Whereby the Tartars as by the watchword, perceiuing themselves discovered, and nothing to fall out according to their expectation, & as had been vnto them promised for the betraying of the prince: they removed thence, and by another way breaking through the midst of *TRANSYLVANIA*, and so into *HUNGARIE*, rifled and burnt fise hundred villages, slew all the males that were aboute twelue yeares of age, and carried away the rest vnto the Turkish army then lying at the siege of *RAB*. In the meane time the traitours (when as this first plot serued them not) conspired to set vp one *Balthazar Bator*, the young princes nigh kinsman, and with the good fauour of *Amurath* to preferre him to the soueraigne government of their countrey. Which their purpose the Prince perceiuing, and doubting altogether to trust vnto the fidelitie of his owne subjects; writ to his neighbours the Rascians, and other his confederats, praying their aid in this so dangerous and doubtfull estate. Which after he had receiued, he appointed a generall assembly of all his States to be holden at *CLAUSENBURG*, and that vpon a great paine to be inflicted vpon all such as should not there personally appeare: so at the prefixed day all came, except the Cardinal *Bator* and *Stephen* his brother, who guiltie of so foule a treason against their owne bloud, were now before fled into *POLONIA*. Being all thus met together, the Prince commaunded the gates of the citie to be shut, and diligent watch and ward to be kept, forbidding by open proclamation, that any man vpon paine of death should so much as speake of any imagined treason. And at the same time politickly caused to be published in writing, how that the Germanes, had in the farther side of *HUNGARIE* got a notable victorie ouer the Turkes; for joy whereof he commaunded benefices to be made, and the great ordinance to be in triumph shot off, with many other signes of joy and gladnesse: and withall caused a notable banquet to be prepared, whereunto together with others, were inuited also all the chiefe of the conspirators: Of whom, euen as they were at dinner & least feared any such matter, he commaunded foureteen to be apprehended and committed to prison: and the next morning caused fise of them to be executed in the open market place. The principall of whom, who had vnderaken to haue himselfe slaine the Prince, after three or foure light cuts in the necke, he caused to be drawne in pickeles with foure horses: the other foure, namely *Alexander*, and *Gabriell Gendi*, *Gregorie Diato*, and *Ladislaus Sallentz*, were beheaded, and their dead bodies all that day left in the market place for the people to behold: the rest were also afterwards worthely executed; and *Balthazar Bator*, whom the conspirators had intended to haue exalted, strangled. Hauing thus reuenged himselfe vpon his enemies, he by a publike edict divulged through all his dominion, gaue leaue to all his subjects in generall, of their owne charge to take vp armes against the Turkes, and whatsoever they could take from them, to haue it to themselves, as good prize gotten from their lawfull enemies. By which vnwonted libertie, the Transylvanians encouraged as with a great bountie, armed themselves on all hands to the number of fortie thousand, who being mustered and sworn to hold together against the Turkes, made their first expedition towards Danubius; where at their first arriual, by good hap they light vpon certaine of the Turkes ships laded with prouision for the campe, and merchandise of all sorts, and much treasure: of which rich ships, they at the first onser tooke seuen, but the eighth (being in deed the Admirall) escaped their hands. In these ships they tooke an exceeding rich bootie, slew many of the Turkes, and in token of the victorie carried backe vnto the Prince seauen of the Turkish ensignes. This victorie caused great joy in *TRANSYLVANIA*; euerie man of so prosperous a beginning, conceiuing good hope of most happie successe. It is reported, that *Sinan Bassa* hearing of this losse, should say, That if this prouision had come to him in safetie, he could with that treasure more easily haue bought *VIBENNA* in *AVSTRIA*, than he had *RAB* in *HUNGARIE*. After this victorie the Prince laied siege

Great harme
done in Transyl-
vania by the
Tartars.

The conspira-
tors against the
prince, appre-
hended and exe-
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to **T E M E S V V A R**, but hearing of the returne of the Tartars from the Turks campe, and that they were comming toward **T R A N S Y L V A N I A** (as is before said) he left **T E M E S V V A R**, to look to the defence of his owne country.

The Janizaries
in a tumult at
Constantinople.

Not long after, about the two and twentieth of December a tumult rise among the Janizaries of the Court at **C O N S T A N T I N O P L E**, which grew to such an height, that in the heat thereof one of the Bassaes was by them slaine, with some others of good account, and one of *Amuraths* sonnes sore wounded, and with much adoe layed. Vpon conceit whereof, *Amurath* for anger and griefe fell into a fit of the falling sicknesse (whereunto he was much subject) and was therewith for the space of three dayes and three nights so grievously vexed, as if he should haue presently giuen vp the ghost: so that the citie was filled with heauinesse and feare, and the great men of the Court were euen readie to thinke vpon a new lord. This tumult of the insolent Janizaries many supposed to haue bene the cause of *Amurath* his death, which shortly after ensued: his griefe and maladie encreasing daily by the euill newes still brought vnto him both by messengers and letters, especially out of **T R A N S Y L V A N I A**, where the prince waiting vpon euery occasion, was still at hand with the Turkes, cutting them short in euery place; and in sundrie rodes which he made vpon them this moneth, tooke many of their castles and forts from them. He had at that time in the field in diuers places three armies: one vnder the conduct of *Gesty Fereis*, in the countrey of **L V O A Z** neere vnto **T E M E S V V A R**: another vnder the leading of *Michael Horvat*, on the side of Danubius, to intercept the Turkes comming to **B V D A**: and the third commanded by *Caspar Cornoyse* in the countrey neere to **G I V L A**, vnto whom came shortly after fiftene hundred horsemen out of the vpper **H V N G A R I E**.

1595

The Transylvanian prince *Sigismund Bator* thus lately revolted from the Turk, for the strengthening of his state thought it best betime to enter into confederation with his neighbors of **V A L A C H I A** and **M O L D A V I A** (who moued by his example, shortly after in like manner also cast off the seruile yoke of the Turke) but especially with the Christian emperor *Rodolph*. For which purpose he sent his embassadours honourably accompanied: who comming to **C O S S O V I A** in **H V N G A R I E** the foureteenth of December, arrived at **P R A G E** the twelfth of Ianuarie, with twentie waggons, and an hundred and fiftie horse, where they were by the emperours appointment most honourably receiued and royally entertained: and after a few dayes hauing deliuered vnto the emperor the summe of their embassage, which was for a confederation to be made betweene the emperor and the prince: after much graue consultation and serious discourse it was fully concluded and agreed vpon: the chiefe points whereof I thought it not amisse here in briefe to set downe, for the satisfying of such as desire to know in what termes that worthie prince next neighbour vnto the Turke then stood with the Christian emperor.

The capitulation
of the league
between the
emperor and the
Transylvanian
Prince.

First it was agreed vpon, That the emperor for himselfe and for the states of **H V N G A R I E** should promise to proceed in his wars begun against the common enemy, and not to conclude any peace with him, without the knowledge and good liking of the prince. And that in all conclusions of peace to be made betwixt him and the Turke, the countreys of **T R A N S Y L V A N I A**, **V A L A C H I A**, and **M O L D A V I A**, should be alwayes comprised: in regard whereof, the prince likewise promised for himselfe and the states of **T R A N S Y L V A N I A**, to prosecute the commenced warre, and not to enter into any league with the Turke, without the knowledge and consent of the emperor and the nobilitie of **H V N G A R I E**, and this to be confirmed by solemne oath on both sides.

Secondly, that the prouince of **T R A N S Y L V A N I A** with all the parts and confines thereof hitherto possessed by the prince in **H V N G A R I E**, should remaine vnto the said prince *Sigismund* and his heires male, with all the profits arising thereof, in such sort as they had done in the time of *Iohn, Stephen*, and *Christopher*, his predecessors, to haue therein a most free and absolute authoritie: yet so, as that they should acknowledge his imperiall maiestie and his lawfull successors for their lawfull souldaignes; vnto whom they should alwayes sweare their fealtie, but without any homage doing: and that to be performed by his successors at the time of the change, but by the prince himselfe, presently after the confirming of this league. But that for lacke of heires male, the countrey of **T R A N S Y L V A N I A** with all the territories thereunto annexed, should descend vnto his sacred maiestie and his successors, the kings of **H V N G A R I E**, as a true and inseparable member thereof: whereunto the prince and all the states of **T R A N S Y L V A N I A** should bind themselues by solemne oath. But yet that at such time as the heires male should faile in the

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A line of the present prince, and that the countrey of **T R A N S Y L V A N I A** should according to these present conditions be deuolued to the crowne of **H V N G A R I E**, as well his present imperiall and royall maiestie as his successors, should keepe inuiolate the auncient lawes, priuiledges, and customes of that countrey, and alwayes appoint one of the nobilitie of **T R A N S Y L V A N I A** to be Gouvernour or Vayoud of the same, and no other stranger.

Thirdly, that his maiestie should acknowledge the prince of **T R A N S Y L V A N I A** for an absolute prince, and by speciall charter confirme vnto him the title of *Most excellent*.

Fourthly, that his imperiall maiestie should procure one of the daughters of the late Archduke *Charles* his vncl, for a wife for the prince, that as they were now to be joyned in league, so they might be joyned in affinitie also.

B Fifthly, that the emperor should procure him to bee made one of the order of the Golden Fleecce.

Sixtly, that the prince might with more cheerefulnesse and securitie make warre against the common enemy, his imperiall and royall maiestie should not at any time, howsoeuer things fell out, forsake the said prince or any of the countreys subject vnto him: and euen now presently to aid him according as the present occasion required, and afterward (if greater need should be) with greater helpe, whether it were by his Generall of **C A S S O V I A**, or others: and this giuing of aid to be on both sides mutuall and reciprocall, according as the necessitie of the one or other part should require: and that where most need was, thither should most helpe be conuerted.

C Seuenthly, that the sacred Romane empire should take vpon it the protection and defence of the prince and his territories. And that his imperiall maiestie should create the said prince and the princes his successors, princes of the empire: yet so, as that they should haue neither voice nor place among the said princes.

Eighthly, that whatsoever castles, towns, cities, or other places of strength should by their common forces be taken or recouered from the common enemy, at such time as his imperiall maiestie should send into the field a full armie, should be all his maiesties: But such places as the prince should by his owne forces or policie gaine from the enemy, should remaine vnto the prince himselfe. Yet that what places soeuer the prince should recouer, which at any time before belonged to the kingdome of **H V N G A R I E**, before it was taken by the Turke, those he should forthwith deliuer to his maiestie, as soone as reasonable recompence were by him therefore made vnto the prince.

Ninthly, his sacred maiestie should promise of his owne bountie to giue vnto his excellencie sufficient aid for the fortifying and defence of such places as should be thought necessarie for the behoofe of the Christians: as again the said prince should likewise promise not to spare his own cofers or forces, that the same places should be thoroughly fortified and defended, for the behoofe of his maiestie and the common good of the Christian commonweale.

Lastly, that for as much as the euents of warre are vncertaine, and many things suddenly happen contrarie to mens expectation, if such necessitie should chance vnto his excellencie or his successors (which mishap God forbid) that hauing spent themselues, they should not be able longer to defend their state and countrey, but that the mightie enemy preuailing, they should at last be enforced to forsake the same: in this their extremitie, his imperiall & royall maiestie should promise both for himselfe and his successors, within the space of one moneth to assigne some certaine place in some other of his dominions, where the said prince and his successors might honourably liue. And the like regard to be had also of other such principall men, as should together with the prince aduenture their liues and liuings in defence of the Christian commonweale.

Which articles of confederation agreed vpon, and solemly confirmed, the same embassadours were with all kindnesse, bountie, and magnificence dismissed and sent back again vnto the prince: who was not himselfe in the meane time idle, but labouring by all the meanes he could to draw vnto him *Michael* the Vayoud of **V A L A C H I A**, a man of no lesse worth than himselfe, and *Aaron* the Palatine of **M O L D A V I A**, both of them then the Turkes tributaries: and by them to alienate from the Turke both those countreys, that so with their combined forces they might the better defend their libertie, and withstand their common enemy: wherein he did so much, and preuailed so farre with them both, that casting off the Turkes obeisance, they shortly after to the great benefit of the Christian commonweale, and no lesse hinderance of the Turkes proceedings in **H V N G A R I E**, joined hands both together with him for the recouerie of their lost libertie. Which

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ning the poore remainders of HUNGARIE, the Vayuod not a little moued, began more deeply to consider of his owne estate. And as he was a man of a great spirit and no lesse zeale towards his country, grieuing to see his subjects committed to his charge, to be so daily by the insolent Turkes still more and more oppressed: he (as he had before promised to the Transylvanian) called an assembly of all the States of VALACHIA; to consult with them what were best to be done for the remedie of so great euils, as also for the preuenting of greater, not without cause then to be feared. Where by the generall consent of them all it was agreed, rather to joyne with the emperor and the other Christian princes in confederation (as they had been oftentimes by them requested) than longer to endure that heauie yoke of the Turkish thraldome and slaueerie. Whereupon the Vayuod taking vnto him two thousand of the Hungarian garrison souldiors, now before for that purpose secretly laid vpon the frontiers of his country; and calling vpon the name of *Christ Iesus*, in one day to begin withall, slew about two thousand of the Ianizaries (who without his leaue had in that country proudly feared themselves) with all the rest of the Turkes (in the midst of their insolencie) together with the traitorous Iewes, not leauing one of them that he could come by, aliue in all the open country. And purposing to driue them out of their strong holds also, and so to make a cleane riddance of them, he within foureteene daies after set vpon *Dziwrozw*, a great towne of the Turkes vpon the banke of Danubius, which he burnt all sauing the castle: and hauing there made a great slaughter, and loded with the spoile of the Turkes, returned to *Bucaresta* the chiefe seat of his Palatinat.

But long it was not after this his so great presumption, but that he perceiued the Turkes in reuenge thereof to seeke after his life: although he yet seemed to yeeld his obedience vnto *Amurath*, and to haue done that he did, as enforced thereunto by the insolencie of the Turkes, and for the necessarie reliefe both of himselfe and his subjects. For the same moneth, *Ras* being (as is aforesaid) taken by *Sinan*: one of the Turkes * Emirs, descended of the great family and stocke of *Mahomet* their false Prophet, and then *Cadilefcher* (a man of great account and place amongst the Turkes) accompanied with two thousand chosen souldiors, fiftie of the great Sultans chamber, and many of the *Zausij* and *Spahij*, vpon the sudden came to *Bucaresta* vnder the colour of refreshing themselves after their long trauell, but in deed with purpose to haue taken the Vayuod; where they without controulement committed all kind of ourragious villanie: and taking vp all the chiefe houses in the citie, imperiously demanded of the Vayuod (who then lay at his pallace neere vnto the new monasterie without the citie, built without any castle or defence vpon the riuer *Dembowiza*) ten thousand Florens for a present, with victuals and other necessarie prouision for his followers. And presently after, being certainly enformed that he lay there but slenderly accompanied, and almost himselfe alone, the Emir himselfe on foot with a thousand of his souldiors, went out of the citie as if it had been but for his pleasure, and in curtesie to haue seene him. Of which so suspicious a guests comming the Vayuod vnderstanding, got him betimes away into the campe of his Hungarian mercenaries, which then lay but fast by: when the Turke thus deceiued of the hope he had before conceived for the taking of him, craftily sent certaine of his followers, to know of him, to what end he in time of peace did entertaine such a number of Hungarian souldiors? Whereunto the Vayuod cunningly answered, That they were at the first entertained for the taking of *Peter* the sonne of *Alexander*, sometime Palatine of *Moldavia*; who although he were now before apprehended, and openly hanged vpon an hooke at *Constantinople*, yet that those souldiors were for their readie seruice, of necessity still to be billited in the country, vntill such time as their pay might be provided. Which the Turke hearing, commaunded the Vayuod forthwith to discharge them as men vnnecessarie, and to his subjects troublesome, promising the next day to lend him a tunne of gold to pay them their wages. Which fained promise the Vayuod seemed thankfully to take; yet nevertheless commaunded the Hungarians forthwith in armes to stand in readinesse in the campe, for the intercepting of the Turkes, if happily by him distressed they should betake themselves to flight: whilst he in the meane time with his courtiers and other souldiors, secretly assembled into a valley thereby, came suddenly vpon the Turkes (not as then dreaming of any such thing) M compassed about the Innes wherein they lay, and setting fire vpon them in fiue places, notably forced them both with fire and the sword, the two greatest extremities of war; seeking now for nothing more, than the just reuenge of his spoiled citie, his forced virgins, and wronged subjects. Howbeit the Turkes for a space right valiantly defended themselves, and by plaine force (although

Michael the Vayuod of Valachia remoueth from the Turkes.

* The Turkes call all them that are descended of the stocke of their Prophet Mahomet by the name of Emirs or Lords.

A (although in vaine) sought to haue broken through the midst of their enemies, and so to haue fled. Yea many of them by force of the fire driuen out of their lodgings, and tearing off their burning cloathes, fought starke naked: but most of them which could, fled vnto the pallace where their great Emir lay, there with him readie to die or liue. All which their last endeouers of desperation, the Vayuod easily frustrated, with two great pieces of attillerie opening a way for his souldiors vnto them. So that the proud Emir now in despaire (like the hunted Castor) threw downe out of a window a great chest full of gold and precious stones, and other jewels of great valour, if happily he might haue so appeased the Vayuods wrath: humbly now requesting no more, but to haue his life spared; fearfully promising a large ranfome for himselfe, and those few which were yet left aliue with him. Howbeit the Vayuod mindfull of the manifold injuries by them done vnto him and his subjects, and nothing mitigated or moued with the rich spoiles thrust vpon him, or the large promises the Turkes had made him; commaunded all those his enemies now in his power, to be slaine euerie mothers sonne: of whom his souldiors had a wonderfull rich spoile, although much more was lost in the fire: and so giuing thanks vnto God for the victorie, rested with his people a while at quiet. Yet within lesse than a moneth after, he sent *Albertus Kirall* his lieutenant with an armie to *Phlocz* (a great open vnwalled towne on the farther side of Danubius, equally distant from *Vrosczyk* and *Nicopolis*) from whence the Turkes oftentimes passing ouer that frozen riuer into *Valachia*, had there done great harme: which towne, not inferiour vnto a good citie, he suddenly surprisid, and sacking it, put to the sword all the inhabitants thereof, except such as were before his comming fled. And shortly after (the more to annoy the Turkes, marching againe ouer the frozen riuer to haue surprisid *Hersova* a walled citie, but one daies journey from *Brailova*, he was by the way vpon the ice encountred by the Turkes, whom he there in a great conflict ouerthrew; and hauing slaine many of them and put the rest to flight, holding on his intended journey, tooke that rich citie, which he rifled and burnt downe to the ground, all except the castle, which was yet by the Turkes valiantly defended: and so with the spoile of the citie returned againe ouer the riuer, there to refresh his souldiors, wearied with labour and the extremitie of the Winter weather. And yet not so contented, within six daies after passing againe ouer the riuer, and hauing vpon the side thereof in a great battell ouerthrowne the Turkes garrisons, tooke *Silistra* a great citie of *Macedonia*, built by *Constantine* the Great (being the seat of one of the Turkes D Sanzacks, and well inhabited with rich merchants) which faire citie he ransacked, and hauing slaine most part of the inhabitants, burnt it downe to the ground as he had the other, no lesse terror than grieue vnto the Turkes.

But whilst the aforesaid confederation betwixt the emperour and the Transylvanian Prince was yet in hand, and the troubles in *Valachia* thus arising; *Amurath* the great Sultan grievously vexed with the stoan, and attainted with the falling sicknesse, his wonted disease; and inwardly also tormented with the late insolencie of the Ianizaries, and reuolt of the countries of *Transylvania*, *Valachia*, and *Moldavia*, no small hinderance to the proceeding of his warres in *Hungarie*: as a man both in bodie and soule tormented with great impatience and agonie of mind, departed this life the eighteenth day of Ianuarie, in the yeare of our Lord 1595: when he had liued one and fiftie, or as some say two and fiftie yeares, and thereof reigned E nineteene. At the time of his death arise such a sudden and terrible tempest at *Constantinople*, that many thought the world should euen presently haue been dissolued. His dead bodie was not long after with great pompe and solemnitie buried by *Mahomet* his eldest sonne (which now reigneth) in a Moschie which hee himselfe yet liuing had before built at *Constantinople*.

P I N T S.

The Cadilefcher with all the Turke his followers slaine.

Phlocz, spoiled by the Vayuod.

Hersova taken.

Silistra burnt.

Amurath dieth.

Emperors of Germany { Maximilian the second. 1565. 12.
Rodolph the second. 1577.

Of England { Queen Elizabeth. 1558. 45.

Christian princes
of the same
time with Amu-
rath the third.

Kings { Of France { Charles the ninth. 1560. 14.
Henry the third. 1574. 14.
Henry the fourth, which
now reigneth. 1589.

Of Scotland { James the first, that now
reigneth. 1567.

Bishops of Rome { Gregorie the XIII. 1572. 12.
Xistus the V. 1585. 5.
Urban the VII. 1590. 12. dayes.
Gregorie the XIII. 1590. 10. months 10. dayes.
Innocent the IX. 1543. 2. months and one day.
Clement the VIII. 1592.



*Si quid in humanis, magnum te reddere possit:
Quid prohibet magnis nomen inesse tuium?
Qui subiecta vides, tot dissona regna, tot vrbes:
Et nulli cedens, sceptris superba geris.
Cum tamen ignores, quid sit sapientia Christi,
Omnia que iactas, sunt Mahomete nihil.*

RICH. KNOLLEVS.

In English thus.

If ought there be might make thee great, that on the earth is found:
What then should let, thy name amongst the greatest for to sound:
That sees thy kingdomes and thy townes, so many and so great:
And giuing place thy selfe to none, doest sit on royall seat.
Yet sith thou knowest not aright, for grace by Christ to call:
All that thou boasts, O Mahomet, is nothing worth at all.

R. K.

THE



MAHOMET THE THIRD OF
THAT NAME, SEVENTH EMPEROR
OF THE TURKS, HE THAT NOW
SWAYETH THAT MIGHTIE EMPIRE



He death of the late great Sultan *Amurath* was not forthwith made knowne in the Court, but with wonderfull secrecie concealed, not onely for feare of the *Tapizaries*, who in time of the vacancie of the empire alwayes doe whatsoeuer pleaseth themselves; but also for that the people hauing in distrust the fierce nature of *Mahomet*, *Amurath* his eldest sonne, were generally better affected to *Amurath* the younger brother, a prince of a more mild spirit and courteous disposition, vnto whom they in heart wished those stately honours, which could by no meanes without the great wrong and prejudice of his elder brother, and danger of the whole state be giuen vnto him. Ten dayes after came *Mahomet* in post from *AMASIA* to *CONSTANTINOPLE*; and was there by the

great Baffaes and other his mightie fauourits saluted Emperour: which done, he presently after caused all his brethren to be inuited to a solemne feast in the Court: wherunto they yet ignorant of the death of their father, came chearefully as men fearing no harme, but being come were there all by his commandement most miserably strangled: and at once to rid himselfe of the feare of all competitorrs (the greatest torment of the mightie) he the same day (as is reported) caused ren of his fathers wiues and concubines, such as by whom any issue was to be feared, to be all drowned in the sea.

The Janizaries and other souldiours of the Court not before acquainted with the death of *Amurath*, either with the choice that the great Bassaes had without their priuitie made of *Mahomet*, and not a little offended to see themselues so disappointed of such spoyle as they reckon due vnto them in the vacancie of the empire, as men discontented rise vp in a rage, and made such haucke and spoyle in the imperiall citie, as greater they could not well haue made, had there bene as yet no emperour chosen at all; and so to contented, were now euen vpon the point to haue rifled their new emperours Court, and to haue laied violent hands vpon the person of himselfe, in reuenge of the tyrannie by him executed vpon his brethren and fathers wiues (which inhumane crueltie the Turkish emperours easily excuse by the name of, The policie of their state.) For the appeasing of which so dangerous a tumult, *Mahomet* called vnto him certaine of the chiefe men among these seditious, such as were thought to be able to do most with them, whom he sought by faire perswasions and large promises to win vnto him, and by them to pacifie the rest: Which serned him to litle or no purpose, vntill such time as the great Bassaes themselues came out with their followers, who with many faire perswasions, mixt with most grieuous threats and firme promise of a generall pardon, with much adoe appeased the tumult: yet for the more safetie kept all the chiefe streets of the citie with strong watch and ward. This broile thus ouerblowne, a new tent was by the commendement of the new emperour set vp before the temple of *Sophia*: wherein on the right hand was placed the dead bodie of the late Sultan *Amurath*, his father, and on the left hand the bodies of his nineteene strangled brethren, layed forth of purpose,

A poſe, as an heauie ſpectacle for the people to behold: who all not long after were together with their father with great ſolemnitie after the Turkiſh manner buried, and *Mahomet* himſelfe (being about nine and twentie yeares old) now openly proclaimed great empetour of the Turks, and lord of all, from the riſing of the Sunne to the going downe of the ſame. After that returning to his pallace, he made vnto his Baſſaes and other great men a ſumptuous and ioyall feaſt, as the manner was: but whileſt they were in the middelt of their mirth, vpon the ſudden all the citie was againe in an vprore, and the people in armes, in ſuch ſort, as that it was thought ſcarce one man would haue eſcaped aliue from that banket, had not the chiefe Baſſa with his grauitie and wiſdome and wonderfull labour in good time appeaſed their furie, and withall their greater terrout cauſed all the great ordinance in the citie to be brought forth into the ſtreets, readie charged, to be ſhot off amongſt them.

Whilest these troubles thus passed at CONSTANTINOPLE, vpon the late confederation made betwene the emperor, the Translyuanian prince, the Valachians and Moldauians, diuers fortunate inrodes and skirmishes were by them made in the frontiers of the Turkes dominions, many strong places were surprisid, many rich booties taken, and notable exploits done, which we will but briefly passe ouer, as the precedents of a greater warre. The citie of **WILTZE**, before taken by the Turkes, was now againe in the beginning of this yeare recovered: and the Christians about **SCUTHIA**, in number about foure thousand, breaking into the Turks frontiers, carried away an exceeding rich prey, with diuers notable captiues. The like did also the Christians of **VIVARIA**: at which time also the garrison souldiours of **ALTENEVRG** making a rode into the country about **RAB**, encountered with foure thousand Turkes, of whom they slew two hundred, tooke certaine prisoners, whom they sent some to **PRESBURG**, some to **ALTENEVRG**: and *Sinan Bassa* the late Generall returning towards **CONSTANTINOPLE** with much treasure, which he had greedily scraped together in the late wars in **HUNGARIE**, was by the Valachians set vpon by the way not farre from **BELORADE**, and stript of all that he had, hauing much ado to escape himselfe with some few of his followers. The same Valachians, together with the Translyuanians, vnder the conduct of their valiant capitaine *Gesius Ferens*, entering further vpon the Turkes, tooke from them diuers of their townes and castles, as **PONDESIE**, **NICOPOLISE**, **KILLA**, and **REBNICHI**, and meeting with twelue thousand Tatars, slew a great number of them, and put the rest to flight. With this insolencie of the Valachians his late tributaries, but now his enemies, the Turkish emperor was highly offended: and therefore sent one *Bogdanus* a Valachian borne, descended of the Palatines house, with a great power to expulse the old *Vayuod*, and to possesse himselfe of that honour, as his tributarie; promising vnto him all fauour and kindnesse. *Bogdanus* thus supported and furnished, came with his power into **VALACHIA**, yet thought it best before he attempted any great matter, to expect the coming of the Tatars left the last yeare in **HUNGARIE** by *Sinan*: of whose comming the Valachians and Translyuanians hauing vnderstanding, met them by the way, and joyning battell with them, slew eight thousand of them, put the rest to flight, and so returned: vnto whom presently after this victorie the Translyuanian prince sent foureteeen thousand souldiours more to aid them against the Turkes. But *Bogdanus* vnderstanding both of the ouerthrow of the Tatars and the comming of this new supplie, durst not proceed any farther in his enterprise, but kept himselfe still in his trenches. Not long after by the commaundement of the Turkish emperor, *Han* the Crim Tartar with a great power of his Tartarian horsemen entred into **MOLDAVIA**, with purpose to haue by fire and sword reduced that country againe vnto the Turkes obeisance: of whose comming *Aaron Vayuod* of **MOLDAVIA** hauing knowledge, and aided by his neighbour *Michael Vayuod* of **VALACHIA**, so belayed the Tatars, that he in three diuers battels ouerthrew them, and hauing slaine twelue thousand of them, enforced the rest to retire againe out of his country: and following the course of this victorie, presently after tooke **BENDAR**, **SCHNITZ**, **TIGNA**, **MACHNITS**, with some other castles and fortresses of the Turkes neere vnto the riuer of Danubius; all which he furnished with his owne garrisons; and withall tooke in the rich country of **BOBRAGA**, the inhabitants thereof willingly submitting themselves vnto him, as men wearie of the Turkish thraldome. With like good fortune, aided by the Polonian Cossackes, he ouerthrew *Tanickish* thraldome. With like good fortune, aided by the Polonian Cossackes, he ouerthrew *Tanickish* thraldome. With like good fortune, aided by the Polonian Cossackes, he ouerthrew *Tanickish* thraldome.

in durance at **B V D A** and **C O N S T A N T I N O P L E**, might be restored vnto their wonted libertie, then some good forme of peace, and bounding of their territories might happily be agreed vpon: without which conditions, all talke of peace was but vaine; for that God the just and mightie protectour of such as put their trust in him, would not faile to helpe his imperiall maiestie, with the rest of the confederat princes, in their so just a quarrell, and abate the pride of such as trust in their owne strength and power.

This answer the captiues at BvdA were commaunded to giue vnto the Bassa, either by writing or by word of mouth: and withall earnestly to request him both for their owne libertie and their fellows, wrongfully detained at CONSTANTINOPLE. Which if it could not be obtained, yet to comfort themselues with that, that they should in bounteous manner receiue from the emperour such allowance, as should suffice to provide them all things necessarie: as he had granted to *Perling*, whom he might haue justly detained and not sent him backe againe, but for his oaths sake, being no lawfull prisoner. Thus were the vnreasonable conditions of peace craftily by the Bassa propounded, by others answered: but by whom he knew not, no mans name being set thereunto.

The Emperour not ignorant with what an enimie he had to doe, and of nothing more carefull than of the kingdome (or more truly to say, of the reliques of the kingdome) of HUNGARIE, lying now as it were in the Lyons mouth; ceased not to pray aid, not of the princes electors onely, but of others also farther off; yea even as far as ITALIE and SPAINIE, but especially of the king of POLONIA, as his neere alliance and neighbour. Vnto whom both he and the States of HUNGARIE sent their embassadours, at such time as he moued with the daily incursions of the Turkes and Tartars into the countreies adjoyning vpon his, had for the safetie of his owne kingdome, called a parliament of all his States in Februarie last, at CRACOVIA. Whereof *Mahomet* the Great Turke hearing, sent also two of his chiefe Chiaus, his vsuall embassadours vnto the king and his States so assembled, to craue his aid in his warres in HUNGARIE: which if the king should not refuse, then to promise him to want no coine to pay his souldiors; and that *Mahomet* mindfull of to great a courtesie, would at all times be readie to requite him with like, when his occasions should require. These embassadours, hauing obtained safe conduct from *Michael* the Vayuod of VALACHIA for their passage through his countrey, comming thither; were by the Vayuod himselfe honourably entertained and welcomed, and so brought into a faire lodging, where they discoursed with him of many matters. But the Vayuods followers, giued to see so great honour done to these their sworne and mortall enemies; with weapons in their hands brake into the tounie where the embassadours were, and without more ado slew them both: and in the same furie setting vpon the rest of the Turkes their followers, cut them all in pieces, so that of them none came into POLONIA to do their Great masters message, either yet returned to CONSTANTINOPLE to carrie newes of the rest, but there altogether perished. Of which outrage *Mahomet* yet vnderstanding, was therewith wonderfully enraged, threatening all euils both to the Moldauians and Valachians, and forthwith sent out other embassadours to the same purpose, who with better fortune afterwards in safetie arrived in POLONIA.

The Tatars in many places (as is before declared) overthrew, and many strong castles and forts taken from the Turkes by the Transylvanians, Valachians, and Moldauians, the Turkish affaires going to wracke in those quarters, and fore shaken on that side of HUNGARIE; *Mahomet* the Turkish emperor called home to the Court *Sinan Bassa* his Generall in HUNGARIE, to confere with him (as it was thought) of some great matters. In whose place hee sent *Ferat Bassa*, he who sometime had the leading of *Amuraths* great armies against the Persians: who now departing from CONSTANTINOPLE, came to BELGRADE in Aprill, and there took the charge vpon him. Where at his first comming in the night time, all the ropes and cordes of the tents were suddenly cut in sunder, and so his tent let fall about his eares: which some supposed to haue been done to his disgrace, by the procurement of *Cicala Bassa* before by him wronged; or as others thought, by the insolent Ianizaries, who disliking of him, did it in despight, wishing rather to haue been led by *Mahomet* himselfe. Now at his comming, the famine which the last yeare began amongst the Turkes, was growne exceeding great, not at BUDA and BELGRADE onely, but euen generally in most places of HUNGARIE possessed by the Turkes: insomuch, that the Tartar women that followed the campe, were faine to roast their owne children and eat them. This famine was also accompanied with a most terrible plague, whereof great numbers of

A the Turks and Tartars died daily: so that of fourescore five thousand Tartars which came the last year into HUNGARIE, now remained scarce eight thousand; the rest being all deuoured with the sword, famine, and the pestilence.

Great were the harmes the Turkes still daily receiued from the late revolted countries of TRANSYLVANIA, VALACHIA, and MOLDAVIA, the Christians of those places seeking by all means to annoy them. *Michael* Vaiuod of VALACHIA, not contented with that he had already done, but entering into the Turks frontiers, surpris'd *Schimble*, together with the cattle, wherein he found 14 field pieces, amongst which were two which had vpon them the armes of the emperor *Ferdinand*, and other two hauing vpon them the armes of *Hunniades*: which pieces he afterwards sent as a present to the Transylvanian prince. After that he tooke *OROSTIE*, a famous port towne, the dwelling place of the Turkes great purvey or for butter, cheefe, and hony, and such other prouision for the Court; wherein he found such store of the aforesaid prouision, as might well haue sufficed eight thousand men for a whole yeare: and still prosecuting his good fortune, tooke from the Turkes *KILEC* and *GALEMPE*, with the strong cattle of *S. George*, commonly called *GRIGIO*, and at length besieged *LAGANOC*.

With the beginning of the Spring came *Matthias* the Archduke and Generall of the Christian armie, from the assembly of the nobilitie of *HUNGARIE* at *PRESBURG* to *VIENNA*, and from thence to the emperor his brother at *PARIS*; who appointed him Generall of the lower *HUNGARIE*, and *Maximilian* his brother Generall of the vpper countrey: giuing them for their lieutenants, vnto *Maximilian* the lord *Teuffenbach*, and to *Matthias* the countie *Charles Mansfeld*, by him sent for out of *FLANDERS*, and after created one of the princes of the empire. *John de Medices*, who was yet in *HUNGARIE*, he made master of the great ordinance, with charge to fortifie *KOMARA*: which he so well performed, as that it was thought nothing in strength inferior to *RAB*. All this while the emperor ceased not both by his ambassadors and letters to sollicit the Christian princes, for the repressing of the common enemy to put to their helping hands: and so much preuailed with them, that out of his owne hereditarie prouinces, and from other princes his friends, he had this Spring raised a right puissant and strong armie for the defence of *HUNGARIE*: which how it was raised, and from whom, it shall not be much from our purpose briefly to remember, as the chiefe strength vnder God, whereby the Christian commonweale was this yeare most notably defended. Out of the higher *SAXONIE* came a thousand two hundred

D year most notably declined : Out of the Kingdome of SAXONIE six hundred : from FRANCONIA a thousand horsemen, and out of the lower SAXONIE six hundred : from FRANCONIA a thousand horsemen : from SVEVIA foure thousand footmen : out of the countie of TIROL as many : from BAVARIA three thousand : out of BOHEMIA two thousand men at armes, six hundred light horsemen, and six thousand footmen : from SILÉSIA a thousand five hundred horsemen : from LVSATIA five hundred horse and a thousand foot : from MORAVIA a thousand horse, and two thousand foot : out of AVSTRIA two thousand horse and six thousand foot : from HUNGARIE five hundred horsemen and a thousand foot : from the nobilitie of SVEVIA and FRANCONIA foure thousand foot : from the king of SPAINE out of the low countries vnder the conduct of Charles countie Mansfelt, two thousand horsemen and six thousand foot. Vnto thefe the bishop of ROMB added two thousand horsemen and eight thousand foot : the great duke of FLORENCE sent five hundred horse and three thousand foot : the duke of FERRARA a thousand five hundred footmen : the duke of MANTVA a thousand foot : and duke Venturee five hundred horse. All which being put together, fill vp the number of fiftene thousand nine hundred horsemen, and fittie thousand five hundred foot . Which notable armie, raised from the power of diuers Christian princes, and conducted by worthie chiefeaines, had by the goodness of God much better successe this Summer against the auntient enemies of Christendome, than had the like armie the yeare before, as in the proceffe of this Historie shall appeare.

F Among the worthish commanders that were in this puissant armie, Charles countie Mansfelt the sonne of Peter Ernestus the old countie, from his youth brought vp in armes, was by the king of SPAINE at the request of the emperour sent with the aforesaid forces of two thousand horse and six thousand foot out of the Low countries, as a man for his approued valour and direction, fit to manage these dangerous warres against the Turke vnder Matthias the Archduke, as his lieutenant General : who hauing raised the appointed forces, for most part Wallons, deas his lieutenant General : who hauing raised the appointed forces, for most part Wallons, departed from BRUXELLES about the midst of Februarie, and by the way taking his leaue of his aged father at LYXENBURG, and traouelling through GERMANY, came in March to PRAG, where

The Turkish em-
bassador, sent
unto the Polo-
nian king, saith
in this manner.

*The plague and
famine among
the Turks.*

Michael Vaynos
of Valachia doth
the Turkes great
harm.

AC The notable af-
d mie of the Chri-
S tians and from
N- whence it was
raised.

where he was by the Emperour and the Archduke his brother most honorably entertained, and shortly after with great solemnitie created one of the Princes of the empire. His forces following after him were by the way staied, partly by the inundation of waters, the rivers they were to passe ouer (at that time rising to an vnwonted height,) partly by the jealousie of some of the Germane princes, who denied them passage through their territories, vntill such time as that the emperour by his letters had opened vnto him the way: which princes for all that stood vpon their guard, and so gaue them passage.

Now ran great rumours of the wonderfull preparations of the Turkes; as also of the Christians; Fame after her wonted manner, encreasing the report of all things aboue measure: which caused the Turkes with exceeding care to looke to the fortification of their frontier townes, especially of **RAS** and **STRIGONIVM**, as did the Christians to the fortification of **KOMARA** and **ALTENBURG**. In the meane time many hoat skirmishes passed betwene the Christians and the Turkes, especially in the late reuolted countries of **TRANSYLVANIA** and **VALACHIA**, wherein the Turkes were still put to the worke, to the great discontentment of their emperour. Neere vnto **TAMESVAR** the Bassa of **BUDA** was ouerthrowne, by the valiant capitaine *Gestius Ferentis*, and the Transylvanians. And in **VALACHIA** the Turkes Generall, entring with a great armie was there also by the lord *Nadasti* and the Valachians aided with the Transylvanians, in a great battell discomfited and ouerthrowne. Eight thousand of the Turkes heads in token of this victorie the lord *Nadasti* sent to **ALBA IULIA** to the Transylvanian prince, and certaine ensignes, amongst which one was most richly garnished with pretious stones and pearle, thought to be worth thirtie thousand dollars; which the prince afterward restored againe to *Nadasti*, offering him great possessions in **TRANSYLVANIA**, if he could haue bene content there to haue seated himselfe.

All this Spring the Turkes countenanced their warres with greater boasts and threats than true force giuing it out, That they would in short time worke wonders both by sea and land. For the more credit whereof, *Murat Rays*, a notable pyrat, was sent out with twelue gallies; who landing here and there vpon the coasts of **ITALIE**, did much harme, causing it to be reported in euery place where he landed, That this was but the beginning of a greater war, and that a wonderfull fleet was to follow him: which raised a great feare, as well in other places as in **ITALIE**. Howbeit, no such fleet afterwards appeared: for why the Turkish emperor, much troubled with the reuolt of **TRANSYLVANIA**, **VALACHIA**, and **MOLDAVIA**, and the great mortallitie then raging both among his souldiors and their horses, was not at leisure to looke into the sea, having his hands full ynough with the troubles of **HUNGARIE**, where his men of warre enjoyed liue rest in the frontiers of his territories.

Sigismund the Transylvanian prince, had vpon some just causes of late suspected *Aaron* the Vayud of **MOLDAVIA**, to haue intelligence not onely with the Polonians, but also with the Cardinall *Bator* and other his mortall enemies, and secretly to haue bene about to make his peace with *Mahomet*, and so againe to fall off from him vnto the Turke: Which vehement suspicion growing dayly more and more, was about this time manifestly confirmed by certaine letters intercepted concerning that matter. For the preuenting whereof, the prince caused *Aaron* to bee apprehended, and with his wife and sonne to be sent as prisoners to **PRAGE**: in whose rounge he by the consent of the nobilitie of the countrey, placed one *Stephen Rozman*, a wise and discreet man amongst them, and such an one as had been vnto him alwaies faithfull. So as much as in him was, providing that that countrey should not be rent from him, and the vnion of the other. But against the secret practises of the Polonians, he protested openly by letters vnto the emperour, by the power of God, and aid of his faithfull subjects to redresse those so great injuries himselfe by the sword.

In the midst of these troubles came three Chiaus, embassadours from the Turkish Sultan vnto the prince, to persuaide him againe to put himselfe into his protection, and to giue him passage through his countrey, as in former time into **HUNGARIE**, promising him, that all the injuries by him or his people done, should bee for cuer forgotten and forgiven: and that hee should haue those three countries of **TRANSYLVANIA**, **VALACHIA**, and **MOLDAVIA**, as his owne free inheritance, without paying any tribute, and so to be accounted as the Turkes most louing friend and vassale. What the prince answered thereunto, was not knowne, but by his doings afterwards it was easily to be gathered, that he hearkened not vnto the deceitfull charmes of the faithlesse

Ferentis Bassa over-throwne in Valachia.

Mahomet sends his embassadours to the prince of Transylvania.

A faithlesse tyrant, trusting more vnto the league he had with the Christian Emperour. These embassadours were scarce gone, but that a secret messenger came with letters from the chiefe of the Christians in **BULGARIA** to the prince, declaring vnto him, That if he did with any good successe prosecute his warres, they would be readie to follow his fortune, and to joyne hands with him against the cruell tyrant, and to shut vp all the passages that way into **VALACHIA**, **MOLDAVIA**, and **HUNGARIE**.

Whilest these trouble some times thus passed in **TRANSYLVANIA** and **HUNGARIE**, one of the old Ianizaries; called *Wassude Giesi*, an old souldior, but a confident bold spoken fellow, moued as should seeme with the discontentments of the time, came vnto *Mahomet* the great Sultan at **CONSTANTINOPLE**, and there openly set vpon him with this rough abrupt speech.

B How long at last most mightie Emperour, wilt thou endure thy selfe to be seduced and blinded by the great Bassaes of thy Court, and commaunders of thine armies? How long wilt thou suffer thy selfe to be deceived, to the great danger of thy selfe and hurt of thy subjects? Seest thou not how ouerthwartly, fraudulently, and cunningly, they moued onely with their owne couetous and ambitious humors, haue hitherto dealt with thee and thy father? especially in that, that perswaded by them, thou hast dishonourably broken thy league, and taken vp armes against the Christian emperour. At length open thine eyes, and see their deceit, and how much they abuse thy power. *Sinan Bailla*, who must haue himselfe honoured and exalted aboue all others, hath not by strong hand honourably wooon **RAS**, as hath bene the manner of thine aunccestors, but hath craftily bought it with thy money, and thereby cast thee into a most dangerous warre and infinit troubles. O **RAS**, **RAS**, now the cause of great triumph and reioycing, as if thereby all Christendome should in short time bee subdued to thy scepter. But thou art therein much deceived, thy barnes, thy store-houses, as are **TRANSYLVANIA**, **VALACHIA**, **MOLDAVIA**, **BULGARIA**, and other provinces adioyning, from whence this thy imperiall citie of **CONSTANTINOPLE**, with the countrey about it, thy Court, yea thy selfe, art to be relieved, are by this warre shut vp; so that downe the river of *Danubius* out of the West, or by the *Euxine* out of the East, thou art not to looke for any prouision. From whence then o mightie Emperour, wilt thou maintaine thy selfe, thy Court, this populous citie, and the countrey herabout? Not to speake in the meane time of thy mightie armie now in **HUNGARIE**, flesh, fish, corn, all manner of victuall are now at such a price, that the common souldior cannot buy them. In this extreme dearth of all things not men onely, but euen the very beasts and cattell starue for hunger. Thy horses goe fat perhaps into **HUNGARIE**, but neither thou nor thy select souldiors can liue by grasse and weeds, all that is left in that countrey. This miserie and calamitie of thy people thou seest daily, and yet thou wilt not with sound iudgement lift up thine eyes, to see from whence these harmes come, and how that they by thee put in greatest trust, studie not for thy profit or the profit of the commonweale, but onely how by all means to enrich themselves.

Mahomet much moued with this confident speech of the old Ianizarie, commaunded him to be forthwith committed to ward, and by faire meanes to bee examined, by whose setting on, and for what cause he had so holdly vttered this rude speech vnto his Soueraigne, and what further thing he had intended: but the rest of the Ianizaries hearing thereof, rose presently in a tumult, and by strong hand tooke him out of prison, and by solempne oath combined themselves to defend him, euen to the spending of their owne blood, whereat *Mahomet* was glad to winke.

The greatest part of the aid promised by the Christian princes for the maintenance of this yeares warres against the Turke being now come to **VIENNA** in **AVSTRIA**, countie *Mansfelt*, lieutenant Generall vnder the Archduke, forthwith called a counsell of the colonels, captaines, and other great commaunders of the armie, to consult with them what course to take for the be- ginning of this great warre: as whether they should presently lay siege to some towne of the enemies, or els to expect him in the plaine field and to giue him battell. All things well considered, and that resolved vpon which was thought most expedient; he removed from **VIENNA** to **ALTENBURG**, where he mustered his whole armie: and departing thence with some few of his followers, came to **WALKENBURG**, a village vpon the side of *Danubius*, where he made choise of a place to encampe his armie in: which after he had marked out, he returned again with speed to **ALTENBURG**, and by open proclamation through the campe, gaue straight commaundement, That against a certaine houre euery man should be in readinesse to remoue and to set forward

The presumptuous speech of one Wassude an old Ianizarie to Mahomet the great Sultan.

The arrival of the Christians mustered at Altenburg.

ward toward the enemy. But diuers of the souldiours, and especially the Germanes, began forthwith after their wonted manner to crie out for their pay: before they would stirre any farther: so that the Countie was glad by a second proclamation to commaund them to rise, promising them their pay within eight dayes. But they still standing vpon their former resolution for their pay, refused any further to follow their capitaines; and sent six of the best fort among those mutinous souldiours to the Countie, in the name of all the rest to demand their pay: whom he forthwith commaunded to be all hanged: but three of them hauing reasonably excused themselves, he let them goe, and causing the other three to cast lots for their liues, hanged vp two of them. Which seuer execution so terrified the rest, that vpon the signe giuen they all rose, and with the rest of the armie followed the Countie. The whole armie being come to *WALLKENBURGVNT* to the place where they were to encampe; the Countie himselfe with others of the nobilitie, began with spades and shouels to dig and cast vp the trenches, and so wrought vntill they sweat againe: with whose example all the rest of the armie, of what degree soeuer, being moued to labour, had in short time cast vp a verie great trench from Danubius vnto the marshes, large enough for four score thousand men to encampe in; the great worke with restlesse labour going forward both night and day, vntill it was fully finished. The Countie lying thus entrenched with his armie, was still carefull by his espials to vnderstand where the enemy lay, and what he did. He was ready still to heare all, but to beleue that which seemed to be most like to be true: what he purposed, he kept most secret; so that the enemy could neuer discouer any of his designs (wherein the Generals of late yeares before him had much erred:) and commonly his most certaine resolutions were shadowed vnder the open shew of some other matter nothing meant: securitie he much abhorred, as neuer free from danger: and although it was by diuers messengers brought vnto him, That the enemy was but of small strength, vnable to meet him, disorderedly encamped, and in great distresse for want of victuals; yet would he giue little credite therunto, as knowing such reports to haue oftentimes been of purpose giuen out by the Turkes to lull the Christians in securitie, the more easly to oppresse them. The Christian armie thus strongly entrenched, and the trenches planted with great ordinance, the Countie himselfe with certaine troupes of horsemen would oftentimes shew himselfe before *RAB*, and sometime before *DORIS*, viewing sometime the one place and sometime the other, as if he had verily purposed to haue besieged the one of them: and to giue the greater shew that he had so determined, he caused the ground to be marked out for his armie most conueniently to encampe in, and for the casting vp of his mounts. Which caused the Turkes of *STRIGONIVM*, *VESPRINIVM*, *PALOTTA*, and other places farther off, to send part as well of their watike prouision as of their garrison souldiours, some to *RAB*, some to *DORIS* for the defence of those places neere (as they thought) vnto danger. The Countie in the meane time hauing now put all things in readinesse, came with his armie and sat before *DORIS*, demanding to haue it yielded vnto him. And the more to confirme the Turkes that he would assuredly besiege that place, he began to cast vp his trenches, and to raise his mounts as seemed most conuenient, straitly commaunding euery man of what condition soeuer, to put his hand in some measure to the furtherance of those workes: and the more by his owne example to encourage others, would oftentimes himselfe carrie a fagot or some other thing before him vpon his horse, for the raising of the mount. For all that certaine Hungarian gentlemen, disdainig such base labour (as they deemed it) refused to doe any thing therein: which the Countie perceiuing, straitly charged one of them by his example, to carrie a fagot to the mount, which the Hungarian gentleman refusing, the Countie therewith much moued, laid the fagot he was carrying himselfe, before the Hungarian vpon his horse, charging him to see that he caried it to the appointed place: the Hungarian disdainfully taking it, caried it vntill he thought he was out of the Counties sight, and then in scorne threw it downe: which the Countie (hauing still an eye after him) perceiuing, commaunded him to be taken, and all armed as he rid, to be presently hanged vpon the next tree for his obstinacie. Which wholsome securitie both then and afterwards, caused others more diligently to doe what they were commanded by their superiors.

It happened about this time, that three Turkes being taken prisoners, were brought into the campe: whom the Countie straitly examined of many matters. But the first of the three could neither by faire or foule meanes be induced to answer to any thing that he was asked: and was therefore by the commaundement of the Countie in the sight of the other two, cut into small peeces. Who terrified with his dismembred, confessed many things whereof they were asked: and

The vigilans
carefulnessse of
Countie Mans-
feld.

It is besieged by
the Christians.

An obstinate
Turke.

A and among others, that the Turkish Sultan had determined to turne his greatest forces into *TRANSYLVANIA*, *MOLDAVIA*, and the vpper part of *HUNGARIA*: and therefore would this Sommer send small forces, or else none at all into those quarters.

Now was *DORIS* so belaid by the Countie, as that no man doubted, but that he had thereon purposed to haue gaged his whole forces, when suddenly the last of Iune, commaundement was giuen through the campe, that euery man vpon signe giuen, should be in readinesse to follow his leaders, for that the Countie had determined forthwith to remoue: yet whether the armie was to be remoued, few or none knew, more than certaine of the chiefe commaunders. As for to go to *STRIGONIVM*, few there were that so much as dreamed thereof, all was kept so secret: yet was it the Counties purpose, euen from the beginning to attempt the winning of that citie,

B which the Archduke had in vaine the last yeare besieged. The next night being both darke and foule, the Countie rose with all his armie, and the next day being the first of Iuly, came to *STRIGONIVM*, they of the citie not hearing of his coming before they saw him vnder their walles: *Countie Mansfeld remoueth with the armie from Doris to Strigonium.* Wherefore the Turkes in the suburbs called the *Racian* citie, and they in the fort vnder *Saint Thomas* hill, despairing of the keeping of those places, setting fire on the houses, and defacing the fort so much as in that sudden feare they possibly could, fled into the lower towne. The next day the Countie with resistance tooke the aforesaid places forsaken by the Turkes, which hee manned with certaine companies of *Wallons*, and made a bridge of boats ouer *Danubius*, cast vp certaine mounts, and did many other things for the furtherance of the siege. In three daies he had againe repaired the fort vnder *Saint Thomas* hill abandoned by the Turkes, and therein

C placed four great peeces of artilerie, wherewith he began to batter the lower towne, and in other places to strait the besieged more than they had been the yeare before. The *Bassa* of *BUDA*, not ignorant of the want both of men and munition in the besieged citie (and the rather for that they had but a little before sent part of their garrison with shot and powder to *RAB* and *DORIS*) attempted thrise (as he did many times after during the time of the siege) to haue by the riuier put new supplies both of men and munition into the citie: but was still by the diligence of the Christians excluded, and enforced with losse to returne. In short time the Lower towne which they call *WASSERSTADT*, or the *Water towne*, was with continuall batterie sore beaten, so that scarcely any house or building was left whole; and a counterescarfe made the last yeare, beaten downe. Whereunto certaine *Wallons* were sent, only to haue viewed the breadth and

D manner of the ditches, after whom certaine companies of the Hungarian *Heidons* presently followed, without any commaund from their capitaines, who with great courage got to the top of another high counterescarfe, & there set vp some of their ensignes. Which the Turkes beholding, and coming on close together, by plaine force enforced them with losse to retire. Among these Hungarians were diuers also of the *Wallons* slaine, with some others of good name and place, to the great griefe of the Countie, being not a little offended with that disordered seruice: yet day and night the batterie ceased not, and the Christians out of their trenches with their musket shot, slew many of the Turkes vpon the wals, receiuing little hurt againe, the Turkes still shooting but sparingly, for feare of wanting shot and powder at their greater need; yet that they spent they bestowed so well, that amongst others they had slaine foure of the Christian canoniers, and one *Wallon* captaine. About the midst of Iuly, the Countie with continuall batterie had made the *Water towne* (as he thought) faultable: and therefore sent certaine companies to begin the assault, who hauing passed the counterescarfe, found the ditch full of deepe mud, and but newly cut broader certaine paces by the Turkes, so that it was thought scarce possible to be passed without a bridge; behind which ditch was an high wall, with strong bulwarkes; and within all this was another new cast ditch, and vpon the very brinke thereof a thicke and high parapit: all which for all that, certaine companies of the *Wallons* with great labour and danger aduentured to passe: but such was the valour of the defendants, and the small number of them that came on to the assault, with the disadvantage of the place wherein they stood, that at length they were glad to retire, with the losse of many of their fellows. The Christians in the beginning of this siege had taken a little island in the riuier before the citie, which was kept with some few companies of the lord *Palfi* his *Heidons*; whereof the Turkes hauing intelligence at *BUDA*, with three galleies and certain other vessels, landed in the island 3000 souldiours, which slew the *Heidons*, vnto whom no succour could be suddenly sent, and so recovered againe the island: wherein they left a sufficient garrison for the keeping thereof, furnished with all things necessarie, and so departed.

About

About three dayes after the former assault, the Christians in hope of better successe the second time assaulted the VVater towne: in which assault the chiefe leaders were the lord *Gris*, and *Antonie Zinne*, a famous capitaine, had he not stained his honor with countie *Hardeck* at *Rab*; but being pardoned by the Emperour, did now together with the rest appointed to that seruice, most couragiously assault the breach; but were againe by the Turks notably repulsed, and enforced at last to giue ouer the assault, and so to retire with the losse of an hundred and fiftie men: amongst whom *Zinne* himselfe was slaine, with one capitaine *Ruger*, and some of the counties owne guard: the lord *Gris* was wounded in the head, and the yonger lord *Schwend* with diuers other captaines grievously hurt. The next day after, six hundred of the mountaine people came into the campe vnto the countie with supplications to request him, Not to giue ouer the siege vntill he had woon the citie, promising in the name of those towne and villages from whence they were sent, of their owne charges to repaire for him what harme sooner he should doe in the citie for the taking thereof, yea though he should lay it euen with the ground: for why the harmes they daily receiued from the garrison of that citie, were wonderfull.

Mahomet care-
full of Strigoni-
um.

At the same time also he was aduertised by his espials (of whom he maintained many for the discouerie of the enemies doings) that *Mahomet* the Turkish Sultan had writ vnto the Bassa of *Bvda*, carefully to prouide, that his beloued citie of *STRIGONIVM* tooke no harme, and not to spare either for men or money betime to relieue it: and therein to do nothing without the aduice and good liking of his old and faithfull seruant *Alis Beg*, who of long time had gouerned and also defended that citie: and to the intent that nothing should be wanting for the performance hereof, that he had sent *Alexander Aga* of the Janizaries from the Court (whose seruice he might euill haue spared) whose approued counsell and helpe he might also vse in all things: for that he had rather loose some other whole kingdome than that one citie: And that therefore he should beware that it were not by the enemye woon, or by any composition yielded: wherein if he failed, he threatened vnto him his heauie displeasure, not to be appeased without the price of his head. VVhich so secure a commaundement of the great Sultans, the Bassa sent to them of *STRIGONIVM*, with most grievous threats from himselfe, if they, terrified with any batterie, vndermining, or assault, should yield the citie, and not hold it out as became valiant souldiours vnto the last man, swearing to empaile them all vpon stakes, that should consent to the yielding vp thereof. The old Gouvernour *Alis* hauing receiued this so straight a commaund from him that was both able and like ynough to performe what he had threatened, vterly to deterre the souldiours from once thinking of yielding, caused diligent enquire to be made throughout the garrison, if any of them had at any time made any motion of yielding vp the citie, or otherwise murmured against their captaines or commanders, appointing them to any seruice: and such as he found to haue so done, he to the terror of others caused to be presently executed: and after that went down himselfe into the lower towne, to see that nothing were there wanting or amisse where most danger was. But when he would haue againe returned into the vpper towne, he was stayed by the Janizaries, who told him, That seeing he was of so valiant and couragious a mind, and their Gouvernour, he should there stay with them, and take such part as they did, were it better or worse: and so would he or would he not, there needs stay he must.

Now the Bassaes of *Bvda* and *Temesvvar*, with diuers Sanzackes as well of those parts of *Hungarie* which the Turks possessed, as other places, were assembling their forces for the reliefe of the besieged in *STRIGONIVM*: VVhereof the Transylvanian prince hearing, made shew as if he would forthwith haue besieged *Temesvvar*, so that the Bassa thereof leauing the intended expedition for *STRIGONIVM*, was glad to returne for the defence of his own charge. They also of *STIRIA*, *CARINTHIA* & *CROATIA*, with the troupes of countie *Serinus*, had so stopped all the passages, that twelue thousand Turks which were coming from *Zibeth* and the places thereabout, could by no meanes come to joyne themselves with their fellowes for the reliefe of the distressed citie.

The higher citie
of Strigonium
battered by the
Christians.

The countie leauing nothing vnattempted or vndone: that might helpe for the gaining of *STRIGONIVM*, had made a notable fort vpon *S. Thomas* hill, and therein placed siue great culuerines, wherewith he furiously battered the higher citie, and did therein great harme: and thereby also brought to passe, that no man could goe vp or downe the hill, betwixt the vpper towne and the lower, but he was in danger to be set off with those peeces, or the musketiers who defended by those great peeces, lay vpon the side of the hill in caues and bushes, awaiting for such as should

A. should goe vp or downe betwixt the two townes. Thus the Christians at one time battered the vpper towne, the lower towne, and the strong towne and fort of *GOKARA*, standing on the farther side of *Danubius* oueragainst *STRIGONIVM*, besieged by the lord *Palfi*. But of all these places, *GOKARA* was with the furie of the great ordinance most shaken: which the countie perceiuing, caused the batterie to be encreased, and so continued, vntill he had beaten downe the counterscarpe, and made certaine faire breaches in the wall. Whereunto the Morauians (vnto whose lot it fell) the one and twentieth of July gaue an assault in siue diuers places, whom the lord *Palfi* seconded with his Hungarians, of whom certaine were of purpose appointed beside their armes to bring things with them for the firing of the towne, which they in the time of the assault found meanes so well to bestow, that in a while the towne was all on a light fire. The Turks at first made notable resistance; but finding themselves ouerpressed, and seeing the towne now on a fire about their eares, which with the force of the wind so encreased, that it caught hold of the lower towne on the other side of the river, they retired to the riuers side, where some of them by boats got ouer to *STRIGONIVM*, other some perished in the river, the rest falling into the hands of the Christians, were by them all put to the sword. *GOKARA* thus taken, and the fire quenched, the Christians repaired the breaches, and storing it with all warlike prouision, left in it a strong garrison. VVithin a night or two after were two hundred of the Turks horsemen desiried in a field fast by, which caused an alarum to be raised in the campe, as if the whole armie of the Turks had bene at hand: howbeit those horsemen retiring, and no other appearing, it was afterwards knowne, that they were onely scouts sent out by the Turkes to take view of the armie of the Christians and in what fort they lay encamped.

The latter end of this moneth it fortuned that a young countrey fellow, secretly sent out of the citie by the Gouvernour, and falling into the hands of *Palfi*, was by him sent to the countie, by whom he was in friendly manner demanded, From whence he came, whether he was going, and whereabouts: VVhereunto the youth frankly answered, That he was sent from the Gouvernour with letters to the Bassa of *Bvda*, which he presently drew out of his bosome, and deliuered them vnto the countie; who after he had read them, caused them to be closed vp againe, and so deliuered them to the young man, with some few crownes, commaunding him to carrie them to the Bassa, as he was about, and in his returne to bring him the Bassaes answere, promising for his so doing to reward him bountifullly: which the young man vnderooke to doe, and so departed. D. Now the purport of the Gouvernours letters was, That if the Bassa did not within six or seauen dayes send him aid and relieue him, he should for want of victuals and other things necessarie for the holding out of the siege, be enforced either to abandon the citie, or to yield it vp into the enemies hands. VVhereunto the Bassa returned answere by the aforesaid messenger, That he would within the appointed time bee with him, willing him in the meane while to be mindfull of his wonted valour, and not to be with any thing discouraged: appointing him the day, the houre, the way, the meane, with all the other circumstances how he would relieue him. VVhich letters the young man according to his promise deliuered vnto the countie: who thereupon prouided accordingly for the welcomming of the Bassa. VVithin a day after also, one of the Turkes canoni- E. ers considering the danger the citie lay in, and fearing that it would be lost, fled out of it into the campe: who besides that he aptly declared the state of the citie, and the wants the besieged therein, did also afterwards good seruice during the time of the siege. The Turkes had in this while many times sallied out, to their great losse: yet now vpon hope of better successe they ad- uentured the nine and twentieth of this moneth to sallie out againe, but with like fortune as be- fore, leauing foure score of their men behind them, hauing slaine but siue of the Christians.

Now had the Turks in great wants by the space of a moneth right worthily defended *STRIGONIVM*, expecting still for reliefe. At length newes was brought into the campe, That the Bassa of *Bvda* with twentie thousand men was coming to raise the siege: who the second of August came accordingly, and with his armie encamped within foure miles of the Christians: lying so nigh, certaine of the Turkes horsemen seeking after bootie, came very neere vnto the campe of the Christians, and out of the pastures, euen vnder their noses, carried away some few F. horses: against these desperat aduenturers certaine troupes of the Hungarian and Germane horsemen issuing out, had with them an hot skirmish: but the Turkes of purpose retiring as men overcharged, and the Christians still following on, had at length drawne them vnto the place where diuers other troupes of the Turkes lay in ambush for them, who now starting forth on

cuery

A skirmish be-
twixt the Turkes
and the Christi-
ans.

every side, hardly charged them. The Hungarian light horsemen well acquainted with such skirmishes, seeing the danger, presently fled and left the Germans to themselves; who for a while valiantly encountered their enemies, but oppressed with multitude, were glad at last to flee also. In this skirmish of the Christians were lost and grievously wounded about an hundred. The Turkes encouraged with this so prosperous a beginning, came on the next day with all their armie, being before resolved by plaine force to open themselves a way into the citie, and so to relieue the besieged. Of all these things was not the Countie ignorant, as thereof forewarned by the Bassa's letters before deliuered vnto him, and had therefore with his armie strongly belayed all the wayes vnto the citie: neuertheless the enemy came still on betweene the hills *S. Thomas* and *S. George*, and nere vnto the suburbs called the *Rascian* citie, put themselves in order of battell, as did also the Christians, giuing the enemy leaue to come euen to their trenches. In the meane time the lord *Palfi* with his Hungarian horsemen, fetching a compass about the hill on the one side, and the lord *Swartzenburg* with his horsemen on the other, had so enclosed the Turkes be- hind, as that they could not without great danger retire. Both armies orderly raunged, and the signall of battell giuen, the Turkes hauing before without any great harme done discharged seenteene field peeces, came on after their wonted manner with a most hideous crie, and at the first onset with their Turkie arrowes, as with a thicke shower, darkened the skie: when on the other side the Germane and Wallon horsemen with their petronels sent their deadly shot as thicke as haile amongst them againe; and the men at armes after them taught the Turks to their cost, how vnfit their light and halfe naked horsemen were in a set battell to meet with men so well appointed: in a trice but not without great slaughter the battell was brought to the sword, and to be tried by true valour: There was to be heard a crie heauens high, the thundering artillerie both great and small, the clattering armour, the glistering weapons, the neighing of the horses, the crying of the wounded, the heauie gronings of the dying, with the noise of the trumpets drums and other warlike instruments, made deafe the eares of the hearers, presenting vnto them nothing but horror and euen present death. It was a most miserable fight to see so many men in

A small battell
besixt the Chris-
tians and the
Turkes before
Strigonium.

The Turke cur-
siourne.

so short time flaine: for the battell had yet scarcely endured halfe an houre, when many thou- sands of the Turks lay dead vpon the ground, and the rest seeing the victorie encline to the Christians, betooke themselves to flight, leauing behind them their great ordinance and whatsoever els they brought for the reliefe of the besieged: whom so flying, the lord *Palfi* and *Swartzenburg* (who had before taken the straits whereby they were to passe betweene the mountaines) so receiued with their steele horsemen, that of them that came that way, few escaped. The Bassa him- selfe, who stood vpon the hill, seeing the discomfiture of his armie, fled also himselfe: the Bassa of *NATOLIA* with about an hundred Turkes moe by good fortune got into *STRIGONIUM*. The number of the Turks flaine in this battell was great, and is of diuers diuersly reported, some saying that there was flaine fourteene thousand; and some, fewer. Besides them that were slaine, many were also taken, and some of them men of great name and place. There were also taken seuen and twentie ensignes, with a multitude of cammels, asses, and mules, laded with mony, shot, powder, and other necessarie prouision: all which, brought thither for the reliefe of the besieged, became a prey vnto the Christians. In the heat of this battell they of the citie fallying out, had entred a fort of the Christians vpon the riuer side, but were againe presently driuen out, and with losse enforced againe to retire. After this victorie the countie sent certaine companies of the Hungarian and Germane horsemen with fiftie hundred waggons to the enemies campe, not farre off in the mountaines; who comming thither, found it vnterly forsaken by the enemy, but well stored with all manner of necessarie prouision, which they carried all away, together with six hundred tents, many whereof were lined with damaske, sattin, and other silke, richly embrode- red or layed with gold lace or twist. The Bassa's rich tent taken by the colonell of the horsemen, was afterwards by him giuen vnto the Countie, as was also the plate and money there found, all which he deuided among the souldiours according to their deserts. In the Turks campe were also found certaine heads of the Christians, with the dead bodie of the lord *Brandenstein*, slaine in the conflict but the day before; which the Christians caried away with them into the campe, and there honourably buried them. Those that remained of the Turks armie, hid themselves in the mountaines and woods, and so holpen by the darkenesse of the night, made best shift for them- selves that they could. The Bassa himselfe accompanied but with twentie horse, came to *BUDA* about midnight, and by his comming filled the citie with great heauinesse, every man lamenting

his

A his lost friends. The Hungarian Heijons best acquainted with the country, pricking vp and downe the mountaines and by waies, for certaine daies after the battell, brought in daily into the campe such prisoners as they tooke, or else the heads of such Turkes as they flew. Of this so no- table a victorie, the Countie by a speedie messenger, certified the Archduke at *VIENNA*, who rewarded him for his good newes with a chaine worth fiftie hundred ducats, and presently dau- sed the song of thanksgiving to be sung in the Church of the Augustine Friers, and afterward in all the churches of the citie. The Countie also to graffe the emperours sent him by the lord *Chalon* his nephew vnto *PARIS*, two of the chiefe prisoners taken in the late battell, with foure horsemen: Guidons cunningly made of horse haires, such as are commonly learned before the greatest commanders of the Turks armies, and fourteene other ensignes of the Turks, with four- teene most goodly horses of the Turks for a present.

B The next day after this battell, the Countie sent the lord *Palfi* with an interpreter vnto the ci- tie, to demand it to be yeilded: who hauing audience, declared vnto the Turkes in what dan- ger they were, that the helpe they looked for was now quite ouerthrowne, new reliefe could not but in long time be sent vnto them; and that therefore it should be good for them, whilst yet they might, to be well aduised, and besime to bethinke themselves of yeielding: vp the citie, least happily when they would, it then would not be accepted: promising to intreat with the Gene- rall, that they might in safetie depart, and with fiftie shallop be brought vnto such place of safetie as were convenient. Whereunto the besieged Turkes answered, That the Christians had now fiftie weekes lien at the siege, and must yet lie three weekes longer; and that whereas C of late some few of their friends came to haue reiected them, and had failed therein; there was yet an hundred thousand moe to come after them, who if they should not be able to performe that they came for, yet that they would not for that deliuer or forsake the citie, before they were readie to be drawne out of it by the heeles, and that yet they would then take three daies to re- solve thereupon.

Now had the Christians with long and continuall batterie long beaten both the vpper and the lower towne, which batterie they now maintained with greater furie than at any time from the beginning of the siege: and within the citie their wants increased daily, hauing nothing left to liue vpon but a little wheat and barley, with some horseflesh vnto whom thus distressed, the lord *Palfi* by the commandement of the Countie (to trie what confidence they yet had in them- selves) the ninth of August, sent two Gentlemen to the citie, to doe a message from him to the Gouernour. Who aduertised thereof, being a verie aged and courteous man, accompanied with the Aga of the Ianizaries, came to the wals to heare what they had to say; where one of the said gentlemen in few words deliuered him this short message.

My most gracious Lord the lord Palfi, most worthe Gouernour, greeteth thee well, and knowing thee to be a captaine both valiant and wise, and one that hath alwaies courteously used such as haue by the Lord Palfi as the Gouernour of Strigonium.
fallen into thy hands, hath compassion of thy desperat obstinacie: and therefore, whereas thou art to looke or hope for nothing else but present death and destruction; be as thy neighbour and a lover of thy vertues, aduise and exhorteth thee, if thou wilt saue thy selfe and thine from most vndoub- ted and imminent death and utter confusion, without delay to deliuer up this citie, which thou canst

E not longer hold.

Vnto whom the old Gouernour thus without stay courteously answered.
Thy speech my friend, and thy masters aduise are vnto me both vaine. Tell the lord *Palfi* in my These words an-
name, that I cannot pleasure him with the least stone in this citie. One foot I haue already in the swere of the old
Gouernour to the
Graue, and will with honour carrie these my grate haire into the same: and am yet comforted with a message sent him
most certaine and vndoubted hope, that my most dread and mightie Soueraigne, and my lord *Sinan* Bassa will not forsake me: yea and that if they should write vnto me, that they could find no meanes
or way to relieue me (which I am sure they can) yet would I well, and at leisure consider, whether it
were fit for me to deliuer up this citie or not: seeing that of the defense thereof, dependeth all mine
honour and credit. Besides that, what reward they haue on both sides, that so easily deliuer over the ci-
ties they haue in charge, all the world doth see.

F With this answer he sent them away. All this while the Aga of the Ianizaries standing by, spoke not one word, but sighing in silence and grinding his teeth, declared by his countenance his indignation and inward griefe.

In the mid way betwixt *BUDA* and *STRIGONIUM*, in the midst of the riuer of Danubius

Yyyy

lieth

The lower towne
taken by the
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lieth a little island called V I Z Z A, wherein many rich clothiers dwelt: this island the Hungarian Heidons spoiled, and in returning thence, met with foure and twentie wagons laden with corne, going to B V D A, which they tooke, with eight and twentie prisoners which they brought into the campe. The lower towne being with long and continuall batterie made faultable, was by the Christians the thirteenth of August, in three diuers places at once assaulted. The Bavarians were by lot to giue the first charge, who in the performing thereof, beginning to faint (for that they were notably repulsed by the Turks) but seconded by them of R E I T N A V V and S V A V I A, pluckt downe a great palifado, filled the ditches, remoued whatsoever stood in their way, and so long fought with the Turks in the breaches, that by the coming in of the Marquesse of B V R G A V V with six ensignes of fresh men, they preuailed vpon the enimie, and so altogether brake into the towne. In the midst of this dangerous fight was the Marquesse himselfe, who both with his presence and cheerfull speech so encouraged his souldiors, that they as men fearing no perill, ran headlong into all danger vntill they had entred the towne: There might a man haue heard a most miserable crye, especially of women and children throughout the citie; when as the Christians breaking in on euerie side slew whosoever came in their way, without respect of age or sex, sparing neither women great with child, neither the little children hanging at their mothers breasts. Yet did not all that were entred, so much attend the present execution, as some of them did the spoile and prey; and especially the Hungarians, vnto whom all was good bootie, euen the vertie hinges of the doores and windowes: whereby many escaped into the castle and vpper towne with the Bassa and *Alis-Beg* the old Gouverneur. The Christians had not many houres possessed the towne, but that diuers fires began to breake out in diuers places, but by what meanes was not at the first knowne. At last it was found out, that the Turks doubting the losse of the towne, had before where they thought best left gunpowder, which taking fire by matches left burning for that purpose, should at a certaine time set all on fire: by which meanes many most horrible fires were raised in the towne, which consumed many goodly buildings and other things which might haue stood the Christians in great stead, and could hardly be in a day or two quenched.

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This so joyfull a victorie saw not he, by whose good direction next vnder God it was gained, the worthy Countie: for he a few daies before being fallen sicke of a feauer, taken by drinking too much cold drinke in his heat, with immoderat paines taking in the late battell, and so afterwards falling into a great flux with a feauer, was by the counsell of his physicians (for the better recouering of his health) remoued to K O M A R A, as a place of more quietnesse: hauing before his departure sent for the Archduke to come vnto the campe, and for *Blankemier* into B A V A R I A to supply his owne rounge. But his disease still encreasing, became at last desperat, so that the physicians themselves now dispaired of his health. Yet lying thus drawing towards his end, he almost euerie houre enquired how the armie did, and whether the citie were yet taken, or what hope there was of the taking thereof. But when it was told him a little before his death, that the lower towne was woon, he thereat greatly rejoyced, and the next day being the fourteenth of August towards night quietly departed this world, to the great losse of the Christian commonweale, and the exceeding griefe of the whole armie. A man euen from his childhood brought vp in armes, of stature great, but of courage greater, and painfull about measure, not the least cause of his vntimely death. All the time of this siege he tooke little rest either by day or night, scarce so much as to lie downe vpon his bed in two or three nights together. The little meat he did eat, he most part eat it standing or walking, yea and sometimes on horsebacke: he was a most seuerer obseruer of martiall discipline, which caused him to be of his souldiors both beloued and feared. His bowels were with due solemnitie buried at K O M A R A where he died, but his bodie was brought backe againe to L V X E N B V R G, there to be honourably entred with his aunccestours.

About this time *Theodore* the Great duke of M V S C O V I A, hearing of the warres betwixt the emperour and the Turke, sent two embassadours with letters and presents to the emperour: which embassadours comming to P R A G E the sixteenth of August, accompanied with two hundred and fiftie horse, were there by the emperours appointment, honourably receiued and entertained. And afterward hauing audience, first deliuered the letters of credence from the Great duke, reported to haue been of this purport.

Towr

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Your Maieslie hath sent vnto vs your embassadour Nicholas W atkotsie, requesting our brotherly aid against the hereditarie enimie of all Christianitie, the Turkish Sultan. Wherefore we also desiring to liue with you our deare and welbeloued brother in all perpetuall amitie and friendship, send vnto you by our faithfull counsellor and seruant Michael Iwanowitz and Iohn Sohnie, aid out of our treasure against the said enimie: vnto whom we haue also giuen other things in charge to be propounded to your Maieslie, requesting you to giue vnto them in all things full credite. Giuen in the great Court of our power at M V S C O, in the yeare of the world 7103, and from the natiuitie of Christ 1595, in the moneth of Aprill.

What things in particular these embassadours were sent for, was not commonly knowne, but among others it is said, That the Muscouite requested the emperour to send an embassadour vnto the Persian king, to draw him also into the league with them against the Turke: which embassadour should first come into M V S C O V I A, and that way to passe into P E R S I A. The presents which the Great duke sent vnto the emperour were, an hundred and fiftie thousand Florens of gold, great store of most rich furs, and pretious perfumes deemed to be of exceeding valour, two white faulcons, and three leopards aliue. And *Iwanowitz* the embassadour himselfe, presented vnto the emperour of himselfe, certaine rich Turkie, Persian and Babylonian hangings and carpets, certaine timbers of Sables, with other rich furs no lesse pretious than Sables, so many as eight porters could hardly carrie. These embassadours tarried at P R A G E vntill the seuen and twentieth day of December, and then taking their leaue, returned with the emperours answere to the duke.

But to returne againe vnto S R I G O N I V M. The Christians now possessed of the lower towne, bent their whole batterie vpon the higher towne, where it fortun'd the fourteenth of August that the old Gouverneur *Alis-Beg*, whilst he was carefully walking from place to place to see where most danger was, had his arme strucke off with a great shot, of which hurt he presently died. He was a man of great grauitie, about the age of eight and twentie yeares, and had of long time notably both gouerned and defended that famous citie, the losse whereof was like enough to haue been vnto him greater griefe than was the losse of his life there. Much about the same time also died the Aga of the Ianizaries, being before mortally wounded. Both the chiefe commanders thus slaine, the Ianizaries with the other souldiors and citicens made choise of the Bassa of N A T O L I A (who as is aforesaid escaped out of the late battell into the citie) for their Gouverneur, who with heauie cheere tooke vpon him that forlorne charge. The Christians not ignorant of the death of these two worthie men, in whose great and approued valour they supposed the chiefe defence of the citie to haue rested, were in good hope that now the rest would the more readily hearken to some good composition; and therefore sent a messenger to demand if they would yet whilst there were some mercie left, yeeld the citie. Who though they had lost their chiefe commanders with the greatest part of the garrison, and were in great wants both of victuals and all things else necessarie for their defence; yet their answere was in few words, That they would hold it out euen to the last man. The greatest cause of which their obstinat resolution, was the strait charge the Bassa of B V D A had giuen them for the defence thereof: besides that, they accounted their citie holy, as woon by their magnificent emperour *Solyman*, whom the Turkes generally yet haue in a deuout remembrance; and therefore thought it a great impietie to deliuer it vp vnto the Christians. The next day after came *Matthias* the archduke into the campe; who after he had well viewed the whole armie and the manner of the siege, he called together into his tent the chiefe commanders, namely the Marquesse of B V R G A V V his cousin, *John de Medices* the Florentine, and the lord *Palsi* the Hungarian, to consult with them what were farther to be done for the winning of the citie. Shortly after he commanded the citie to be at once in two places assaulted, which was by the V allons and Germanes courageously performed: but such was the valour of the defendants, that when the Christians had done what they could, they were glad at last to giue ouer the assault, and with losse to retire. About this time came the duke of M A N T V A, with the three Counties his brethren to the siege: and now the Turkes began againe to draw together neere vnto B V D A, there to make head for the reliefe of S R I G O N I V M, and to be reuenged of the losse they had there before receiued. Whereof the Archduke hauing intelligence, sent out against them eight thousand chosen souldiors out of the campe, who suddenly setting vpon the Turkes in their campe, before the rising of the Sunne made a great slaughter amongst them, and tooke certaine prisoners,

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Yyyy ij

ners, of whom the Sanzacke of COPAN was one: and so with victorie returned to the siege.

The besieged Turkes in STRONG vnderstanding of this ouerthrow of their friends, from whom they expected most speedie reliefe, and beside the terror of the continuall batterie and still feared assaults, pinched also with extreame wants of all things, began now to faint. Wherefore the Bassa with the other capitaines, overcome with the aforesaid difficulties, and the generall outcrie of the fearfull people, resolued with one consent to come now to parley, and vpon reasonable conditions to yeeld vp the citie: whereupon a flag of truce was set vp, and parley craved. Which granted, the Archduke after the going downe of the Sunne came into the lower towne, where nine of the Turkes attended his coming: who entering into parley, required that they might vnder safe conuoy with bag and baggage depart, and so leaue him the citie: which the Archduke would not by any meanes agree vnto. At length with much entreatie, they obtained that they might vpon the same conditions depart that the Christians did at RAB; with their scimitars by their sides, and so much of their goods as they could carrie vpon their backs,

Strigonium yel-
led unto the
Christians.

vnto such ships as were to be appointed for the carriage of them to BVD A. For the performance whereof, hostages were on both sides giuen: and so the next day (being the second of September) they began to come out of the citie, moe in number than either the prisoners taken in the time of the siege had confessed, or the Christians had thought. Thirtie ships were appointed for the conuaying of them downe the riuier to BVD A, which not fulfilling, many of them tarried in the citie vntill the next day, at which time the Bassa with the sicke and wounded sayled to BVD A, the prisoners and pledges on both sides being before faithfully deliuered. Thus by the goodnesse of God and the good conduct of a few valiants Christians, was STRIGONIVM the Metropolitall citie of HUNGARIE, after it had 52 yeares groaned vnder the miserable yoke of the Turkish feruitude, againe restored vnto the Christian common-weale: which the Christians forthwith repaired and new fortified, as was thought best for the defence thereof against the enemye. All which being done, about the middelt of this moneth the Archduke sent eightene thousand to besiege VICGRAD, otherwise called PLINDENBURG, a strong castle of the Turks vpon the riuier betweene STRIGONIVM and BVD A, which castle they tooke. Vvhich when they of BVD A vnderstood, they were stricken with such a feare, that many of the better sort were readie to forsake the citie, inso much, that the Bassa to stay their flight, was glad to commaund the gates of the citie to be shut vpon them, and no man suffered to passe out. This good successe of the Christians in these wars, caused great reioycing to be made in most parts of Christendome.

All this while the Christians were thus busied at the siege of **STRIGONIVM**, the Transylvanian prince was not idle, but in diuers places did the Turks exceeding much harme; so that now his name began to be dreadfull vnto them. It fortuned that the same day that the Countie *Mansfelt* departed at **KOMARA**, that the prince at **ALBA IVLIA** with great solemnitie married *Maria Christina*, the daughter of the late Archduke *Gharles* the sonne of the emperor *Ferdinand*, her other sister *Anna* being before married vnto *Sigismund*, now king of **POLONIA**: for so it was agreed for the more assurance of the league betweene the emperor and him, that he should take his wife out of the house of **AUSTRIA**, which he now did. Of this solemnitie the Turks (his euill neighbors) hauing intelligence, assembling to the number of 30000 or more, thought as vnto welcome guests to haue come vnbidden or vlooked for thereunto: but the vigilant prince vnderstanding of their comming, provided for their entertainment accordingly, and setting his pleasures for a while apart, and comming vpon them when they least looked for him, in a great battell ouerthrew them, and slew most part of them, carrying away with him as a triumphant victour, the whole spoile of his enemies.

About the same time the Transylvanians also besieged FAGIAT, a towne holden by the Turkes, not farre from TEMESVVAR; where after they had lien twelue daies, they of the towne despairing to be able long to hold out, came to parley, and couenanted to depart with bag and baggage, began to go out of the towne. But in their departure, vnderstanding that the Bassa of TEMESVVAR with the Sanzacks of LIPPA and IENNE were comming to their reliefe, they that were yet in the towne began to find delaies, and they that were already gone out began to returne. Wherewith the Transylvanians much moued, by plaine force entred the towne, and put them all to the sword: and afterward turning vpon the Bassa, who with ten thousand Turks and certaine field pieces was comming to haue relieued the town, had with them a cruell bartell; wherein most part of the Turkes fell with small losse of the Transylvanians: who so eagerly pur-
sued

A sued the victorie, that the Bassa himselſe had much adoe with ſiue hundred others to eſcape. The two Sanzackes, with diuers others of good place, were taken and ſent priſoners to the prince. Not long after, about the latter end of Auguſt the Tranſylvanians alſo beſieged **LIPPA**, a famous citie of **HUNGARY**, ſtanding vpon the riuer **Maracz**, not farre from **THESSVVAR**, which the Turkes being not able longer to hold, fled into the caſtle: where finding themſelues in no great ſafetie, after three dayes ſiege they came to parle, and ſo yielded, vpon condition that they might in ſafetie depart with ſo much of their goods: as they could themſelues carrie. About which time alſo the Baſſa of **BOSNA** with ten thouſand Turkes and Tartars went forth to haue againe recovered **BABOTSCA**, a frontier towne, before taken by the Chriſtians: which the Strians and the reſt of the Chriſtians dwelling thereabouts, betweene the two riuers of **Sauus** B and **Draius**, vnderſtanding, conducted by the lords *Herbenſtein*, *Lewcowitz*, and *Eckenberg*, that had the charge of thoſe frontiers, ouertooke the ſaid Turkes and Tartars neere vnto **BABOTSCA**, fought with them, and in the plaine field ouerthrew them.

Mahomet not a little grieved with the good successe of the Christians in every part of HUNGARIE, and about measure offended with *Ferat Bassa* his Generall, through whose negligence all or at leastwise most part of this had happened (as he was by the envie of *Sinan Bassa* perswaded) sent for *Ferat* home, and in his place sent out *Sinan*. Of which the great Sultans displeasure *Ferat* was not ignorant, as forewarned thereof by her that best knew, even the Sultans mother, and advised not to come in fight vntill his peace were made. Who neuerthelesse trusting to his owne innocencie (the comfortable, but most dangerous and weake stay of the great) and doubting not to answer whatsoeuer *Sinan* should be able to charge him with, came to the Court: where he was by the commandment of *Mahomet* shortly after strangled, and his goods to the value of five hundred thousand duckats confiscated.

to the value of hue hundred thousand duckats Communicated.

Among all the dangerous enemies of the Christian common-weale, was none at this time more cruell than was *Sinan*, an Epirot borne, a fishers sonne, of a rough and vnciuile disposition, now about fourescore and three yeares old, euen from his youth brought vp in the warres: and yet (as his moit was) breathing nothing but, *Bloud and warre*. He had many times fortunately led the huge armies of the Turkish Emperours, *Solyman*, *Selymus*, and *A-murath*, and is now sent by the great Sultan *Mahomet*, as the fittest man to reduce the late revolted countries of *TRANSYLVANIA*, *VALACHIA*, and *MOLDAVIA*, to their former thral-dome; which he before promised vnto *Mahomet*, vpon perill of his head to doe. He hauing raised a right puissant armie, by a bridge made of boats (after a moneths labour spent therein) passed ouer the great riuer of Danubius into *VALACHIA*: of whose comming the Transyl-uanians, with the Valachians and Moldanians, hauing knowledge, had before so shut vp the passages of the countrey, as that he could not without much danger haue farre entered; and were also readie with their vniued forces euen at his first entrance to giue him battell. Which hee not refusing, there began a most mortall and cruell fight, with much bloodshed on both sides. Thrice were the Transyluanians enforced to retire, but still relieved with new supplies, and knowing that they then carried in their armes the welfare of their whole countrey, came on afresh againe, and as hardly charged the Turkes, as they had beene by them charged. Thus with doubtfull fortune and great slaughter was the battell maintained, from the morning vntill E night, victorie with doubtfull wings hovering now ouer the one side, now ouer the other: vntill that at length, the Turkes ouercome by true valour, their battailes being quite disor-dered and broken, were now glad to seeke to saue themselves by flight. In this battaile, being fought the eleuenth of September, besides many thousands of the common souldiours, were a flaine also diuers of great account amongst the Turkes: and amongst the rest *Haidar Bassa*, a man of them much regarded, was found dead euen in the same place where the battaile was fought. *Sinan* himselfe, in making too much hast to get ouer the bridge, fell into the deepe mud, and in that generall confusion of his armie, was like ynough there to haue perished: but F as the common prouerbe goeth, *Seldome lieth the diuell dead in a dike*, the old Veliarde was with much adoe drawne out by them of his guard, and so saued to further mischief. Neuerthe-lesse, the danger was so great, that for certaine daies it was commonly reported, that he was there drowned, most of his owyne people nor as yet certainly knowing what was become of him. Al the poyle of the Turkes became a prey vnto the Christians, as did also their great ordinance, and many of their ensignes; amongst which was one greene one, which they accounted religious, a

XXXX iij

h Lippa taken by
o the Transylvanians.

of Ferat Bassa sent
for to Constanti-
nople, and there
strangled.

1- Sinan Bassa sent
in Ferat's stead.

h Amosall battle
S, betwixt Sinan
ne and the Transjordanian prince.

The Turks overthrown.

OC *Sinen in flying*
 UT *like so be droz*
 ned.

Yyy yij

sacred to their prophet *Mahomet*, whereunto they in time of their greatest distresse fled as vnto their last refuge: there was taken also all their tents, with great abundance of victuals and other warlike prouision.

The old Bassa thus ouerthrowne, full of griefe, and euen mad for despayre, posted himselfe in all hast to the Court, thinking it better himselfe to make the best of that which was indeed nought, than to haue it made worse than nought by the enuious report of others: and withall to fill the mind of the great Sultan with desire of reuenge; which no man so much longed after, as himselfe: wherein he so discreetly vsed the matter, as that the late losse was easily passed ouer, as receiued by the common chance of warre, or any other occasion els whatsoeuer rather than by any default of his; and new commission giuen him for the raising of another armie for the subduing of the late reuolted countries. In the meane time, to shew his hatred vnto the Christians, and to please the eyes of them of the Court with the noueltie of the sight, he caused an hundred and twelue Christian captiues whom he had in prison at BELGRADE; to be brought in chaines like beasts to CONSTANTINOPL; and so being led through the principall streets of the cite, to the vaine contentment of the citizens, to bee brought to the Court gate for the Sultan to looke vpon and the Courtiers to deride: from whence they were after many vnspokeable indignities conveyed to most miserable and loathsome prisons, there to be fed with the bread of tribulation.

This Turke ouerthrowne in Croatia.

About this time the Turks vnder the command of the Bassa of BOSNA, to the number of almost twentie thousand, made a rode into CROATIA, where they were by the Christians vnder the leading of the lord *Eckenberg* and *Leucowitz* ouerthrowne and almost all slaine: the Christians following the chase euen into the Turks frontiers, burnt fiftene of their villages, and tooke the castle of VARINAR: immediately after, their forces encreasing by the comming in of the lord *Herbensteine*, Gouernour of VALERIA and WINDISMARCHE, and certain other troupes of horsemen out of CARINTHIA and the countries therabouts, they returned the thirteenth of September to besiege PETRINIA, otherwise called PETROVINA; which because they were in hope to take by assault, they euen at their first comming courageously assailed. But after two houres hard fight, finding both greater resistance and more difficultie than they had before supposed to haue found, and that without great ordinance (which could not in short time bee got ouer the mountaines) there was no good to be done, they were glad to giue ouer the assault, and with such losse as they had receiued to returne to SISBO, there to consult further of the matter. But the same night a fugitiue horseman fled from the enemy, came to the campe and told the Christians, That *Ruffan Beg* Gouernour of PETRINIA was in the late assault wounded in the breast with a small shot, and dead: and that the Turkes in the towne discouraged with his death and the late ouerthrow of their friends in CROATIA, would vpon the first sight of them abandon the towne, if they would but againe returne to besiege it. Vpon which good hope the Christians presently rose, and set forward againe towards PETRINIA: which the Turkes hearing of their comming, had before (as the soldior reported) for feare abandoned. So the Christians without resistance entering the towne, found therein some pillage, but better store of shot and powder: and presently sending forth certaine troupes of horsemen to pursue the flying Turks, tooke diuers of them, and among the rest the late Gouernours lieutenant, whom they brought backe againe into the towne. Thus was PETRINIA againe recovered from the Turkes, to the great quiet and safetie of all that side of the country.

Petrinia taken by the Christians

Sigismund the Transylvanian prince not ignorant with what an enemy he had to doe, either of the mallice of old *Sinan*, who he knew would not be long before he returned, or yet of the secret practise of the Polonians for the withdrawing of the countrey of MOLDAVIA from him, fought now by all means (as it stood him vpon) to make himselfe so strong as he could against so many stormes arising. It fortuned that euen at the same time the Zaculians (better known by the name of Siculi) in former time a free people, but as then tributaries vnto the Turkes, bordering vpon the Northeast part of TRANSYLVANIA, now wearie of the Turkish thraldome, and seeing the good successe of the prince, and the late reuolted countries their neighbours, offered vnto the prince their seruice; promising of their own charge to maintaine fortie thousand men in the field during his warres with the Turke, and yearly to pay him of euery house a dollar, with a certaine measure of wheat, oates, and barley, after the manner of their owne countrey: and further, That if God should bleffe him with a sonne to succeed him in his gouernment, euery hou-

holder

A soldier should giue vnto him a good fat ox. For all which seruice they craued no more, but that they might as his subjects liue vnder his protection: yet so, as to be gouerned by their owne ancient lawes and customes. Of which their offer the prince accepting, it was forthwith by them proclaimed in their campe, and all the people sworne to the performance of the aforesaid agreements. And hauing at that present but fife and twentie thousand in the field; they without delay sent out their officers to presse out fiftene thousand more, for the filling vp of the promised number of fortie thousand, wherewith they came vnto the prince, who taking a view of his armie, found himselfe to be now fourescore thousand men strong, to welcome the Bassa withall when he should come againe into his countrey.

The prince is keth a view of his armie.

Now had *Sinan* with great speed raised an armie of seauentie thousand choice souldiours, amongst whom were many whole bands of the Ianizaries, the strength of the Turkish empire. With which power joynd vnto the reliques of his other broken forces, he thought himselfe strong enough for the subduing of the prince: vnto whom came also afterwards *Hassan Bassa*, the sonne of the great Bassa *Muhamet*, one of the Turkes most renowned meir of warre; and *Bogdanus* the late expelled Vayud of VALACHIA, with many others of great name. With this armie the old Bassa by a bridge, which he with exceeding charge had made of boats, passed ouer the greater river of Danubius at a towne called ZORZA or GIORGO (with vs *S. George*) in VALACHIA, a great way beneath that place where sometime the emperor *Traian* built his famous bridge of stone, worthily accounted amongst the rare and wonderfull buildings of the world. From ZORZA he marched with his armie to TERGOVISTA (sometime the Vayud his chiefe citie, but then in the power of the Turkes) where is a notable monastirie, which he conuerted into a castle, fortifying it with deepe trenches and strong bulwarks; and good store of great ordinance, purposing to make that the seat of his warre, vntill he had againe restored those late reuolted countries vnto the Turkish empire, which hee vpon paine of his head had vndertaken to performe. The prince both by messengers and letters vnderstanding of the Bassas arrivall there, and hauing his armie in good readinesse, set forward to meet him and to giue him battell. But being come into VALACHIA, and there encamped, it is reported, that a great Eagle descending from an high rocke thereby, called, The Kings rocke; and hovering ouer the Christian armie, flew about the princes tent, and there lighting, was taken and presented to the prince, who commanded her to bee kept as the presage of his good fortune; holding on still his way, and the fiftenth day of October being come within halfe a dayes march of TERGOVISTA, he vnderstood by two Christians lately escaped from the Turkes, That two dayes before the Turkes hearing of his comming, were stricken with such a generall and sudden feare, that *Sinan* had much adoe either by faire meanes or by foule to stay the Ianizaries from flight; and that when he had done what he could, yet that certaine companies of them were quite fled and gone. But the truth was, that *Sinan* seeing the generall feare of his armie, and he himselfe no lesse fearefull than the rest, vpon the princes approach fled with all his armie, leauing behind him for haft his tents; his great ordinance, with much victuals, and other warlike prouision, carrying with him onely such things as were of most value. As for the citie of TERGOVISTA, with the castle which he had made of the monastirie, he committed it to the keeping of *Hassan Bassa*; and *Bogdanus* the late Vayud, now become a renegade Turke, with a garrison of foure thousand chosen souldiours, promising within a few daies, if need should be, to relieue them, but fled himselfe in all hast with his armie to BUCARESTA, daies journey from TERGOVISTA. From whence he presently writ backe againe to *Hassan Bassa*, willing him if he could to defend the castle: but if he should thinke it not possible to be kept against the power of the prince, then betime to forsake it and to shift for himselfe. But these letters being intercepted by the Christians, neuer came to the Bassas hands. Not long after the departing of *Sinan*, the prince comming to TERGOVISTA, entered the forsaken campe, where he found many tents, with some ordinance, and great store of victuals: & without further delay summoned both the citie and the castle, which for all that were both denied him. But the next day assented, *Hassan* considering the flight of *Sinan*, the power of the prince, and withall doubting if need should be to be relieved by *Sinan*, whom he not without cause suspected not to loue him, was about vpon some reasonable composition to haue yielded vp both the citie and the castle: wherunto the garrison souldiours (being most part of them Ianizaries) would not in any case giue their consent, but stood vpon the defence of the place. Whereupon the prince began furiously to batter both the citie and the castle, and after some few houres batterie by assault tooke both, and put

Sinan Bassa by a bridge made of boats passed ouer Danubius into Valachia.

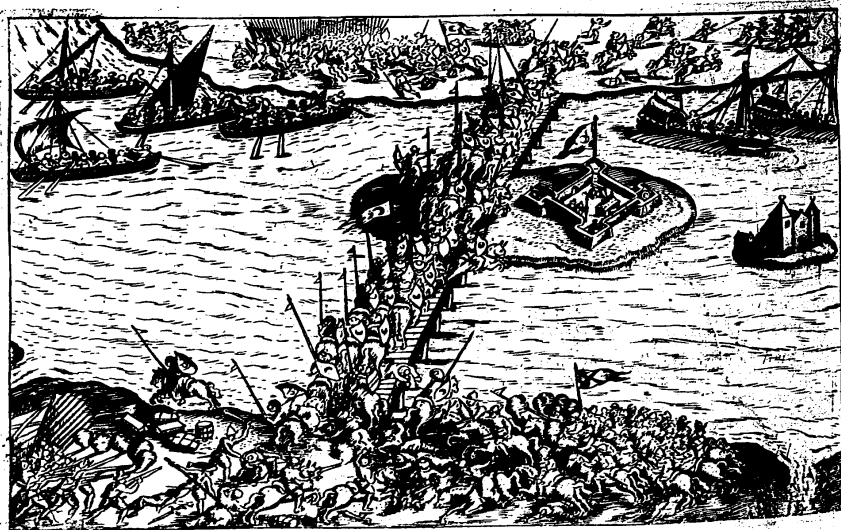
Hassan Bassa taken. to sword the whole garrison: onely *Hassan Bassa*, as taken with his owne hand, he spared, and two other Sanzackes. *Bogdanus* the renegade was there slaine among the rest. The Christians had there a rich prey, besides 42 great pieces of ordinance, and good store of all manner of warlike prouision. *Hassan* thus taken, grieuously complained that *Sinan* had of a malicious purpose exposed him to so manifest danger, for the grudge he bare vnto his dead father the Visier *Muhamet*, vpon whom because he could neuer be reuenged, he now by sinister meanes had cunningly performed it vpon his sonne; yet he craued of the prince to bee well vsed, offering for his ranome 100000 Hungarian duckats. Whilist the prince yet thus lay at *TARGOVISTA*, came thither 4000 Turks, whom *Sinan* had before his departure thence sent forth to spoyle the countrey and to seeke after prey, thinking to haue there found him still: who now falling into the hands of the Christians, were there all slaine, and 60000 head of cattell recovered, which these Turkes had taken out of *VALACHIA* and *MOLDAVIA*, and should by *Sinans* appointment haue been sent to *CONSTANTINOPLE*. For *VALACHIA* and *MOLDAVIA* doe so abound with come and cattell, that they plentifully serue the imperiall citie of *CONSTANTINOPLE* not onely with come and flesh, but also yearly send at the least 150 ships thither by the black sea, laded with other kind of victuals. Of which so great commodities the Turkes were now deprivied by the reuolt of the afore said countries.

The fruitfulness of Valachia and Moldauia.

Bucaresta taken by the prince.

The prince leauing a strong garrison in *TARGOVISTA*, set forward with his armie towards *BVCARESTA*, hoping there to haue found *Sinan*. But he hearing of the losse of *TARGOVISTA*, and thinking himselfe in no good safetie at *BVCARESTA*, fled thence also to *ZORZA*. The prince comming to *BVCARESTA*, found it abandoned by the Turkes, and so tooke it without resistance, yet had therein certaine field pieces, with good store of shot and powder left there by *Sinan*. Hauiug there stayed a while for the manning of the place, he set forwards againe towards *ZORZA*, and that with such speed, that he ouertooke great numbers of the Turkes, whom he put all to the sword: so that the fields betwixt *BVCARESTA* and *ZORZA*, were in many places covered with the dead bodies of the Turkes. Neuerthelesse, he could not make so great hast, marching still in good order, but that the fearefull Bassa disorderly hasting, was about some six houres or more before come to the bridge he had with great charge made ouer the riuer of *Danubius*, the some whereof you may here see.

The picture of the Bridge made ouer Danubius by Sinan Bassa, Anno 1595.



- Sinan flight ouer Danubius.*
- A Ouer the hithermost part of which bridge (being in length about a mile) was *Sinan* with the greatest part of his armie (before the coming of the prince) got ouer into an island in the midst of the riuer, wherein he had at his comming ouer, encamped: but doubting now there to stay, with all the speed he could got him ouer the other part of the bridge also vnto the farther side of the riuer, with so many of his men as in so short time possibly could. VVhere to stay the farther pursuit of the prince, he brake the bridge on that side, and set fire vpon it: and thereby cut off also many of his owne men that were not as yet come ouer. VVhom the prince enclosing, forced many of them into the riuer, where they perished: the rest flying into the island, were by the Christians fiercely pursuing of them, either there slaine, or seeking by the other part of the bridge to haue got ouer (whereof the farther end before broken downe by *Sinan*, and B the hither end toward the island now cut off by the Christians) were together with the bridge carried away by the violence of the riuer, and so altogether perished. Other some of the Christians in the meane time tooke the bridge that leadeth vnto the castle of *ZORZA*, which standeth compassed about with an arme of *Danubius*, and being not verie great, was kept by a garrison of seuen hundred select souldiors. Vnto which castle the prince presently laid siege (the resolute souldiors being not by any meanes to be perswaded to yeeld it vp, but to hold it out euen vnto the last man) and after he had fore battered it, by plaine force tooke it, and put to the sword all the garrison souldiors he could lay hands vpon. About an hundred of these Turkes seeing they must needs fall into the power of their enemies, desperately leapt from the top of the castle into the riuer; where not one of them escaped; being all either drowned or slaine with small shot. In C the winning of this castle, two hundred and fiftie of the Christians were lost, and many wounded: but of the Turkes and Tatars, betwixt the eighteenth and the last of October perished about six and twentie thousand. In this castle were taken thirtie nine great pieces, with such store of armour and other warlike prouision, as might haue serued for an whole kingdom: and foure thousand Christians beside women and children, whom *Sinan* had taken out of *VALACHIA*, restored to their former libertie. With whom the prince after hee had set all things in order, returned in great triumph to *TARGOVISTA*, and so afterwards to his pallace at *ALBA IULIA*, where, as also at *CLAVDIOPOLIS* and other cities through his dominions, he caused publike prayers with thankesgiving to almightie God, to be deuoutly made for so great a victorie: as did also *Michael* the Vayvood in *VALACHIA*, who in all these great warres against the D Turkes was nothing inferiour vnto the Transylvanian himselfe. A greater losse than this the Turkish emperour receiued not at land in many yeares before, being by this so happie and victorious a prince, and the reuolt of these three countries, deprivied of so much territorie, as they had not from the Christians of long time gained. It was by some of them of the better sort of the Turkes that were taken, reported, that *Sinan Bassa* should oftentimes say, That this young Transylvanian prince had bereft him of all the honour and renowne he had with great trauell got in the course of his long life: and that although he had escaped his hands, yet that he feared he would be the cause for him in these his great yeares, euen in the winding vp of all, to loose his life together with his goods and honour. Now was the Transylvanian princes name (after the ouerthrow of this great Bassa) become dreadfull vnto the Turkes, and also famous through E all Christendome: Which as it hath filled the eares of many with admiration, so happily may the liuely representation of his feature by cunning hand set forth, feed the longing eies of some with delight, and serue in better stead than the rude description of his person.

The Prince returned with victorie to Alba Iulia.

The opinion Sinan Bassa had of the Transylvanian.



*Miles ex as Christi, nulli pietate secundus
Et solus patrie gloria magnus
Inclita si virtus, que te super aethera vexit:
Tam stabili cursu continuata foret.*

R. KNOLL.

Of Christ thou wast a souldior true, inferiour vnto none:
Thy countries joy and glorie great, vnto the world well knowne.
If worthie vertue, that thee raised about the starrie skie,
With stedfast pace had run the race so well begun by thee.

Whilest this worthie Prince was thus busied in this expedition against *Sinan*, he caused the castle of *IENNA* (standing vpon the hie way betweene *Temesvvar* and *Givla*) to be besieged by certaine of his captaines appointed to that seruice: in which castle lay one of the Turke Sanzackes with a garrison of seuen hundred Turkes, who much troubled such as passed that way. They now brought to some extremitie, and terrified with the successe of the prince, offered to giue vp the castle, so that as souldiors with their scimitars by their sides they might in safetie be brought to *Panoda*. Which their offer being accepted of, and they now vpon their way, the Hungarian light horsemen that should haue conducted them (enformed that these Turkes now vnder their charge, had secret intelligence with the Turkes in garrison at *Givla* and *Temesvvar*, that they should lie in ambush for them neere *Panoda*, and so cut them off by the way)

A set vpon these Turkes whom they should haue conducted, and cut the throats of foure hundred of them: and yet still holding on their way, met with these Turkes that lay in ambush for them, whom they after a sharpe skirmish ouerthrew, and hauing slaine a great many of them, put the rest to flight. By the taking of *IENNA* the waies thereabout were quietted, especially for them of *WARADEN*. The Sanzacke of *IENNA* reported, that *Mahomet* had a little before sent word vnto his Bassaes and Sanzackes in *HUNGARIE*, that such castles and townes as they thought were not to be defended against the Christians, they should betimes as occasion serued yeeld them vp, or forsake them, so to spare the needlesse losse of his good souldiors: of whom he had with so many townes and strong holds lost no small number this yeare in *HUNGARIE*. *IENNA* thus taken, diuers of the richer sort in *Temesvvar* fearing to be euen presently besieged, sent their wiues and children with their treasure and such other things as they made most reckoning of, out of the citie in wagons to be conuaid vnto places of more safetie: of which wagons, seuentie were by the Christians (lying thereabout in garrison) intercepted, and in them an exceeding rich bootie.

Mahomet hauing this yeare fully purposed the vtter ruine of the Transylvanian prince, and the reducing of the countries of *TRANSYLVANIA*, *MOLDAVIA*, and *VALACHIA*, vnto his obedience by the great Bassa *Sinan*: had for the better effecting thereof, before provided that the Crimean Tartar (readie still at his call) should with his own people (whereof he hath great store) and certaine bands of the Turkes, at the same time invade *MOLDAVIA*; and possessing himselfe of his countrey, to place one *Sidriake* Vayuod in stead of *Stephen* placed by the prince, and to people the C country with his Tartars in reward of his good seruice (as he said) but indeede to haue them alwaies neere at hand to doe his commands in *HUNGARIE*, *POLONIA*, *TRANSYLVANIA*, or the other countries of the Christians thereunto adioyning. The Tartar according to his appointment came with seuentie thousand Tartars, accompanied with their wiues and children, to haue planted themselves in the countrey, at the verie same time that *Sinan* came to *Tergovista*: but being come vpon the frontiers of *MOLDAVIA*, to haue put in execution what he was by *Mahomet* commaunded, he found there *Zamoschie* the great Chancellor of *POLONIA*, readie with a strong armie to oppose himselfe against him, and to stay his farther passage. Whereupon some light skirmishes passed betweene the Tartars and Polonians: where the Tartars were still put to the worke, with the losse of three thousand of their men. The Tartar *Cham* with *Sidriake* D the Vayuod appointed by the Turke, finding themselves, though in number more, yet in strength inferiour vnto the Polonian, and that without his good leaue they could not passe; sent vnto the Chancellor to excuse that was alreadye past, as done without their consent by the insolencie of their souldiors, and to tell him, That their coming was not to fight with him, as hauing expressed commaundement from the great Sultan *Mahomet*, in no case to disturbe the league betwixt him and the Polonians; but quietly to passe by their frontiers into *MOLDAVIA*, and there to place *Sidriake* Vayuod his tributarie in stead of *Stephen* that now vsurped the place, by the appointment of the Transylvanian: which that they might doe, they craued his leaue as friends to passe. Whereunto the Chancellor answered, That he was come thither by the commaundement of the king, to defend those countries from the inuasion of such as had in them no right: and E that there had of long time been an auncient league betwixt the Polonian kings and the Turkish emperours, vpon certaine conditions which he would for his part keepe inuiolat, with the fauor of the Turkish emperour; yet so, as that the kingdome of *POLONIA* tooke no harme thereby, and that they might quietly liue by him as their good neighbour: which league he protested not to haue been by him, but by them infringed: as for to giue them passage, he said he could not. Messengers passing thus too and fro, and some parley had, at last certaine articles were agreed vpon, to the reasonable contentment both of the Tartar and of the Turkish Sultan, whose pleasure *Sidriake*, disappointed thereby of his Vayuodship) as also of the Turkish Sultan, whose pleasure they both seemed to haue in speciall regard: Hereupon the Tartar with his multitude presently returned, leauing the Chancellor to his owne designs. Now was it commonly thought, that the F Chancellor had done the Transylvanian prince great seruice by keeping out of the Tartars, and much honour was by many that saw least spoke of him therefore: But farre was it from his thought to doe the Transylvanian therein any such good, at whose glorie he enuid, and had with the Cardinall and his brother, the princes vncles (but most deadly enemies) secretly conspired for much as in them was, his vtter ruine and ouerthrow: wishing those countries rather in the subjection

Ienna yeelded to the Transylvanians.

tion of the Turke, than to see them so honourably at libertie, gouerned by the prince such is G the force of malicious enuie, the insepable companion of worthe vertue. Which the Chancelour (otherwise a man of great fame and honour) began now openly to pour forth: for presently after the departure of the Tartars, he with all his power passing ouer the river Nijette by Tyros into MOLDAVIA, euen at such time as the prince was going against Sinan at Tergovista, first seized vpon the castle of Chotijm, which he furnished with his owne souldiors, and from thence marching to Zozona, the metropolitall citie of that prouince, beset of the Vayuod, had it yielded vnto him: and so proceeding on, had in short time almost the whole countrey delivered vnto him; Stephen the Vayuod placed by the prince, flying from place to place before him from whom he least feared any such thing, hauing made account of no other enemies but of the Turks and Tartars. Stephen the Vayuod thus driuen out, and the Chancelour possessed of the H country, he presently placed one Hieremias Vayuod in stead of Stephen, to hold that honour of the Polonian king as his soueraigne. Yet neuerthelesse, to satisfie the Turke, he sent a messenger to Sinan Bassa, then but newly come to Tergovista, requesting him not to take it in euill part that he had entred into MOLDAVIA, and there placed a new Vayuod, but in the name of the great Sultan Mahomet, to confirme this his doing, and the Vayuod by him placed, promising the countrey of MOLDAVIA to remaine tributarie still vnto the Sultan, and that this new Vayuod should forthwith pay vnto him what tribute was behind, and from thenceforth a farre greater tribute yearely than had the countrey of MOLDAVIA before. Whereunto the haucie Bassa (then fearing nothing lesse than that which immediatly after happened, to be driuen out of those countries by the prince) proudly answered, That it was not the great Sultans mind, that the Polonians should at all inuade MOLDAVIA: for that beside hee could without their helpe reduce those countries to his obedience, he had giuen that countrey vnto the Tartar, in reward of his good seruice already done in HUNGARIE and other places; whose subjects the Tartars would ere long be readie with their wiues and children to take possession thereof. Neuerthelesse the Chancelor proceeded to defend the new Vayuod by him placed: which was no great matter for him to do, Sinan the Turks champion (as is before declared) being presently after ouerthrowne, and driuen quite out of those countries by the prince. Whose he had not then gained the victory, the Chancelour had not now holden MOLDAVIA; but the Turke; whose quarrell he seemed rather to fauour, than the princes. The Chancelour to colour this his inuasion, pretended, That the countrey of MOLDAVIA did of auncient right belong vnto the kingdom of POLONIA: which the K Transylvanians tooke to be no other but meere and open wrong. This supposed title, such as it was, the Chancelor had so fashioned out vnto the king and the states of that kingdom, that they referred it to his discretion to inuade the countrey, and remoouing the Vayuod placed by the prince, to place another in his stead: and the rather to persuaide them, laboured by many forced reasons to shew the power of the Transylvanian prince to be so far inferiour vnto the Turks, that it was to be feared he should at length be thrust out of all his dominions, and so they together with MOLDAVIA become subject to the Turke. Which if it should so come to passe, then should the Polonians haue an vnrutlie and troublesome neighbour. And that therefore it were better that MOLDAVIA were possessed by them that were better able to defend it than was he, that so the Turke might be kept farther off from POLONIA. Which occasion he said was not longer to be delaied, but now betime to be laid hold vpon: persuaading himselfe to find such grace and fauor with the Turkish emperor, as that he should be therewith right well contented: which was like ynough for a time to be, for that the Transylvanian should thereby be much weakened. By these and such like reasons, framed to serue his owne turne, the Chancelour so preuailed with the king and the states of the kingdom, that he receiued from them (as I said) full authoritie to proceed in the matter, as he did, and as is before declared, to the great trouble of the prince, and benefit of the Turke: the late chosen Vayuod not long after opening a way in three places for the Tartars into TRANSYLVANIA, one by the countrey of SICVLIA, another by the way that leadeth to ALBA IULIA, and the third by VALACHIA.

The late chosen Vayuod openeth three waies vnto the Turkes and Tartars into Transylvania.

The Transylvanian prince seeing the countrey of MOLDAVIA by the practise of the Chancelour thus taken from him, and disiectured from the other vniued prouinces; to the great weakening of his state, after the flight of Sinan sent certaine companies both of horse and foot to Stephen the late Vayuod, but now driuen out by the Polonians; to prooue if happily he could by that meanes driue out the Polonians againe, and recouer his former dignities: With this aid sent from

A from the prince and others that fauoured his quarrell, he joynd a bloudie battell with the Polonians: but being therein by them ouercome and taken, and for a space kept (as the prince feared, to haue beene deliuered vnto the Turke) he was by them (as is reported) cruelly afterwards put to death.

This foule dealing of the Polonian in MOLDAVIA much grieued many good Christians, as tending to the generall hurt of the Christian commonweale. For which cause the Emperour by his embassadours sent for that purpose vnto the Polonian king, sought to persuaide him to desist from such inuasion of the Transylvanian prince by his Chancelour, as nothing standing with his honour; and that some good reconciliation might be made betweene the prince and the Cardinal Bator and his brother, the princes vnclcs, authors of all these troubles. To which purpose also B to the Pope sent a messenger with like instructions and letters vnto the king, persuaiding him, not so to prosecute his warres against the prince, but to turne his thoughts vnto a more peaceable and Christianlike course, especially with him with whom he was so neere linked in mariage. To the like effect he writ also vnto the Cardinal Bator, and after many graue admonitions peremptorily cited him to ROME. But for as much as the proceedings of the Polonian against the prince are more plainly to be gathered by the Popes letters vnto the king, it shall not I hope be mistaken, if I here set them downe thus as I find them by others reported.

Pope Clement the eight to our best beloued sonne in Christ, Sigismund, by the grace of God king of POLONIA, with the benediction Apostolicall sendeth greeting. By how much greater affection C of fatherly loue we embrace your maiestie in the Lord, so much the more seruenly we wish all your actions to be adorned with the greatest commendation of true godlinesse and wisdom, both before God and men: Whereof it proceedeth, that we are so much the more vehemently and grievously moved, if we heare any such thing of you, as may seeme not agreeable to your vertue and approved zeale toward the Catholike religion, or tending to the obscuring of the glorie of your name, as is now brought vnto vs concerning the affaires of MOLDAVIA; whereof not without great griefe we wrote vnto you. And to rehearse things a little before past: with what earnestnesse and seruencie dealt I with you, that for Gods cause, and the defence of the health and libertie of the Christian commonweale against the tyrannie of the Turkes, you would combine your selfe with our most dearly beloued sonne Rodolph the Emperour, and diuers other Christian princes? and that you should not let slip so notable an occasion, so worthily to deserue of God, of the Catholike faith, and of the Christian commonweale in general? And albeit we then thought, as well for many your owne priuat respects, as also of your kingdomes, That you were to be borne withall and excused if you did not now openly descend into this confederation of the Christian princes against the most mortall and common enemy, neither apertly ioine your forces, or giue aid for the represseing of his insolencie; yet we alwayes assured our selues, that no let should in any case proceed from you, whereby either the Emperour or the other Christian princes should be the rather hindered, iustly to prosecute their iniuries, or to cast off from their neckes the heauie yoke of the most cruell tyrant: whose desire of soueraignie is not comprised within the compassse of any bounds. But that you should in fauour of the Turkes impugn the Catholike princes and defenders of the Christian faith, and so ioine hands with the enemies of the Crosse of Christ, as that by your helpe their force and furie should be encreased, and ours not only weakened, but in the very course of victorie hindered, and cast into most grievous perils; this we haue not onely not thought of you, but not so much as once suspected: yea and can now scarce be persuaaded to beleene those things to be done by you, which are reported vnto vs as most true and vndoubted. For the report goeth, That you hauing intelligence with the Turkes and Tartars, haue with them conspired, and namely against our beloued sonne Sigismund, prince of TRANSYLVANIA, who with inuincible courage fighteth the battels of the Lord: and lest he should be able to abate the force and attempts of the most proud enemy (which by the singular mercie of God he hath hitherto aboue his owne power performed) but rather be enforced much to feare his owne estate, a new Vayuod and Prince as it were by a triumphant authoritie and compact to be placed in MOLDAVIA, and him by the Turkes, you, and the Tartars together, to be made gouernour of that countrey. Which vnto vs seemed so new and so strange, and contrarie to the good opinion we had alwayes conceived of you, yea and so vnbecoming your zeale and wisdom, that for griefe and admiration I had almost cried out with the Prophet, You heauens be amazed at this, &c. you gates thereof be you exceedingly heauie. For what could be suspected or imagined farther from the expectation of vs and all good men, or more incredible, than that Sigismund

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the most religious king of POLONIA and SWEDEN, who had alwaies professed himselfe a most earnest defender of the Catholike religion, who was readie euen with his owne blood to redeeme the victorie of the Christians, and glorie of the Crosse, against the most wicked enemies of the same, to be upon the sudden become so unlike unto himselfe? and (so much as in him was) to cut off the hope and happy successe of that religious warre, and to doe harme to a Christian and Catholike prince, not to refuse to ioyne in league and friendship, euen with the most barbarous nations and the Tartars, the perpetuall enemies of himselfe, and of the kingdome of POLONIA. For which causes our mind is tormented with such bitternesse of griefe, that we could not but by speedie messenger write unto you concerning this matter, that hereby you might the sooner see the greatnesse of our griefe: and wee also without delay might signifie unto you, what our fatherly loue towards you requesteth in so important a matter. For happily wee will send one euen of purpose to you concerning this cause, the care whereof grieueth vs more than can well be expressed. Wherefore most dearly beloued sonne, we exhort you, and in the most effectuall manner we can, aduise you, and beseech you in the Lord more attentively to consider what great displeasure both of God and man this your action and resolution may incurre, what a staine it may bring unto your crowne and dignitie. For beleue vs, that are to you in stead of a father in Christ, who loue you not fainedly, but faithfully, and in deed; who wish for your glorie in this world, and your eternall felicitie in the world to come: beleue vs (I say) this doth much blemish your fame with all Christian kings and princes; all men take it in euill part, and detest it as a thing monstrous, that it should by your meanes be wrought, that the Christian affaires should not prosper, that an hericall prince, who hath vowed himselfe for Christ and his countrey, should not haue prosperous successe in this so religious and necessarie a war against the Infidels, Turkes, and Tartars, no lesse yours, or peraduenture also more yours, and other Christian princes enemies, than his. But what do we say, you to binder the proceedings of the Transylvanian prince, this were happily but a small matter: nay verely, by this means not only a Christian and Catholike prince, and valiant champion of the Christian faith (a vertue both admirable and amiable in the very enemy) but your owne brother in law, bound unto you with so many bonds of affinitie, whose children shall be as it were your childrens brethren, is by this meanes brought into great danger, and exposed unto the furie of the most mercilesse Turkes. What do you then my most dearly beloued sonne? Beware that all men, both now liuing, and hereafter to come, condemne you not of the greatest inhumanitie: But beware yet more, that you seeme not ingratefull not onely to your owne nigh kinsman, but to God himselfe, who hath bountifully blessed you with two great kingdomes, and so many good things: and that you prouoke not him to wrath against your selfe, that reiecteth and confoundeth all euill and wicked deuires: and that this mischiefe that you haue brought upon your brother, by the iust iudgement of God redound not to the greatest destruction of you and your kingdome, which he in mercie forbid. Doe you thinke, that the Transylvanian being overcome, you shall in safetie liue from the trecherie of the Turke? Do you not know him to be a faithlesse man, which meashureth all things by his owne profit, which keepeth faith with none; but as standeth with his owne commoditie, who with an insatiable desire gapeth after euery kingdome, nay thirsteth after the destruction of all Christendome? Thinke also my sonne what wrong you shall doe unto the Emperour your cousin, out of whose imperiall blood you haue begotten sonnes and beires, and by the grace of God shall moe, but also our dignitie, and the dignitie of this Apostolicall seat, which you haue alwaies so deuoutly honoured, is thereby hurt, and your most deare mother (which we know you of all other least would) the Romane Church is offended, which for the maintenance of this sacred warre is at great and wonderfull charges: and our forces, which by you ought to haue beene renewed and increased, being in so unfit a time by these stirres in MOLDAVIA disordered and diminished, and the enemies on the contrarie part increased and strengthened, into what danger and distresse may both our armie of the Church and the Emperours fall? And withall, how greatly all the manner and managing of this whole warre is thereby confounded, there is no man that seeth not. And this moreouer, which no little concerneth the dignitie of vs and of this holy See, we haue undertaken and certainly promised to our most dearly beloued sonnes Rodolph and Sigismund, that your royall maiestie should not in any thing hinder or hurt their affaires: neither did we herofore assure them upon a light occasion, but moved with great reason, not onely for that we deservedly ought so to promise of you in so just a cause, but also for that it was so vnto vs plainly and expressly written by the reuerend father, the Bishop of S. Seuerus, our Apostolicall Nuncio unto you, whom we know to be both vnto vs faithful, and to you dutifull: neither can we by any meanes doubt thereof, because he hath writ vnto vs concerning so weightie a matter, that he receiued it euen from your owne mouth. Which things so standing, seeing

A seeing you of your selfe see the manifold absurdities of this fact on euerie side, not to speake of the truthfulness therof: we request you againe, yea and oftentimes, forthwith to apply the necessarie remedies to these hurts. The Transylvanian prince your brother in law, deuoted to your selfe, and desirous of your fauour, either protect with your defence, or at leastwise hurt him not: yea hurt not the whole state of the Christian common-weale, and relieue not by any meanes the quarrell of the enemies of Christ. If you haue any controuersie with the prince Sigismund, or desire of him any thing, referre it vnto us, that is to say, vnto your most louing father: you know your affaires to be of vs fauoured, and we hope by the power of God that it may easily come to passe that some convenient meanes may be found whereby peace and quietnesse may be conserved betwixt you, and good vnitie grow betwixt you two brethren our sons, and so all the root of bitternesse and displeasure to be utterly pluckt out of your minds. This haue I writ vnto you my sonne, frankly and from a sincere heart, though truly much grieved, because we loue you, and are much carefull of your honour and good: Shew you againe in deed that you take it so, as written from your father; and that you altogether preferre our fatherly and wholesome exhortations before the sinister persuasions of others. Further concerning these matters, you shall vnderstand by the same bishop our Nuncio now with you, to whom you may (as you haue done) giue credit in all things as to our selfe.

These letters dated from ROMA the 8. day of Nouember, were deliuered to the king in December, with others to the Cardinal and Chancellor, whom the Pope sharply reprobued as the authors and contriuer of all these mischiefs.

C The Tartar Cham before stirred vp by the Turkish emperour Mahomet, for the inuasion of MOLDAVIA (as is already before declared) about this time sent his embassadour also vnto the Polonian king, for the confirmation of such articles as he had before agreed vpon with the Chancellor: which because they manifestly declare the ground and purpose of his intended expedition into MOLDAVIA, with the foule collusion of the Chancellor with the Turkes and Tartars against the Transylvanian prince, I thought it not amisse or from our purpose (for the more manifestation of that which is already said) here to set them downe, as they are translated out of the Tartar language.

Cham Kazikiery vnto the king of POLONIA and SWEDEN our brother, one of the great lords among the Christians, humbly boweth his head. First we signifie vnto you, that Aaron Palatine of MOLDAVIA was a forsworne traitour; who hauing gathered a power of the Valachians, and ioyning vnto him the Polonian Cossacks, spoiled the territories of the great Sultan. But afterward dissenting on arising among them, the Hungarian Cossacks liuing in VALACHIA sent Aaron in bonds vnto the king of VIENNA: after him followed another traitour called Rozwan, who also hauing raised certaine companies of souldiours, began in like manner to forrage the countries of the Turkish emperour thereabout: which as soone as he had knowledge of, he writ vnto me his brother, That I should with all possible speed go into VALACHIA to chastise these rebels, to burne their houses and towns; and hauing with the edge of the sword slaine their men, to carrie away with me their wiues and children into captiuitie. Hauing this in charge, I the great Cham of the great territorie of the great Horde Katyk-tety, with my brother Letikerry Galga, and other my brethren and counsellors, warlike and valiant captaines and Murzas; mounting my horse, came with mine armie into VALACHIA vnto the riuer Prut, where it meeteth with another riuer called Cokoza: here we chanced vpon a faithfull seruitour of yours, our brother the Chancellor, who was also come a little before vs into VALACHIA, with whom yours, our brother the Chancellor, who was also come a little before vs into VALACHIA, with whom after some light contention when we began to be more tractable, he declared vnto vs, that he was of purpose come into VALACHIA to place there a new Payuod, which (as he said) of ancient right belonged vnto the Polonians; without any wrong or preiudice therein to be done to the covenants and league they had with the emperour of the Turkes; and farther that his desire was, that one Hieremias whom he had appointed Payuod, might haue the commaund of that prouince: and that the auncient amitie, such as was in the time of Sultan Solymán and Cham Dawlethger, might be faithfully kept. Which when I had for my part faithfully sworn to doe, and he likewise had caused the same to be done by such of his as he had therefore sent vnto me, we decreed together, that the Cossacks on the farther side of Nijester (disordered and rebellious men) should be utterly rooted out, that they should not hereafter doe any harme in the territories of the great Sultan: and that the presents usually sent vnto us of long, euen since the time of Sultan Solymán, should no more be detained, nor any harmes be hereafter

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therewith, if we should haue preferred the health and welfare of our country (whereunto all good men owe all they haue) before other mens profits? But now these things were so done, as that it was moste provided for the good of the neighbour Christian yeas and happily not the least for ours, who for the same slander this kingdome vnto your Holinesse, wherof Sinan Bassa was by this means repressed, who whilst he feared to be shut up in the straits by our arme now come into Moldavia, and expected the Tatars comming upon almost all the rest of the Summer sides, without any thing doing. The Tatar himselfe was not once turned from the bowels of Christendome, wherinto he had purposed (as the yeare before) to haue entered, we having with our owne breasts received his force and force about being brought vnto conditions, was expressly enioyned in a most shorpe presedment, and without any more harme doing to returne againe into his country by the selfe same way he came, and by no other: whereby it is come to passe, that vntill this day Christendome hath not this yeare yet felt the Tatars weapon. But vnto Transylvania, and Hungary, what a space and power was giuen for them to gather their strength and force together, and out of the same place to oppose them against the enemies, when as our armie kept them safe at their backs, and eased notably Moldavia, but Vlachia and Transylvania, and of that care we were as if the cause of delay had not been objected vnto the Turks first, and afterwards the Tatars, nor to say anything of the Turke, the Tatars at the very selfe same time, that the Transylvanian armie was come into Vlachia, against Sinan, might haue broken into Transylvania before it could haue returned home, or els marching directly towards that armie, might haue met with it out of Transylvania. As for Moldavia, which together with the memory of the Christian name, yet left in it, had utterly perished, was most manifestly preserved by the comming of our armie, which what and it would haue had, if the enemy might at his pleasure haue ragged as he did in the farther Vlachia, those most bitter remembrances in it yet at this day smoking, doe well declare, out of which it is well knowne more thousands of Christian captiues to haue bene carried away into most wofull captiuitie, than almost out of any other prouince in all the time of these miserable warres: which although it be thus, yet haue we not thereof, neither send we any triumphant letters vnto your Holinesse, nor bragge of our good service done for the Christian commonweale, contenting our selues with the conscience of the thing it selfe. In the meane time we are accused vnto your Holinesse: but for what cause? If any man complaine for the taking of Moldavia, I will not say it was by them before willingly forsaken, whilst I was yet in the frontiers thereof; but that this kingdome hath a most ancient right vnto it, and such a right, as when our kings being busied in their warres against the Muscouite, the Crucian Teutonic brethren, or others, some others also troubling the state thereof, it for a time became a prey vnto the Turkish tyrants, yet in all the leagues made or renewed betwixt this kingdome and them, was still excepted, That all such things as the Palatine of Moldavia was of dutie to performe vnto the king, should by him still be performed: which kings of Polonia, and namely Augustus himselfe, the last of the Jagollonian race, appointed diuers of those Palatines themselves. which although they be things most manifest, yet hauing more regard vnto the welfare of that prouince, as a Christian country, than of our right, we restored the same into the same state wherein it hath bene for many yeares before these wars. Wherefore if any man thinke any thing done, whereby the enemies of the crosse of Christ might be eased or strengthened, or the defenders of the faith hindered, it is so farre from any such thing to be done, that rather (as was before declared) the enemies force is repressed and auerted, and greater meanes giuen to the Christians against to impugne them; the enemy being at their backs by vs shut from them. But I feare that they haue not fully enformed your Holinesse how these things were done, who haue reported vnto your said Holinesse not onely the name of the Turke to haue bene proclaimed together with the Polonians in Moldavia, but also the name of the Tatars the proper enemies of the Polonians, and by the power and decrees of them three, as it were confederat together, things to haue bene ordered in Moldavia. Which their complaint if it tend to that end, as if a confederation were made with them, I frankly confesse certain conditions to haue been giuen them, but such as whereby is provided not only for the quiet and securitie of this kingdome, but no lesse also for the whole Christian commonweale, as is before declared. All which things for all that although they were done for the good of this kingdome, and all Christendome in general, yet were they so done, that they were all by me referred vnto the kings maiestie and the states of the kingdome: so that at this present the kingdome is at free libertie either to ioyne in confederation with the rest of the Christian princes; or if that cannot vpon certaine and indifferent conditions be agreed vpon, yet with no mans iniurie or hurt to ratifie this, ioynd with the health and good of a great part of the Christian commonweale:

* viz. to become tributarie vnto the Turke.

A commonweale: only God graunt that the Christian princes may seriously thinke both of this so Christian a confederation against the common enemy, and striue also all together against the enemy with their weapons, and not with misreports and slanders one against another. They are not to assaile the enemies feet, but his throat: neither is the seat of the warre to be placed in the borders of Polonia, where it concerneth themselves much to haue all things rather penetrable behind them: but let the war be undertaken with lesse charge and preparation, than if the enemies royal seat were to be assailed, which standing in an open and plaine country shall alwaies without much adoe be his that being strongest can take it. This haue I written at large as my purpose was, all which I most humbly beseech your Holinesse with your diuine wisdom to consider of, and with your wonted clemencie to accept the same: and so protest at your Holinesse feet, I most humbly commend me to your clemencie: From

B Zamoschie the tenth of Ianuarie 1596. I am yours most humble servant, Sinan Bassa.

Thus much the great Chancellour in defence of himselfe, and of that he had done in Moldavia: which how soeuer it contented the Pope, well I wrote nothing pleased the Emperour, and much lesse the Transylvanian prince, now not a little weakened by the taking away of the country of Moldavia from him.

C And this trouble some yeare withall, many sharpe and bloudie skirmishes yet daily passed in diuers places of those frontier countries; the Turkes almost in every place still going to the warre. In the beginning of November, Zencouli gouernour of Carolsburg, the second time surprised Wirtz in the frontiers of Croatia, where these wars first begun: but being not able to take the citie, contented himselfe as before with the spoile of the citie, and afterward setting it on fire, departed. Maximilian also attempted Zencouli, and the Christians in garison at Strigoniua and Plindenburg now become neere neighbours vnto the Turkes at Buda, did with continuall inuades not a little trouble them both all the latter end of this yeare and the beginning of the next. And the Turkes in Bialla in Vlachia, vpon the side of Danubius, fearing after the flight of Sinan to be besieged by the Vayud, forsooke the citie, and in their hast passed the river; that in that tumultuous passage three hundred of them perished.

D Sinan Bassa, by the Transylvanian prince of late driven out of Vlachia, was not long after sent for to Constantinople, but the craftie old fox not ignorant of the fierce nature of the great Sultan, and warned by the late miserie of Ferat, found occasions to delay the time so long, vntill that he was sent for againe, and after that the third time also. In the meane while he had so wrought by his mightie friends in Court, & by such rewards, mightier than they, that at his comming to the Court he was there honourably receiued, as the chiefe of the Bassas: and being afterwards offered to bee discharged of the warres, as a man of about fourescore yeares old, he refused so to be, saying, That he was borne and brought vp amongst foundiours and martiall men, and so wisht amongst them to die: as not long after he did; dying as was thought of content of the euill successe he had in his warres against the Transylvanian.

Mahomet the Turkish Emperour exceedingly grieved with the losse of so many his cities and strong places this yeare lost, as namely Strigoniua, Vicerade, Siseo, Patrinnia, Lipitz, Tenna, Tergoovista, Bucaresta, Zorza, and many others of lesse name: and both by letters and messengers vnderstanding daily of the slaughter of his people, and waiting of his frontiers, commaunded great preparation to be made against the next Spring, giuing it out, That he would then in person himselfe come down into Hungary with such a power as neuer had any his predeceffours the Othoman kings and emperours, and there take most sharpe reuenge of all his former wrongs. Neuertheless, these his so haiste designs were by the plague and famine, (which then both ragged extreame in most part of his empire) and by other great occurrences of the same time so crossed, that by that time the Spring came, he scarcely well knew which way to the same time the Georgians in the East, a warlike people, moued with the good successe of the Christians in Vlachia and Hungary, had taken vp arms against him: and the old Persian king but a little before dead, had left that great kingdome to his sonne, a man of greater spirit than was like to endure the manifold injuries before done vnto his father by the Turke, to the great dishonour of that kingdome, and prejudice of himselfe. Of which things the Bassa of Tauris gaue him ample intelligence, wishing him betimes to provide for such stormes: which ioynd to the rest, filled his head with many troubled thoughts, wherunto we leaue him vntill the next Spring.

Sinan Bassa sent for to Constantinople.

His death.

Mahomet perplexed.

Mahomet the third,

The Transylvanian prince carefull of his estate, and not a little troubled with the dissevering of MOLDAVIA: thought it not vnfit for his affaires, now after the flight of *Sinan* and discom-
 ture of the Turkes, to go in person himselfe vnto the emperour, to declare vnto him the wrong
 done him by the Polonians; and farther to conferre with him, concerning the manning of the
 warres against the common enemy. So hauing put all things in readinesse for his journey, he
 set forward in Ianuarie 1596, and by the way of CASSOVIA the fourth of Februarie, arrived at
 PRAAG in BOHEMIA, where he was by the emperours appointment most honourably enter-
 tained. But immediatly after his comming thither he fell sicke of an ague, which grievously vex-
 ed him for the space of three weekes. In the latter end of Februarie hauing somewhat recovered
 his health, he went to the church: where after his deuotions done, he was by the Deane of the
 Cathedrall church welcomed with a most eloquent oration, setting forth his worthie praises, H
 and farther animating him vnto the like exploits against the common enemy of all Christiani-
 tie: VV hereunto he forthwith answered, in Latin, so eloquently and so readily, that all men
 marvelled that heard him: protesting in his speech, That as he and his subjects had not hitherto
 spared their liues or goods in defence of the common cause; so would they not afterwards spare
 the same, but adventure all for the benefit of the Christian common-weale; well hoping that the
 emperour and the other Christian princes would not as occasion should require, be wanting vnto
 him with their forces, or the cleargie with their prayers: which done, he doubted not (as he
 said) by the power of God, but to obtaine more notable victories than he had yet against the
 Turkes the enemies of God.

The Siculi rebell
 against the
 prince.

VV hereunto he yet thus lay at the emperours Court, it fortuned that the people called Siculi, I
 fended to haue their liberties in some part infringed in the late assembly of the States holden in
 TRANSYLVANIA in December last: rise now vp in armes, in diuers places, refusing to yeele
 their former obedience vnto the prince. A matter like enough to haue wrought him much trou-
 ble, and supposed not to haue been done without the priuie of the Cardinall his vncke, but by
 the wisdom and courage of such as he had in his absence put in trust with the government of
 his countrey, diuers of the ringleaders of this rebellion were apprehended, and in diuers sort exe-
 cuted: and three hundred of their complices to the terror of their fellowes, had their noses and
 eares cut off. By which wholsome feueritie, all those troubles were appeased, and the countrey
 againe quieted.

At the same time also the Transylvanians obtained of the Turkes a notable victory, with an ex-
 ceeding rich bootie. *Mahomet* the Turkish Sultan had about this time sent a new Bassa for the
 government of TEMESVAR: against whose comming the old Bassa before Gouverneur, had in
 seuentie five wagons trussed vp a wonderfull deale of wealth, which he had there gotten in the
 time of his former government, to haue been together with himselfe with a strong conuoy con-
 ducted to BELGRADE. Of this his purpose, the Hungarian Heidons lying at LIPPA and LEN-
 NA hauing intelligence, lay in wait for him vpon the way, and in his passing by set vpon him:
 where in a sharpe conflict they ouerthrew the conuoy, and slew the Bassa, whose head they
 sent for a present to the princeesse at ALBA IULIA: and tooke the spoile of the Bassas carriages,
 wherein was taken a wonderfull wealth, for in one of those wagons is reported to haue beene
 found twentie thousand Hungarian ducats.

In this absence also of the prince, ten thousand of the Rascians reuolting from the Turke,
 came and offered their seruice vnto the princeesse, whereof she by letters with great speed certified
 the prince her husband; who thereupon halted to dispatch with the emperour: and hauing pro-
 cured both from him and the Pope the promise of some aid to be afterward sent him, tooke of
 him his leaue, and being honourably accompanied, departed from PRAAG to VIENNA: where
 he arrived the eleuenth of March, sitting in a princely chariot, drawn with six most beautifull hor-
 ses, the gift of the emperour. At his comming thither he was met by the nobilitie of the coun-
 trey, and by *Aldobrandinus* the Popes nephew, who presented him with three goodly horses for
 seruice, most richly furnished. Him the prince tooke into his chariot, and so accompanied en-
 tered the citie, where he was with all due honour receiued and joyfully entertained, and so brought M
 vnto the emperours pallace, where by the learned students of that Vniuersitie, was for his plea-
 sure acted before him the notable historie of *Iosua*. Hauing staid there three daies, and purpo-
 sing to haue in his returne visited his mother in law at GRABICZ in CROATIA: newes was
 brought him, that the Turkes and Tartars by the setting on of *Stephen Bator* his vncke, were about
 to

seuenth. Emperour. of the Turks.

A to breake into TRANSYLVANIA: VV herefore changing his purpose, he departed thence to
 PRESBURG, and so with all speed kept on his way towards TRANSYLVANIA: where he to
 the great joy and comfort of his subjects in generall arrived in safetie in the beginning of Aprill.

In this while many hoat skirmishes passed betwixt the Christians and the Turkes in the fron-
 tiers of their territories: and now the plague and famine, which had of long raged in CONSTAN-
 TINOPLE and other places of the Turkes dominions, began to assuage. Of which so great ca-
 lamities as had deuoured many thousands of his people, the Turkish emperour finding himselfe
 somewhat eased, forthwith caused the continuation of his warres against the emperour and the
 Transylvanian prince, to be three daies together proclaimed in: CONSTANINOPLE and a great
 armie to be raised to be sent into TRANSYLVANIA and HUNGARIE: giuing it out, that he
 B would with that so puissant an armie in person himselfe come into HUNGARIE: At which time
 it was also reported, that he had already sent his tents and other his necessarie prouision before
 to HADRIANOPLE: for now was nothing more odious in the Turkes court, than the name of
 the Transylvanian prince.

Of all these things was not the emperour ignorant, as fully thereof certified both by letters
 and espials; as also by the vniforme confession of such Turkes as were daily taken prisoners. For
 which cause, he also with as much speed and care as he could; provided for the raising of his ar-
 mie, as he had the yeare before; as also for the leuying of mony, and prouision of all things neces-
 sary, that the enemy at his comming might not find him vnprovided. Neither spared he to pray
 aid of the other Christian princes his neighbours, especially of the Polonian, whom he had di-
 uerts times sought after to haue drawn him into the confederation with the other Christian prin-
 ces against the Turke. To which purpose he now also sent vnto him the bishop of PRESLAU
 C and the lord *Poppelius* his embassadours: as did the Pope also send vnto him the Cardinall *Cate-
 tane* his legat, and the princes electors also their embassadours: vnto whom the Polonian gaue
 good-yeating and good words, but would not by any meanes be perswaded to breake his league
 with the Turke, or to afford any aid vnto the Christians; although the Cardinall with many
 pregnant reasons shewed him what small assurance there was in the Turkes leagues, and how
 dangerous it might be to his State if the Turke making peace with the emperour should turne
 his force vpon him, which it was like enough he would, as knowing no man longer for friend
 than stood with his profit; beside the immortall blemish of his honour by dissevering himselfe

D from the vnion of the Christian princes, to hold friendship with the Turkes and infidels. But all
 this and much more to no purpose, so resolutely was the Polonian set downe for the keeping of
 the Turkes fauour; so that of all the Christian princes so neere vnto the deuouring enemy, none
 stood the Christian common-weale in lesse stead than he: VVhich for all that, most men impu-
 ted not so much vnto the king as to others about him, especially to *Zamoschie* the great Chance-
 lor, by whom that state was most swaied, who was not onely supposed but openly reported to
 haue secret intelligence both with the Turke and the Tartar.

All this while the lord *Palfi* Gouverneur of STRIGONIVM, ceased not with continuall inroads
 to vex the Turkes euen to the gates of BUDA, as did also the other Christian captains in other pla-
 ces of the Turkes frontiers in HUNGARIE. Neere vnto BUDA were two great countrey villa-
 ges, for most part inhabited by Christians, who hauing giuen their oath of obedience vnto the
 E Turke, liued a miserable life for the payment of an excessive tribute yearly. These poore Christi-
 ans, wearie of the Turkish thraldome and the continuall spoile of their labors by them of STRI-
 GONIVM, by secret messengers requested of the lord *Palfi*, of mercie to carrie them with their
 goods and cattell away into some other place of the Christian territorie, that so they might yet
 liue amongst Christians, as he had but a little before done for them of old BUDA. Vnto which
 their so reasonable a request, the Christian Gouverneur charitably harkened; willing them against
 a certaine appointed time, to put themselves with all their things in readinesse. There was of
 these Christians about 755 families, who with their wiues and children, and such trash as they
 had, packt vp into eightie wagons drawne with foureene and sixtene oxen apiece, at the ap-
 F pointed time about midnight committed themselves with all that they had vnto the conduct of
 them of STRIGONIVM, sent out of purpose for them; by whom they were in safetie brought
 to STRIGONIVM. Amongst them were many rich men, who brought with them good store
 of coine, with an exceeding great number of cattell. Vnto these newcome guests, *Palfi* assigned
 certaine fields betwixt STRIGONIVM and VIVARIA, on the North side of Danubius; where
 they

Warre brook-
 ed in Constan-
 tinople against
 the emperor &
 the Transylvan-
 ian prince.

The Bassa of
 Temeswar slain,
 and a great bootie
 taken.

Six hundred of
the garrison
of Lippa
slaine by the
Turkes.

Lippa besieged by
the Turkes and
Tartars.

they so commodiously lived; as was possible in so troubled an estate of a country. G
Shortly after, six hundred garrison souldiours of Lippa seeking after bootie, and aduenuuring
too farre into the enemies territorie, were discovered by the Turkes scouts: and so beset by the
Turkes and Tartars billeted in the countrey about TEMESVAR, that there was no way left for
them to escape. Which they well perceiuing, resolved among themselves (as became valiant
men, to fight it out euen vnto the last man; and with no lesse resolution performed what they
had before determined: for being on euery side beset and hardly charged by their enemies, they
as men before resolved to die, although scarce one to twentie, fought most desperately, seeking for
nothing else but to sell their liues as deare as they could vnto their enemies: and so fighting were
all slaine, except some few which by great fortune escaped, leauing vnto the enemy a right blou-
die victorie. Yet by this losse of so great a partie, was the garrison of Lippa greatly weakened, H
which the enemy knew right well, and thereupon began forthwith to prepare to besiege the
towne. Which Barbelus the Gouernour (a most valiant man) wisely foreseeing, sent in post
vnto the Transylvanian prince, to request him with all speed to send him foure or fve thousand
good souldiours, with which power he doubted not by the helpe of God, to be able to defend the
towne against all the forces the enemy was at that time able to bring against it. Vnto whom
the prince without delay sent eight thousand, who all in safetie in good time arrived at Lippa:
for shortly after their arrival, fortie thousand of the Turkes and Tartars came and sat downe be-
fore the towne, enclosing it on euery side, and so lay for certaine daies without anything doing
worth the speaking of; they of the towne in the meane time doing them all the harme they
could with their great shot, which they sent amongst them not sparingly. But they had not thus I
long lien, but that newes was brought into the campe, that the Transylvanian prince was with
a great power coming thither to relieue the towne: whereupon they presently rose, and retired
to the place where they had before encamped, about two miles from Lippa; where certainly
vnderstanding that the prince neither was neither could in short time be in such readinesse as was
before reported, they forthwith returned, and more straitly besieged the towne than before.
They had now brought with them seenteene pieces of batterie, eight wagons laded with shot
and powder, and fortie six others laded with scaling ladders and other warlike prouision: thus
appointed they began to batter the towne, and afterwards gaue therunto diuers desperat assaults;
which the Christians valiantly received, and still with great slaughter repulsed their enemies. For
that strong towne was with towers and bulwarkes flanking one another so fortified, that out of K
them the Christians with their murthering pieces made great spoile of their enemies, and still en-
forced them with losse to retire, no bullet almost flying in vaine. In the heat of one of these as-
saults, the Gouernour caused one of the gates of the towne to be set open, hauing before within
in the towne placed sixteene great pieces, at the verie entrance of the same gate, charged with all
kind of murthering shot: vnto which gate, as of meere desperation set open by the defendants,
the Turkes and Tartars desirous of reuenge, came thronging as thicke as might be, thinking to
haue thereby entred: when suddenly, and as it were in the turning of an hand, they were with
the aforesaid murthering pieces cut downe as with a sicke, and so againe, and the third and fourth
time, before they could cleare themselves of the danger thereof, their heads, armes, legges, and
other rent limbes, flying in the ayre most miserably to behold. Neuertheless the siege was by L
them continued, and the often assaults so resolutely maintained, as if they had thereon purposed
to haue gaged all their liues. But this so obstinat a resolution, was by an vnexpected accident
when they least thought, converted into such a desperat feare and astonishment, that they vpon
the sudden (no man forcing them) forooke their trenches wherein they lay encamped, and lea-
uing behind them their tents, their great ordinance, and whatsoever else they had, they betooke
themselves to a most disordered flight. The Transylvanians, who by chance were euen then
coming thither, pursuing them, slew diuers of them, and tooke some others of them prisoners.
At this siege the Bassa of TEMESVAR himselfe was mortally wounded, and Hamat Sanzacke
of GIVLA with diuers others of good place slaine, and foure thousand of the common souldiours.
The cause of the Turkes so great and sudden feare was this: VVhilst the Bassa of TEMESVAR M
lay at the siege of Lippa, as is aforesaid, they that were left in the citie fearing no harme, lived in
great securitie; in the meane time the Gouernour of LVGAZ sent out six thousand souldiours to-
wards TEMESVAR, now in the absence of the Bassa to seeke after bootie; who coming to
TEMESVAR, with great speed rifled the suburbs of the citie, slew all the Turkes they could light
vpon,

A vpon, and set at libertie a thousand captiues: and so hauing trussed vp their bootie, set on fire all
the suburbs, and departed. VVhich fire grew so great and so terrible, that it was plainly seene in-
to the campe at Lippa, making a shew as if the whole citie had bene on a light fire. Which so
daunted the hearts of the Turkes at the siege, that they presently fled (as is before said) leauing all
that they had behind them.

The Transylvanian all this while busied in raising of his armie, and prouiding of things ne-
cessarie for the maintenance of his warres, was come into the confines of HUNGARIE, towards
TEMESVAR, euen as the Turkes fled from Lippa. At which time certaine Hungarian Hei-
dons that serued him, getting ouer Danubius, not farre from NICOPOLIS tooke PLENIA, a
little towne of the Turkes, which they rancked and burnt, and hauing slaine in the countrey,
B thereabout about three thousand of the Turkes, returned with a rich prey vnto the prince.

Not long before the Christians had surprisid CLISSA, a strong frontier towne of the Turkes
in DALMATIA, not far from SPALATO: which towne the Bassa of BOSNA fought now againe
to recouer, and thereto layed hard siege: for the reliefe whereof, Leucowitz Gouernour of STIRIA
and the other prouinces thereabouts belonging to the house of AVSTRIA, and the gouernour
of ZENGO, with a fleet of two and fortie ships, wherein they had embarked foure thousand
souldiours well appointed, with all things necessarie set forward toward CLISSA: and by the way
lighting vpon a gallee of the Venetians, bound with certain warlike prouision towards the Turkes
campe, tooke her as good prize, and rifled her. This fleet with a faire wind arrived at SIBET,
neere vnto TRAV, where the gouernour landing his men, marched that night part of his way to-
ward CLISSA, and all the next day lay close. The night following they set forward againe, and
C hauing marched fifteene miles, came vnto the enemies campe before day: where setting vpon
the Turkes in their trenches, fearing no such perill, they brought such a generall feare vpon the
whole campe, that the Turkes as men amazed fled some one way, some another, euery man (as in
such sudden feare it commonly happeneth) making shift for himselfe, leauing whatsoever they
had in their trenches behind them. The Christians contented so to haue put their enemies to
flight, fell presently to the spoile, as more desirous thereof, than by the hastie pursue of their ene-
mies to put themselves in possession of an assured victory. VVhich the Turkes quickly perceiuing,
and from the hills with the dawning of the day discouering the small number of the Christians,
and how they were disordered, they gathered themselves againe together, and coming downe,
D enclosed on euery side the disordered Christians (greedily hunting after the spoile) and slew them
downeright. Leucowitz himselfe with the gouernour of ZENGO and some others got into CLIS-
SA: where hauing staid two daies, and doubting to be able to keepe the towne, they secretly by
night issued out with six hundred men, in hope to haue recouered their fleet: but the Turkes sus-
pecting such a matter, had so beset the passages, that of all that companie Leucowitz had much
adoe himselfe with three others to escape. The enemy now againe possessed of his trenches, laid
straighter siege to the towne than before: which they of the garrison perceiuing, and now out
of hope of reliefe, agreed with the Bassa, that they might with bag and baggage depart; and so
yelded vp the towne. Thus CLISSA, one of the strongest townes of DALMATIA, through the
greedie couetousnesse of the disordered souldiours, fell againe into the hands of the Turkes.

E About the same time, Passi gouernour of STRIGONIVM vnderstanding of the meeting to-
gether of certaine notable aduenturers of the Turkes at SOMBOCK, a castle almost in the mid way
betwixt ALBA REGALIS and BVDA, raised the greatest strength he could, and so with certain
pieces of artillerie, and other things necessarie for an assault, set forward from STRIGONIVM the
two and twentieth of May before the rising of the Sunne, and about three a clocke in the after-
noone came to the aforesaid castle, whereunto he presently gaue a most terrible assault; which
he neuer gaue ouer vntill he had taken it: For after that he had by the space of three houres to-
gether with great danger maintained a most desperate assault, at length hee with much difficultie
preuailed, and put to the sword all the Turkes he found therein, man, woman, and child; and with
the rest, fiftie Janizaries but that day come thither. This castle was of great beautie, and most
F pleasantly situated; whereunto the Bassa of BVDA oftentimes for his pleasure repaired: for which
cause Passi was very desirous to haue taken it without spoyling: but the fire hee had therein al-
readie raised, so preuailed, that it burnt downe all the goodly buildings thereof, with great store
of victuals and other prouision, nothing remaining, but what the Christians had saued for
themselves.

*Have an icon by
the Christians.*

Extreme con-
eluc. [†]

ans one day about five a clocke in the afternoone, assaulted the towne in foure places; and after three houres hard fight, by strong hand tooke it, with the great scriching and lamenting of the women and children, and other fearful people, who now gaue themselves all lost and forlorne. Foure houres execution was done vpon all that came to hand, without respect of age, sex, or condition: women were flaine great with child, and yong children hanging at their mothers breasts, it booted not to crie for mercie, the bloudie sword deuouring all. The furie of the VVallons here exceeded, who ript the children out of their mothers wombs, and made thongs and points of the skins of men and women, whom they had flaine quicke. VVhich their crueltie they afterwards excused when they were therefore repproued, by pretending that thereby they did teach the Turkes hereafter not so wickedly to blaspheme against Christ, or with such their wanted and barbarous crueltie to torment the Christians that fell into their hands, for feare of like themselves. In this assault and furie perished of the Turkes about foure thousand, and of the Christians not past three hundred. In this towne beside that which the fire deuoured, was found a verie rich prey. The first that entred the towne was one *Terskie*, a notable capitaine with his companie: after whom followed *Rufwurme*, who each of them were thought in their entrance at the breach, to haue flaine with their owne hand eight or ten Turkes.

Malcomes the
great Sultan co-
mes to Buda
with an armie
of two hundred
thousand.

Now in the meane time *Mahomet* the great Sultan being come to *BELGRADE*, remoued thence to come downe into the heart of *HUNGARIE*, sending *Cicala Bassa* before him; and at length after long looking for, the second of September arriued at *BUDA*, hauing in his armie about two hundred thousand men, and three hundred field pieces. From thence he presently sent fortie thousand to *TIMESVARY*; but staied there himselfe with the rest of his armie.

The Christians yet lying at H A T T V A N, and doubting least the Sultan suddenly passing the river should come vpon them not yet readie for battell; departing thence, and retiring backe againe, came and encamped not farr from V A C I A. And albeit that the Archduke before his departure from H A T T V A N, had left a conuenient garrison for the keeping of the towne; yet such was the terrour of the Turkes approach, that the next day after, they that were there left in garrison forooke the towne, and setting it on fire, followed themselves after the campe. This comming of the Turkish Sultan to B V D A, brought also a great feare vpon them at V I E N N A, as much doubting least he should that way haue turned his forces, which caused them both day and night to labour for the better fortification of the citie, and for the prouision of all things, as if it had been for a present siege.

But *Mahomet* not provided for the undertaking of so strong a place, and not ignorant of the disgrace his great grandfather the victorious *Solyman* had sometime received under the walls thereof; had no purpose thereto, as having bent his thoughts quite another way. In the vpper part of *HUNGARIE* is an auncient famous citie, well fortified and honoured with a bishops See called *AGRIA*, not farre from *HATVAN*: Vpon this citie, as the chiefe fortresse of the Christians in those quarters, had *Mahomet* at his comming into *HUNGARIE* cast his eyes, and began now that way to make head; with purpose by taking of that citie, and placing there of a strong garrison, to hinder the vnitng of the emperours forces with the *Transylvanians*, for the mutual strengthening of the one the other by the way of the vpper *HUNGARIE*. VVhich the Archduke perceiuing, sent thither forthwith the valiant Colonell *Terskue* with a notable companie of Italians and Germanes, and a thousand other harquebusiers, who all arrived there in safetie. At which time also the lord *Teuffenbach* sent into the citie three thousand footmen, vnder the conduct of countie *Turn*, with good store of warlike prouision needfull for the defence thereof. The one and twentieth of September, *Mahomet* attended vpon by the great Bassaces, *Ibrahim*, *Giassar*, *Hassan*, and *Cicala*, for old *Sinan* was now dead, with his armie of an hundred and fiftie thousand men, came and encamped betwene the two riuers of *Danubius* and *Tibiscus*, covering a great part of the countrey with his tents. Approaching the citie, he with wonderfull celeritie cast vp five great mounts, and from them with such furie battered the wals, that the Christians were glad night and day to stand in armes for the defence thereof. And although that the wals were so great, and in many places so weakly fortified as that they were not but by a greater garrison to be defended against so puissant an enemy; and that therefore the defendants with their honour lawfully might euen the first day haue set the citie on fire, and retired themselves into the castle, which was both faire and strong, and the onely place to be trusted vnto; yet for the space of six daies they worthily defended the whole citie against the furie of the enemies, and out of it did

A them great harme: But seeing the danger daily encreasing, and that the citie was not longer to be holden, they set it on fire; having before consumed all the best of their substance with themselves into the castle: which the Turkes quickly perceiving, brake so suddenly into the citie, as if they would together with the Christians have entered the castle also; but in the attempting thereof they were notably repul'd, and many of them slaine: Adjoyning to the castle was a great and strong bulwarke; against which the Turkes for certaine daies furiously charged with their great ordinance, and that without intermission: and having in diuers places for shakent; in the space of two daies assaulted it twelue times; but not without the wonderfull losse of their men: And yet gaue it not for ouer; but as men with their losse more enrag'd, came on againe with greater furie than before; and so at last by plaine force tooke it: and there put to the sword all them they

B found therein, except such as by good hap got belimes into the cattle. At his bulwarke thus left, the Christians the next day falling out, againe recovered; wherein they slew a great number of the Turkes, with the losse of some thirte men; and as many more wounded. The besieged now diuers times both by letters and messengers craved aid of *Maximilian* the Generall, giuing him to vnderstand, that they could not long hold out for want of shot and powder; if they were not betimes relieved (whereof the enimie also was not ignorant) yet were they resolu'd to hold it out euen to the last man; although the great Sultan had oftentimes by messengers sent of purpose, willed them to yeeld it vp, with promise that they should in safetie with life and goods depart, otherwise threatening vnto them greater extremities than was of late shewed vnto the Turkes at *HATVAN*, if they should as obstinate men hold it out vnto the last. Whereunto they neuer

C answered him any thing: for *Terskie* had forbid them all parley with the enemy; and in the middle of the marker place had caused a paire of gallows to be set vp; threatening to hang him thereon, whoeuer he were that should once make motion of yeelding vp the citie. *Alas* how long whilest the besieged thus liue in hope of reliefe, the Archduke vpon the comming ouer of the Sultan towards *AGRIA*, hauing retired with his armie to *STRIGONIUM*; and there staid somewhat too long expecting the comming of more aid: began now at length to set forward; and to make some shew as if he had indeed purposed to haue relieved his distressed friends: so hardly beset at *AGRIA*. But such was the foulness of the weather, hindering the passage of his great ordnance (nor to speake of any thing else) that in foureteen daies he marched scarcely twelue miles forward. Whereby the enemy tooke occasion to preuaile as he did in his siege:

D who now hearing of the comming of the Christians, and seeing to how little purpose he had so long battered the castle, concerted all his endeouours to the filling vp of the ditch of the old castle, with fagots, earth, and such like matter: for the hastening of which worke, *Mahomet* himselfe spared not to ride vp and downe in all places of his armie, with his prefrence and cheerefull speech encouraging his men in that desperat worke. But whilest the *Turkes* are thus busie in fulfilling his commaund, the Christians falling out vpon them made great slaughter of them, and put to flight *Ibrahim* the great Bassa with such as were about him: after whom they so eagerly followed, that he in the flight lost his tulipant for hast, and was there verie like to haue been taken. Neuerthelesse the worke went still forward, and was now at length with the restlesse labour of so great a multitude brought to such perfection, that the *Turkes* thought it now no great matter by assault to enter the castle: and therupon the tenth of October gaue vnto it foure desperat assaults one vpon another, being still with great slaughter of his men repulsed. But coming on againe the fift time with fresh supplies, and greater furie than at the first, they prevailed: and so entring, put to the sword all they found in the castle, in number about eight hundred: four hundred of whose heads, one of the *Turkes* captaines caused to be carried vnto *Mahomet* in the campe, in the beholding whereof he is said to haue taken great pleasure, as in the vndoubted signes of his victorie.

The old castle thus taken, nothing remained but the new castle, against which the Turks conducted their whole forces, wherein they reposed not so much hope, although their batterie were verie terrible and their power great, as in the secret mines wherewith they had in foureteen places undermined the castle, and were now almost readie to be blowne vp. Which the besieged perceiuing, and withall considering the state wherein they stood, and not hearing any thing of relief; resolued amongst themselves (without the consent of their chiefe commanders) no longer to hold out, but to yeeld. And thereupon *Algari* and *Terskie*; who at the first by all vp in a mutinie against their two Gouvernours, *Paul* *Algari* and *Terskie*; who at the first by all

A buttrike
twelve times
assaulted in two
daies.

of 1.000000

Agria.

*Agria besieged
by Mahomet.*

Aaaaa ij

the reasons they could deuise, dissuaded them from such cowardise, putting them in mind of the oath they had taken: which not preuailling, they afterwards vpon their knees requested them as men to hold it out yet a while, in hope of speedie reliefe: yea *Terskie* with his hands cast vpon treated them, that if they would no longer hold it out but needs yeeld, they they should first kill him with their owne hands, that he might not liue to see so great a dishonour. But what auaileth persuasion with men possessed with so great feare? And in the meane time two hundred and fittie of the common souldiours, amongst whom were many Italians, secretly escaping out of the castle fled into the campe, of whom diuers became renegats and turned Turkes, which added to the former feare, so much discouraged the minds of the rest, that they forthwith required to come to parley with the enemy, and so agreed, That they might with bag and baggage & their swords by their sides in safetie depart: the great Sultan giuing his faith for the performance thereof, with hostages deliuered on either side. So the thirteenth of October about noone, the garrison souldiours came out of the castle in number about two thousand: but they were not gone farre, but that they were in a great plaine set vpon by the Turkes and Tartars, and there cut in pieces; some of them were slaine quicke, and some other of them otherwise shamefully dismembred; the Turkes in the meane time vpbraiding them, and saying, That faith was not to be kept with them that had so cruelly before dealt with them of *HATVAN*. This perfidious dealing much offended diuers of the better sort of the Turkes, in so much, that some of them complained thereof vnto the Sultan; who (as is reported) caused some of the chiefe authors thereof to be put to death: and afterward by open proclamation commanded, that if any of the Turkes or Tartars had taken any of them prisoners, they should forthwith set them at libertie. Thus is the famous citie of *AGRIA*, of long time a Christian bishops seat, now become a sure receptacle for the Turkes and Infidels.

*Agria yeelded
vnto the Turkes.*

*W*hilest *Mahomet* thus lay at the siege of *AGRIA*, the Bassa of *BOSNA* with certaine other of the Sanzacks thereabouts, hauing raised a great armie, came and besieged *PETRINIA* in the borders of *CROATIA*: which he at his first comming so furiously battered by the space of seauen daies, that it was of many thought not possible for it to hold out two daies longer. In the meane time the lord *Herbenstein* and *Leukowitz*, with all the power they could make out of *CROATIA* and *WINDISMARCH*, came towards *PETRINIA*: but hauing no means in so great hast to make a bridge ouer the riuer of *Kulp*, they retired towards *SISEG* there to passe ouer. The Turkes hearing of their retire, and supposing them to haue fled for feare, put six thousand horsemen ouer the riuer to pursue them: vpon whom the Christians turning, and charging them home, ouerthrew them; and hauing slaine many of them, draue the rest headlong into the riuer, where most of them perished. The Christians neuertheless keeping on their way to *SISEG*, there the next day by a bridge passed ouer the riuer, and so marching towards *PETRINIA*, and being come neere vnto the towne, were encountred by eight thousand Turkes, whom they also put to flight; and by certaine prisoners there taken, vnderstood that the Bassa the day before was risen from before the towne and gone: which they at the first beleued not, but comming thither found it so, to their owne good contentment, and the great joy of the late besieged.

*Petrinia relieved
by the Turkes.*

Maximilian the Generall marching on faire and softly from *STRIGONIUM*, at length the seuenteenth of October came to *CASSOVIA*, foure daies after that *AGRIA* was lost; and there met with the Transylvanian prince, who was come thither with eightene thousand men, and fortie field pieces to aid him: of whom eight thousand were mercinarie horsemen, fiftene hundred were of the nobilitie of his countrey, and the rest footmen. The next day after they setting forward from *CASSOVIA*, joyned themselves with the rest of the armie led by the lord *Tenffenbach* and *Palfi*, and so of all their vnited forces made one armie, consisting now of two and thirtie thousand horsemen and eight and twentie thousand foot: who drew with them an hundred and twentie field pieces, and twentie thousand wagons, wherewith they euerie night enclosed their armie as with a most sure trench. So orderly marching, they kept on their way towards *AGRIA*, with a full resolution to giue the Turkes battell, whereof the whole armie seemed to be verie desirous. By the way at length they came to a faire heath two miles long and foure broad, where they were to passe ouer a certaine riuer, the passage whereof *Giasfar Bassa* had before taken with twentie thousand Turkes and Tartars, the rest of the Turkes armie lying still not farre from *AGRIA*. Now the purpose of the Bassa was, to haue enlarged the passage of the riuer, and

A so to haue made way for the whole armie, to haue afterwards passed vnto the other side, as most commodious for many purposes, especially for water, whereof they so might themselves haue had plentie, and yet kept the Christians from it. But of this his purpose, by the comming of the Christians he was quite disappointed: for the next day being the three and twentieth of October, they skirmished with him in diuers places, especially at the passage of the riuer, where at the first encounter he lost three hundred of his men, & in the end seeing himselfe too weake to withstand the whole power comming on, fled to the Sultan, hauing lost two of his ensignes and twentie field pieces, but of his men not many, both for that he fled betime, and the approach of the night hindered the pursue of the Christians, who were now become masters both of the passage of the riuer, and of the place where the Bassa lay: which they finding not so commodious for them as they had at the first supposed (especially for lacke of wood, the weather then being extreame cold, as also hearing of the approach of the Sultan with his whole armie) they forthwith forsooke the same, and retired again ouer the riuer vnto the place where they lay before, enclosing themselves with their waggons, as if it had beene a citie strongly enclosed with wooden walls. The next day, which was the foure and twentieth of October, towards night, *Mahomet* with all his army shewed himselfe vnto the view of the Christians, and sent three thousand Tartars to passe the riuer: of whom the Christians slew a great number with their great shot, and put the rest to flight. Both the armies were populous and strong, and couered a great deale of ground, a most goodly sight to behold: both drunke of the same riuer, as well the men as their horses, and therefore kept continuall watch all that night on both sides of the riuer, especially at the passage. In the morning betwixt six and seuen a clocke, *Mahomet* with his armie raunged in order of battell, came within sight of the Christians, his squadrons as it were couering all the countrey on that side of the riuer as farre as the Christians could well see; and now againe sent part of his armie ouer the riuer: with whom the Christians skirmished from morning till night, both the armies parted but by the riuer, all this while standing fast, and as it were facing the one the other. But being at the length on both sides well wearied, and many slaine, the Turkes retired againe ouer the riuer to the campe: in the meane time (as if it had beene by consent) they resolved on both sides the next day to trie the fortune of a battell, and so commaundement was giuen through both the armies, for euery man against a certaine appointed time to make himselfe readie. So the next day, being the six and twentieth of October, *Mahomet* brought forth his armie againe out of his campe, which was not farre from the Christians; and began now to draw downe towards the riuer. Neere vnto this place were the ruines of an old church, where *Mahomet* placed certaine companies of *Iannizaries*, and foure and twentie field pieces, and commaunded ten thousand of his select souldiours to passe the riuer, which they readily did. The Christians also readie for battell, and now thinking it time vpon the comming ouer of the enemy to begin; with part of their armie thereunto appointed, so fiercely charged the Turkes that were already come ouer, that they quickly ouerthrew them, and not them onely, but certaine companies of Tartars also that were in another place come ouer the riuer: and not so contented, but following them they had in chace, put to flight them also that stood on the further side of the riuer, of whom they slew a great number, and by the comming on of the rest of the armie tooke from them an hundred and ninetie great pieces of artillerie: whereof so great a feare rose in the enemies campe, that *Mahomet* with *Ibrahim* the great Bassa seeing the discomfiture of the armie, fled in all hast towards *AGRIA*, shedding some teares by the way as he went, and wiping his eyes with a peece of *Mahomet's* garment, which he for reuerence carried about him as a relique. It drew now towards night, and the Arch-duke was about to haue caused a retreat to be sounded, and that day to haue done no more. But the Transylvanian prince, the lord *Palfi*, and the rest, perswaded him in that so great feare of the enemy to prosecute the victorie; and the rather, for that the Turkes began againe to make head, and to repaire their disordered battells. Wherefore the Christians still keeping their array, charged afresh the front of their enemies restored battell, consisting of fortie thousand men, and that with such violence, as that they in short time had slaine the most part of them, and put the rest to flight: and with the like good fortune charging the bodie of the maine battell, forced the discouraged Turkes with great slaughter into their owne campe. Now commaundement was before giuen throughout the Christian armie, that no man vpon paine of death should in seeking after spoile breake his array, or forsake his place, before the victorie were assuredly gotten. But they in this hot pursue breaking together with the Turkes into their tents, & there killing a great number

*A great and
long skirmish
betwixt the
Turkes and
Christians.*

*Ten thousand
Turkes passe the
riuer, and are
gathered with
the Tartars put
to flight.*

Aaaaa iij

The Christians
in seeking too
greedily after the
spoile, were
throwne and dis-
comfited.

of them, and seeing in euery place great store of rich spoile, contrarie to the aforesaid commandement, left the pursuit of the enemy, and disorderly fell to the spoile of the tents, vntill they came to the very tent of the great Sultan. But here began all the mischief, with a most sudden change of fortune. For here these greedie disordered men, not now worth the name of soldiers, light vpon a strong Squadron of resolute men, with good store of great ordinance readie charged, which they discharged amongst the thickest of their enemies, and rent in sunder a number of them, and after that came on resolutely themselves: when in the meane time *Cicala Bassa* with his horsemen yet vntouched, brake in vpon them also, and with the terror of his coming brought such a feare vpon them, that they began amaine to flie, especially the Hungarians and Germanes, most busied in the spoile. Neither could they in that feare, by any threats or entreatie of their commanders be perswaded to make a stand, or so much as once to looke backe, or to shew any token of true valour: which their hastie flight was the ouerthrow not of themselves onely, but of others also that would haue fought: for whilest they fled headlong vpon the spur, and could not be stayed, they ouerran their owne footmen, and so furthered the enemies victorie. Thus for want of good order, through the greedie couetousnesse of a sort of disordered men the most notable victorie that euer the Christians were like to haue had ouer the Turks, was let slip out of their hands. Many noble gentlemen and commanders, in seeking to stay the flight of their owne men, were here slaine: and although the enemy followed the chase scarce halfe a mile, yet were the Christians possessed with such a feare, that they fled amaine all ouer the countrey with greater shame than losse, no man pursuing them. The Archduke himselfe seeing all desperat, fled to *CASSOVIA*. The Transylvanian of all others most orderly retired himselfe towards *TOCAIT*, hauing not lost in this battell about two hundred men, and of them neuer a man of name. All this losse he imputed to the couetousnesse of the Hungarians, and cowardise of the Germane horsemen. The lord *Bernsteine* hauing charge of the great artillerie, fled also, and made shift for himselfe, as did *Palfi*, and in fine all the rest. Neither was the feare lesse amongst the Turks (a wonderfull thing to be spoken) than it was amongst the Christians: for the night following they for feare of the returne of the Christians, trusing vp the best of their things, fled also towards *AGRIA*. And it was afterwards knowne, that the Turks great ordinance, tents, and baggage stood three daies in their trenches, either altogether vnguarded, or so slenderly guarded, as that they might haue beene easily taken by the Christians, if they would but haue made head againe. Yea *Mahomet* himselfe is reported oftentimes to haue confessed the danger and feare he was then in to haue beene taken, and all his armie destroyed, if the Christians had (as they should) pursued the victory, and not so basely run after the spoile: by which danger he then warned, hath euer since shunned to aduenture his person to the like perill in the field. In this battell of *KARISTA* (for so it is of a place thereby called) and at the siege of *AGRIA* were lost of the Christians about twentie thousand, and of the Turks threescore thousand. *Mahomet* after this victorie fortified *AGRIA*, and for the keeping thereof left in it 10000 soldiers, and so returned to *BELGRADE*.

Vacia besieged
by the Bassa of
Buda.

The Bassa of *BUDA* perswading himselfe that the Christians after so great an ouerthrow could not this yeare to any purpose recouer their strength, came with all the power he was able to make, and the fourth of Nouember besieged *VACIA*, in hope to haue easily carried it: but finding there greater resistance than he had before imagined, and hearing that the dispersed Christians in the vpper part of *HUNGARIE* were making head for to come to the reliefe of the towne, he more afraid than hurt, brake vp his siege, and so returned to *BUDA*: for indeed the dispersed reliques of the late armie of the Christians were drawing together, but vnarmed and vnserviceable, as hauing in the late flight shamefully cast away their armes, and therefore could haue done the Bassa small harme if he had continued the siege.

Mahomet thinking it honour ynough for him to haue thus woon *AGRIA*, and driuen the Christians out of the field, deuided his armie into two parts at *BELGRADE*: whereof the one he billeted in the countrey thereabout, to be readie for all euents; and with the other he returned to *CONSTANTINOPLE*: but by the way he was set vpon by *Barbelius Ianuschi* the Transylvanian princes lieutenant, and the Vayuod of *VALACHIA*, who with a great power both of horse and foot being got ouer the Danubius, and secretly fauoured by the countrey people, lay in ambush for him in places of aduantage, and still following in the taile of his army, cut off 7000 of his men before he could be rid of them: and so with much trouble arrived at length at *CONSTANTINOPLE*, where we will for this yeare leave him, vntill we heare of him more.

Maximi-

Maximilian with a small retinue arrived at *VIENNA* in the latter end of Nouember, where he found the Vicount of *BVRGAVV*, *Swartzenburg*, with some other of the commanders of his late armie; most of the rest, especially the Italians, being slaine. The small remainder of this vnforgotten yeare was spent with often skirmishes and intrudes one into anothers frontiers, as the manner of warre is, without any other great thing done worth the remembrance.

Rodolph the Christian Emperour, notwithstanding the late discomfiture of his armie not farre from *AGRIA*, made choice againe of his brother *Maximilian* the Archduke, for the managing of his forces for his next yeares wars against the Turke. Vnto the Pope by his legate *Fran. Aldobrandino* promised of his owne charge to send ten thousand Italians, vnder the conduct of the duke of *MANTVA*: as did also the Germane princes their wonted aid, with some others:

All which slowly at length meeting together neere vnto *POSSONIVM* and *ALTENBURG*, in the moneths of Iuly and August, departing thence, marched to *PAPPA*; which after eight daies hard siege they tooke, and so againe retired to *ALTENBURG*, where they tooke a generall muster of the armie: and afterwards in the beginning of September shewed themselves before the strong towne of *RAB*: where the lord *Bernsteine* approaching too neere the wals, was with a shot slaine. Neuerthelesse the rest there staid, vntill that hearing of the coming of *Mahomet Bassa* the Turks Generall with a great armie, they left the siege, and the foure and twentieth day of September passing ouer the riuer Danubius into the island *SCHVIT* towards *KOMARA*, there on the North side of the riuer encamped. Where they had not lien past eight daies, but that the castle of *DORIS*, standing vpon the South side of Danubius, was by the Bassa before their faces and as it were euen vnder their noses besieged and taken; the whole armie of the Christians in the meane time as idle beholders looking on, but not daring to relieue their distressed friends: but afterwards arising, marched to *VACIA*, where hearing of the Turks coming against them from *PBSTH*, they set fire on the castle, and so retired along the North side of the riuer, vntill they came ouer against *VICIGRADA* castle of their owne on the other side of Danubius: where by the good direction of the lord *George Bassa* a most expert captain, and lieutenant Generall of the armie, they encamped so strongly, as that the Turks after many braue attempts giuen to haue forced them in their trenches, were glad with some losse to depart.

Neither went things this yeare better forward with the Christians in other places than in this side of *HUNGARIE*. For *Sigismund* the Transylvanian prince by his Chancelour besieging the strong citie of *TEMBSVAR* in October, was by the valour of the defendants and the vnseasonableness of the weather enforced to raise his siege, and with dishonor to depart.

Michael also the Vayuod of *VALACHIA*, who moued with the example and persuations of the Transylvanian prince, had revolted from the Turke, and done them great harme (as is in part before declared) now wearied with their often inuasions and the spoile of his countrey, almost brought to vtter desolation, many thousands of his subjects being by the Turks and Tartars caried away captiues, and his townes and castles for the most part rased, to giue his people a time of breathing, submitted himselfe againe vnto the Turkish obedience, solemnely receiving at the hands of one of the Turks Chiaus (for that purpose sent from *CONSTANTINOPLE*) an ensigne in token of his submission vnto the Turkish Emperour, as also of his fauour towards him. Which the more to assure him of, he by another honourable messenger shortly after receiued from *Mahomet* the Turkish emperour more kind letters than at any time before, with the confirmation of the Vayuodship of *VALACHIA*, by the graund signior his solemn oath vnto *Michael* the Vayuod and his ship of *VALACHIA*, by the graund signior his thirteen yeares old, for the tearme of both their liues, without disturbance, paying but the halfe of the old yearely tribute by the Turks before demanded: so glad he was vpon any conditions to haue reduced that martiall man with his countrey vnto their obedience: and in token of further grace together with these letters, he receiued also a goodly horse, most richly furnished, with a faire scimitar and an horsemans mace, in signe of the martiall power and gouernment committed vnto him by the great Sultan *Mahomet*. All which goodly gifts and honours the Vayuod seemed thankfully to accept: neuerthelesse not daring too farre to trust vnto the Turkish faith, of the small assurance whereof he had before had sufficient experience, he still kept strong garrisons vpon the frontiers of his countrey, with such other forces also as he was wont, excusing the same to be done for feare of the Tartars; by whom he also excused himselfe, for not going with the Turke Generall this yeare into *HUNGARIE*, as he was by speciall messengers from the grand signior himselfe requested, telling them that he might not in any

Pappa taken by
the Christians.

Doris taken by
the Turke.

Michael the
Vayuod yieldeth
his obedience vnto
the Turke, and
yet refuseth to
aid him against
the Christians.

case

case so doe for feare of the Tartars most horrible incursions, and the spoiles of his countrey: yet knew he right well how that they were by the great Sultan his expresse commandement charged not to do any harme either in **MOLDAVIA** or **VALACHIA**, as they went into **HUNGARIA**. But this warie Vaiuod not greatly trusting either the Sultan or them, as also loth himselfe a Christian to go against the Christians his friends and late confederates, excused himselfe by the necessarie care he had of his subjects and countrey, and so requested that his reasonable excuse to be in good part of the great Sultan accepted: but of him more is to be said hereafter. Thus passed this year without any great thing done more than is before declared, both these great princes, the emperor and the Turkish Sultan, being well warned by the last years worke what it was to pueall to the fortune of a battell: and therefore now contenting themselves to haue shewed their forces, as not afraid one of the other, countenanced this yeares wars with greater shewes than deeds.

1598

What great things might by the Christian princes at vnite amongst themselves be done against the Turks, is by the considerat right easily to be gathered: but especially by the notable victorie of the famous Transylvanian prince *Sigismund*, who confederated but with his poore oppressed neighbours the Valachians and Moldauians, and strengthened with some small aid from the Emperour and the Hungarians, not only deliuered those three countreys from the heauie burthen of the Turkish thraldome, but vanquished also their most renowned captaines, overthrew their mightie armies, burnt and spoiled their countreys, rased their townes and cities, which as it hath bene in part before declared, so if it should be all particularly set downe, beside that it would be tedious, so also might it happily seeme almost incredible. Beside which calamities of war (commonly more felt of the subjects than of the prince) the great Sultan himselfe found no small wants, as well in his cofers, as other his necessarie supplies for the maintenance of his wars, especially in **HUNGARIE**; the onely countrey of **MOLDAVIA** (before these troubles) yeelding vnto him yearly a tunne of gold, two thousand horses for seruice, ten thousand great measures of wheat, with as much barley, and a wonderfull proportion of butter, honie, and other victuals; the other two prouinces paying also the like or more, as a yearly tribute: whereof he had of late to his great discontentment by the generall reuolt of these three countreys bin quite disappointed. But this so wholesome a confederation, to the great hurt of the Christian commonweale and benefit of the Turks, now broken, and **MOLDAVIA** by the Polonians dissiuered from the rest, and againe made tributarie vnto the Turke (as is before declared) and now **VALACHIA** also in a sort acknowledging the Turks obeisance, the noble Transylvanian prince, who hitherto with great cheerefulness and courage had fought the most Christian battels against the Turke, now left as it were all alone, and doubting how with his own small forces to be able long to defend his countrey against the Turke and the Polonian, whom he feared not much lesse than himselfe, the same should together with himselfe fall into the hands of the Turkes, or some other his enemies, by a wonderfull change voluntarily resigned this his countrey of **TRANSYLVANIA** vnto *Rodolphe* the Christian emperor and his heires for euer: and so leauing his wife in **TRANSYLVANIA**, went himselfe into **SILESIA**, there to take possession of the dukedomes of **OPPEL** and **RATIBOR**, which together with the yearly pension of 50000 Ioachims, or the reuenues of the bishopricke of **VRATISLAVIA**, he had in lieu thereof receiued of the emperor: wherupon the possession of **TRANSYLVANIA**, by the generall consent of all the states of that countrey, was in the beginning of this year 1598 deliuered vnto the Archbishop of **VRATISLAVIA**, the Countie *Nadasti*, and Doctor *Petzi*, the emperors commissioners; and a solemne oath of obedience and loialtie taken of them all in generall: albeit that the foresaid commissioners as also the emperor himselfe would haue perswaded the prince either not at all or at leastwise not so suddenly to haue forsaken his countrey, but to haue still kept the gouernment thereof himselfe yet for a yeare or two; well foreseeing that the same could not so conueniently bee gouerned by any other as by himselfe, a naturall prince therein borne, and exceedingly beloued of his subjects. The same commissioners also in Iune following going into **VALACHIA**, there tooke the like oath of obedience of *Michael* the Vaiuod and his people: who loathing the Turkish foueraigntie, all willingly yeelded themselves into the emperours protection. These commissioners also at the same time came to agreement with the Tartars ambassadors, offering vnto the emperor peace and aid for the yearly pension of 40000 duckats, and as many sheepe-skin gownes, their vsuall manner of apparrell.

All this while continued the Diet of the empire, begun in December last past at **RATISBONE**, *Matthias* the emperours brother being there his deputie, and in his maiesties name demanding a greater

The prince of Transylvania resigneth his countrey vnto the Emperour.

Michael the Vaiuod (submitting himselfe with his people vnto the Emperours protection.

A greater aid for the maintenance of his warres against the Turke, the common enemy, than was by the princes and states of the empire offered: where, after great and long deliberation, a large proportion was by them all agreed vpon for the defraying of the charges of those wars and defence of the Christian commonweale, to be paid in three yeares next, and so thereupon was the assembly dissolved. But as they were returning home, behold contrarie to all hope *Ras*, one of the strongest fortresses of Christendome, three yeares before betrayed vnto the Turks by countie *Hardeck*, was now by the wisdom and valour of *Adolphus* Baron of **SWARTZENBURG**, the Emperours lieutenant in the lower **HUNGARIE**, againe recovered: to the great griefe of the Turks, and wonderfull reioycing of the Christians, in sort as followeth.

This noble gentleman the Lord *Swartzenburg* of no lesse courage than experience, then lying at **KOMARA**, and still in doubt least the Turks to neere vnto him at **RAS**, should attempt something against him and his charges, provided for his own defence all that winter time with a strong garrison, keeping continuall watch and ward, although it were as then no time for the enemy with any armie to keepe the field: So Winter passing and the Spring approaching, it fortuned that the two and twentieth day of March about seauen a clocke in the night, the gates being shut, were heard neere vnto the wals of the towne two men, who by their speech seemed to be Italians: with great instance requesting, for the safegard of their liues to be let in, for feare of the enemies pursuit. Which by one of the Sentinels was forthwith reported vnto the Gouverneur, who doubting it to be some subtil practise of the enemy, commaunded them there to take their fortune vntill the morning: at which time they were receiued into the citie, and being brought before the Gouverneur, prostrating themselves forthwith at his feet, pitifully requested him to haue compassion of their miserie; and to comfort them with his charitable reliefe, that so they might at length returne againe into their countrey: who at the first asked them, what countrey men they were: and from whence they came at that time of the night: Whereunto they answered, That they were Italians, and that they had but euen then escaped out of the cruell hands of the Turkes at **RAS**. But desiring to know of them some newes, they after their manner humbled themselves, shewing by their gesture not to know any: yet would he needs vnderstand of them the particularities, when and how they were taken by the Turkes, and the meanes they had vsed to escape out of that cruell seruitude, all in order as it had befallen them. Where the younger of them beginning, told him, That now almost two yeares ago, at such time as the Christians were ouerthrowne by the Turkes vnder *AGRA*, and euerie man in that confusion then seeking the best and neere way to saue themselves; they hauing by flight now escaped the greatest danger of the enemy, and fortrauelling ouer the countrey towards **VRATISLAVIA**, were to their great misfortune (by an hundred Turkes come out of **RAS** to scour the countrey, and to seeke after prey) taken prisoners, and as slaues committed to the chaine, where they had almost two yeares vntill now, with great patience serued. These two fugitiues by their outward appearance, seemed to be men of good spirit and valour, which caused the Gouverneur to be the more desirous to know of them the meanes they had vsed for their escape. So the younger proceeding in his tale, gaue him to vnderstand of the whole matter, telling him, That they had been three moneths before still carefully deuising how to recouer their lost libertie, which now seemed to make some offer of it selfe vnto them: For that since the time that the emperours armie rose the last yeare from before the towne, they were not kept so strait or looked vnto as before, but lay as men by the Turkes not much regarded: which caused them the more cheerfully to take the offer of the time, and to resolute either the sooner to die, or to set themselves at libertie. And that so one day as they were carrying certaine munition from the pallace of *Giasfer Bassa* for the souldiours, they secretly conuaid three peeces of coard of some reasonable bignesse, therewith by night to let them selves downe from the wall, and so as they might to escape: which stolne coard that it should not be seene, and so their purpose suspected, they buried in the ground. But the night being come for them to effect in what they had so long desired, and they roaming vp and down in the darke, and still finding one let or other, they were enforced for that time to stay, and to deferre it vntill the night following: which being come, and choise made of a most conuenient place, they made first the elder, and then the younger; who not fast the coard above, and so thereby slid downe, first the elder, and then the younger; who not knowing how to swim, was yet by the good direction and helpe of his fellow, conducted ouer vnto the farther side of the broad and deepe ditch: and that so, in the night (so darke as that one of them could hardly see the other) they were come by chance to **KOMARA**, thinking to haue taken

Two Italian prisoners flying out of Ras discover the state of the towne to the Lord Swartzenburg.

taken the way to VIENNA. The Gouverneur thus fully instructed of their escape, demanded of them farther, how the strong towne of RAB was by the Turkes governed and guarded: who told him, verie euill, and with small care, especially since the departure of the emperours campe; and also, that foure gates of the towne were filled vp with earth, which if they were broken open, would all fall into the towne ditch; and so farther them that would attempt to enter: with diuers other particularities. Whereof the Gouverneur hauing well considered, thought with himselfe, that if by some ingenious deuise he might by night with some good strength vpon the sudden enter the towne, it might happily be so againe recovered. Vpon which so great a designment he thought good to consult farther with the lord *Passi*, whom he requested in all hast and with as much secrecie as was possible, with 1600 foot and as many horse as he could make to come vnto him to KOMARA. Who vpon the aduertisement so giuen staied not, but presently giuing order vnto his men, set forward by night, and the six and twentieth day of March before day, with 1400 foot and 120 horse arrived at KOMARA: where they were all joyfully receiued, and the gates after they were entered, againe fast shut, and so kept for feare of the enemies secret spies; of whom no man can be too ware, be he neuer so wise. Now whilst these souldiours were refreshing themselves, in the mean time the Gouverneur with the lord *Passi* discoursed to the full concerning the intended enterprise: which resolved vpon, they found themselves vpon the view of their men to haue two thousand six hundred foot of the garrison souldiours, and three hundred horse, all good and courageous men, and well appointed for the intended seruice: who there staying two daies after their comming, and many of them in the meane time (after the manner of their religion) confessing themselves, and receiuing the sacrament, were become so courageous, as that they doubted not in the quarrell of the Christian Religion to encounter a faire greater number of the Turkes than themselves. And the more to stirre them vp, the lord *Passi* at the same time deliuered vnto them a notable speech: not for all that telling them, whether they were to go, but that that they were his Christian souldiours and brethren, vnder his leading both of long and late time; who neuer by him deceiued of their wonted pay at such time as it was due, would not now as he hoped forsake him. And albeit that he well knew them to haue deserved at his hands a greater contentment: neuertheless being himselfe depriued of his reuenue by these late warres, and his possessions euerie houre subject vnto the incursions of the Turkes, could not therefore according to his desire and their deserts, shew vnto them the great good will he bare them: Yet that now, and euen presently was come the time wherein they might not only aboundantly enrich themselves, but also adorne their heads with an immortal crowne of glorie, and make themselves for euer famous, by performing the most happie and glorious exploit that euer was by valorous souldiours attempted or atchieued in that part of the world. And to the intent that they all might know how deere he accounted of the life and honour of euerie one of them, he would therefore himselfe with the lord *Swartzenburg* (of whom proceeded all that faire deuise and new stratageme) be present with them in the action: and that therefore they were not to thinke, that they were led forth to any priuat danger, farther than their commandments themselves: whose folly were to be accounted great, if rashly and vpon no good ground they should aduenture their liues and honours together: whereof they ought not now to doubt, hauing by a thousand proofs knowne, how much they had been of them alwaies regarded. And that therefore it behoued them so much the more to shew their valour in this peece of seruice vnderaken for the great benefit of the Christian common weale, and the honour of Christ Iesu: vnto whom they were with one accord to make their prayers, with his mightie hand to strengthen their hearts, and with glorious victorie to bring to happie end the intended exploit against his enemies, to the honour of his name, and the aduancement of the Christian religion and faith. At the end of which speech all the souldiours cried aloud, That they were most readie to do any their commandments, and to follow them whither soeuer. So order was taken, that within three houres they should euerie man be prest and readie with their armes according to their places: and so hauing well refreshed themselves, about eleuen a clocke the seuen and twentieth day of March, they in good order began to set forwards toward RAB. But for that the multitude of souldiours oftentimes giue the enemy warning of that is intended against him, *Passi* gaue order to one *John Stroeine* his Sergeant maior, to follow faire and softly after him with 1700 horse and foot, which he well performed. And so vpon the breake of the day they began to draw towards RAB; and there lay close in ambush all that day vntill night, about seuen miles short of the towne: refreshing themselves in the meane time

The notable
speech of the lord
Passi vnto his
souldiours.

A time with plentie of victuals, which they had brought with them from KOMARA. Night (the fauourer of deceit) being come, in two houres march they began to draw neere to RAB, and there staied about fife houres: from whence they sent before them a French enginer, a man of great judgement, with thirteene others (before rewarded with 1500 duckats) hauing with them toure Petardes (engines of force to blow vp into the ayre any thing whereunto they be fastened, be it neuer so great or waightie;) where by good chance they found the draw-bridge down, and the portcullis vp: for that the Turkes then casting no perill, expected euerie houre for certaine wagons with prouision from ALBA REGALIS. By which good hap the Christians vnperceiued comming to the gate, and therunto fastening their Petardes, in good order gaue fire to the same, which presently tooke not hold: yet were they not farre gone, but that they were by a Sentinell descried, who demanding what they were, was presently answered by the violent engines, which in a trice tore in sunder the gate, with some part of the wall and of the fortifications neere vnto it. When now the watch (but all too late) began to giue the alarum, and the Christians in the foreward thrusting presently in, tooke the gate, none of the Turkes yet comming to the defence thereof, or to hinder them from entering. The first that appeared were two hundred Turkes, which with their wonted crie, *Alla, Alla*, in such hideous manner as if they would therewith haue rent the heauens, would haue staied the Christians from farther entering, but were themselves overcharged by three hundred which were already entered. At which time also the Bassa came on, with more than a thousand following him, and that with such courage and furie, as was neuer greater to be seene in any Turke: where after a most terrible fight maintained by the space of two houres, the Bassa himselfe being slaine, the Turkes began a little to retire; where by a thousand Christians mo had leasure to enter: when strait waies after came *Giasfar* the great Bassa, with about a thousand tall souldiours following him, all the inhabitants also of RAB running after him, and that with such force, that they constrained the Christians to retire vnto the gate wherby they entered. Who (resolved rather honorably to die within the towne, than with dishonour to be forced out) there with incredible courage sustained the greatest impression of the furious enemies: where was to be seene the true Christian valour, for the performance of so great an exploit, well worthie of eternall memorie. But this Bassa also (the other being dead of a wound in his necke) encountered by the lord *Swartzenburg*, after he had in that sharpe conflict shewed great tokens of his valour, was there at length slaine also: both whose heads sticke off, were for a present afterwards sent to the emperour at PRAGA, with all the particularities of the whole action. But now the Turkes perceiving that all their chiefe commanders were slaine, retired most part of them into the citie: some three hundred of them crept vnderneath one of the bulwarkes, where stood certaine barrels of gunpowder, which they desperately set on fire, and so together with themselves blew vp 300 Christians that were about vpon the bulwacke, the greatest losse the Christians had in all that victorie, who were otherwise supposed not to haue lost therein about 200 of their men. Thus the Turkes discomfited and altogether full of feare, loosing both their force and courage, fled in euerie place before the Christians, they in euerie corner making of them a most horrible slaughter. The Turkish women all this while out of their windowes and other high places, ceased not to cast downe stones, timber, and such like things vpon the heads of the Christians, whom they fought by all meanes to annoy, and to helpe the Turkes. The bloodie execution continued all that day vntill night, the Christians still finding one or other hidden in the most secret places of the citie, vpon whom to exercise their wrath: who ransacking also euerie corner thereof, were by the wealth therein found greatly enriched. But comming to the pallace of *Giasfar* the great Bassa, they found such great store of rich furniture, as better becomed some great prince than a Turkish slave. There they found also letters written in characters of gold from the Bassa of BUDA to this Bassa, greeting him and promising him in his behalfe to deal with the grand signior against the next Spring, with the first that his armie should take the field, That he might therein haue some honourable place of command, to the end he might in the field shew his greater valour, and no longer lie idly in that strong towne. So found they there also many things written from the great Sultan himselfe vnto this Bassa, with great store of coine, which all fell to the souldiours share; inasmuch that by this so notable an exploit, so well performed, the publicke state, together with the souldiours priuat, was not a little bettered. There amongst other things were recovered threescore and six pieces of artilerie, which were knowne to haue bene sometime the Emperours, and foure and twentie others, which the Bassa had

Rab surprised by
the Christians.

Two of the Turke
Bassas slaine.

A great bootie.

had caused to be brought from BUDA with great store of shot and powder and other small pieces, and meale sufficient to haue serued foure thousand men for a yeare and a halfe, but of wine (little vsed of the Turkes) onely foure vessels. In the Bassaes pallace was also found of armour and weapons of all sorts, great store, with abundance of cloth and apparrell, which was all giuen in spoile to the souldiors. Thus RAB, one of the strongest fortresses of Christendome, not full foure yeares before besieged by *Sinan Bassa* with 150 thousand men, by the space of almost three moneths, and then at length by the treason of the Gouverneur to him betrayed, in one night, by the valour and pollicie of a few resolute men to their immortall glorie againe restored to the Christian common-weale, the nineteenth day of March in the yeare 1598. Of which so notable a victorie, the Christians rejoyced not a little both in HUNGARIE and else where: the great Sultan with the Turkes in the meane time no lesse grieuing and storming, as well for the losse of the towne before got with no small charge, as for the death of his people there slaine, to the number of about six thousand and moe, with the losse of scarce six hundred Christians.

A great tumult
betweene the Iani-
zaries and the
Spahis.

Yet for all this *Mahomet* the great Sultan ceased not to make great prouision for his wars in HUNGARIE, and that greater than before; and so with greater furie also, to prosecute his wrathfull indignation, to be reuenged vpon the Christians. VV hereunto order was giuen vnto *Ibrahim Bassa* his brother in law, and Generall of his armie, with all conuenient speed to take the field: which for all that fell out farre otherwise, for that now thinking to haue had all things in good forwardnesse, a great dissention rise betwixt the Ianzaries and the Spahi: the Ianzaries being the best footmen, and the Spahi the best horsemen of the Turkish empire; both the faithfull keepers of the person of their prince, and the greatest strength of his state: whereby it cometh to passe, that in setting forward towards the wars, these two sorts of valiant souldiors, the one standing vpon their strength, and the other vpon their honour, and both jealous of their reputation and credit, haue no good liking of one the other, but oftentimes, and especially of late in this corruption of their martiall discipline vnder their degenerat emperours, fall at ods among themselves, as now they did, to the great hinderance of their affaires, and trouble of their Generall. In somuch that to appease this tumult, he was glad to put to death certaine of the insolent Ianzaries, refusing to set forward as they were by their Aga commaunded. But proceeding farther, and thinking to haue executed some others of them also, to the farther terrour of the rest; he was by them and their adherents put in such feare of his life, that to auoid the present danger, he was glad to excuse himselfe by his lieutenant, laying all the blame vpon him as the cause thereof: who was therefore as a sacrifice deliuered vnto the furie of the Ianzaries, by whom he was presently slaine, with some others of the Bassa his followers. So these broiles with much adoe ouerpast, *Ibrahim* hauing taken a generall reuiue of his armie at SOPHIA, there staid, expecting order from the great Sultan where to begin his wars, in HUNGARIE or in TRANSYLANIA (for as yet that was in question:) which could not well be before the beginning of Iuly, by reason of the scarcitie of victuals euen then arising in the campe: for the supplying whereof *Mahomet* himselfe had no small care. But this long delay was the cause that a great number of the Ianzaries coming from HADRIANOPLE, and hearing by the way that the Generall would not as yet set forward, not knowing the cause of his stay, and doubting to be deceived of their promised entertainment, were about to haue returned backe againe: which knowne at the Court, commandement was presently sent thence vnto the Generall, without longer stay to set forward towards HUNGARIE, which the more hastened his departure with his armie.

In this the Turkes so long delay, the Christians had good leisure to prepare their new forces, being now the latter end of Sommer: for well they might thinke that the enimie slept not, knowing what prouision hee had made as well in CONSTANTINOPLE as in other places. VV herefore reasonably doubting, that Sommer well spent and August now at hand, he would not so late turne his forces into the lower HUNGARIE, they thought it best to prouide for the safetie of the vpper countrey: And to the end that the enimie approaching those frontiers might there find forces readie to encounter him, the lord *George Bassa*, a man of great experience and valour, was appointed lieutenant Generall for that countrey: to the great contentment of the souldiors in generall, all shewing themselves most readie at his commaund. The lord *Swartzenburg* in the meane time remaining in the lower HUNGARIE at RAB, with eight thousand good souldiors: and the Archduke *Matthias* at VIENNA for the dispatch of *George Bassa*, and

A the hastening of him soeward: for that the vpper HUNGARIE to the great hurt thereof began now to feele the incursions of the Turkes and Tartars: besides that, he was afterwards to returne himselfe to speake with the emperour his brother, still expecting a Chiaus of the Turkes by the appointment of the Grand signior, sent by the way of POLONIA for PRAGE, to intreat with the emperour concerning a peace.

They of BUDA in the meane while seeing the delay of the Turkes, of whom not one band yet appeared in those quarters; and on the other side perceiving the great preparation of the Imperials, and the great garrison at RAB so neere at hand; began now to doubt some new resolution of the Christians: wherein they were no whit deceived; for no armie of the Turkes being then in field in the lower HUNGARIE, and the countrey plaine and open, the lord *Palsi* with a conuenient power and certaine pieces of batterie set forward to attempt the enterprize, and the sixteenth of October with sixteene pieces of artillerie began to batter the citie of BUDA, to the great feare and discomfiture of them within: hauing first taken the fort *S. Gerarde*, with hope to haue gained the rest also. For which cause, the men, the women, and all that dwelt in the citie, most instantly besought the Bassa, not to endure the destruction of the same, with the inhabitants and wealth thereof altogether; but being not able long to hold out against so furious a batterie, in time to hearken vnto some reasonable composition, that so they might yet euerie man at least with life depart. VV hereunto the Bassa for all that would not hearken, but put them still in hope that they should be presently relieved. Howbeit the batterie still continuing, and they not able longer to endure the force of the Imperials; nor any reliefe yet coming, they were glad at length to abandon the citie with the losse of two thousand of the Ianzaries, and but three hundred of the Christians slaine, and eight hundred hurt: the rest of the Turkes at the same time retiring themselves into the castle, where they might for a space deeme themselves safe. So the lord *Palsi* possessed of the citie, with all his forces laid siege vnto the castle, which although it were in some places shaken with the continuall furie of the cannon, yet were the defendants still readie to make good the same: in somuch, that *Palsi* vpon good hope of successe giuing thereunto a generall assault, was by their valour enforced to retire: they within in the meane time with great labour and industrie repairing the breaches and gaules made by the artillerie. So that *Palsi* considering the difficultie of the assault, thought it better by vndermining to shake the rock whereon the castle stood, than by a new assault to expose so many worthie men vnto so manifest a danger: which his purpose by the enimie discovered, was by them also by countermining disappointed: yet for all that were the Christians still in good hope by an other mine not yet by the enimie perceiued, to sort to the full of their desire: and the more, for that they saw not so much brauerie or shew of courage in the defendants as before. VV ho now kept themselves silent and quiet, as if they had been consulting about the yeelding vp of the castle, as men bereft of all hope of reliefe and succour: the Christians being now possessed of a strong abbey and fortress fast by, and hauing broken downe all the bridges ouer the Danubius, in such sort, as that the besieged could not receiue any reliefe either by land or water. But forasmuch as the time of the yeare began now to grow tedious, and the winter weather sharpe, the Christians thought it not best there long to protract the time; and therefore resolved to present vnto the castle another E generall assault; and at the same instant to blow vp the mine: but in giuing this assault, they were againe repulsed with the losse of two hundred men. At which time also a number of the Turkes gallantly out of the castle, courageously encountered the Christians, but not with successe answering to their valour, being there almost all cut in pieces: neither did the mine take the desired effect, but being blowne vp did little or no harme at all. So that the Christians wearie of their long suffering of the extremities of the weather, and withall considering the great courage of the defendants, were euen vpon the point to haue risen: yet willing to giue a fresh attempt by the mine, they began againe to worke in the same, and in hope to preuaile began to parley with the defendants about the giuing vp of the castle, but all to little or no purpose; for that the mine hauing taken no effect, the souldiors could hardly be drawne on through the deepe and muddie ditches, to giue a new assault. In fine, seeing no hope to preuaile, and hearing also of the coming of a great armie of the Turkes for the reliefe of the besieged, they raised their siege, and at their departure burnt their suburbs, carrying away with them a great bootie: and so retiring towards STRIGONIVM, expected farther direction where to winter. VV here shortly after order was taken, that the forces disbanded should be dispersed, some into the garrisons, and some into

Buda besieged by
the Christians.

The Christians
depart from the
siege of Buda.

the country thereabout; to the intent they might so be in the more readinesse with the first of G the next Spring to take the field, or as occasion should serue to be otherwise imploied.

But *Sigismund* the Transylvanian prince in the mean time repenting himselfe of the vnequall exchange he had made with the emperour, in disguised apparell hastning in post out of *Silesia* came to *Clavsenberg* in *Transylvania*: and there joyfully receiued of his subjects, and taking of them a new oath of obedience, by messengers sent of purpose certified *Maximilian* the Archduke (appointed by the emperour for the government of *Transylvania*, and now vpon his way as farre as *Cassovia*) of the causes of his returne, perswading him rather to conuert his forces against the Turkes for the recouerie of *Agria*, than to trouble himselfe to come any farther for *Transylvania*, now againe by him to the great contentment of his subjects repossessed: as did also the princeesse his wife (*Maximilian* his cousin german) wishing him to consider what hurt and dishonour he should doe vnto the Emperour his maiestie, himselfe, the Roman empire, and the whole Christian common-weale in generall, if in so dangerous a time hee should attempt any thing against the prince her husband, and vnto him by her so neere-ly allied.

Veradinum be-
sieged by the
Turks.

Now the Turkes great armie being come into the vpper *Hungarie*, lay encamped vnder the wals of the strong citie of *Veradinum*, where that wortheie capitaine *George Basta* was lieutenant Generall for the emperour: but not hauing such strength, as without farther helpe to go against so mightie an enemy, or to relieue the besieged citie, not as then furnished with a sufficient garrison, he gaue knowledge thereof vnto *Maximilian* the Archduke, who (as is aforesaid) with a conuenient power was but a little before come to *Cassovia*, to haue gone into *Transylvania*, had he not there by the way been staied by embassadours from the prince *Sigismund* but lately before returned out of *Silesia*: and hauing againe taken vpon him the government, by these his embassadours requested him no farther to trouble himselfe with that journey, offering to giue him aid against the Turkes whensoever he should require it. The besieged neuerthelesse in the meane time notably defended themselves, and with certaine braue sallies did the enemy great harme: still expecting, that *Basta* the lieutenant, or the Transylvanian prince, or *Maximilian* the Archduke, or they all with their vniued forces should send them reliefe: vnto whom they gaue knowledge the nineteenth of October, how that the Turkes with all the force and furie they had vsed, had as yet little preuayled, being by their valour still repulled, and with many sharpe sallies to their great losse encountered; and some of their great ordinance cloyed, in such sort, as that they were in good hope to protraie the time vntill they might by them their friends be relieved: yet not doubting, but that the Turkes according to their wonted manner, would doe what they might to subdue them: According to whose expectation, the Transylvanian prince with a great power taking the field to haue relieved them, was letted so to doe by the Tartars, to that purpose stirred vp by the Turkes: so that he could by no meanes ioyne his forces with *Maximilians*, for looking to the safetie of his owne people and countrey. Yet in token of forwardnesse, he sent certaine companies of braue souldiours vnto the lieutenant *Basta*: who vnderstanding that of two thousand good souldiours in garrison in the citie at the beginning of the siege, there were scarce seauen hundred left aliue, all the rest being with continuall assaults slaine or mortally wounded, vsed a notable stratagemme to delude the enemy withall: for hauing put his men in good order, and comming brauely on, as if he would euen presently haue joyned battell (a thing which the Turkes most desired) whilest they likewise with great fire were putting themselves in order of battell, and wholly busied therein; he by an other way (of the Turkes least suspected) cunningly thrust into the citie eight hundred good souldiours; and that done, presently retired againe into his trenches, wherein he strongly encamped feared not all the Turkes forces: who thinking euen then to haue come to a day of battell, and still in vaine expecting the same, returned deceived by this finenesse. And so shortly after (enforced by continuall foule weather) raised their siege, not without great difficultie and danger (reliefe lying so neere at hand, and the defendants strengthened with new supplies) to haue beene longer maintained: So passed the troubles of this yeare, with no gaine but great losse of the Turkes: who at their departure: enforced by the vnseasonablenesse of the weather and feare together, left behind them in their trenches many tents, with some great pieces of artillerie, being not able to conuay the same by water to *Buda*: and withall fearing greatly to be encountered by the forces of *Basta*, strengthened with new supplies euen then sent vnto him from the emperour.

A new supply
put into *Veradinum*
by *Basta*.

The

A The Archduke *Matthias*, *Swartzenburg*, and the other commanders of the armie in the lower *Hungarie*, being twelue thousand strong, with the garrison souldiours of *Rab*, *Strigonium*, and *Komara*, in the meane time because they would not stand idle, together with the Hungarian horsemen, ouerran all the country thereabout euen vnto the gates of *Buda*: in good hope also to haue met with 8000 Turkes (as they were by their espials aduertised) comming towards *Pesth* with victuals for the reliefe of the castle of *Buda*.

Whilest things thus passed in *Hungarie*, *Mahomet* to shew his greatnesse, as also the more to keepe the Christian princes in suspence, sent *Cicala* (or as the Turkes call him *Cigala*) *Bassa* his Admirall with a great fleet to sea: wherewith being come vpon the coast of *Sicily*, he requested the Viceroy of that kingdome, to send him about his fleet the ladie *Lucretia* his mother, which dwelt in *Messina*, for that he greatly desired to see her and to doe her honour, promising so quietly to depart without any harme doing. And the Viceroy againe considering how that the angrie renegar for the like courtesie to him at an other time before denied, had in his rage done great harme all alongst the sea coast; couenanting with him to send her in safetie backe againe, sent her honourably accompanied about the Admirall gally: whom *Cicala* her sonne receiued with great joy and triumph, and hauing kept her with him one day with all the honour that might be, according to his promise sent her backe againe to *Messina*; and so without any harme done for her sake to any part of Christendome, peaceably returned backe againe with his fleet.

Now in the meane time *Michael* the Vayuod of *Valachia* with good forces of his owne, because he would be doing something also, resolved vpon to giue an attempt vpon *Nicopolis*, a citie of the Turkes in *Bulgaria*: and so giuing order to his people, caused a bridge to be made ouer *Danubius* to passe that great riuer by. Whereof the *Bassas* of *Silistria* and *Badova* vnderstanding, thought good with all their power to disturbe him in that worke: and so comming, as the said bridge was by the Vayuod his souldiours laid ouer the riuer vpon boats, without farther stay attempted to haue broken the same, to the intent that the Vayuod should not that way passe. Who halting thither with his armie, rescued his worke, and enforced the *Bassas* to forsake the exploit by them begun: where betwixt them for a space was fought a most hard conflict, vntill at length the Turkes were with a great slaughter ouerthrowne; and so glad, some here, some there, by flight as they might to saue their liues. After which victorie, he without let passing ouer the riuer with his whole forces, came & encamped vnder the wals of *Nicopolis*: where they of the citie vnderstanding of the late slaughter of the Turkes, and finding themselves not able to hold out against the force and valour of the *Valachies*, and now out of hope of any helpe or reliefe in time to come from the Turkes, without farther resistance yielded themselves into the power of the Vayuod. Who hauing sacked the citie and set it on fire, caried thence a great spoile and bootie, with a number of the *Bulgarians*: chusing out the best and most able bodies amongst them to serue him in his wars, and appointing the rest to inhabit & manure the wasted places of *Valachia*. The report of this ouerthrow giuen vnto the Turkes by the *Valachian*, with the sacking of *Nicopolis*, running abroad, brought a generall feare vpon the Turkes euen in the imperiall citie of *Constantinople*. For the staying whereof *Mahomet* commaunded the chiefe of his *Bassas*, with a great power of tumultuarie soldiours taken vp in hast to go forthwith against the Vayuod, to stay the course of his farther proceedings, to the dismaying of his people, himselfe thundring out most horrible threats against him: who encouraged with his late victorie, and well acquainted with the Turkes manners, little regarded the same, as knowing that he was not with words but with armes to be vanquished.

Now *Mahomet* the Turkish emperour oppressed with melancholie to see himselfe at once assailed with the plague then raging in *Constantinople*, the bloudie wars in *Hungarie*, and the horrible mortallitie and losse of his people in both places; and withall not ignorant of the euill successe of his armie at *Veradinum*, & of the great harme done at *Nicopolis* by the *Valachian*: yet for all that ceased not in what he might to prouide for so many euils, but gaue order to *Tant Basta* with all speed to set forward (as we haue said) from *Constantinople* toward *Valachia*; as from whence he feared the greatest danger: who without delay to make the Vayuod to vnderstand how highly the great Sultan was displeased with him, put himselfe vpon the way with six hundred *Ianizaries* towards *Hadrianople*, with purpose there to winter vntill the Spring, and so to expect the comming of the rest of the armie, that so with the

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same,

Nicopolis sacked
and burnt by the
Vayuod.

1599

Polonian embassadour, were both courteously received in the Turkes Court, and as with an especial fauour rewarded with right sumptuous garments, and charge giuen them, That the Cardinall within three moneths next should send thither a solemne embassadour, with the old accustomed tribute by the Turke demanded. Thus through the inconstancie of the prince, the ambition of the proud Cardinall, and the foule collusion of the Polonian, the countrey of TRANSYLAVANIA (one of the strongest fortresses of that side of Christendome) falling from the obedience of the emperor, and so in sort bereft from the Christian commonweale, became againe tributarie vnto the Turke; most good men detesting the lightnesse of the one, the ambition of the other, and the slinnesse of the third.

Now the Turkes in BUDA not able longer to endure the great famine therein, had most earnestly requested reliefe from the other Turkes their friends in HUNGARIE, who on all hands ran to haue relieved them: but comming neere thereunto, could not put therein such provision as they had brought for the reliefe of the same, being letted so to doe by the Imperials; who about a league off diligently attended euery motion of the chemie: from whence the lord Swartzenburg in the night secretly approaching one of the gates with his followers, thought with a Petard to haue broken it open, and so to haue entred. Which his device taking not effect, as did that at RAB, the gate being within strongly fortified by the enemye, he was enforced to depart, being also discovered by the Turkes from the wall. Now shortly after the Bassa of BUDA with six hundred horse issuing out of the citie to haue met with victuals that were comming thither, fell into an ambush of the Haiduckes, who after their manner fiercely encountered him, and putting him to flight, tooke him prisoner, his horse in the chafe falling vnder him: whom his fouldiours seeking to rescue, there began a new skirmish, encreasing their former ouerthrow with the losse of the greatest part of them that were left: amongst whom the Bassa his sonne, with the Aga of the Ianizaries, there lost their liues also. Which conflict thus ended, the Bassa was with safe conduct brought to the campe, and there with great threats enforced to reueale the state of his citie, with other the secret designs of the Turkes. Whereupon the Haiduckes returned againe towards BUDA, seeking by all meanes to stop the comming of victuals thither, so in hope at length to haue gained the distressed citie. But whilest they thus lay vpon the passages, behold newes was brought vnto them, how that the Bassa of BOSNA, with the Sanzackes of SIGETH, QUINQV ECELESIÆ, and COPPAN, with ten thousand Turkes were comming to oppresse them, and to open the passages by them holden. But they knowing their owne strength, and nothing fearing K so small a force, stayed not for their comming but went to meet them; and in a place of good advantage waiting for them, vpon their first appearance with great assurance and courage charged them, brake their array, and slew the greatest part of them, together with the Bassa himselfe: yet with so much adoe, as that had not the lord Palfi in good time sent in vnto their aid certain companies of fresh men, it was not without cause doubted but that the Haiduckes had been put to the worse, about three hundred of them having there already lost their liues. The Tartars yet neuertheless in good number held on their way towards BUDA, with purpose to haue ouerrun the countrey, and so to haue withdrawne the Imperials from the citie: but for as much as that base nation was knowne to be good for nothing but to rob and spoile, the lord Swartzenburg his regiment only going against them, and encountering them, ouerthrew them, in such sort, that part of them being there slain in fight, and part for feare driuen into the Danubie, the greatest number of them there most miserably perished.

Bassa the emperours lieutenant in the vpper HUNGARIE at the same time lay at CASSOVIA with eighteen thousand men, doubting least the enemies armie, which he heard to bee at hand, should come to besiege that citie. In the meane time Ibrahim Bassa Generall of the Turkes forces, came to SOLNOCH with an armie of fiftie thousand strong, amongst whom wereten thousand Ianizaries: but for all that, vnderstanding that Bassa nothing dismayed awaited his comming at CASSOVIA, not thinking it good to goe any further (his fouldiours being already wearie with long trauell) neither yet safe there to stay so neere vnto his strong enemye, retired backe againe to BELGRADE, a place of more strength and securitie; expecting a great fleet of ships, M which charged vpon the Danubius, were to bring victuals for the armie, as also for the reliefe of BUDA, ALBA REGALIS, and other such distressed places, with diuers great pieces for batterie, and other lesse artillerie vpon carriages, with a number of ladders and other instruments of war, declaring their purpose for the performance of some notable exploit; all guarded with six thousand

A sand Turkes, which conducted it vp the riuer. Of all which the Imperials vnderstanding, the lord Palfi dispatched his lieutenant with a conuenient power, and the captain of the Hussars with his followers, all good and valiant fouldiours, to cut off this conuoy: Who to make the matter short, suddenly assailing them, and so comming to handy blowes, cut in peeces the conuoy, and rifled the ships, of whom the greater part were there sunke in the deepe riuer; and so tooke an exceeding great bootie, deemed to be worth a million of gold: where amongst other things of great value, there was found about an hundred thousand dollars, which were all deuided amongst the fouldiours as a reward of their trauell. This great ouerthrow once knowie at BUDA, ALBA REGALIS, and the cities thereabouts, brought vpon them a great feare: yea the armie of Ibrahim grew thereby much discontented, as being at once disappointed both of their victu- B als and their pay. Besides that, the Imperials ouerran all the countrey thereabout, ransacking, sack- ing, and destroying the countrey villages and castles without mercie, although the poore inhabitants offered them large contribution to haue staid their fittie, which would not bee accepted. Vpon this notable ouerthrow also the lord Swartzenburg was determined with all his forces to come againe to the siege of BUDA, in hope in so great a discomfort and want of victuals to haue had it deliuered vnto him, and for that purpose sent for certaine great pieces of artillerie to V- ENNA. But whilest things went thus well in the lower HUNGARIE, colonell Rodolfe of SACH- C drewes in the vpper countrey, tooke occasion also vpon this ouerthrow of the Turkes with five hundred horse and six hundred foot, to shew himselfe with this small companie before AGORA, hauing yet left the greatest part of his forces a little off in secret ambush: Which small companie the Bassa of AGORA beholding, presently put himselfe in arms, and so falling out, began an hot and braue skirmish: when suddenly the other fouldiours left in ambush starting out and couragi- ously assailing their enemies, brake their order, & put them to flight, pursuing them at the heeles euen to the gates of the citie: and had there beene a greater force of footmen, it was verely thought, that the Turkes (dismayed with the flight, and altogether confounded) had abandoned the defence of the place, and the Christians euen then become masters of the citie, which had beene the cause of their notable ouerthrow in the yeare 1596. Neuertheless they with great brauerie and small losse retired, hauing slain a great number of the Turkes, and carrying away with them an hundred prisoners; with a bootie of five hundred horse, and much other cattell.

The free Haiduckes also strengthened with new supplies, had done great harme in the coun- D trey about BUDA, scouring freely all ouer it; finding none to oppose themselves against them: for which cause the poore Christians, which yet dwelt in that countrey, rose vp against the Turkes, promising their obedience vnto the emperor: and moreover, to the intent they might bee no more molested by the Imperials, offered to take vp armes themselves against the enemye, and to the victuallmost of their power to hinder his passage both by land and water. These same Hai- duckes also had broken downe all the bridges which the Turkes had made betwixt BUDA and ALBA REGALIS, to the end they should not that way commodiously bring either victuals or munition from the one place to the other. And the lord Palfi and Nadeßi vnderstanding by their espials, That the Tartars deuided into three companies, had ouerrun a great part of the countrey, and with a great bootie were retiring towards BUDA, presently went out against them and en- E forced them to fight: which barbarous people, better inured to filch than to fight, there lost all their liues; together with which they had before stolne. After which victorie, these valiant men tur- ning their forces against certaine other places of the Turkes there by, tooke two of their castles with much rich spoile: which castles they sacked and burnt, together with the great towne of ZOLNA, breaking downe also the bridge vpon the riuer Traua. And thus againe the Turkes in Now at this time the Turkes at BUDA held themselves malecontent within the citie, hating the Government; their Bassa being before taken by the Haiduckes, and they themselves pinched also with great want of victuals. VV hereupon doubting some sudden attempt of the Christians, as men dismayed, they for the more safetie, retired themselves into the citie, a place of great strength, leaving the citie vnto the Imperials that readie to haue besieged it, but doubting of the F Turkes great armie, which as they heard was marching thitherwards, the awaiting guard there of being comen to MORAVIA, where Silesia was also looked for; the report being giuen out, that the Turkes having relieved BUDA, would goe to besiege CASSOVIA or else SERA- uay, as they staid to goe any further, as men in doubt what to resolve vpon: So were the ver- tuous colonels And other capitaines with their fouldiours, to fortifie certaine passages whereby the Turkes

The Bassa of Bu-
da taken pris-
oner.

The Turke ouer-
throwne, and the
Bassa of Bosna
slaine.

The Turkes who
came a notable
ouerthrow vpon
the riuer of Da-
nubius.

The Turkes
who
slew the
civill do
and slew the
castles.

Polonian embassadour, were both courteously receiued in the Turkes Court, and as with an especial fauour rewarded with right sumptuous garments, and charge giuen them, That the Cardinall within three moneths next should send thither a solemne embassadour, with the old accustomed tribute by the Turke demanded. Thus through the inconstancie of the prince, the ambition of the proud Cardinall, and the foule collusion of the Polonian, the countrey of TRANSYLVANIA (one of the strongest fortresses of that side of Christendome) falling from the obedience of the emperour, and so in fort bereft from the Christian commonweale, became againe tributarie vnto the Turke; most good men detesting the lightnesse of the one, the ambition of the other, and the sliness of the third.

Now the Turkes in BUDA not able longer to endure the great famine therein, had most earnestly requested reliefe from the other Turkes their friends in HUNGARIE, who on all hands ran to haue reliued them: but comming neere thereunto, could not put therein such prouision as they had brought for the reliefe of the same, being letted so to doe by the Imperials; who about a league off diligently attended euery motion of the enemy: from whence the lord Swartzenburg in the night secretly approaching one of the gates with his followers, thought with a Petard to haue broken it open, and so to haue entred. Which his deuice taking no effect, as did that at RAAB, the gate being within strongly fortified by the enemy, he was enforced to depart, being also discovered by the Turkes from the wall. Now shortly after the Bassa of BUDA with six hundred horse issuing out of the citie to haue met with victuals that were comming thither, fell into an ambush of the Haiduckes, who after their manner fiercely encountered him, and putting him to flight, tooke him prisoner, his horse in the chase falling vnder him: whom his souldiours seeking to rescue, there began a new skirmish, encreasing their former ouerthrow with the losse of the greatest part of them that were left: amongst whom the Bassa his sonne, with the Aga of the Janizaries, there lost their liues also. Which conflict thus ended, the Bassa was with safe conduct brought to the campe, and there with great threats enforced to reueale the state of his citie, with other the secret designs of the Turkes. Whereupon the Haiduckes returned againe towards BUDA, seeking by all meanes to stop the comming of victuals thither, so in hope at length to haue gained the distressed citie. But whilest they thus lay vpon the passages, behold newes was brought vnto them, how that the Bassa of BOSNA, with the Sanzackes of SIGETH, QVINGVRE, ECCLESIA, and COPPAN, with ten thousand Turkes were comming to oppresse them, and to open the passages by them holden. But they knowing their owne strength, and nothing fearing

The Bassa of Buda taken prisoner.

The Turkes overthrow, and the Bassa of Bosna slaine.

K so small a force, stayed not for their comming but went to meet them; and in a place of good advantage waiting for them, vpon their first appeareance with great assurance and courage charged them, brake their array, and slew the greatest part of them, together with the Bassa himselfe: yet with so much adoe, as that had not the lord Palffy in good time sent in vnto their aid certain companies of fresh men, it was not without cause doubted but that the Haiduckes had been put to the worse, about three hundred of them having there already lost their liues. The Tartars yet neuertheless in good number held on their way towards BUDA, with purpose to haue ouertun the countrey, and so to haue withdrawne the Imperials from the citie: but for as much as that base nation was knowne to be good for nothing but to rob and spoile, the lord Swartzenburg his regiment only going against them, and encountering them, ouerthrew them, in such sort, that part of them being there slaine in fight, and part for feare driuen into the Danubie, the greatest number of them there most miserably perished.

L Bassa the emperours lieutenant in the vpper HUNGARIE at the same time lay at CASSOVIA with eightene thousand men, doubting least the enemies armie, which he heard to bee at hand, should come to besiege that citie. In the meane time Ibrahim Bassa Generall of the Turkes forces, came to SOLNOCH with an armie of fiftie thousand strong, amongst whom were ten thousand Janizaries: but for all that, vnderstanding that Bassa nothing dismayed awaited his comming at CASSOVIA, not thinking it good to goe any further (his souldiours being already wearie with long trauell) neither yet safe there to stay so neere vnto his strong enemy, retired backe againe to BELGRADE, a place of more strength and securitie; expecting a great fleet of ships, which charged vpon the Danubius, were to bring victuals for the armie, as also for the reliefe of BUDA, ALBA REGALIS, and other such distressed places, with diuers great pieces of batterie, and other lesse artillerie vpon carriages, with a number of ladders and other instruments of war, declaring their purpose for the performance of some notable exploit; all guarded with fixe thousand

A sand Turkes, which conducted it vp the riuer. Of all which the Imperials vnderstanding, the lord Palffy dispatched his lieutenant with a conuenient power, and the capitaine of the Hussars with his followers, all good and valiant souldiours, to cut off this conuoy: Who to make the matter short, suddenly assailing them, and so comming to handy blowes, cut in peeces the conuoy, and rifled the ships, of whom the greater part were there sunke in the deepe riuer; and so tooke an exceeding great bootie, deemed to be worth a million of gold: where amongst other things of great value, there was found about an hundred thousand dollars, which were all deuided amongst the souldiours as a reward of their trauell: This great ouerthrow once knowie at BUDA, ALBA REGALIS, and the cities thereabouts, brought vpon them a great feare: yea the armie of Ibrahim grew thereby much discontented, as being at once disappointed both of their victuals and their pay. Besides that, the Imperials ouertun all the countrey thereabout, ransacking, sacking, and destroying the countrey villages and castles without mercie, although the poore inhabitants offered them large contribution to haue staid their furie, which would not bee accepted. Vpon this notable ouerthrow also the lord Swartzenburg was determined with all his forces to come againe to the siege of BUDA, in hope in so great a discomfiture and want of victuals to haue had it deliuered vnto him; and for that purpose sent for certaine great pieces of artillerie to VIENNA. But whilest things went thus well in the lower HUNGARIE, colonell Rodolff of S. Andrews in the vpper countrey; tooke occasion also vpon this ouerthrow of the Turkes with fixe hundred horse and six hundred foot, to shew himselfe with this small companie before AGRIA, hauing yet left the greatest part of his forces a little off in secret ambush: Which small companie C the Bassa of AGRIA beholding, presently put himselfe in arms, and so falling out, began an hot and braue skirmish: when suddenly the other souldiours left in ambush starting out and courageously assailing their enemies, brake their order, & put them to flight, pursuing them at the heeles euen to the gates of the citie: and had there beene a greater force of footmen, it was verely thought, that the Turkes (dismayed with the flight, and altogether confounded) had abandoned the defence of the place, and the Christians euen then become masters of the citie, which had beene the cause of their notable ouerthrow in the yeare 1596. Neuertheless they with great brauerie and small losse retired, hauing slaine a great number of the Turkes, and carrying away with them an hundred prisoners; with a bootie of fixe hundred horse, and much other cattell.

The free Haiduckes also strengthened with new supplies, had done great harme in the countrey about BUDA, scouring freely all ouer it; finding none to oppose themselves against them: for which cause the poore Christians, which yet dwelt in that countrey, rise vp against the Turkes, promising their obedience vnto the emperour: and moreover, to the intent they might bee no more molested by the Imperials, offered to take vp armes themselves against the enemy, and to the vttermost of their power to hinder his passage both by land and water. These same Haiduckes also had broken downe all the bridges which the Turkes had made betwixt BUDA and ALBA REGALIS, to the end they should not that way commodiously bring either victuals or munition from the one place to the other. And the lord Palffy and Nadaßi vnderstanding by their espials, That the Tartars deuided into three companies, had ouertun a great part of the countrey, and with a great bootie were retiring towards BUDA, presently went out against them and enforced them to fight: which barbarous people, better inured to filch than to fight, there lost all their liues, together with what they had before stolne. After which victorie, these valiant men turning their forces against certaine other places of the Turkes there by, tooke two of their castles with much rich spoile: which castles they sacked and burnt, together with the great towne of ZOLNA, breaking downe also the bridge vpon the riuer Traual.

Now at this time the Turkes at BUDA beheld themselves malecontent within the citie, hauing no Governour; their Bassa being before taken by the Haiduckes, and they themselves pinched also with great want of victuals: VV hereupon doubting some sudden attempt of the Christians, as men dismayed, they for their more safetie, retired themselves into the castle, a place of great strength, leauing the citie vnto the Imperials then ready to haue besieged it: but doubting of the Turkes great armie, which as they heard was marching thitherwards, the auantguard there of M brought comig to MOA where Charles Bassa was also looked for; the report being giuen out, that the Turkes hauing reliued BUDA, would go to besiege CASSOVIA or else S. ANDREWS: they staid to go any farther, as men in doubt what to resolve vpon: So were the vttermost colonels And other capitaines with their souldiours, to fortifie certaine passages where by the

The Turkes 162 came a notable ouerthrow vpon the riuer of Danubius.

The Turkes 163 the castle of Zolna, and the castle of Traual.

Turkes

before by the Cardinall yeelded vnto the obeifance of the Turke; was againe by this worthe G Vayoud recovered, and restored vnto the Christian empire; the proud Cardinall cast out and brought to confusion, hauing not yet possessed these his new honours full eight moneths. His cousin *Sigismund* the late Transylvanian prince, who almost all this while had stayed at *Borvsta*, and in disguised apparrell scene *Danska*, and diuers other the free cities thereabouts, now hearing newes of the Cardinals ouerthrow, secretly got him away from thence into *POLONIA* to seeke againe his new fortunes. The lord *Swartzenburg* at the same time vnting his forces in the lower *HUNGARIE* with them of *STIRIA*, and now twenty thousand strong, fought by all meanes to reduce so many places vpon those frontiers as he could vnto the emperours obeifance, and so tooke in about two hundred villages. But afterward thinking to haue surprisid the strong castle of *CAPISVAR*, and by night secretly approching one of the gates with a Petarde, which H tooke not the expected effect, he was discovered by the watch, and so by the garrison souldiors (now raised with the alarum) repulsed, and enforced to retire with the losse of about an hundred men, and diuers others wounded, all men of good account: in reuenge whereof *Swartzenburg* afterwards sent out diuers troupes of horsemen, which scouring all ouer the countrey as farre as *SIGETH*, burnt it also, and so returning, carried away with them a great bootie.

Ibrahim Bassa hearing of this ouerthrow of the Cardinall, with all the forces he had sent him much troubled therewith, sent newes thereof in post to *CONSTANTINOPLE*: the brute whereof brought a generall feare vpon the whole citie also, inasmuch that commision was forthwith sent vnto him from the great Sultan, giuing him power (if it might be) to come to some honourable peace with the Emperour, and to bring it with him to *CONSTANTINOPLE*: whether I was shortly to returne, being now no longer time to keepe the field with his armie, which beside the cold season of the yeare suffered great want of bread, the plague also then raging therein with the death of many his best souldiors both horse and foot, beside the wonderfull mortallitie of their cattell also: in such sort, that the souldiors not able longer to endure the famine and wants increasing, fell to robbing of one another, and so at length into mutinie; wherein diuers of them being slaine and cut in pieces by their fellowes, the rest for the most part brake in sunder of themselves, and so by diuers waies returned home, not well trusting one another. So that nothing more was now done with the great preparation of the Turkes, their armie being discomfited with wants and the euill successe of their affaires, as well in *HUNGARIE* as in *TRANSYLVANIA*. Neither did *Ibrahim* the great Bassa for the reliefe of those euils, at his returne bring any K conclusion of peace vnto his great lord and master, as was commonly expected.

Now beside these troubles of *TRANSYLVANIA* and the other reuolted countries, *Cusahin* (or as some call him *Cassan*) the sonne of one of the Sultanesse, brought vp in the Seraglio according to the manner thereof, and hauing long serued in the wars of *PERSIA* and in *HUNGARIE*, and so at length made Bassa of *CARAMANIA*, a man of great spirit, and not able to endure the imperfections he daily saw in the *Othoman* empire, and the cowardise of the grand signior; vpon the report of the euill successe of the affaires of *HUNGARIE* on the one side, and the desire he saw in the Persians to recover their lost fortresses on the other, and grieved also with more particular wrongs concerning himselfe; as a man altogether discontented, resolved to take vp L armes: and calling vnto him his souldiors, and (as he was a well spoken man) laying before them the deformities of the present state, gallantly perswaded them with the promise of honour, soueraignie, and rich rewards, what an easie thing it were to chase the grand signior out of *ASIA*, and to set themselves with all that part of the empire at libertie. And so euen at the first hauing wooen vnto him three thousand haquebusiers, and five thousand horsemen, tooke the field to the great hurt of the Turkes, and trouble of the state. A strange matter in that tyrannical empire. The newes whereof comming in post to the Court, commision was forthwith directed vnto foure of the Sanzackes of *ASIA* nearest vnto him, for the speedie suppressing of that rebellion but euen then arising. VV hereof *Cusahin* vnderstanding, and that they with ten thousand horse and foot were comming to oppress him: without farther stay went courageously to meet them, and so encountering of them, ouerthrew them with a great slaughter, and tooke from them their baggage with six pieces of great ordinance. And after with his people seized vpon all the castles thereabouts, giuing whatsoeuer he found therein for a prey vnto his souldiors: who also much enriched themselves with the spoile of the Iewes, as the people whom they most hated, and neuer rested vntill he had made almost all the countrey of *CARAMANIA* his owne. After that he Iaid

The Turke great
armie of it selfe
dissolued.

Cusahin Bassa of
Caramania re-
solveth in rebel-
lion against the
great Sultan.

A laid siege to *COGNA*, a citie in the confines of *NATOLIA*, which was forthwith yeelded vnto him. And yet not so contented, gaue it out by open proclamation, that for the reformation of the disordered state, he would ere long go to besiege the imperiall citie of *CONSTANTINOPLE*: and that therefore all such as would follow him, should of him be intreated as his friends and companions, threatening vnto the rest most cruell death and destruction. Of which his proceedings *Mahomet* (as then disposing himselfe at his gardens of pleasure in the countrey, all alongt the side of *PROPONTIS*) vnderstanding, and fearing to be there surprisid, or that some sudden in- nouation might be raised in the citie: hasted with all speed to *CONSTANTINOPLE*, and from thence in all hast dispatched *Mehemet* one of the Visier Bassas the sonne of *Siman*, with all the forces he could make to go against him. VVho passing ouer into *ASIA* with a great power, and

B yet fearing to come to the trial of a battell with him whom he knew to be a man of himselfe de- peratly set, and not a little fauoured also euen of his owne souldiors: so secretly wrought by large promises, that *Cusahin* his footmen were euen vpon the point to haue forsaken him. VVhich he quickly perceiuing, fled forthwith through *STIRIA* into *ARABIA* with his horsemen, and the horsemen of *Siman* the Georgian: purposing the next Spring by the helpe of Arabians and Persians to appeare in the field with greater forces than before. After whom *Mehemet* the great Bassa following, came with his armie to *ALEPPO*, there to Winter, and to expect the returne of the rebell together with the Spring. This so dangerous a rebellion, with the troubles of *TRANSYLVANIA* and *VALACHIA*, were the cause that the grand signior seeing himselfe in so many places forsaken of his subjects, was the readier to encline vnto peace with the emperour; wherunto for

C all that the emperour was not hastie to hearken; but vpon honourable conditions: as knowing that the Turke required the same, not for any desire he had to liue in quiet, but for that his troubled affaires both at home and elsewhere abroad so required; his Ianizaries and other men of warre in this his so weake gouernment being growne so insolent, as that they were hardly to bee by him commaunded; openly threatening in their discontented humors not only the depoling of the principall officers about him, but of himselfe also, and of the banishment of the Sultanesse his mother, saying, that she had bewitched him, to the end she might her selfe rule, which she indeed doth in all his greatest affaires. But the rebell *Cusahin* the next yeare growne againe very strong, was now come into the field, and euen readie to haue giuen the Bassa battell: who as hee was a man of great wisdom and experience, well considering with what a desperat enemie hee

D had to doe, thought it best againe to proue, if his rebellious followers might by faire meanes bee drawne from him: and so comming neere vnto him, by open proclamation promised a free and generall pardon to all such as had followed the rebell in those wars, if forsaking him, they should forthwith returne home to their dwellings, and so to the obedience of their just and lawfull prince and soueraigne. VVhich generall pardon so proclaimed, was the ruine of *Cusahin*, for that the greatest part of his followers now enriched with the great booties they had gotten, and now also hauing free pardon offered them, returned home into their owne countries, there at ease to liue of their euill gotten goods, leaving their captaine with some few others which staid with him, with little hope to be saued. So that within a few daies after *Cusahin* thus forsaken of his follo- E ers, was himselfe taken and brought prisoner to *CONSTANTINOPLE*, where shortly after hee was with most exquisite torments tortured to death.

The troubles of this yeare thus past, *Rodolph* the Christian emperour with the beginning of the next (whilest the ground yet covered with snow, and the vnseasonableness of the weather would not suffer the souldiors to keepe the field) caused a Diet of the princes of the empire to be called, to consider with him of such helpees as were by them to be giuen against the Spring, for their maintenance of the warres which yet he had against the Turke: who all promised to send their souldiors with their pay, and such further contribution as might serue for the maintenance of that defenseue warre against the common enemie. VVhereunto also *Clement* now bishop of *ROME* (this yeare of Iubilie) put to his helping hand; as he had diuers times before, by sending thither such aid both of men and money as hee had before promised: so that by this meanes great pre- paration was made by the Christians for the taking of the field with the first of the Spring. At F which time the Turkes also began to stirre: who although *Ibrahim Bassa* their Generall by the appointment of his great lord was then in some speech with the emperour about a peace, yet cea- sed not they in the meane time that this treatie was from day to day prolonged, with their com- panies scattering here and there, to doe what harme they could vpon the frontiers of the empe- rours

Mehemet one of
the Visier Bassas
sent against the
rebell.

Cusahin there-
bell taken and
secured to death
at *Constantinople*.

1600
The emperour
maketh provision
against the
Turke.

rours territories, the cause why he with more speed called vpon his friends for their promised aid. G And for the better managing of this yeares warres against the Turke, he appointed duke *Mercurie* (who had drawne a great number of Frenchmen both horse and foot out of FRANCE) Generall of all his forces, sending *Ferrant Gonzaga* (whom for his approued valour and experience in martiall affaires, he had sent for to MANTVA) gouernour into the vpper HUNGARIE. So the souldiours now day by day by companies resorting from diuers parts into AVSTRIA, were from thence sent vnto such places as were by the Turkes most molested, so to repress their often incursions, as in many places they did. For eight thousand of the Turkes going out vpon the sudden to haue surpris'd PAPPÁ, were by the garrison souldiours of that place encountered and ouerthrowne. And on the other side, whilest *Ferdinand* the Archduke was assembling his people in CROATIA, for the defence of that countrey against the incursions H of the enemy, six thousand Turkes without resistance entring the same as farre as BYCCARI, and burning the countrey villages as they went, had taken many prisoners, with a great bootie of carrells, and so (merrie and out of feare) being about to haue returned, were suddenly set vpon by the Countie *Serinus* in certaine straight and troublesome passages, where they least feared any such matter, and ouercharged also with their prey, were (I say) easily by him for the most part ouerthrowne, and the rest put to flight, and so the prisoners with all the rest of the bootie againe recovered. At which time also one of the imperiall colonels with fiftene hundred horse making an inrode into the countrey about ALBA REGALIS, and meeting with the Turkes and Tartars theteabouts, slew six hundred of them, and tooke diuers of their captaines prisoners. Six thousand other Tartars also at this time returning out of HUNGARIE home towards their owne I country, were by the Cossackes neere vnto the Blacke sea set vpon with such force, that many of them being slaine, the rest for feare ran into the sea, leauing all the prey they had got in HUNGARIE vnto their enemies. In the heat of these broiles the noble lord *Palfi* gouernour of STRIGONIUM, a man that all his life long had done great seruice for his prince and country, & whom we haue so often in this historie remembred, died the three and twentieth of March in his castle at BIERSPURG, to the great griefe of many, especially the Hungarians his countreyemen. And for that STRIGONIUM (so neere vnto the enemy) required in his stead to haue a right valiant and courageous gouernour, the emperour appointed the lord *Swartzenburg* to that charge: the same still running, that *Ibrahim Bassa* would come thither with the great armie he was in prouiding, if the peace went not forward, which was now still lesse and lesse hoped for, by reason of his proud K and insolent demands.

The death of
lord Palfi.

The Frenchmen
and Wallons
mutinie in Tap-
pa.

But whilest these troubles with such others too long to rehearse, thus passed in diuers parts of this miserable countrey of HUNGARIE: twelve hundred Frenchmen and Wallons in garrison at PAPPÁ (a strong frontier towne of the emperours in the lower HUNGARIE) for want of pay began to mutinie. For which cause it was thought good to the chiefe commanders to haue them thence remooued, and others placed in their roume. VVhich they perceiuing, and withall knowing themselves too strong for the rest of the garrison, all Hungarians or Almaines, not partakers of their conspiracie; they first resolued to thrust their owne captaines out of the towne, as lets vnto their desires: and then laying hands vpon *Michael Marotti* the paymaster, and other the L Hungarian and Dutch commanders, with their souldiours, tooke from them their weapons, and cast the said *Marotti* with the other captaines and some of the better sort of their souldiours into yrons, exacting of the rest as well Hungarians as Dutch, in number about a thousand persons; a thousand duckats; threatening otherwise to deliuer them into the hands of the Turkes: and albeit that *Marotti* offered for his libertie eightene hundred duckats; yet would they not bee so contented, but spoyling both him and the rest of all that they had, with their apperrell and weapons furnished such Turkes as were there prisoners, and so sent them away to ALBA REGALIS; and afterwards rifling euery mans house, as if they had bene enemies, tooke from them whatsoever pleased themselves: and that which worse was, to encrease these outrages, compacted with the Turkes of ALBA REGALIS and BYDA, for the pay which (they said) the emperour ought them, to deliuer them the towne: certifying them withall, how that the lord *Swartzenburg* with- M in two daies was coming with money to giue them contentment; promising if hee came into the towne, to deliuer him with the same into their hands: or to bee the more sure of him, they might if they so pleased intercept him at the passage. ZESENBOCK, whereby he must needs come. For the more credit of which their wicked purpose, they sent an ensigne of the emperours, as a token

Pappa offered
vnto the Turkes
by the mutiners.

A token vnto the Turkes at ALBA REGALIS: who for all that altogether belieued them not, yet willing farther to trie them, sent them for hostages two Chians; for whom the rebels sent also two others of the better sort of them to ALBA REGALIS; with conclusion, that the five and twentieth of Iune at the furthest the money should be paid, and the towne deliuered. For the receiving whereof, and for feare of some hidden treason, the Turkes and Tartars began to make themselves strong: the Imperials also doing what they might for the appeasing of so dangerous a tumult. So the tenth of Iune the lord *Swartzenburg* with two thousand horse and foot came within two miles of the towne, and from thence sent foure and twentie horsemen to dissuade the rebels from yeelding the towne vnto the Turkes, and to tell them that they should shortly receiue their pay: who shamefully deriding them, sent them backe againe as wise as they came: so that B *Swartzenburg* perceiuing himselfe with so small forces to be able to doe nothing against them, neither yet by faire means to persuaade them, retired againe to RAB, vntill some greater strength were come vnto him. Immediately after, doctor *Petzen*, Councellour for the warres, a man of great authoritie, grauitie and wisdom, was by *Matthias* the Archduke with foure hundred horse conducted to PAPPÁ, to see if he by his discretion could haue dissuaded them from their so vngodly a purpose, for the yeelding of the towne vnto the enemy: whom they not onely refused to heare, although he spake vnto them most kindly, but also bent their muskets and harquebushes vpon him, threatening to kill him if he did not forthwith depart. VVhen shortly after, twentieth of the Hungarians imprisoned in a cellar in the towne, brake out, and coming to RAB, brought newes thither, That the Frenchmen and Wallons in PAPPÁ were at variance among C themselves about the yeelding vp of the towne vnto the Turkes (some better minded than the rest, not willing to consent therunto) in so much, that they in the castle shot at them in the towne, and they againe at them in the castle: and that they had already received from the Turkes twentie thousand duckats, with some prouision of victuals, & were shortly after to receiue from them the rest of the money promised them, and so to deliuer the towne. For preuenting whereof, the lord *Swartzenburg* the two and twentieth of Iune sent the lord *Sharpsenstein* with a French colonnell, three thousand souldiours, certaine Petardes, and a number of scaling ladders towards PAPPÁ, whom the false rebels suffered peaceably to enter the towne the foure and twentieth of Iune, still encouraging them to come on, calling them their countreyemen and brethren, and in token of friendship shaking them by the hands, telling them, that hauing assurance of their pay, they D desired no more: But hauing now receiued in so many of them as they thought good, and as they knew they were well able to deale with, shutting the rest out, they cut them all in peeces, and afterwards in derision called vpon the high Dutches to come on in like manner. Three hundred of these rebels at the same time had laied themselves in ambush by a mill fast without the towne, who by the Wallons and Haiduckes without discovered, were also by them charged: vpon whom for all that, by reason of the shot out of the towne, they could doe no good; but hauing lost three hundred men, and amongst them *Hannibal Kralcs*, the lord *Sharpsenstein*'s lieutenant generall, and one *Del la Margose* the chiefe engineer, they retired: VVhich losse the desperat rebels (if it had bene in their choice) had wished rather to haue happened vnto the Dutches than to the Wallons or Hungarians. About three daies after, three of these rebels being by chance taken E prisoners by the Imperials, and brought to RAB, were not only apparrelled but also trimmed after the Turkish fashion, as men not desiring longer to be accounted Christians, the rest of their fellows in the towne also all imitating the Turkes fashions, as well in their apperrell as in the manner of seruice: yet for all that would not these metamorphosed monsters yeeld the towne vnto the Turkes, before they had the full summe by them agreed vpon, the Bassa of BOSNA being commaunded from the Grand signior in all hast to prouide it for them, and so to receiue of them the towne. Neuerthelesse, for their more strength and their more credit with the Turkes, they receiued into the towne one ensigne of the Turkes, with certain waggons of victuals, brought thither with so strong a conuoy as that the Imperials durst not meddle therewith: in which wag- A most wicked gons (being discharged) they sent in bonds six hundred Hungarians and Dutch, men, women, and fast. F children, prisoners to ALBA REGALIS; being all of them glad to be so sent away, in hope to find more fauour and courtesie at the hands of their enemies, than they had found with these renegat Christians. So shortly after, these rebels sent out certaine messengers vnto the gouernour of ALBA REGALIS, to know his full resolution; which messengers (conducted by certaine Turkes of great account) were vpon the way by the free Haiduckes all intercepted, and the messengers taken,

C c c c c

ken, with an hundred Turkes moe. In the meane while *Michael Marotti*, before imprisoned by G the rebels in P A P P A, by letters secretly aduertised the lord *Swartzenburg* of a certaine place, whereby he might (as he said) easily enter the towne, and the rather, for that the rebels were at variance amongst themselves. VVho thereupon the twelfth of Iuly came to P A P P A with nine thousand horse and foot, but disappointed of his purpose for entering the towne, hardly neuertheless belayed the same: vpon whom the mutiniers many times desperatly sallied out, & right valiantly encountered them, albeit that they were still, without any notable losse, by their enemies (too strong for them) beaten backe againe into the towne. In one of which sallies it fortuned one of their captaines to be taken, who to the terrour of the rest was presently flaine quicke, and his head and skin vpon a pike set vp before the towne, for his fellowes to behold. But the lord *Swartzenburg* still more and more preuailing vpon them, they sent secretly for aid to the Turkes: H whereof he for all that getting intelligence, sent also for three regiments of souldiours moe to come vnto him to the siege; by whose coming he well strengthened, and bringing his approaches neerer the towne, tooke from the rebels the mill, a strength which they very vnwillingly lost, as in hope thereby to haue the more easily receiued aid from the Turkes; who hauing made preparation to haue relieved them, were letted so to doe by the rising of the water, which had spoiled all the prouision for their reliefe at the bridge of E S S E O, as also hindered them for marching forward. At length the Imperials were come with their trenches euen to the towne ditches, out of which they had let out all the water: where some of the townefmen escaping out of the towne, declared, how that the mutinous souldiours within laboured both day and night to fortifie the towne, but to be in their worke much letted by the continuall assaults of the Imperials: I as also that they now had neither bread nor wine, nor other victuals left, more than a little salt, and threescore horse, of which they had already begun to eat: and that although they were not altogether so valiant, yet that they had resolved to die by the hands of the souldiours, as men expecting no other mercie. Yet shortly after, viz. the nine and twentieth of Iuly, they desperatly fell out vpon the trenches of *Marsburgisch*, a Dutch captaine; of whose souldiours they slew many, being drunke, and driuing the rest out of their trenches, raised a great alarm. Which the lord *Swartzenburg* hearing, hastened thither to the rescue; where with an vnluckie musket shot hee was stricken in the head and flaine. VVhereof the rebels got knowledge the same evening, and *Del la Mota* their Generall in reward of that seruice gaue vnto them that had made that fallie a thousand dollars to be deuided amongst them. The dead bodie of that so worthie a man, as had done great seruice for the Christian commonweale, was afterwards with great solemnitie brought to R A B, and there honourably entered. The like desperate fallie they made againe the next day, and slew of the Imperials an hundred and thirtie, and tooke certaine prisoners: and in retiring backe againe into the towne, cried aloud, That when they lacked meat, rather than they would yeeld the towne, they would eat Christians, whereof *Marotti* should bee the first.

The lord Swartzenburg flaine.

Pappa abandoned by the mutiniers.

The lord *Swartzenburg* thus flaine, the gouernment of the armie was by *Matthias* the archduke committed to the lord *Redern*, a noble man both valiant and learned, who although hee were verie sickly came vnto the camp before P A P P A the eight of August; where vnderstanding that the rebels now brought vnto extremitie, had a purpose by night to flie away and so be gon, L he caused a more vigilant and strong watch to be kept; when lo according to his expectation the next night after about two houres before day they began to issue out: whereof the watch giuing knowledge vnto the Generall, they were indeed suffered to go out as vnperceiued, but presently after at their heels were sent out the lord *Nadasti* and the earle of *Thurn* with two hundred Hussars, and after them the chiefe colonell and countie *Solmes* with part of their horsemen also, who in three diuers places ouertaking them neere vnto a great wood called Packem, slew most part of them: *Della Mota* their chiefe captaine or ringleader being flaine by the chiefe colonell, because he would not yeeld, and his head afterwards by him presented vnto the Generall in the campe. Two hundred Wallons the Hussars vnder the leading of the lord *Nadasti*, countie *Solmes*, and countie *Thurn*, found out in the wood; who albeit that they for a space made great resistance, yet in the end were enforced to yeeld, and so with their two ensignes were brought into the campe. The Hussars also vpon another passage light vpon other two hundred mo of these rebellious Wallons, who because they stood strongly vpon their guard, and were more desperatly set than the rest, the Generall sent out other two hundred of the colonels horsemen vpon them, by whom

A whom and the Hussars they were almost all flaine: diuers others of them also were flaine in coming out of the towne, and in the marshes therabouts. Their Generalls lieutenant with such other of their principall commanders as were taken, were by the lord *Rederns* commandement delivered into the Prouost martiall; the rest of the rebellious traitours he at the request of the souldiours deuided into diuers parts of the armie, there to the terrour of others to be executed, from whom the souldiours could hardly be persuaded euen for the present to hold their hands. But afterwards hauing brought them to R A B, and leaue giuen them to doe with them their pleasure, they as farre exceeded in the cruell manner of their execution, as had they before in An horrible execution. wheele; some of their skins they cut off their bodies as it were into thongs, and so poured into the wounds, vinegar, salt, and pepper; from some others they cut off their priuities; some they roasted, and some they put vnto the Tenalia; vpon some they dropped molten pitch, and then casting gunpowder vpon them, so burnt them to death; othersome they hanged vpon yron hookes; and some they set in the ground vp to the chin, and for their disport with yron bullets bowled at their heads. In all which torments no signe of compassion was to be scene, the tormentours to make their paine the greater, doing nothing but deride them; the miserable wretches in the meane time confessing the hainousnesse of their offence, and craving for death as a fauour. A most horrible thing it was to see, how whilest some were thus tortured, others were brought to see the same miserie they themselves were by and by to endure. Amongst the rest of C these exquisite torments, one *Peter Orsy* caused one of the mutiniers to be fowed vp in the belly of a mare, with his head hanging out, and so to be roasted; in which miserable torment he liued three houres, and then died: after which he caused the loathsome bodie so roasted, to be giuen to them that lay statuing vpon the wheele to eat. Thus was the dangerous mutinie at P A P P A with much adoe ended, and that strong towne like to haue been lost, preferred: the rebels themselves being become a dreadfull example to all posteritie, for all them to looke vpon that shall attempt the like villanie.

Now at this same time also, though neither the Christians nor the Turkes had as then any great armie in the field, yet many an hoar and bloudie skirmish passed daily betwixt them in one place or other of H V N G A R I E: all which to recount as it would be much tedious, so in silence to D passe them all ouer, were greatly to wrong those worthie personages by whom they were not without their great aduenture done. Amongst the rest, one *Nicholas Horbath*, countie *Serinus*, his lieutenant, with an hundred and fiftie souldiours, and *Andrew Thust* an other great comman- der, going forth to seeke for bootie, *Thust* hearing that the Turkes were abroad for the surpris- ing of certaine Haidukes then gone out, staid fast in a secret place yntill he might heare farther newes, *Horbath* another way still going on. Now it happened that the Bassa of S I G E T H hauing been abroad, in returning home by chance met with *Horbath*, and encountering with him ouer- threw him, and slew most of his men, *Horbath* himselfe by flight hardly cleaping. But *Thust* hearing this skirmish, as lying close not farre off, and now hastning thither to haue been partaker thereof, found the Bassa yet in the field on foot, knowing the bodies of the flaine: vpon whom E he came so suddenly and with such force, as that the Bassa with his disordered men had much adoe to take horse, and so without any great resistance to betake himselfe to flight: after whom the Hungarians fiercely following, slew many of the Turkes, and amongst the rest the Bassa himselfe, whose head presently cut off, *Horbath* sent to the countie *Serinus*, who shortly after by *Thust* himselfe sent it to *Matthias* the archduke. This Bassa was a man of great strength and courage, a most expert and aduenturous captaine, about thirtie six yeares old, and for his valour of a common souldiour created a Bassa by the great Sultan. His head being brought to V I E N N A, and there shewed to the Bassa of Buda then there prisoner, and he demanded whether he knew it or not, sighing answered, that he knew it well, and that it was the head of the Bassa of S I G E T H, a braver man than whom the Sultan had none in all his empire, earnestly withall desiring to know how he was flaine. And not long after the aduenturers out of C O M A R A, S T R I G O N I A, and other places thereabout hauing made a great parrie, and taken a great bootie from the Turke at a faire at C O M A R A, and by T R I A and E S S E O, thinking to haue passed Danubius in hope of a greater bootie, leuen hundred of them being passed the river, were by the new Bassa of S I G E T H and others with fuge thousand Turkes in an hoar skirmish, querthrowne yee, nor without their great

Two Bassas of Sigeth flaine one after another.

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1. La surprised
and burnt by the
free Haiduckes.

great losse also: the Bassa himselfe with two other Sanzackes and five hundred Turkes being there slaine, and but fiftie of the Christian aduenturers left dead in the place, the rest disorderedly retiring to their boats, being for most part drowned in the Danubie. The free Haiduckes also surprised I V L A and set it on fire, in which confusion the Turkes flying into the castle, for hast thrust one another from the bridge into the castle ditch; wherein so many of them were drowned, that a man might haue gone drie foot ouer vpon the bodie of the dead. They tooke there also six hundred prisoners with much other bootie, and deliuered two hundred Christians which were there captiues. And albeit that these Haiduckes after this exploit done were hardly pursued by the Turkes from other places, yet they in safetie retired with such bootie as they had already gotten.

But now to leaue these troubles of H V N G A R I E for a while, as the fore-runners of greater here long to ensue; let vs againe looke backe into T R A N S Y L V A N I A and V A L A C H I A, to see how Michael the Vayuod now in the meane time behaued himselfe there. The Cardinall Bathor ouerthrowne and slaine, and the countrey of T R A N S Y L V A N I A againe brought vnder the emperours obedience; the Vayuod by his embassadours gaue him forthwith to vnderstand of all his proceedings, with the whole successe thereof, as also of a purpose he had to inuade M O L D A V I A: for that it was commonly reported, and also beleued, that Sigismund the late prince (not a little moued with the death of the Cardinall his cousin, and the reuolt of his countrey) aided by the Turkes, the Tartars, and Moldauians, would now attempt some great matter for the recouerie of T R A N S Y L V A N I A: All which was shortly after the rather thought to be true, for that diuers of his spies being taken, some at C L A V S E N B U R G, some at N A S S E N, beside the letters that were found about them from him vnto the nobilitie and states of T R A N S Y L V A N I A (persuading them to reuolt from the Vayuod vnto him, and that his meaning was shortly to come with a great armie out of P O L O N I A for the repulsing of him) they also of themselves confessed, how that Sigismund in disguised apparell had himselfe beene in T R A N S Y L V A N I A, to conferre with diuers his secret friends concerning that matter. Which his embassadours the emperor honourably entertained, and by them confirmed vnto the Vayuod the gouernment of T R A N S Y L V A N I A, sending also vnto him diuers honourable presents; forbidding him neuertheless to inuade M O L D A V I A, for feare of raising a new and dangerous warre against the Polonians also, vnder whose protection and the Turkes the Palatine thereof then rested. According vnto which commaund the Vayuod staied his intended expedition; yet sending some good part of his forces vnto the frontiers of M O L D A V I A, for feare of Sigismund whom he heard to be hatching some mischief in P O L O N I A, and euen then to lie vpon the frontiers of that countrey. Some few moneths thus passing, Husraim Aga (a graue reuerend old man, and much employed by the Turkish Sultan) with five other Turkes of good account, embassadours from the great Sultan, and a great retinue following him, came to C R O N S T A T in T R A N S Y L V A N I A where the Vayuod then lay. Of whose coming the Vayuod hearing, with foure thousand horsemen most brauely mounted, went halfe a mile out of the citie to meet them: the footmen in the meane time on both sides of the street standing in good order, from the gate of the citie whereby they were to enter, euen vnto the Vayuods lodging; where stood also his guard all in red and white silke. So meeting in the field, they both alighted from their horses, with great reverence saluting the one the other: when presently the embassadour embracing the Vayuod, vngirt his scimitar, and in the name of the great Sultan put another about him, so richly garnished with gold and precious stones, as that no part of the scaberd was therefore to be seen: Besides this, he presented him with a faire plume of blacke Hearn feathers mixed with some white (a right goodly ornament, in forme of a great bush) which the Vayuod would not in the field put vpon his head, although he were thereunto by the embassadour most earnestly requested, but caused it to be carried before him: He also presented him with two verie faire red ensignes, in token of the Turkes fauour and protection; the one for himselfe, and the other for his sonne Petrasco: moreouer, hee gaue vnto him two exceeding faire horses richly furnished, with foure others, and a most faire faulcon. The Vayuod himselfe was most brauely mounted, and (after the maner of his countrey) had ten verie faire spare horses led before him. At whose entrance into the towne, all the great ordinance was discharged, with great volleys of small shot. And so the embassadour still riding on the left hand of the Vayuod, being brought to his lodging, had six of his chiefe followers euerie one of them presented with a rich robe of cloth of gold; in requitall

The gouernment
of Transylvania
by the emperor
confirmed vnto
Michael the
Vayuod.

A requitall whereof the embassadour rewarded an hundred of the Vayuod his followers euerie one of them with a good fure of apparell: with this embassadour of the Turkes was also the Polonian embassadour, whom the Vayuod in like manner honourably entertained. These embassadours (as was thought) did what they might to haue drawne this worthie and renowned man, together with the counties of T R A N S Y L V A N I A and V A L A C H I A, from the emperor vnto the Turkes obedience: howbeit he seldome or neuer spake with them; but thither either before or after he had conference with the lords Vignad and Zekell (the emperours commissioners) concerning their requests; alwaies protesting vnto them, not to yeeld to any thing without the emperours consent and good liking. Whereof Mahomet aduertised, and that he was not by any thing yet said or done to be remoued from the emperor; gaue him by the same embassadours to vnderstand, how that he was in some speech with the emperor concerning peace (as indeed he then was by messengers from the Basses at P R E S B U R G) which if it sortted to effect, that then all should be well; but if not, that then it should be good for him whilst he had yet time; wisely to consider of his owne estate, and to submit himselfe vnto his protection who was able to defend him, rather than for the vaine praise of a certaine foolish constancie; to aduenture himselfe with all that he had vnto most certaine danger and destruction: promising him in recompence of that his loyalty, to giue vnto him for euer the counties of T R A N S Y L V A N I A, V A L A C H I A, and M O L D A V I A; and at his need to furnish him both with men and money; offering moreover to make him a great commaunder in his armie in H V N G A R I E; and the Bassa of T M E S V V A R as his friend to be at all times readie with fiftie thousand horse and foot (as need should be) to asist him against the emperor, reseruing vnto himselfe whatsoeuer he should more win from him: for all which bountie and kindnesse, requiring onely to haue him vnto him loyall. All which his large offers the Vayuod little regarding, declared the same vnto the emperours commissioners; yet still protesting neuer to start, but to stand fast for the Christian emperor. Notwithstanding as a man desirous to better his estate, he tooke hereupon occasion to request of the emperor the countrey of T R A N S Y L V A N I A, by him so lately taken in, vnto him and his sonne in inheritance for euer, with such frontier townes as in former time belonged vnto T R A N S Y L V A N I A: and that whatsoeuer he should win from the Turkes, might be his and his sonnes: He also requested, that all the preferments and dignities in former time granted by his Imperial majestie vnto Sigismund the late prince, might now be bestowed vpon himselfe; and for his seruice done, to be furnished with money for the payment of his souldiers: And that the emperor with the other princes of the empire should assure him, that if he were taken by the Turke, they should raunsome him: but in case he were by the great power of the Turke driuen out of those countries, then by the emperours appointment to haue some conuenient place allotted vnto him in the vpper H V N G A R I E to liue in, with the yearly pension of an hundred thousand dollars. All which his requests if it would please him to grant, he promised this yeare to doe so much against the Turke, as had not in an hundred yeares beene done before: with vaunt, that if he had had the employment of the money which was spent in the time of this war, he would not haue doubted but to haue brought all the counties from the Euxine (or Blacke sea) to B V D A, A L B A R E G A L I S, and S O L N O C K, vnder the emperours obedience. A large promise indeed, but hardly to haue been performed by a farre greater prince than he.

Thus whilst things stood in discourse after the Cardinals death, Sigismund the late prince in the meane time supported by the Polonians, with the aid of the Turkes, the Tartars, and the Moldauians, was readie to haue inuaded T R A N S Y L V A N I A: yea the Tartars (as the fore-runners of his greater power) were already entred the countrey, and had out of the frontiers thereof carried away some bootie. Whereof the Vayuod vnderstanding, in great hast assembled his forried away some bootie. Which in short time was growne to some good head, the countrey people ces out of all places, which in short time was growne to some good head, the countrey people together with the free Haiduckes (an aduenturous and resolute kind of souldiers) in great number daily resorting vnto him. So being now eight thousand strong, and most of them braue and lustie men, he with them and twentie pieces of artillerie remoued to C R O N S T A T the foure and twentieth day of Aprill, sending part of his armie (which euerie day more and more increased) before him to N E S S E N: where all his forces being assembled to the number of almost fiftie thousand horse and foot, hee with great sceleritie passed the rough and high mountaines into M O L D A V I A without resistance, but yet not without some trouble, his souldiers by the way being glad sometimes to eat the leaues of trees, the enemy hauing of purpose before carried away what-

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Michael the
Vayuod goeth
against Sigis-
mund Bathor
and the Payuod
of Moldavia.

whatsoever he could that might haue yeelded him reliefe. Of whose speedie comming and great strength, *Sigismund* and *Jeremias* the Vayuod of *Moldavia* hearing, and vpon the reasonable estimate of their owne forces finding themselves too weak to encounter him, retired themselves out of *Moldavia* into the frontiers of *Polonia*, there to gather greater strength, and so to meet him: for as yet *Jeremias* the Vayuod had not received from the Turke such forces as were vnto him promised, and as he still expected. *Michael* the Vayuod in the meane time (his enemies thus fled) with fire and sword entering into *Moldavia*, tooke in the greatest part thereof, the fearefull countrey people still yeelding vnto him as he went: and the rather, for that *Jeremias* their Vayuod (placed by the Polonian, but tributarie vnto the Turke) had laied vpon them a most grievous imposition, as vpon euery man a duckat a moneth, for which they exceedingly hated him. But here in *Moldavia*, *Michael* the Vayuod (hauing still in his companie H one of the emperours commissioners in *Transylvania* most trustie seruants, who might faithfully report vnto them the whole manner of their proceedings) after the departure of *Sigismund* and *Jeremias* his enemies, staied not long; but hearing that they were retired towards the confines of *Polonia*, without longer delay made towards them, and the eighteenth of May found them by the castle *Othvne* nere vnto the riuer *Nester*, being thirtie thousand strong; Polonians, Moldauians, Turkes, and Tartars: with whom he joynd a most fierce and cruell battell, which begun about ten a clocke before noone, was with great courage but greater obstinacie on both sides maintained vntill the euening. At which time the fortune of the Valachian preuayling, his enemies at last betooke themselves to flight, of whom were there slaine eight thousand, beside many others of them drowned in the riuer *Nester*: where of the Valachians were lost two thousand onely. Concerning *Sigismund* and *Jeremias*, diuers reports were after this ouerthrow giuen out, some saying that they were slaine, and some that they were in flying drowned: howbeit the truth was, that they both by flight escaped, to the greater trouble of themselves as of their afflicted countries also. *Michael* after this so notable victorie, taking in the rest of *Moldavia*, caused the people to sweare their obedience vnto the emperour, himselfe, and his sonne, to the great offence of the Polonians, not a little (as they tooke it) wronged therein; but especially of the great Chancellor, an old enimie vnto the house of *Austria*. W hereof ensued greater troubles in those frontier countries than before, to the further effusion of more Christian blood, much better to haue been employed against the fatal enimie in defence of the Christian common-weale. Yet thus the three warlike and frontier countries of *Transylvania*, *Valachia*, and *Moldavia*, the furest bulwarkes of that side of Christiendome, and most exposed vnto the furie of the common enimie, were now once againe vnited vnder the obedience of the emperour, to the great benefit (no doubt) of the Christian common-weale, and hurt of the Turkes; if they might haue so continued, as God wot they did not long.

Now the Vayuod notwithstanding this so great a victorie, well considering that he of himselfe could hardly keepe this new gained prouince of *Moldavia* against the power of the Turke, pretending that to him it belonged as his own to giue to whom he pleased: as also against the Polonians (not more desirous to restore *Jeremias* againe into *Moldavia*, than the prince *Sigismund* into *Transylvania*) without the help of some other more mightie prince whom he might rest vpon: by his embassadours (sent for that purpose) offered the soueraignie of all those three countries vnto the emperour, with condition, that he should appoint him perpetuall Gouvernour of the same vnder him. The emperour also understood how that *Mahomet* the great Turke had not long before againe sent vnto him another of his Chiaus, commaunding him without delay to restore the countrey of *Transylvania* vnto the prince *Sigismund* (vnto whom he was by the mediation of the king of *Polonia* now before reconciled) threatening otherwise with fire and sword to destroy *Valachia*, and by force of armes to deprive him both of *Transylvania* and his life together. W herefore the emperour doubting least the Vayuod either for feare, or for the better assuring of his owne estate, should to his prejudice fall to some agreement with the Turke, yeelded to all that his embassadours had of him requested: with condition, that he should be bound as need should require to serue with his people against the Turke; and that in *Transylvania* nere vnto his owne person should be alwaies resident one of the emperours counsellors, as Superintendent ouer the whole countrey. W herewith the Vayuod being contented, the Emperour sent thither doctore *Petren* with six thousand souldiours, and a great summe of money to pay the Vayuods souldiours, as he had before requested; and

Sigismund and the Moldavian ouerthrowne by Michael the Vayuod.

Moldavia subdued by Michael.

A so to take of them an oath, That they should from thenceforth become his majesties faithfull seruants. W hich Superintendent so by the emperour sent, the Vayuod receiued with great honour, as vnto him of all others most welcome. Neuerthelesse being againe returned into *Transylvania*, it was not long, but that (without regard of him) he bega with new exactions to oppress the people of that countrey, and in some sort to tyrannize ouer them; vsing great seueritie against diuers of the Nobilitie also, especially such as he knew to haue taken part before with the Cardinall, or now of late with *Sigismund* his cousin, or anyway to haue fauoured his quarrell. All which he did without the consent or good liking of *Petren*, contrarie to his promise made, No more to embroe his hands in the blood of the nobilitie of *Transylvania*, without the knowledge or consent of his Imperiall majestie, or the Superintendent by him appointed: which for B all that had he not done, he could not possibly haue kept them (disdaining to be gouerned by him) vnder his obeisance. Neuerthelesse the *Transylvanians* taking it in euill part to be so oppressed, and the nobilitie almost extinguished, yea and indeed to be at all ruled by him; by generall consent as if it had been but one man, rise all vp in armes against him: insomuch, that he finding himselfe with his Valachians and other his fauourits too weak for them, retired with all such as would follow him into the mountaines, and from thence sent presently for aid vnto the lord *George Basta* (a worthy capitaine and then the emperours lieutenant in the vpper *Hungarie*) for the subduing of these rebellious people, and the reducing of them to their former obedience: W ho by letters from *Matthias* the Archduke at the instance of the Vayuod commaunded so to doe, with about six thousand horse and foot, and eight field pieces, remoued from *Cassovia* in the vpper *Hungarie* the fourth of September: W here by the way came vnto him embassadours also from the people of *Transylvania* now vp in armes, and confederat also against the Vayuod: who in like manner also requested his aid, pretending themselves to be the emperours most loyall subjects, but not vnder the gouernment of such a tyrant as was the Vayuod: alleading and exaggerating many his most cruell actions, and clearly protesting, That for the present want of a good Gouvernour they were enforced for the safeguard of their owne liues to band themselves together: which if happily it might be in any thing prejudiciall vnto the emperour his claime and interest, which he with so great toyle and cost had procured in that prouince, it was against their wils, as enforced by necessitie to doe that they did in defence of themselves. W hich embassadours so sent from the people, *Basta* with all speed dispatched away backe again, D comforting them without farther stir to expect his arriual in *Transylvania*: yet covenanted withall, That they should before conceiue into writing the oath of their fidelitie and allegiance vnto his Imperiall majestie. Now might many and important considerations trouble the mind of *Basta* in so doubtfull a case. To giue aid vnto the Vayuod against the people, was the expresse order from *Matthias* the Archduke the emperours lieutenant Generall: but to aid the people confederat against him as they had requested, seemed now both more profitable and honest, especially hauing most certaine tokens of the small and doubtfull faith of the Vayuod; who onely by deputation interested in that prouidence, was not so carefull of an other mans; neither seeming to haue regard of *Petren*, or of his owne word giuen, for not farther embroing his hands in the blood of the nobilitie of *Transylvania*, without the emperours knowledge and leaue: E vpon which promise was also grounded the Archdukes order for giuing of him aid. So that such breach of his faith, and contempt of *Petren* had hastened the conspiracie of the people against him, dispairing of all other health than that which by force of armes they could procure themselves. To stand doubtfull himselfe, or to hold others in suspense, vntill that by courours in this new case he might receive new instructions from the emperour or the archduke, had in it too much danger, as giuing leisure to each partie to make sides, and to encrease the slander of the last yeare, That he might so easily (and especially from the Valachian) haue assured that pro- uince to his majestie, had he not bene an heartlesse man of no resolution, euen such an one as durst not looke vpon a cat (as some had said:) all which might not a little pricke an honourable mind. To take part with the people confederat against the Vayuod, if it should not happily fall out at the first encounter; might betwixt the two contendants giue an entrance vnto the third, F either the Turke or the Polonian in the fauour of *Bastor*: but if it should fort to the quite contrarie, and so himselfe to loose the day; then he saw himselfe void of all defence against the malicious, especially in that the world commonly measureth the wisdome vied in any action, according to the successe thereof, than which nothing can be more vnreasonable, but about all others in

Michael tyrannish in Transylvania.

The Transylvanians rebell.

to stand vpon that wing to giue the first charge; hee gaue order vnto *Rechuz* his lieutenant G and colonell of the Ruters, which had the leading of the left wing, that he should at a certaine signe giuen, set forwards towards the left hand; for the charging of that great Squadron. So his people being set in order, and the manner of proceeding set downe, hee putting on his helmet, with cheerefull countenance said, That at that time he trusted hee should shew vnto the Vayuod, that his truncheon could doe more than his scimitare: And himselfe setting forward betwixt the Squadron of the Almaine footmen and the wing of the musketers, about two houres after noone, marched faire and softly towards the enemy: who without mouing expected the discharging of their artillerie; whereunto the neerer that the enemy came vnto it, the lesse harme it did him, by shooting either ouer or short in the field, which easily ascended. H The wing of musketers went directly to giue a charge vnto the artillerie; and the Squadron towards the foot of the hill, where *Bassa* desired forcibly to charge, that thereby they might be enforced to spend their first volles, and with some discouragement or disorder to retire, presently came in all afront just vpon the signe giuen; and so with his Almaine footmen and the Ruters on the right hand, enclosed and compassed in behind the greatest part of the enemies footmen. At which very instant, the Ruters on the left hand also so courageously charged vpon the three thousand lances, that better could not haue beene desired of any band of most old and expert souldiours. The lances retiring without any hurt, and the first volley discharged, forced the infanterie, and so disordered the rest. Whereupon the wings charging, there ensued presently a great slaughter and ouerthrow, onely partie of *Bassa* his men being slaine, and as many hurt; where of the enemies were lost in the battell ten thousand: and greater had I the slaughter beene, if the village and approach of the night had not couered many of them that fled, and stayed the pursuite of the victors that followed them. Which putteth me in remembrance of the great victorie that *Scipio Asiaticus* had against *Antiochus*, wherein were slaine of the Romanes but three hundred (although that in the fight one of the wings stood for a time doubtfull) there being lost of the enemies about fiftie thousand. Howbeit there were afterwards found in all (as was by the peasants of the countrey reported) twentie thousand slaine in this battell. By this victorie *Bassa* recouered many ensignes and much armour, before sent by the emperor vnto the Vayuod, together with all his tents and baggage. And presently after the ouerthrow there were many troupes of horsemen sent out euery way: with proclamation, To spare the liues of such of the Siculi as should lay downe their armes: of K whom many were sent prisoners vnto diuers places, especially to *Fogaras*, a strong towne toward *VALACHIA*. As for the Vayuod himselfe, hee with certaine Cossackes escaped by flight.

The morrow following, *Bassa* dispatched away the Countie *Canviali*, to enforce the emperor of all the particularities of the successe of that expedition: who seemed to bee therewith pleased, yet neither gaue reward vnto the Countie, neither commended *Bassa* in that he had done, (foreseeing perhaps what was to ensue thereof) although hee had in writing before approoued his resolution and motion made in fauour of the Confederates. Staying that day in that quarter, *Bassa* gaue order vnto the Chiaki, to send out a thousand horsemen to pursue the flying Vayuod: who in stead of so doing, joyning themselves with other their conforts, settled themselves to ranlacke *ALBA IULIA*, vnder the colour, that there was the Vayuods wealth and substance; yet (as the manner of such men is) sparing neither marchant nor citizen: which worthily seemed vnto *Bassa* a great wrong, for to see the innocent punished, and the guiltie to escape free. And albeit that he made what hast he might thitherwards with all his campe, and so stayed one day not farre from thence, to haue giuen some redresse vnto the spoile that had happened: yet was all that his labour lost, for that so many of the greater fort and chiefest amongst them had their hands therein, with whom he thought it more wisdom as then to dissemble, than to fall into any tearmies of severitie; without hope of doing any good. So he resolved in all hast to march towards *Fogaras* (whither he heard say the Vayuod was come with new forces out of *VALACHIA* and *MOLDAVIA*) and in six daies march came to *CIBINIVM*, where he receiued certaine newes: That the Great Chancellour of *POLONIA*, and *Sigismund* (sometime the Transylvanian prince) were with a strong armie vpon the frontiers of *MOLDAVIA*; hauing sent before them *Moses* the Sicilian, with about eight thousand of the Siculi (his souldiours) to what purpose was easie to bee scene. Which aduer-

Michael the Vayuod ouerthrowne.

This Chiaki was the chiefe man, and as it were the ring leader of the Transylvanians in this rebellion.

A aduertisement interrupted the course of *Bassa* his victorie, for that it seemed not reasonable to pursue the enemy, and to leaue behind him a doubt of so great importance: and especially, for that he thought he could not assure himselfe of the aid of the countrey people, in case that *Sigismund* their old prince were once scene in *TRANSYLVANIA*. Wherefore he thought good to stay where he was, to prouide for all euents as need should be; and so resolved to send the Chiaki and one *Ladislav Pithi* to parley with *Moses*, who made a shew of no great moment of his good will towards the confederats. In the meane time came two messengers from the Vayuod, offering in his name, that he should doe whatsoever were in the behalfe of the emperor to be imposed vpon him: vnto whom these conditions were by *Bassa* and the rest of the counsell propounded: First, that hee should for euer resigne all the claime hee had or might haue into the B countrey of *TRANSYLVANIA*; then, that he together with his armie should giue his oath of fidelitie vnto his imperiall maiestie; also, that he should forthwith through *VALACHIA* go with his armie vnto the frontiers of *MOLDAVIA*, to stay the Polonians from further entrance; and moreover, to giue his wife and little sonne in hostage for the performance of these things. With which messengers was sent one *Sebastian Tschelli*, to receiue the oath and promised hostages: vnto whom was appointed for the place of their safe keeping, the bishops castle in *ALBA IULIA*, the Vayuod hauing before requested, that they might be so kept in *TRANSYLVANIA*: although *Bassa* thought it much better to haue had them kept in the vpper *HUNGARIE*. This agreement being made, *Bassa* kept on his way towards *Fogaras*, which he found already possessed by the Chiaki, and so from thence to *CORONA*. After which the Vayuod distrustful of the articles C agreed vpon, went directly into *VALACHIA*, but not at all into *MOLDAVIA*; nor so much discomfited with the forces of the Polonians whom he went against (not doubting to giue them a great ouerthrow) as for the distrust he had of *Moses* the Sicilian, who in the battell might shew himselfe his enemy behind him. Now whether it were for the distrust he had in his owne followers, or onely for feare of treason by the Polonians plotted, being not likely that they with so small forces were come to fight, without some greater secret deceit; he not knowing whom to trust or to feare, of his owne accord tooke his flight into the strength of the mountaines, without any great losse of his people, hauing left his baggage behind him, which was assailed and taken by the Haiduckes and such other tharckers enured to prey, and alwaies readie in like occasion to helpe to spoile and chase them that are already running: although that afterwards in diuers D skirmishes with the Turkes (who to cause him the rather to turne his backe vnto the Polonians, had presumptuously scoured vp and downe the countrey) he lost many. In fine, giuing *MOLDAVIA* lost, he was now out of hope how to be able to hold only *VALACHIA*, his old government. Euen he which but a little before commaunded about an hundred thousand souldiours in field: he (which in despite of who said nay) was able to commaund *VALACHIA* and *MOLDAVIA*, and happily the other countrees also neere vnto him; as hauing receiued the commaund of *TRANSYLVANIA*, as gouernour for the emperor: he that made *CONSTANTINOPLE* to tremble, and found no empire equall to his desires. But it fareth oftentimes with the great, as with birds of prey, who greedily seeking to prey vpon others, become themselves a prey vnto other, greater than themselves: for they neuer contented, and attributing onely vnto their owne E valour and wisdom, their owne prosperous proceedings, are the true shoares of the vnsable wheele of fortune: or what say I of fortune: being rather the very children of folle. So commonly fallerth it out with princes (especially the new) which in the garboles of warre betwixt their mightie neighbours, not gouerned by their owne wisdom, rest themselves only vpon the aduice of their counsellours, are by them led they wote not whither, for the great interest they haue in them. For had the Vayuod had but the least sight into politick gouernment, he might well haue vnderstood, that amongst so many mightie princes, he could not much grow, or yet well root himselfe, without the assured stay of some one or other of them. He should also haue knowne within what compass a new prince ought to haue vsed severity and rigour; and that he ought to abstaine from all offence in goods, or otherwise, which might any way procure F vnto him the displeasure or hatred of his subjects. Whereas his counsellours not so much respecting his profit as their owne, had not the power or not the will to perswade him so by good meanes to plant himselfe sure in *TRANSYLVANIA*; but so both cast him headlong from his high estate, and at the same time furthered the losse of *CANISIA*, a matter of important consequence.

Now

A reconciliation made betwixt Michael the Vayuod & Bassa.

Michael for feare of being betrayed vnto the Polonians, taketh his flight into the mountaines.

Now lay *Basta* encamped in the field in *TRANSYLVANIA*, when a messenger came vnto G him from the great Chancellor of *POLONIA*, to declare vnto him, That it was not his purpose to trouble *TRANSYLVANIA*, hauing no such order from his king: albeit that he would aduise the *Transylvanians* if they wished to liue in quiet, to make choice of a prince of their owne nation, and such an one as the Turke should well like of, whereas otherwise they should but seeke their owne destruction, together with their neighbours. VVhich his counsell was well marked of them all, albeit that it was thought by many of the wiser fort not so much to proceed of any good meaning he had towards the *Transylvanians*, as of an old grudge and inueterat hatred hee had alwaies borne against the house of *AUSTRIA*: as also that he euen then countenanced the prince *Sigismund* with his armie, to no other end, but by him to raise vp new stirres in that prouince, and so to draw it from the emperours obedience, although thereby it became againe tributarie vnto the Turke, who in all these matters had a great hand. Yea some stuck not to say, That he couertly aimed at that principallitie for his sonne, howsoever he masked the same vnder the shew of *Sigismund* the late prince. But vnto him answere was giuen by the *Transylvanians* in generall (with thanks for his good will) that in all their consultations they would haue a principall regard of their owne welfare, together with the common: VVhich answere he hauing receiued, forthwith placed one *Simon* (the brother of *Hieremias* the Moldauian) Vayuod of *VALACHIA* in stead of *Michael* by him driuen out, and so leauing a conuenient number of souldi- G
ors with him, returned himselfe towards *POLONIA*. Vnto which election so made by the *Polonian*, the Turkes craftily gaue place, knowing well to play the foxes where they could not play the Lyons, wisely for a time comporting the iniurie: and the old Chancellor as craftie as they, hauing a secret purpose by occasion of these present troubles, to preferre his sonne at length vnto the principallitie of *TRANSYLVANIA*, and therunto also to joyne the countiees of *MOLDAVIA* and *VALACHIA*, had therein purpose placed the aforesaid *Simon*, a man of no valour, and of a small apprehension, whom he might again at his pleasure displace, and joyne those prouinces vnto his new purchase; which he could not so well doe, if he should haue there placed a man of greater reach and courage. So worke the heads of the great, and so trauell the braines of the ambitious aspiring.

The Chancellor
places a new
Vayuod in Vala-
chia in stead of
Michael, by him
driuen out.

False rumours
raised vnto
astonish *Basta*.

Basta vnderstanding of the retiring of the *Polonians*, entred into consultation with the *Chiaki* and other the principall men of that prouince (which lodged with the armie in the countie villages thereabout) for calling together the states and people, to make choice of some such men K as they thought meetest to be sent vnto the emperor, to know his pleasure for the government of that prouince. But now in the meane time, whilst there was no suspicion of the forraigne enemy, began to worke certaine Malecontents, which thinking with greater libertie to liue vnder a weake prince than vnder one of greater power, with one voice cried out, That *Sigismund* with a great power was entered into the confines of *TRANSYLVANIA*; one whilst towards *VALACHIA*, another while by the way of *MOLDAVIA*; and that the strength of the countie and others therby still resorted vnto him: with other such like inuentions, of purpose deuised to haue made *Basta* suddenly departed, or at leastwise to haue troubled the Diet or assembly called, and the consultation also. But he well aduised of their purpose, moued not out of his quarter, but there lay very priuately, to declare thereby the great confidence he had in the thankfulness of the nobilitie of the countie, as by him deliuered from the oppression of the Vayuod: as also to make them to vnderstand, That the government to be appointed, was not to be seded in the sole power of a tyrant, but in the fidelitie of the subjects protected vnder a most gentle, royall, and most fatherlike government, not ambitiously sought after, but most voluntarily of themselves offered, and (for the common good) by the emperor accepted. Beside that, he knew right well how that *Castaldo* (in like case before in the yeare 1551 sent into *TRANSYLVANIA* with eight thousand Almaines) left behind him his armie, and without any precedent courtesie went priuately to *ALBA IULIA*, where queene *Isabel* had for her defence assembled a Diet of all the states, and there by well handling of the matter got to *Ferdinand* the emperor that kingdom, which hee could not by the fear of his forces haue gained: for which doing, VVriters attribute vnto him the name M of great wisdom; notwithstanding that the yeare following he was enforced to abandon his conquest, but yet not through any default in himselfe.

But it is truly said, That men pleased, according to the occasion change their manners, as doth the Chamelion his colour according to the place: nothing being by nature so short, nothing of

A of lesse life than the remembrance of a benefite with the vnthankfull, which the greater it is, the more it is repaid with vngratitnde; either by making it to haue been of little worth, or to haue proceeded not of courtesie, but from some other more priuat, and proper considerations of the giuer. The Diet (aforesaid) being assembled, diuers broiles were there raised by the malecontents, as usually it cometh to passe where the people haue to doe with the government: apt to be moued with euerie rumour, alwaies readie to change their opinion as streight gluted therewith, headstrong, faithlesse, all in words to no end: Some of them in that assembly cried out, that the Almaines might be paid, discharged, and thanked for the paines they had taken for them as their neighbours, with offering to doe them the like pleasure as their occasions should require: other some cried to haue them all put to the sword, so much they were deuoid of reason: B others cried out as fast, that they were not by any meanes to endure the government of *Maximilian* the Archduke, but by some nominated vnto them: would needs haue a prince of their owne countie, and such an one as the great Turke should well like of, as the Chancellor had perswaded them: *Basta* for all that not dismayed with so vnexpected an encounter (albeit that he began to suspect that he had lost all his labour, if he were not in short time with greater forces relieved) at such time as the *Chiaki* with other the chiefe men amongst the people, came as their manner was euerie other day to visit him: with couragious speech and vnappauled countenance told them plainly, That he well perceiued their dust and purpose; and yet doubted not either of their oath of obedience giuen vnto his Imperiall maiestie, either of the fresh remembrance of the great benefite they had from him so lately receiued; and in case it might happen them little to C esteeme of those things (greater than which could not happen amongst men) that yet they should well know, that he was not a man to be feared with words, but fully resolued not to stirre one foot thence with his forces but rather to lose his life, which he would for all that sell as deere as he could. VVherunto answere was giuen with much courteous speech, That he should not giue eare vnto any the speeches of the light vulgar people; but to content himselfe that the Nobilitie in whose hands the chiefe power of that prouince was, had not done any thing not becoming themselves. So after much dispute, were appointed three persons according to the three estates (the Nobilitie, the Commons, and the State in generall) to go vnto the Emperour, to request of him *Maximilian* the Archduke for their Governour: with speciall request also, that it would please him not to ouercharge with forreign soldiours that prouince already sore impouerished; especially D hauing in it selfe people sufficient for the defence thereof, and more nimble to encounter with the Turkes, than the heauie and slow Almaines and they also of double charge. These difficulties with much adoe thus appeased by such as stood fast for the emperor, *Basta* thought it not good againe to call any such assembly, hoping that time and the emperors great wisdom, would for all these matters find conuenient remedie. Yet saw he plainly, the mind of the people was to resolve to remaine for euer free, if they should haue come to a second consultation; and in them a princely desire to commaund rather than to be commaunded: Yea in that selfesame Diet the *Chiaki* was declared Gouvernour on the behalfe of the people, with authoritie in many things of himselfe to determine without calling together of any assembly of the rest of the States: which they said they did only vntill they were by his Imperiall maiestie provided of a Governour. Ne- E uertheless *Basta* well perceiued more than a Tribunitiall power to be now joynd by the people vnto the emperours commissioners, knowing that this *Chiaki* was in great hope to haue bene proclaimed prince of the confederats, in case they had not bene presently relieved against the proclaimed prince of the confederats, still his great ambition, for that marching from *TORDA* Vayuod: and hauing in him yet noted still his great ambition, for that marching from *TORDA* toward the Vayuod, he caused to be carried before him a speare with an Hungarian cap, and a plume of feathers vpon a lance; in token of his chiefe commaund; albeit that afterwards at the complaint of *Basta*, pretending therein a wrong to be done vnto his regiment marching vnder the Imperiall standard, he tooke it downe: neither was he then a little suspected to haue suffered his souldiours to haue sacked *ALBA IULIA*, also to haue surpris'd *FOORAS*; and to haue meddled yet better to dissemble than to proceed farther, and then to doe it in deed when he had power sufficient. F
The next day following came all the Counsell of that prouince, with the Deputies (appointed to haue gone vnto the emperor) and the people vnto the house of *Basta*, requesting him (albeit that such their manner of comming might seeme to exceed the bounds of request) that hee would

The first speech
of *Basta*, vnto the
Chiaki and the
rest of the nobles
of *Transylvania*.

The error of
B. fol.

would send his Germanes out of the country, and so after so many troubles to giue it leaue a little to breath: as for himselfe, that he might stay at ALBA IULIA, vntill the men depuited to that purpose might go vnto his majestie with their requests. *Bassa* not a little troubled with such an imperious request, and now (but not before) perceiving the occasion of this great discontentment; saw himselfe much deceiued in a most materiall point and the ground of all this action, by trusting too much vnto his owne too small forces, too weake for the defence of his owne person, much lesse to keepe vnder so populous a prouince, such as before in the yeare 1552 vnder the leading of *Castaldo*, had of it selfe sent out 70 thousand fighting men for the besieging of LIPPA, and now vpon the sudden twelue thousand with a few noble men in the face of a mightie and armed enemy; where they now held an armed consultation with him, the Nobilitie meeting together with their great retinues; and so much the greater, by how much the suspicion was the more by them feared, for them to be enforced to resolue vpon any thing contrarie to their good liking; whereas he contenting himselfe onely with their oath without any other hostages, and so giuing aid vnto the confederats, had put himselfe vpon their faith, together with all his people, into the midst of TRANSYLVANIA; a matter of far greater importance than any pledge they were able to haue giuen him. Besides that, of the six thousand men which he had brought with him into that country, three thousand five hundred of SILESIA now brought to two thousand, could not be persuaded longer to stay without their pay before hand, the pay of their country being already spent: and the rest drawn out of the garrisons of the vpper HUNGARY, or else there pressed, were at a certaine time to returne. Yet neuerthelesse he attempted in some sort to satisfie their request, for not grieuing of the country, by requesting of them to deliuer vnto him some strong place, whereinto he putting his men in garrison, they might so lie without any farther charge or trouble to the country, liuing vpon their owne wages. Which when he could not obtaine, and withall considering that if those few of his people which yet remained could be contented to stay with him, the retaining of them might giue occasion vnto the desirous of new stirs vpon euery the least disorder of the souldiours, to alter the matter at their pleasure; as had happened vnto the eight thousand Almaines of *Castaldo*, driuen sometimes out of that country vnder the colour of some insolencie by them committed, although others had been the chiefe doers thereof, namely about some twentie Polonians: he resolued of all these things to giue notice to the Court, and so faire and softly to march with his souldiours vnto the confines of that country; and to saue his eight pieces of artillerie with his other munition in Samos Viua castle, a strong fortesse a good way within the confines, which together with the strong castle of KVIVAR, *Aga Leche* an Albanoise and Generall of the Vaiuods horsemen deliuered to *Zakel* capitaine of *ZACCOMAR*, one of his majesties commissioners; who there provided for the Gouvernor *Bassa* his familiar fauourit: although that the Transylvanians had with great promises sought to haue crossed such deliuerie of the aforesaid castles, and to haue had them in their owne power.

The discretion of
the doer is not al-
ways to be de-
mand by the euent
of the thing
done.

Wherefore *Bassa* not deceiued, but by necessitie enforced, yeelded that he could not hold, and gaue that he could not sell, making a vertue of necessitie; deceiued in the euent of the matter which he had propounded vnto himselfe from the beginning, for the assurance of that country vnto the emperor, by an excusable error; if it be true that some wise men say, Nothing to be more vnreasonable than by the euent of matters to iudge of their wisdom by whom they were managed; which consisteth not in diuining before of the certaintie of the euent; but in the reasonable conjecture thereof, by the means leading thereunto, than which nothing is more deceitfull, as not depending from our owne actions onely, but from other mens also more grosse and vnreasonable: none knowing better how much the wisdom of man deceiueh it selfe, than those which are vnto themselves true witnesses of the euent of their owne consultations. Neuerthelesse the matter was afterward so well handled by *Bassa*, *Petren*, and others the emperours great fauourits in TRANSYLVANIA, that in a Diet holden by the Transylvanians, he was with a convenient guard againe by them receiued as the Emperours lieutenant, vntill further order were by him taken for the government and assurance of that country: the Chiaki and his complices faintly consenting thereunto, as not greatly pleased therewith. Neither had *Bassa* much cause to be proud of such his gouernment, hauing thereof no longer assurance than pleased that fickle people to afford him: yet sith no better could be had, he must take it as he might, deeming it better in some sort for the present to hold it for the emperor, than not at all: with which his weake

A weake state amongst moe enemies than friends, we will for a while leaue him.

But whilst things thus passed (as we haue said) in TRANSYLVANIA and HUNGARY (the treatie for peace betwixt the Emperour and the Turke being vanished into smoake) *Ibrahim Bassa* the Turkes Generall in HUNGARY, hauing all the last winter made great preparation for the inuasion of the emperours territories, and the doing of some notable enterprize for the recouerie of his reputation somewhat impaired by the euill successe of the last yeares warres; and euen in these his greatest preparations of this yeare, not a little troubled by the mutinie of the Ianizaries and Spahi for want of their pay at CONSTANTINOPLE, as also with the rebellion in CARAMANIA: now at length in the latter end of August (by order from the Grand signior his great lord and master) began to set forward with his armie from BELGRADE, supposed to be about two hundred thousand men strong. And comming to BABOYSCA, a strong fortesse of the Christians in the nether HUNGARY, sat downe before it, and hauing planted his artillerie, furiously battered it, with purpose to haue the next day assailed it: but the capitaine of the castle considering the weakenesse of his garrison to withstand so puissant an enemy, and that the wals to be already sore shaken with the furie of the great ordinance, came to a reasonable composition with the *Bassa*, and so deliuered vnto him the place. Which exploit done and the castle to him surrendered, he marched from thence to CANISIA, a strong towne in the frontiers of SIERIA, of most men before supposed a place impregnable; for that it was situate in a very deepe marish, and furnished with a strong garrison of valiant souldiours, part Hungarians and part Almaines: after this strong towne *Ibrahim* the great *Bassa* especially longed, so to free those frontiers of the Turkes from the often incursions that the garrison souldiours of that place made thereinto; as also by the taking of that so strong a fortesse from the Christians, to open a more free and safe passage for the Turkes into AVSTRIA, to the endangering of other places of the empire also farther off. Wherefore encamping his great armie on the side of the marish which compassed the Isle round whereon the towne stood, he began with fagots and earth to fill vp the marish, so to passe ouer his armie; they in the towne in the meane time not ceasing with their thundering shot to disturbe them, and to doe them what harme they might: who for all that proceeding in their worke, had brought it now almost close vnto the island, where whilst they were about to haue landed, they were by the souldiours of the garrison so encountered, that hauing lost a number of their men as well Ianizaries as others, with two of their best capitaines also, they were by plaine valour enforced to retire. But preparing themselves against the next day with a greater force to haue againe returned vnto the assault of the Isle, they saw the Imperiall armie now at their backs, and come so neere them, that with their artillerie they did them great harme; which put them in no small feare, seeing themselves enclosed betwixt the towne and the campe, and both out of the one and the other to receiue no small hurt, as well with the small shot as the great: besides that out of the campe diuers whole bands sometimes sallied, discharging great volleys of shot euen into their trenches. In the Imperiall armie were about two and fortie thousand horse and foot, men of diuers nations, vnder the leading of duke *Mercurie*, now Generall of the Emperours forces in HUNGARY; with whom were also the lords *Nadasti*, *Esdarin*, *Bacochian*, and the Gouverneur of CROATIA, with diuers other famous capitaines, come thither for the reliefe of CANISIA, a place of so great importance for the defence of that side of the country, and to helpe that it fell not into the power of the barbarous enemy. But *Ibrahim Bassa* vnderstanding by his espials the small number of the Christians; and well knowing how much he was too strong for them by reason of his great multitude, went out against them, and finding them as readie as himselfe, joynd battell with them, with great slaughter of men both on the one side and the other: which bloudie fight (the victorie yet standing doubtfull, but in all mens judgement more enclosing vnto the Christians than to the Turkes) was at length by the comming on of the night broking off. At which time the Christians retiring themselves into their trenches, the Turkes stood all the night in the field with their weapons in their hands, as fearing to haue been againe in the night by their enemies assailed: Meane while the Christian capitaines in the campe at variance amongst themselves, and so not now to be commaunded by duke *Mercurie* their Generall (as such time as the Turkes presuming on their multitude dared them to battell the next day) could by no means be persuaded to go out against them, or once to stirre out of their trenches. Infomuch that the Generall of the Tartars thereupon taking courage, made an inroad into the country thereby, and meeting with two hundred wagons laden with victuals going vnto the Christians

Canisia besieged
by the Turke.

The battell be-
twixt the Chris-
tians and the
Turke before
Canisia.

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stian campe, flew the conuoy that guarded them, and so carried them quite away. Whereby such want arose in the Christian campe, that hauing not what to eat, and out of hope of any new supply of reliefe in time to come, they were glad by night to dislodge and retire; which could not so secretly be done, but that it was by the Turkes perceiued, who presently following after them in the taile of the armie, cut off about three thousand of them, with certaine pieces of great ordinance, and most part of the baggage; the rest of the armie in the meane time retiring farther off into places of more safetie. From this victorie the Turkes returned againe to the siege of CANISIA, where after a few daies, the garrison souldiours now out of hope to be in good time relieued, suddenly fell into mutinie, refusing any longer to defend the towne now hardly laied vnto by the Turkes; and the rather, for that diuers of the Hungarians were already fled out of the towne vnto the Bassa, hauing (as it was thought) reuealed vnto him the whole estate of the besieged: so that now there was no remedie but that the towne must be deliuered vnto the enemye, although *Paradisier* with some other of the capitaines did what they might (as they said afterwards) to haue perswaded the contrarie. Whereupon they came to parley with the Bassa, and couenanting with him that they might with bag and baggage depart, and with a safe conuoy be brought ouer the riuer Mur, promised to yeeld vnto him the towne: all which the Bassa granted, fearing how to haue been able to haue kept the field, if they should for any long time haue holden out. Winter now so fast approaching. So the two and twentieth of October the towne was vnto the Bassa right cowardly deliuered, and the garrison souldiours with their baggage in an hundred wagons lent them by the Turkes, safely conducted ouer the Mur as was vnto them promised. After the agreement made for the yeelding vp of the towne, the Bassa in courtesie sent vnto *Paradisier* the Gouvernour a verie rich gowne of cloth of gold; which albeir that he refused, yet was it afterwards laied to his charge as a presumption of some treacherous collusion betwix him and the Bassa for the betraying of the towne, which it was thought he might much longer haue kept. *Ibrahim* now thus possessed of the towne he so much desired, fortified it more strongly than euer it was before; and for the more assistance thereof, put into it a strong garrison of foure thousand foot and fife hundred horse, all old expert souldiours. And immediately after without resistance, foraged the countrey round about CANISIA, burning all before him as he went; the poore Christian inhabitants still flying as fast as they could for safeguard of their liues. But hauing thus with the spoile of the countrey well pleased his souldiours, he desirous to haue the same againe in time repeopled, as thereby to yeeld vnto the Turkes the more profit, staid their farther outrage, vpon great paine forbidding the same; by open proclamations in euerie place set vp, inuiting the Christians without feare of farther harme to returne againe into the countrey, where submitting them vnto the great Sultans obeyfance, they should vnder his protection safely dwell, without any tribute to be of them exacted for the space of three yeares next following. Which proclamations were in his name thus published.

Ibrahim Bassa to the Inhabitants of the countrey about

CANISIA, greeting.

Ibrahim Bassa his proclamation
Ive Ibrahim Bassa by the grace of God, Visier, and Cousin vnto the most puissant and invincible Sultan Mahomet, Emperour of the Turkes, vnto all the Inhabitants of the marches about CANISIA, and the rest of the countrey of STAIRMARCK, from the greatest to the least, greeting. Whereas we haue willingly heard that some of you willing to submit your selues vnto the great Sultan, and to swear vnto him fealtie, are againe returned vnto your old dwellings: we promise and assure you vpon the faith of the said Emperour, that whosoener shall be found nere vnto the fortreffe of CANISIA now belonging vnto the great Sultan, with all reuerence submitting himselfe as his subiect vnder his gouernment, acknowledging him for his Soueraigne; shall enjoy moe priuiledges than euer he did before, and also be protected in the same. And for that we know that your houses are for the most part destroyed, as also your posteritie; you shall therefore for these three yeares next following be exempted and free from all tributes and charges whatsoever, to the intent you may the better recouer your selues. Of which grace if you shall willingly accept, we promise you, that neither you, your wiues, nor children, shall be in any thing wronged, or your goods in any part impaired, but so much as in vs possibly is to be defended: so that so many of you as please, may in safetie returne vnto your owne old dwellings, giuing before knowledge thereof vnto the Gouvernour of this our fortreffe. Given in our campe after the conquest of CANISIA.

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Many of these poore countrey people before fled for feare of the Turkes, and not knowing where to bestow themselves, now vpon this proclamation returned againe to their ancient dwelling places, there to begin the world againe vnder the Turkish obeifance. But for that Countie *Serinus* was the man whom of all others in that countrey the great Bassa sought after, as him whom hee most feared after his departure, to trouble this his new conquest, and to seeke to bee reuenged; hauing in this so generall calamitie of STIRIA his countrey, lost twentie villages of his owne, quite burnt by the Turkes, and the people most slaine or els taken prisoners: the Bassa hauing many times before sought to haue perswaded him to haue yeelded his obeifance vnto the Turkish Sultan, and now in hope after so great a losse to bring him in, before he were come vnto the vtter ruine of all his fortunes (now by the losse of CANISIA, and the entrance of the Turkes into STIRIA, not a little endangered) writ vnto him as followeth:

Ive Ibrahim Bassa, chiefe of the Visier Bassaes, and cousin vnto the most puissant Sultan Mahomet, to the Countie Serinus sendeth greeting. We haue oftentimes heretofore written vnto thee concerning the matter thou knowest of: but what the cause is that we received no answer, we cannot tell. Yet could I not but write to thee againe, that if yet thou canst be content to begin the matter aright, and to submit thy selfe vnto our protection, we will be readie to receiue thee. Thou seest, that what we foretold thee, is now more than fulfilled both vpon thee and thine, which thou wouldest neuer beleene. Neuerthelesse, for the staying of the further effusion of the blood as well of thy subiects as ours, and to come to some good attonement, it is high time for thee to lay thine hand vpon thine heart, and to consider how much more it concerneth thee than vs, and that the benefit thereof redoundeth more vnto thine than ours. What our affection is towards thee, Hicome the Vaywod can tell thee. Fare thou well from our campe after the conquest of CANISIA the seuenth of November, 1600.

But these letters being also as the rest answered with silence, the great Bassa hauing disposed of all as he thought best at CANISIA and in the countrey thereabout, returned with his armie to BELGRADE, there to Winter: hauing before fully certified the great Sultan of all his proceedings, and the successe of this war, vaunting after his vaine manner, the next Spring to besiege VIENNA also, if it should please him so to commaund. Of all which things *Mahomet* vnderstanding, and not a little therewith pleased, caused great triumphs to be made by the space of foure daies at CONSTANTINOPLE, and in token of his loue and fauour sent a rich robe of cloth of gold, with a leading staffe, all set with pearle and pretious stones, vnto the Bassa, yet lying at BELGRADE.

This losse of CANISIA much troubled all that side of Christendome, especially them of the territories belonging vnto the house of AVSTRIA, in a fort dismayed to see the Turkes so easily possessed of a towne, before thought almost impregnable, and the strongest defence of all that countrey against the furious impressions of the Turkes, to whom it was now become a most safe and sure receptacle, all men with one voice blaming the discord of the capitaines in the impeffable and sure receptacle, all men with one voice blaming the cowardise of *Paradisier*; who knowne to haue in the towne a strong garrison, with good store of munition and radiser; (as was supposed) had so basely deliuered the same vnto the enemye, not doing the vtmost of his deuoir as had becomed him for the defence thereof: whereas if he had so done, happily in the meane time the cold and vnseasonableness of the weather (though no other reliefe had beene) Winter being now come, might haue enforced the Turkes to haue raised their siege. Whereupon he was for this so foule fact by the emperours commaundement apprehended and cast in prison at VIENNA, where after he had long line, and his cause oftentimes examined, he was the next yeare following condemned of felonie and cowardise, and so the fifteenth day of October executed, hauing first his hand at foure strokes of the executioner struck off, and after that his head: with him was also in like manner executed his Ensigne-bearer: and after them his lieutenant, with the maior of the town, who both bound fast to a stake, had first their tongues cut out, and afterwards their heads chopt off also.

Now the rebellion before raised in CARAMANIA by *Cusshahin Bassa* (as is afore said) was not with his death altogether appeased. Also ORFA, a great cite of that countrey (which hauing tasted the sweetnesse of libertie in the time of *Cusshahin*) yet still holding out against *Mehemet* the great Bassa, the Sultans lieutenant Generall there. At which time also a companion of *Cusshahin*

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the late rebell, called the *Scrimano*, and one of his greatest fauourits; seeing how hardly not onely *Cuffahin* himselfe, but the rest of his followers had bene handled by the Turkes, began to make head, and to call vnto him all such as loued their libertie: vnto the sweet name whercof, so many were in short time come about him, as that out of them he formed such an armie, as made him now dreadfull vnto the Turkes his enemies. Against whom, *Mehemet Bassa* going with all his power to haue oppressed him, found him with those his rebellious followers so courageous (for the desire they all had to breake out of the *Othoman* slauerie, and to liue in such libertie as was promised them by their capitaine and Generall) that joyning battell with them, he receiued of them a notable ouerthrow, inso much that fearing to haue lost his whole armie, he was glad to retire, and to send out commissions for the raising of greater forces. Sultan *Mahomet* in the meane time, whether it were for feare of this new rebellion, or for that he vnderstood of the em-
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 bassadours sent from the Persian vnto the Christian princes, began to suspect least that king should breake the league he had with him, and so to his farther trouble take vp armes also against him. Wherefore vpon a Turkish pride he sent an embassadour into *PERSIA*, to giue the king to vnderstand, That for the more assurance of the league betwixt them; he demaunded to haue one of his sonnes sent vnto him in hostage, as a pledge of his fathers faith: Vvhich so proud a demaund the Persian king tooke in such disdain, that he commaunded in his rage the embassadour to be forthwith slaine: but that his furie being by his graue counsellours somewhat appeased, he remitted the severity of that his rigorous commaund, and sparing his life, was contented, that in despite and contempt of him that had sent him, he should be put to the Bastonado onely: and so gricuously threatened, sent backe againe vnto his master. Vvhich hauing receiued this shameful answere, and in doubt of some further matter from that angric king, commaunded new and strong garisons to be put into all his strong holds confining vpon the Persian kingdom.

1601

This troublefome yeare of Iubilie thus past, the emperor much troubled with the losse of *CANISIA*, and in doubt of worse to come (albeit that *Ibrahim Bassa*, whom for all that he trusted not, did afresh entreat with him concerning peace) and seeing also the great need hee had of greater aid to withstand the mightie power of the Turke, with great instance requested aid of the Pope and of the other princes of *ITALIE*: who considering also how much it concerned the rest of the Christian commonweale, to haue the frontiers of *HUNGARIE* defended, condiscended vnto the emperours request: and so the Pope with the beginning of the Spring sent him eight thousand souldiours in pay, vnder the leading of *Jo. Francesco Adorbrandino* his nephew K
 their Generall, who with the like charge had now serued euer since the yeare 1599: King Philip also at the instance of the emperor gaue order vnto the Countie *Fuentes* to send into *CROATIA* certain bands of Dutches; who by direction from him, were forthwith conducted to *MILLAINE*: The great duke of *FLORENCE* also sent vnto him two thousand souldiours, vnder the leading of *Francesco del Monte*; with whom also by his appointment went the lord *Jo. de Medices*, whom *Ferdinand* the Archduke forthwith requested for to be master of his campe: Thither came also the duke of *MANTVA* with an honourable companie both of horse and foot, being forthwith by the Archduke made his lieutenant generall. And so whilst these people assembled together into *CROATIA*, the emperor sent also another good armie into *HUNGARIE*, drawne for most part out of *GERMANIE*, which vnder the leading of the Archduke *Matthias* his brother, and the duke *Mercurie* his lieutenant generall, went into those parts to withstand the Turke. A third armie he also made of the Imperials: which strengthened with the forces of *Don Ferrant Gonzaga*, Gouvernour of the vpper *HUNGARIE*, joyned themselves with *Basta*, for the recouerie of *TRANSYLVANIA*; out of which he had been of late driuen, as shall hereafter be declared.

And so whilst these armies were in preparing, many hot skirmishes passed in *HUNGARIE* betwixt the Christians and the Turks, the losse falling sometime to the one side and sometime to the other. But the time now come that souldiours might well take the field, *Ibrahim Bassa* being now before dead at *BELGRADE*, whilst he was yet entreating of a dissembled peace, and *Hassan* one of the Visier Bassaes by *Mahomet* appointed Generall in *HUNGARIE* in his place: yet delaying his comming, the parley for peace laied aside (as neuer indeed by the Turkes intended, but onely by them entertained to dallie off the time to their owne more aduantage) duke *Mercurie* Generall of the emperours forces taking the offer of so fit an opportunitie, came with his armie from *COMARA* (where he had lien expecting the euent of the parley) and laied siege to *ALBA*
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The Turkes embassadour still entreated by the king of Persia.

The aid sent out of Italie vnto the emperor.

Ibrahim Bassa dead at *Belgrade*.

Alba Regalis besieged by duke *Mercurie*.

A *REGALIS*, one of the chiefe and strongest cities of *HUNGARIE*: which seated in the middle of a marish, was thought almost impregnable, being hardly to be approached but by the suburbs, which strongly fortified and defended by the marish, serued the citie in stead of threec most sure bulwarkes, within which stood also the citie it selfe, well defended with a good wall and a ditch. This citie the duke for certain daies continually battered, as if he had purposed at length to haue taken it by assault: but in the meane time certainly enformed by a fugitiue (but lately fled out of the citie) that the broad lake on the other side of the citie oueragainst the place where he lay, was not so deepe, but that it was to be passed (contrarie to the opinion both of the Turkes captiues and of the naturall inhabitants, whom he had vpon that point examined) and that the Turkes presuming vpon the strength thereof, and thinking themselves on that side safe, had turned almost
 B all their care and forces vnto that side of the citie which was now by him battered, without regard of any great perill to be from the other side feared: he appointed the lord *Russworm* with his souldiours to make prooffe if the *SIGETH* suburbs (for so they were called) on the aforesaid side of the citie so little regarded by the Turkes, were not to be surprised: for that these suburbs being taken, the citie could not long hold out. For the vndertaking of which enterprise, *Russworm* was both by the captiue Turkes and countrey people thereby dwelling, much discouraged, they all with one consent affirming, That albeit he should find no other difficulties in the attempting thereof, yet the lake it selfe was not possible to be passed: who neuertheless not altogether resting them, sent certaine of his men secretly to trie the matter: who hauing so done, brought him word, That the lake was vndoubtedly though with much difficultie to be passed. Vvhich vpon
 C he with a thousand select souldiours with euery one of them a good faggot on his backe beside his armes, to fill vp the deepest of the marish, by night entered the same; wherein he had not gone farre, but that he almost with the danger of his life found it much deeper and more troublefome than the spies had vnto him before reported: but caried with an inuincible courage himselfe, and his souldiours moued by his example, he still went on, they also following of him. It is almost a thing incredible to tell what these aduenturous men endured, plunged in the deepe mud amongst the flags and bulrushes, going still vp in water and mud vnto the waist euen where the marish was the shallowest; where also if one misst but a step, he was by and by ouer head and eares, and in danger to be drowned, if he were not by his fellowes presently holpen: yet at length by Gods his helpe hauing with the losse but of six or seauen men a little before day got ouer, the duke by an
 D appointed signe aduertised thereof, with greater stirre and tumult than at any time before assailed that side of the citie where he lay, as if euen then and there he had onely meant to haue engaged his whole forces for the winning thereof. Vvhich in the meane time the lord *Russworm* on the other side with his resolute souldiours, with ladders provided for the purpose scaled the walls of the suburbe, and almost vnperceiued, recouered the top thereof (the Turkes being at the same time wholly bent for the defence of the other side of the citie, where most stirre and apparent danger was) and so being got into the suburbs, with a great and terrible crie assailed the Turkes, who surprised with an exceeding feare, and not well knowing which way to turne themselves, without any great resistance fled into the citie, the Christians following them at the heeles, and making of them a great slaughter. In which so great a confusion, euen where was least feared, the duke by other his souldiours tooke the rest of the suburbs as he had before determined, the
 E Turkes there also for feare forsaking them, and retiring with all the halt they could vnto their fellowes in the citie, there to liue or die together. The Christians in these suburbs, beside much other rich prey, tooke also foureteene great pieces of artillerie, with good store of shot and powder. The suburbs (the greatest strength of the citie) thus happily taken, the duke againe summoned the citie, requiring to haue it deliuered vnto him: whereunto the Turkes gaue no other answer but by their pieces, which they discharged vpon the Christians so perswading them to yeeld. Vvhich with the duke much displeased, sent them word, That he would send them other manner of messengers to morrow; and by Gods helpe sup with them in the citie, although he were not vnto them welcome. Neither failed hee of that his promise: for the next day hauing
 F out of the suburbs by the furie of his artillerie made two faire breaches into the citie, he by the ruines thereof with great slaughter of the enemy entered the citie, albeit that the Turkes did what they might to haue defended the same, by casting downe vpon the Christians as they entered, darts, wild fire, and such like things, usually provided for such purpose. But seeing now no remedie, but that they must needs giue place vnto the fortune of their enemies, they fledmaine
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The suburbs of *Alba Regalis* surprised by the lord *Russworm*.

Alba Regalis taken by the Christians.

which meanes they hindred, and the enemies murthering pieces continually flanking them, and their muskietiers still playing vpon them afront, they were enforced to retire, leauing behind them three hundred of their men slaine. Yet were not the Christian commanders any thing therewith discouraged, but being generally resolved not to giue ouer that they had taken in hand vntill they had brought it to effect, began to make such prouision as they knew to be needfull to preferre their armie vnder, against the violence of the winter weather; as also to hinder that no victuals might be brought vnto the towne, so by famine at length to enforce the Turkes and Wallons to yeeld: who although they were already pinched with wants, inasmuch that horseflesh was daintie cheere with them; yet for all that they nothing abated of their wonted fiercenesse, but being againe required to yeeld, vouchsafed not to answer them one word, but in stead thereof shooke their naked swords a farre off at them, in token of their vndaunted courage. But yet for all this resolution of the commanders for the continuance of the siege, *Aldobrandino* Generall of the Italians being now a little before dead (of an old infirmities he had) the Italians began at the first some few of them secretly to withdraw themselves out of their quarter: but afterward by greater numbers to depart, and so to returne againe into their countrey; alleading for their excuse, want both of pay and victuals. But the best better minded, vnderstanding that the Turkes were risen from before *Alba Regalis*, and the rest of their armie disbanded, began to enter into new hope by some deuise or other to passe the ditch, and so by force to take the towne: and the rather, for that they were by a French fugitiue informed both of the weaknesse and wants of the besieged. Whereupon they began afresh to make new engines for the approaching of the wals, without danger of the enemies ordinance any more to flanke them. At which time also (*viz.* the fourth of Nouember) the lord *Russworm* came vnto the campe, sent thither from duke *Mercurie* with eight thousand souldiors (after that *Hassan Bassa* had broke vp his armie) by whose comming they were also the more encouraged to prosecute that they had taken in hand: neither sayled the Turkes in the meane time with often sallies to trouble the Christians, attempting aboue all things to haue fiered their tents; for that so lying open in that so cold a season of the yeare, they must thereby of necessitie be enforced to raise their siege and be gone. But the successe of these their so great designes was not answerable to their hopes, being still to their losse beaten backe into the towne by the Christians: whom it behooued to looke well about them, for that the besieged desperatly set, and all resolved rather to die than to yeeld, aduentured themselves to all dangers, neuer ceasing to doe what they might to put the Christians out of hope for winning the towne. But whilst the Turkes with doubtfull and as it were desperat hope to defend the place, and the Christians grown stronger by the comming of their friends lay in hope to win the same: lo, in the latter end of Nouember the North wind accompanied with a deepe snow, so furiously raged, that it ouerthrew the greatest part of the tents and pavillions of the Christians, and as it were buried their whole armie in the snow and ice; in such wise, as that in *Ferdinand* the archdukes campe (being reasonably well prouided for) were a thousand five hundred men, with three hundred horses, starued and frozen to death. At which time the state of them that came with the lord *Russworm* was most miserable, who wearied with the siege of *Alba Regalis*, and as it were spent with the dirtie trauell of the deep way, had not brought with them their tents or other prouision, and were therefore enforced to lie abroad in so cold and vnreasonable a time: with whose miseries, although their good Generall was much grieved, yet to doe the Christian common-weale seruice, he with them right patiently endured. In which so great an extremitie, the Archduke with the rest of the commanders vpon view taken, well considering what small hope there was in good time to take the towne, the vnreasonablenesse of the winter weather still more and more increasing; thought it better in time to rise, than longer to expose their armie vnto most certaine destruction, either of the enemy or the cold. Which was done with such hast and confused tumult, as that their rising seemed rather an hastie flight than honourable departure; leauing behind them for hast their great ordinance, with their tents and baggage; a common voice still running, That they were well if they might but saue themselves: so that the souldiors euery man mindfull but of himselfe, and in feare to be pursued by the enemy, no man chasing them, fled, but still accompanied with such furious winde, snow, and extreme cold, that with all the labour they could take they could get them no heat, but fell downe to the earth many of them frozen, and so once falling neuer rose more, being vnable for want of heat to helpe themselves: in which case they were not to expect for helpe from others, euery man ha-

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ning ynough to doe to looke vnto himselfe: so that vpon the way whereby the armie went thus disperfed with the weather, lay aboue five hundred dead of cold; beside foure hundred others left sicke in the forsaken trenches, who forthwith after the departure of the armie were thought to haue beene all put to the sword by them of the garrison of *CANISIA*.

But hauing thus passed through these troubles of *HUNGARIE*, it is time now also to looke backe againe into the frontier countries of *TRANSYLVANIA* and *VALACHIA*; which to haue kept in the emperours obedience, and so preferred as a liuely member of the Christian common-weale, no lesse concerned him, than the keeping of any other his frontier territories, which are many: *Michael* the Vayud of *VALACHIA*; the last yeare for his crueltie first driuen out of *TRANSYLVANIA* by *Bassa*, and afterwards out of *VALACHIA* by the Great Chancellour of *POLONIA* (as is aforesaid) and another placed in his stead, as a man forsaken euen of his owne better fortunes, and not well knowing which way to turne himselfe: thought it best now at last to submit himselfe vnto the emperour, if so happily by his meanes he might in some sort repaire his broken estate, and so at leastwise recouer his gouernment in *VALACHIA*. So resolved, he set forward, and in the beginning of this yeare, *viz.* the three and twentieth of Ianuarie, with five and thirtie of his followers and six coaches arriued at *PRAGE*, where he was by the emperours appointment honourably receiued, and his cost at the emperours charge defrayed. Vnto whom he excused himselfe of the seueritie by him vsed in *TRANSYLVANIA* (the cause of those late troubles in that countrey) as enforced thereunto by the stubbornnesse of the Transylvanians themselves, whom he found still inclined to rebellion, and vnwilling to be commanded by any but by themselves. Which his excuse (as true) was well admitted, and he with all kinde vsed.

Now at this same time *Bassa* lying also in *TRANSYLVANIA*, as Gouverneur for the emperour, right slenderly accompanied, (as is before also declared) the parliament at *CLAVSENBURG* being ended, and all controuersies (as was thought) well composed, now without feare one night of the watch being set, went to bed to take his rest; where he had not long lien, but that certaine of the Transylvanian lords, among whom the *Chiaki* was chiefe, came with their followers, and surprising the watch, and entering the pallace, brake into the chamber where he lay, tooke him out of his bed, and so kept him prisoner all that night. And the next morning going forth, about twelue miles off met with *Sigismund Bathor* their late prince, before secretly by them called in, whom they honourably conducted to *CLAVSENBURG*, and there deliuered vnto him *Bassa*, whom they late gouernour for the emperour, whom he commanded to be cast into yrons: and so going to the pallace, gaue like order for the apprehending and safe keeping of the rest of the nobilitie also, such as had taken part with *Bassa* in the behalle of the emperour. For now the Transylvanians were deuided into three parts: whereof the one stood for the emperour; the second for *Istuan Bathor* (pretending, that vnto him belonged the souerainetie of that prouince) but the third and farre the greatest, for *Sigismund* their antient lord and leader, who now by means of the king of *POLONIA* reconciled vnto the great Turke, and in this troublesome time by his fauourites called againe into his countrey, was by them joyfully receiued at *ALBA IULIA*, *CLAVSENBURG*, and the rest of the chiefe cities of *TRANSYLVANIA*. Who now therof againe possessed, for the better assuring of his estate forthwith writ vnto the emperour what had happened, requesting him to content himselfe, that he was desirous of his loue and fauour, promising to be alwaies his good friend and neighbor, and for euer to keepe good amitie with him: giuing *Bassa* also (whom he had now at the intercession of certaine great friends againe enlarged) to vnderstand, That hee was forthwith to depart from all the places belonging vnto his ged) to vnderstand, That hee was forthwith to depart from all the places belonging vnto his principallitie, as also to cease from further molesting of his people that were now voluntarily againe returned vnto his obedience. Which his request was neither of the one nor of the other much regarded: or hearkened vnto: for the emperour vpon the first aduertisement of this so great an alteration in *TRANSYLVANIA*, calling vnto him *Michael* the Vayud (not so much troubled with the strangenesse of the matter, as for that his wife and sonne, whom he had left as hostages with *Bassa*, were now come into the hands of the Transylvanians his mortall enemies) and satisfying him in many things that hee had before requested, tooke order with him, That with all conuenient speed returning home againe into *VALACHIA*, where hee was now much longed for (the people generally disliking of the simple Vayud, by the great Chancellour set ouer them) and gathering together such power as he could, he should ioyne himselfe with *Bassa* his lieutenant generall, vnto whom he had already sent great companies both of horse and foot

Michael the
Vayud submit-
ted himselfe vn-
to the emperour.

Bassa taken pri-
soner by the
Transylvanians.

Sigismund reco-
nured his state
in Transylvania.

for the expulſing of *Sigismund* out of *TRANSYLVANIA*, and the reducing againe of that province vnder his obeyſance. Whereupon the *Vayuod* forthwith returning into *VALACHIA*, and aſſembling about ten thouſand of his friends, all good and expert ſouldiours, went to ſecke for *Baſſa* as he had with the emperor agreed; whom he found readie in the field with about twenty thouſand foot and eight thouſand horſe, but newly departed from *VRADINVM*: where muſtering their armie, they with their vnited forces entered into *TRANSYLVANIA*; there to put in execution what the emperor had commanded. Where the *Vayuod* in diſdaine of the people which loued him not, with fire & ſword waſted all the country before him as he went: not without the great diſcontentment of *Baſſa*, to whom it ſeemed not good to make deſolat that countrey which he was in good hope ſhould in ſhort time be his lord and maſters the emperours. But *Sigismund* vnderſtanding both of the continuing of his enemies and of the harme they did in his country, riſe from *SOLNOCK* where he lay encamped with his armie, and ſo to hinder their further proceeding went to meet them: howbeit being come ſo neere vnto them as that he might well diſcouer them, he would not come to the trial of a battell with them, which was by them offered; but fortified himſelfe in his trenches, ſo ſeeking but to delay the time vntill the coming of the Tartars, which were to haue come vnto him from the Chanceller of *POLONIA*, as alſo of ſix thouſand Turkes to haue been ſent him from the *Baſſa* of *BELGRADE*. Where hauing after ward vnderſtood that the paſſage of the Tartars to haue been ſent him, was ſtaied by *Don Ferrante Gonzaga* the emperours lieutenant in the vpper *HUNGARIE*; and that the Turkes ſtaying at *GIVLA* would come no farther except they had their pay before hand: finding himſelfe too weake with his owne power to encounter with his enemies, he riſe with his armie, with purpoſe to haue retired a little backe, and to haue taken certaine ſtraight paſſages whereby the enemy muſt needs paſſe, ſo by the aduantage of the place to haue holpen his owne weake ſtrength. But *Baſſa* and the *Vayuod* perceiuing his riſing (whereunto they were ſtill attentiuely) followed him with ſuch ſpeed, that they ouertooke him before he could get thither, and ſo hardly preſſed him, that needs he muſt turne his face and joyne battell, or elſe ſuffer his people altogether like beaſts to be ſlaine. In which doing, albeit that neither he nor his failed to doe what was by men to be done for the obtaining of a notable victorie, yet ſuch was the valour of the ſouldiours of *Baſſa* and the *Vayuod*, that in a great fight hauing diſordered his footmen, they put them to flight, and ſo cut them all in pieces. Which the prince beholding, and not able to remedie the matter, betime fled with his horſemen from the furie of his enemies, and ſo retired to the vttermoſt confines of *TRANSYLVANIA*, hauing in this battell loſt ten thouſand of his faithfull ſouldiours. Whereupon *CLAUDIO* with diuers other cities and townes of that countrey, returned againe vnto the emperours obeyſance.

*Sigismund over-
throwne by Baſſa
and the Vayuod,
ſleight of
TRANSYLVANIA.*

In the proſecuting of this victorie, the *Vayuod* to ſatiſſie the hatred he had of long borne againſt the *Transylvanians*, did what ſpoile he could, vtterly waſting all the places whereby he paſſed; which *Baſſa* not liking, requeſted him to vſe his victorie with more modeſtie, and to haue more reſpect to what he did, eſpecially vnto ſuch places or perſons as of themſelues returned vnto the emperours obeyſance. Whereunto he proudly answered, That he would doe what he thought good without his appointment or the emperours either, eſpecially in that countrey which he had now with his owne ſword twiſe conquered: and that therefore *Baſſa* might commaund them that were by him to be commaunded, as for himſelfe he acknowledged no ſoueraignie that either *Baſſa* or the emperor had ouer him. Vnto which his ſo preſumptuous ſpeech *Baſſa* replied not, but yet much therewith diſcontented, began to enter into a great ſuſpicion from what ground thoſe his haughtie conceits (eaſily by his words to be gathered) might grow. And ſo from that time better obſeruing his proceedings, perceiued him to haue intelligence with the Turkes, with purpoſe to joyne hands with them, that ſo by their helpe chaſing the Imperials out of *TRANSYLVANIA*, he might hold it to himſelfe as tributarie to the *Othoman* emperor, of all others beſt able to defend him. Which to be true (beſide diuers other ſtrong preſumptions) he certainly vnderſtood by certaine letters of his written to that purpoſe, intercepted by his ſouldiours and brought vnto him: whereupon he became verie penſiue and M heauie, for the great power the *Vayuod* was of in thoſe countries; as alſo for the great ſtrength he had euen then preſent about him, and wherewith he was as it were then guarded. So conſulting with certaine of his Colonels and chiefe commaunders of his armie, what were beſt to be done in that ſo dangerous a caſe, whereof ſo much depended: a *Wallon* capitaine offered

himſelfe

himſelfe to go into the *Vayuod* his campe, and there in his owne tent to kill him as a traitour. Which his offer well liked of, and he was readie to performe as he was to promiſe, going into the *Vayuods* campe accompanied with ſome threeſcore men, and finding him in his tent, boldly ſtepping to him, willed him to yeeld himſelfe the emperours priſoner: Whereat he being about to lay his hand vpon his ſcimitar, the *Wallon* capitaine with an holbard thruſt him into the breaſt, at which verie inſtant another with a ſword at one blow claue his head downe to the ſhoulders. An unworthie death for ſo worthie a capitaine, had not ambition the torment of great ſpirits carried him too high with the wings of immoderat deſire, beyond the bounds of loyaltie and reaſon. But there he lieth now dead among his friends, whom the great Turke ſometime more feared euen in his palace at *CONSTANTINOPLE*, than he did all the reſt of the emperours commaunders. Preſently vpon his death a great tumult and hurly burly was riſed by the ſouldiours in his campe: but *Baſſa* forthwith ſhewing himſelfe with all his ſouldiours in armes, and withall producing the letters declaring the treaſon by the *Vayuod* continued with the *Baſſa* of *TRANSYLVANIA* againſt the emperor; all was againe appeaſed: but eſpecially for that his ſouldiours now ſaw themſelues without an head; and too weake alſo for the Imperials there preſent and already in armes. In the *Vayuods* tent were alſo other letters found, ſo plainly declaring his ſecret colluſion with the Turke, and treaſon againſt the Emperor, that the *Wallachians* who at the firſt were wonderfully moued with his death, and hearing the ſame read; reſted not now onely contented, but ſaid moreouer that he was worthily ſlaine, and that if they had knowne him to haue had any ſuch traitorous purpoſe, they would themſelues long before haue taken of him deſerued puniſhment. Now vnto his ſouldiours *Baſſa* offered, at their choiſe, either to depart whither they would without danger; or elſe taking the oath of obedience vnto the emperor to enter into his pay, which moſt part of them did. The tumult appeaſed, the dead bodie of the *Vayuod* was laid out a whole day for the ſouldiours to gaze vpon, and ſo afterward buried. So lieth he, that but of late and many times before, had ſo fortunately ouerthrowne his enemies; vnhappy man himſelfe now ouerthrowne by his owne ambition and vnconſtance.

Baſſa now deliuered of the great feare he had before of the *Vayuod*, what by force, what by agreement in ſhort time tooke in moſt part of the country: for that the *Transylvanians* ſeeing the ſmall power of *Sigismund*, and well comforted with the death of *Michael* the *Vayuod* ſo much hated of them, as alſo to avoid the dangers euen preſently hanging ouer their heads from the Imperials, if they ſhould in any thing ſhew themſelues obſtinat againſt them, ſubmitted themſelues wholly to the courteſie of *Baſſa*, ſo that the places were but few that yet held out for the prince *Sigismund*: who in the meane time was doing what he might for the raiſing of a new armie (hauing not altogether with this late ouerthrow forthwith alſo loſt his hope) by the helpe of the Turkes, Tartars, and *Polonians*, to recouer againe the poſſeſſion of his ſtate; and by force of armes to chaſe out the Imperials. But he being brought to ſo low an ebbe, and almoſt the countrey of *TRANSYLVANIA* poſſeſſed by *Baſſa*; who would not haue thought but that now after ſo long trauels it would haue remained wholly at the emperours deuotion? and ſo many that thought themſelues to ſee much, ſaid aſſuredly it would. But ſee the change, and what ſmall aſſurance euen the greateſt haue of the conſtancie of the vaine multitude: neuer more like themſelues, than in diſliking to morrow what they beſt liked to day, fooliſh, ſenceleſſe, imprudent, raſh, headſtrong, violent, and aboue all things mutable and vnconſtant. So now for all that *Baſſa* had done for the aſſurance of this countrey vnto the emperor (being ſo much as moſt men thought ſufficient to haue been ſufficient, and indeed as much as was poſſible for him to doe) euen in the winding vp of this year 1601 the *Transylvanians* vnderſtanding that *Sigismund* with a great armie of *Polonians*, Turkes, and Tartars, was now coming againſt the Imperials, moſt part of them preſently tooke vp armes in his ſauour, ſaying, That their firſt oath voluntarily giuen vnto him as their naturall prince and Gouverneur, was more to be reſpected than any other aſſuredly giuen vnto *Sigismund* by force extorted from them by a forreign prince. Inſomuch, that *Baſſa* perceiuing with regretwards by force extorted from them by a forreign prince. To ſaue himſelfe and his people from the rage thereof, withdrew himſelfe with his followers vnto a ſtrong towne in a corner of that countrey: from whence he with all ſpeed ſent vnto the emperor for greater aid; as well for the defence of the place he yet held, as for the ſubduing againe of that rebellious people. After whole departure, *Sigismund* without reſiſtance entering the countrey, was of the people in generall joyfully

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joyfully

*The Tranſylvanians ſubmit
themſelues vnto
Baſſa.*

*The Tranſylvanians
reſt aſſuredly
giuen vnto
Sigismund
their
prince.*

Baſſa ſleeth.

joyfully receiued as their most lawfull prince and soueraigne, and all the honour done vnto him: that was by them possible: in which his so princely, but dangerous estate, now twife in lesse, than the space of one yeare by him regained, and yet thereof no whit assured, we will for a while leaue him to joy therein with his subjects.

*The Janizaries
in mutinie at
Constantinople.*

But whilst the state thus turneth vpside downe in **TRANSYLVANIA**, the Basha of **AGRIA** going out with ten thousand Turkes in hope to haue surpris'd, **TOCCATE** (a strong hold of the Chriftians in the vpper **HUNGARIE**) was encountred by *Ferrant Gonzaga* the Emperours lieutenant there; and by him ouerthrowne, and with great slaughter of his Turks chafed to the gates of **AGRIA**.

Now was *Mahomet* the Turkish emperor this yeare also, no lesse troubled with the proceedings of the *Scrimano* in CARAMANIA and NATOLIA, than with the euill successe of his affaires in TRANSYLAVANIA and HUNGARIE. For the *Scrimano* by his last yeares victorie growne into great credit with the common people, and still by them more and more followed; to maintaine the reputation of his credit, came now againe this yeare with a great power into the field, to meet with *Mahomet* the great Bassa and Generall of the Turkes armie; who with fiftie thousand good souldiours (a power thought sufficient to haue repressed him) was ready to encounter him. With whom the *Scrimano* joyning battell, in a great fight cut in funder a great part of the Bassaes armie, and so became master of the field, foraged all the countries adjoyning almost as farre as ALBRO, still calling the people vnto libertie; and causing himselfe to be proclaimed the true defender of the Mahometane faith, and of the liberties of those countries with him combined: in such sort, as that it now stood the great Turke vpon to send another great armie to the aid of *Mahomet* the discomfited Bassa. With whom also the *Scrimano* (presuming of his former fortune) comming to a day of battell, and ouercharged with the multitude of his enemies, was at the first encounter with his people put to the worke: but forthwith by his good direction hauing repaired his disordered battell, and thereby giuen as it were new courage to his fainting souldiours, he with a great slaughter disordered also the Bassaes armie. Yet hauing not any other firme state or stay to rest vpon, more than the fauour and reputation he held with these his rebellious followers, of whom he had now lost a great many, he thought it not best to aduventure too far (not knowing how presently to repaire his losses) but contenting himselfe with that he had already done, retired with his armie into the strength of the mountaines; there that winter to liue vpon the spoile of the countries adjoyning; and the next yeare to do more harme than euer he had done before.

*The Baffa of
Aquia over-
throwne by Fer-
rante Gonzaga.*

Beside all which former troubles, the plague also this yeare fore raged both in CONSTANTINOPLE and many other places of the Turkish empire. At which time also the Ianizaries at CONSTANTINOPLE having received some disgrace by some of the great Sultans fauourites, and with great insolencie requiring to haue their heads, caused their Aga well accompanied presumptuously to enter into the Seraglio to preferre this their request: Whom *Mahomet* to the terror of the rest, caused for his presumption to be taken into the midst of the Spahi, and so by them to be cut in pieces; which was not done without the great slaughter of the Spahi themselves also, slaine by the Ianizaries. Whereupon the other Ianizaries arising vp in armes also, and euen now readie to haue reuenged the death of their captaine, were yet by the wisedome of *Cigala Bassa* bestowing amongst them a great summe of money, againe appeased without further harme doing. Which their so great insolencie *Mahomet* imputing vnto their excessive drinking of wine, contrarie to the law of their great Prophet; by the persuation of the Muffie, commanded all such as had any wine in their houses in CONSTANTINOPLE or PERA, vpon paine of death to bring it out and to stauie it, except the embassadours of the Queene of ENGLAND, the French king, and of the State of VENICE: so that (as some report) wine for a space ran down the channels of the streets in CONSTANTINOPLE, as if it had been water after a great shower of raine.

1602 Sigismund the Tranſylvanian prince now of late againe poſſeſſed of TRANSYLVANIA (as is before declared), could not yet well aſſure himſelfe of the keeping thereof: for that he with the Tranſylvanians of his faction alone, was not able to withſtand the force of Baſſa; who ſtill ſtrengthened with new ſupplies both of men and all things elſe neceſſarie for the warres from the Emperour; was now with a great power alreadie entred into TRANSYLVANIA: the Poloniaus buſied in the warres of SUBVIA; and the Turkes with their other greater affaires, nei-

A ther of them sending him their promised aid, the greatest hope and stay of himselfe in that newnesse of his state. Wherfore seeing himselfe euerie day to looke one place or other, and fearing also least his souldiors for want of pay should in short time quite forsake him and go ouer to *Bassa*: he thought it best betimes and whilst he had yet something left, and was not yet altogether become desperat, otherwise to prouide for his estate, especially hauing small trust in the Turkes, to whom he had before been so great an enemy. Wherfore he dealt with *Bassa* for a truce or cessation from armes, vntill embassadours might be sent vnto the emperour, to entreat with him for some good attonement. Wherewith *Bassa* being content, and the embassadours sent, the matter was so handled with the Emperour, that *Sigismund* to make an end of all these troubles, was contented to the behoofe of his Imperiall maiestie, to resigne vnto *Bassa* his lieutenant all
B such places as he yet held in TRANSYLAVANIA, vpon much like conditions he had about three yeares before made with him: and so in all and for all, to submit himselfe vnto his maiestie. Which intended surrender of the princes being bruted in TRANSYLAVANIA, *Zachell Moyses* his lieutenant (and now in field with the princes forces) not able to endure or to heare that that noble prouince should againe fall into the hands of the Germanes; encouraging his souldiors, went vpon the sudden to assaile *Bassa*, in hope to haue found him vnprovidid, and so discumfiting his armie, to haue driuen the Imperials quite out of TRANSYLAVANIA: But he an old and expert commander, perceiuing euen the first mouing of the Transyluanians, with great sceleritie put his armie in good order, and so joynd battell with them: wherein hee with the losse of some five hundred men ouerthrew *Moyses*, with his armie of Transyluanians, Turkes, and Tartars,
C hauing slaine about three thousand of them, and put the rest to flight: *Moyses* himselfe with some few others being now glad to take their refuge into the frontiers of the Turkes territories towards TEMESVAR. But when *Sigismund* vnderstood what his lieutenant had without his knowledge done, he in token of his owne innocencie went himselfe vnto the Imperiall campe, accompanied only with certaine of his Gentlemen, and there vnto *Bassa* excused himselfe of that which was by his lieutenant against his will, and without his priuite done; frankly offering to performe whatsoever was on his part to be performed, according to the agreement made betwixt the Emperour and him. And so presently calling his garrisons out of all such strong places as were yet for him holden, he surrendered them to *Bassa*; and so forthwith honourably accompanied, put himselfe vpon his way towards the emperour. After whose departure out of
D TRANSYLAVANIA, all that prouince voluntarily and without more ado yeclded to *Bassa* as to the emperours lieutenant: who presently called an assembly of all the Nobilitie of the countrey, taking of them an oath for their obedience and loyaltie vnto the emperour. Thus by the wisdome and prowesse of this worthy commander, is the countrey of TRANSYLAVANIA once againe brought vnder the emperours obeyssaunce; a matter of far greater importance, than to haue woon the strongest citie the Turke holdeth in HVNOARIE.

Zachell McIsen
overthrowne by
Bastard.

the strongest citie the Turke holdeth in HUNGARIE.
 But whilst things thus passed in TRANSYLAVIA, great troubles arise also in VALACHIA, *Great troubles in Valachia.*
 (the country next adjoyning) for that the people of that prouince not able longer to endure the
 great insolencie of the Turkes (who after the death of *Michaell* had by their power made one *Hieremias* Vayvod there) by a generall consent tooke vp armes, and proclaiming one *Radol* (a fa-
 uourit of the Emperours) Vayvod, chased *Hieremias* (before placed by the Turkes) quite
 out of the country: who flying vnto *Simon* Palatine of MOLDAVIA, his friend, by his meanes
 and the helpe of the Turkes returning into VALACHIA, draue out thence *Radol* againe: who
 being now at this present with *Bassa*, with about ten thousand Valachians his followers, ear-
 nestly requested of him (now that hee was so quietly possessed of TRANSYLAVIA) to
 helpe him with his forces for the recouerie of VALACHIA. And *Bassa* well considering how
 much it concerned the quiet and sure keeping of the possession of TRANSYLAVIA for the
 Emperour, to haue that so neere a prouince to friend, easily yielded to his request; and gaue
 him a great regiment of his old approoued fouldiors, and so sent him away to recouer his
 estate: with whom (at his entrance into VALACHIA) the Moldauian meeting with a great
 power both of his owne and of the Turkes, come thither in the fauour of *Hieremias*, there was
 fought betwixt them a most terrible and bloudie battell, the glorie whereof fell vnto *Radol*, he
 carrying away the victorie. In which battell two of the Turkes Bassaes were there slaine, with a
 great numbers of others both of the Moldauians and Turkes. After which victorie *Radol* reco-
 uered againe the foueraightie of VALACHIA, for which hee was beholden to *Bassa*: and shortly
 after
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Troubles in
Hungarie.

after with the same aid cut in peeces a great power of the Tartars, that were coming to haue G aided the Moldavian.

Now in the meane time in HUNGARIE also passed many an hor skirmish betwixt the Christians and the Turkes, whose garrisons at BVDA and other places in the lower HUNGARIE, attempting to haue surpris'd ALBA REGALIS, and discouered by the Christians, were with great slaughter enforced to retire. At which time also, Countie *Serinus* vnderstanding by his espials, that the Turkes with two hundred waggons with munition and victuals were going to CANISIA; vpon the sudden set vpon them, and hauing slaine and put to flight the conuoy that guarded them, carried the waggons with all that was in them away with him. And shortly after the free Haiduckes of COMARA in a great partie going out towards BVDA to seeke after bootie, and haneing taken threescore Turkes prisoners, and so with them about to haue returned H home; vnderstanding by the way, that *Ali* sometime the Bassa of BVDA, and now gouernour of PESTH, was with a small retinue about to come downe the riuer Danubius from BVDA towards BELGRADE, there to meet the Visier Bassa, but then coming into HUNGARIE, they slew all their prisoners; and hauing got two small boats, about fifteene miles beneath BVDA lay in wait for the Bassa: who according to their expectation coming downe the riuer, was by these aduenturers fiercely assailed, and of his thirtie followers hauing foureteene slaine, being himselfe also shot in two places of his bodie, was there with a great bootie taken, and so brought to COMARA, and shortly after presented vnto *Matthias* the archduke at VIENNA: who amongst other things certainly enformed him, that *Hassan Bassa* was with a great armie by the commandement of the great Sultan *Mahomet* coming to besiege ALBA REGALIS, and that he was now vpon his way as farre as BELGRADE; presently sent thither the Countie *Isolan* gouernour thereof, who with much adoe got into the citie, the Turkes hauing already taken all the passages, to haue hindered the Christians from putting either men or munition, more than was therein already. Howbeit the Countie now got in there, and being no lesse good engineer than a valiant commander, caused all them in the citie to labour vpon the rampiers: so that beside the naturall situation thereof, which was very strong, hee had in short time so fortified it, as that in most mens judgement it seemed a place almost impregnable. This *Ali Bassa* was sometime the Great Turkes butler, but after the taking of AGRIA made Bassa of BVDA; which great place he held but three moneths, being by the enuie and ambition of some, but especially of *Amurath Bassa*, remoued thence, and made gouernour of PESTH: from whence now going downe K the riuer to BELGRADE, it was his fortune to be thus taken by the Haiduckes, vnto whom hee offered for his ranfome three hundred thousand Sultanines; and had with him when he was taken seuentie thousand duckats.

A great ranfome
offred by *Ali*
Bassa.

Mahomet the great Sultan not a little troubled with the losse of ALBA REGALIS (taken from him by the Christians the last yeare) and now resolved for the recouerie of the same to engage if need should be a great part of his forces; had caused an armie of about an hundred thousand strong to meet together at HADRIANOPLE, for that purpose, vnder the leading of *Mahomet Bassa* (otherwise called *Sardar Bassa*, an Albanois, and one of the chiefe Visiers) to bee sent into HUNGARIE. Who by the way of BELGRADE coming to BVDA, and from thence to ALBA REGALIS, there the twelfth of August encamped (as he had oftentimes before threat- L ned) with the multitude of his tents couering all the countrey round about, as if it had beene a white snow: where hauing well entrenched himselfe, and planted his artillerie, he began a most terrible and furious batterie, in such sort as if he had not meant to haue made a breach onely, but to haue beaten the citie euen from the face of the earth, which seemed now to tremble vnder his feet, and the clouds to rent with the thundering of his great ordinance: and for that the marish and deepe ditches were a great let vnto his men for to come vnto the assault, he caused them with this men to assault the counterscarfe, which the gouernour had caused to be made before the citie for the better defence thereof: which assault cost him much blood; by reason of the wonderfull valour of the defendants: yet in the end the great number of the Turkes preuailing, the Christi- M ans were enforced to forsake it and to retire into the citie. But shortly after falling out againe, they with such force assailed the Turkes now got within the counterscarfe, that hauing slaine most part of them that were entered, they forced the other out againe: at the brute whereof, an alarum being raised throughout the campe, infinit numbers of the barbarous enemies came running

Alba Regalis be-
sieged by the
Turkes.

A ning thither with such beastly furie, that without regard of their liues they as desperat men pressing still on, fell twice as many as before: insomuch that the Christians wearie of that long and bloudie fight, and on euery side charged or rather ouerwhelmed with the enemies shot, were glad againe, but not without great losse, to abandon the place. With which skirmishes and diuers others that they had, the number of the defendants was greatly diminished: yet was not the courage of the valiant Gouernour any whit therewith abated, but by his letters gaue the Archduke *Matthias* to vnderstand in what case things stood with them in the citie, requesting him with all speed to send them reliefe, for that otherwise the citie would be in danger to be lost; as well for that many of the garrison souldiours were already slaine in the defence thereof, as also that diuers of the Hungarians forsaking the wals, daily fled vnto the Turkes campe: promising yet B neuerthelesse himselfe to doe the vttermost of his deuoir. Vpon the receipt of which letters, the Archduke gaue order vnto the lord *Russworm* (master of his campe) to goe forthwith to COMARA, and there with such forces as were from diuers places come thither, to go forth and to proue if by any meanes the weake garrison of ALBA REGALIS might so be relieved, by putting in some good supplie of fresh souldiours: According vnto which command, *Russworm* coming thither, without delay tooke the field with twelue thousand men which he found there, to see if he might with them put into the citie the desired reliefe. But whilst the matter was in the per- formance thereof too long delayed, by discord arising betwixt him and the other colonels, about the command, the Bassa had time to effect his purpose: who the eight and twentieth of the same moneth of August, after a long and terrible batterie, caused a generall assault to be giuen C vnto the citie: which the Turkes from time to time renewing, continued all that day and the next night, with some part of the day following also, without intermission: so that the defendants now brought to a small number, and they also so wearied or wounded, as that they were not well able to make any longer resistance (and the Countie himselfe, who gaue as it were life vnto them all, being now also carried away, dangerously hurt in the thigh with a musket shot) gaue vnto the enemy a signe of their yeelding. VV hereupon the furie of the assault being staied, whilst they were yet talking with the enemy from the wall about the conditions of their yeelding, a renegade Christian which knew the citie well, in the meane time conducted a great squadron of the Turkes vnto a place but weakly defended; who forcing the wals, entered the citie, and with a great crie gaue signes of their entrance vnto the rest of the armie on the other side: D who thereupon breaking off the parley, presently renewed the assault, and by force gained the wals: where the few Christians that were left, now both before and behind enclosed with their fierce enemies, were there valiantly fighting for the most part slaine, the Countie onely with some few others found wounded in their lodgings (the furie ouerpast) being taken prisoners and spared. So the Bassa hauing in eightene daies taken ALBA REGALIS (now being eleuen months possessed by the Christians) caused the breaches he had made to bee againe repaired, and the citie well provided for both of victuals and munition, leaving therein a strong garrison of six thousand good souldiours: and with his people hauing ouerun all the countrey as farre as STRIGONIVM, rise with his armie, and retired againe to BVDA: where as he was making a bridge of boats ouer the Danubius betwixt BVDA and PESTH, for the more easie transpor- E ting of victuall, and better relieuing of the one the other as need should require; and hauing brought that worke to passe, and was about to haue gone to the siege of STRIGONIVM, commandement came from the great Sultan, That he should with all speed returne to CONSTANTINOPLE; for that *Mahomet* accounting of him as of a most valiant man, was now minded to employ him in his warres against his rebels in NATOLIA, where things now went not well (as shall hereafter be declared.) Vpon which commandement the Bassa gaue leaue to all such in his armie as had charge of any place, forthwith to returne to their severall places of govern- ment: appointing some others with thirtie thousand souldiours in the companie of *Zachael Moises* (but of late prince *Sigismund* his lieutenant) to goe with him into TRANSYLVANIA; who after the ouerthrow he had there receiued by *Bassa*, was come vnto this great Bassa, offering vn- F to him (with such an aid as was now appointed for him, and the helpe of such other his friends as he had in TRANSYLVANIA) to chase *Bassa* with his Germanes from out thence, and to reduce that prouince againe vnto the deuotion of the *Othoman* emperours, as it had in former time beene. And so by the way of BELGRADE halted himselfe with the rest of his armie towards CONSTANTINOPLE: which hee was thought the more willingly to doe, for that the great

Along and ter-
rible assault.

Alba Regalis by
the Turkes won.

a thousand of them being lost; the capitaines considering how much the losse of so many braue, G
souldiours concerned the whole enterprise taken in hand, and that the breach could not be gained
without the losse of the greatest part of them, they caused a retreat to be sounded, and so the as-
sault for that time to be giuen ouer.

But long it was not that the Visier Bassa (thus retired as aforesaid) had lien before P^{ESTH},
but that by reason of his so sudden returne, great wants began to arise in his campe; his souldi-
ors for want of food being glad to eat their dead horses, a pound of bread being sold for two
Hungarian duckats, and a bushell of oates for five; and yet hardly so to bee gotten: which
wants in that so wasted a cuntry still more and more encreasing, and many of his souldiours
secretly stealing away from him, he had much adoe by all the meanes he could vse, to persuaide
them there to stay eight dayes longer. VVhich time expired, and nothing more done, than some H
few weake attempts giuen, and some light skirmishes made, rather for fashions sake than for
any hope of preuailling, and the want of all things still encreasing; he with the rest of the com-
maunders fearing some sudden mischiefe to bee done them by the hungrie and discontented
souldiours, the second of Nouembet causing his baggage to bee trusted vp in the dead time of
the darke and silent night, rise with his armie, and so in hast retired directly to B^{ELGRADE}, lea-
uing behind him in his campe three hundred dead horses, not yet eaten by his hunger-starued
souldiours. Immediately after whose departure, the lord *Nadasti* and some other of the com-
maunders in the armie, with five thousand souldiours and certaine great pieces of artilerie, some
by land, some by water, went downe alongst the riuer to A^{DOM}, a faire well built towne vp-
on the banke of Danubius, about foure Hungarian miles from B^{UDA}, and seruing as it were I
for a store-house for the garrison there: which towne *Nadasti* summoned by his Hussars sent
before, requiring to haue it deliuered vnto him. VVhich they of the towne at the first refused to
doe: but afterwards seeing a faire greater power come, prouided of great ordinance and all
things els requisite for a siege, they with the sight thereof discouraged, without more adoe offe-
red to yeld the towne, so that they might with bag and baggage in safetie depart: which they
did, the Christians conducting them as farre as F^{ELDVAR}, which castle was also at the first
summons, by the persuation of them of A^{DOM} deliuered vnto them: for they of the castle, by
them enformed of the great strength of the Christians, and of the store of great ordinance they
had brought with them, and that they staid therewith but fast by, were easily persuaaded to hear-
ken to their friends, and so yelded. VVhich done, the free Haiduckes the same night surprised K
also the castle of Pax: from whence the Christians still marching on alongst the riuer, tooke in
also the citie of T^{OLNA}.

But whilest *Nadasti* with the rest were thus busied in taking these castles and townes alongst
the South side of Danubius, they in the campe at B^{UDA} were aduertised of the new designs
of the Turkes lieutenants and capitaines thereabouts, for the reliefe of the besieged: as that the
Bassa of B^{OSNA}, with the Gouvernours of C^{ANISIA}, S^{IGETH}, and others, had assembled an
armie of thirtie thousand for the raising of the siege. VVherefore the Christians doubting as
they lay at the siege disperfed, to be by them oppressed; leaving their tents in their trenches, ga-
thered themselues together into the W^{ATER} citie: which the Turkes out of the vpper citie quick-
ly perceiuing, as feeling themselues now at some more libertie, presently falling out, tooke L
both the trenches and the tents so left, with no small slaughter of such as were left for the keep-
ing of them: and so possessed of the trenches and tents, held them by the space of two houres,
vntill they were by strong hand by the Christians beaten out, and so with some losse enforced
again to retire into the citie. The lord *Nadasti* also, with the rest that had taken the aforesaid
castles and townes vpon the side of Danubius, making a rode towards A^{LBAREGALIS}, in
their returne within a mile of B^{UDA} light vpon a thousand Turkes there gathered together,
most part of whom they slew, and hauing put the rest to flight, tooke some fiftie of them pri-
soners. At which time also another of the Imperiall colonels meeting with certaine other com-
panies of the Turkes comming to the reliefe of the besieged, not farre from B^{UDA}, slew most
part of them, tooke an hundred and threescore of them prisoners, with a number of horses and M
much other rich bootie, all which he brought into the campe. Neither were they at the siege
in the meane time idle, their great artilerie still thundering against the wals both of the castle
and the citie: so that by the furie of the cannon hauing beaten downe a strong towne next vn-
to the Danubius, not farre from the kings stable, they were a little before night about to haue
there

A there entered, when suddenly such a tempest of wind and raine arise, as that they could not pos-
sibly vse their pieces, or well any other weapon: so that the heauens as it were then fighting for
the enimie, they were enforced for that time to giue ouer the assault begun. VVhich storme
was no sooner ended, but that two thousand of the Turkes both horse and foot, to keepe the
Christians otherwise busied, suddenly issuing out of the citie, charged vpon the Stirian horse-
men; who presently relieued by the men at armes, so welcommed them, that hauing lost an
hundred and threescore of their men, they were glad with more speed to retire than they came
out. But seeing some of the Christians that so hardly pursued them, some slaine and some hurt
from the wals, taking heart againe, the next day (being the eleuenth of Nouember) they sallied
out againe; where albeit that a great number of them were slaine, yet fell they out againe the
B third day also, and were againe by the Countie *Thurn* with great losse of their men beaten backe
into the citie: where in pursuing of them, the Christians were by certaine Ianizaries (laid close
for that purpose) suddenly assailed and dangerously gauled, the Countie himselfe being hurt
in his left arme, and some other capitaines slaine. In all which sallies, although the Turkes
were still put to the worse, yet thereby they gained time in some good sort to repaire againe
their breaches.

Shortly after, the Imperials thus lying at the siege, certainly enformed that a world of the
fierce and rude Tartars by the incitement of the Turke (hauing made themselues way through
V^{ALACHIA}) were comming as farre as T^{EMESVAR} to relieue B^{UDA}; thought it not best (es-
pecially now that W^{INTER} was come) to abide the comming of that so great a Northern tem-
C pest, but betimes whilest they had yet space, to raise their siege and be gone: VVhich they did the
sixteenth of Nouember, leauing the W^{ATER} citie, with all that they had got about B^{UDA} againe
vnto the enimie: onely P^{ESTH} they furnished with victuals and all things else necessarie, lea-
uing therein almost ten thousand souldiours in garrison, for the defence thereof against the Barba-
rous enimie. As for A^{DOM}, it was strengthened with a garrison of Hungarians only, with their
wages offered to be paid before hand; which for all that they refused to accept, alledging that for
the great danger this place was exposed vnto aboue others, they could not safely take their oath
for the defence thereof: yet offering withall to vndertake the charge, and to doe what befecomed
valiant souldiours, in such sort, as that all men should well vnderstand, that nothing euill should
happen thereunto through their default or negligence.

D The siege of B^{UDA} for feare of the Tartars thus giuen ouer, and the Imperials departed and
gone, the Turkes forthwith came downe out of the higher citie into the lower, declaring their
joy for the recouerie thereof, by the often thundring of their great ordinance, with diuers other
signes of triumph. But whilest in their jollitie they spared not by the mouth of the cannon to
send commendations to them of P^{ESTH}, they from them againe received the like; but in such
rude manner, that the Turkes wearie of such greetings, requested them to spare their shot and
powder, and quietly to liue by them as became neighbours for that W^{INTER} vntill the next
Spring, at which time it was to be thought that this strife should be ended by their Emperours,
the weaker yeelding vnto the stronger either the one or the other citie. Yet for all this their
great joy, their cheere in B^{UDA} was not great, victuals by this siege being become so scarce, that
E it was by the Turkes feared, That if the Christians had there longer lien, they should for verie
want haue been enforced to haue yeelded the citie. Of which their need their friends not igno-
rant, and hauing made what prouision they were able for their reliefe, were with a great conuoy
bringing the same towards B^{UDA}: whereof the garrisons of C^{OMARA} and S^{TRIGONIUM}
hauing intelligence, went presently out; and meeting with the Turkes in the midway be-
twixt A^{LBAREGALIS} and B^{UDA}, overthrew the conuoy, and carried away all that prouisi-
on of victuall, like vnbidden guests making themselues merrie with that which was neuer pro-
vided for them.

These doubtfull warres of H^{UNGARIE} with the generall reuolt of T^{TRANSYLVANIA},
much troubled *Mahomet* the great Sultan, but nothing like vnto the wittes he had in A^{SLA}.
F against the *Scriuano* and the rebels his followers: the euill successe whereof (as most dangerous
to his state) so much tormented his haughtie mind, as that it would scarce suffer him to thinke
of any thing else: For the rebell encouraged with the successe of the late yeares warres, and still
growing stronger and stronger (by reason of the great number which allured with the sweet
name of Libertie, hope of prey, or the good entertainment by him giuen, daily more and more
refor-

The Visier Bassa
raises his siege.

The siege of Bu-
da for feare of
the Tartars gi-
uen over by the
Christians.

Mahomet much
troubled with the
Scriuano.

resorted vnto his campe) had this yeare ouerrun a great part of the Turkes dominions in ASIA, G putting all to fire and sword that stood in his way, ransacking also diuers walled and fenced cities by the way as he went: VVhich hee might the more easily doe, for that the Ianizaries of ALEPPO and DAMASCO, with many other their partakers and fauourits which might greatly haue hindered his proceedings, were at the same time also vp in armes and together by the eares amongst themselves, to the great benefit of the *Scrimano*: who in the midst of the course of these his desired fortunes, fell sicke of a naturall diseafe and so died. By whose death the rebellion was no whit appeased (as commonly in like case it falleth out, and as was then of many expected) but in short time grew to be both farre greater and more dangerous than before: for the *Scrimano* was no sooner dead, but that a yonger brother of his, no lesse warlike and courageous than himselfe (to the great contentment of the rebellious) stept vp in his place, fiercely prosecuting the warres his brother had before him taken in hand. Against whom *Hassan Bassa* by commandement from the Grand signior with a great armie setting forward, with hope in that newnesse of his command to haue oppressed him, and so to haue quenched that so spreading a fire: at length met with him that was easie enough to be found, and joyning battell with him, was by him in a great and bloudie fight ouerthrowne and slaine together with his whole armie, except such as by speedie flight sau'd themselves from the furie of their fierce enemies. So that *Mahomet* the great Sultan now enforced to employ his best commanders and souldiours into those parts for the subduing of him, hath for that cause called *Mahomet* the Visier Bassa out of HUNGARIE, to serue against this new rebell: but with what successe, I leaue it to be hereafter told by my selfe, if God giue life, or by some other that better can, as time shall reueale the same. The rebell in the meane time following the course of his victorie, made hauocke of all as he went, taking vnto his owne vse all such tribute as was in those countries and others also further off, due vnto the great Sultan; hauing of late exacted onely of the citie of ANCYRA and the countrey thereabout, three hundred thousand duckats: so by exacting of great summes of money from the countrey people (such as be his enemies) heaping vp great treasures for the maintenance of his warres.

Now though *Mahomet* the Turkish emperor had called home *Mahomet* the Visier Bassa out of HUNGARIE to goe against the rebels into ASIA (as is aforesaid) yet had hee before provided, that for the better assurance of his townes and territories in HUNGARIE, the Tatar *Han* with a great power of his Crim Tartars should euen against that time come downe into that countrey. VVhich rough and needie people (dwelling neere vnto the fennes of MARIUS) for pay or prey, alwaies readie to doe the *Othoman* emperours seruice, setting forward vnder the leading of their great *Han* himselfe, and of his two sonnes; and by plaine force breaking through VALACHIA, though not without great losse of their men (being fought with by the Valachians and free Haiduckes a whole day) were now in the latter end of December with their huge companies come into HUNGARIE; the *Han* himselfe with fortie thousand to QVINCQUE ECCLESIA, and his sonnes with twentie thousand moe into POSSEGA (a fertile countrey lying betwene the great riuers Saues and Dräus:) where they spoiled as well the Turkes as the other poore Christians, pretending all that frontier countrey with the whole command thereof to be giuen vnto them by the Turkish emperor in reward of their seruice. But long they lay not there quiet, but that to shew for what they came, they enforced the Christians thereabout to victuall CANISIA for the Turkes: and so breaking into STIRIA, not farre from CORAMANT, the neerest fortresse of the Christians towards CANISIA, carried away about two thousand Christians captiues: and shortly after surprising KETSCHMET, a great and populous towne, slew most part of the inhabitants, and carried away the rest prisoners. Other some of them also at the same time making an inrode to SHARVAR, and hauing burnt twentie countrey villages downe to the ground, carried away thence about a thousand soules into most miserable captiuitie and thraldome. They also at their first comming relieved them of BUDA, the lord *Nadasi* with his Hussars, who before kept them from victuals, not being able (for the great number of them) now longer so to doe. By them also the Turkes encouraged, M tooke and burnt certaine places possessed by the Christians neere vnto BUDA, putting them all to the sword that they found therein. So that the poore countrey of HUNGARIE (neuer to be sufficiently pitied) with the rest of the countreys and prouinces belonging vnto the house of AVSTRIA, and confining vpon the Turke, were not so much eased by the calling home of the

The death of the *Scrimano*.

The *Scrimano* his younger brother takes vp upon him the leading of the rebels in his brothers stead.

Hassan Bassa slaine, and his armie ouerthrowne by the rebels.

Diuers incursions of the Tartars into the frontiers of the emperor, terrified, and much harme by them there done.

A the Visier Bassa with his armie, as they were now annoyed by the comming of these roagish Tartars, a people wholly euen from their infancie giuen to the spoile. Against whom for all that, the Christians besides their ordinarie garrisons began now euen in the depth of Winter to oppose some other of their forces also: the Palatine of RHENE sending ten companies of horsemen to POSSONIVM from thence to be sent to SHARVAR, for the defence of STIRIA: and *Colloitz* (but lately knighted by the emperor) for his part raising foure hundred horse, a thousand Hussares, and three thousand of the free Haiduckes, for the repelling of those Tartars: the duke of BRUNSVVICK also at that time for the same seruice sending thither a thousand horse, with two thousand foot, against those sworn enemies of the Christian Religion.

B The troubles of this yeare thus ouerpast, ALBA REGALIS being by the Christians lost, 1603 PRUTH with some other places woon, TRANSYLVANIA recouered, BUDA besieged, the Visier Bassa returned, and the Tartars come into HUNGARIE: Ianuarie with a sharpe frost began to open the next yeare (euen this which now is, viz. 1603) by force whereof the riuers in many places, but especially in those more Easterly countries, were not onely frozen ouer, but seemed rather wholly turned into yse, Danubius that great riuier (for all his swift course) being then also (as it is often) so hard frozen, that men and carts might safely passe too and fro thereupon. In which so hard a season, the Turkes in garrison at BUDA hauing once vpon the frozen riuier braued the Christians in PRUTH, and the two and twentieth of Ianuarie comming out the second time in like brauerie, were by two hundred of the Christian souldiours of PRUTH put to flight: vpon whom the Turkes in greater number returning, chased them likewise backe againe euen to the bridge whereby they were to haue passed the ditch into the citie; which now drawne vp, for feare of greater harme from such a number of the Turkes as were now come out, the poore souldiours so shut out, and too weake for so great a power of their enemies; were there all euery man slaine, the Turkes themselves with little harme returning to BUDA. But within a few daies after, one *Lehner* (a capitaine of the Christian garrison) grieved more than the rest with this so great a dishonour, and certainly vnderstanding that certaine of the chiefe of the Turkes of BUDA, with two captainies and a great traine of gallant gendewomen were for their pleasure gone to the hoat bathes neere vnto BUDA; taking with him threescore muskietiers, went in hast ouer the riuier vpon the ice to salute them in their bath, and to wish it might be vnto D them wholesome: who comming suddenly vpon them, as they were merrie and bathing of themselves, and not dreaming of any such danger, slew all the men except one boy; the gentlewomen in the time of the conflict naked as they were, running as fast as they could vnto the citie, feare hauing in them overcome the modestie of their sex. VVhich exploit done, the captiue leauing the Turkes slaine in the bath, now become red with their blood, returned with his souldiours the same way he came to PRUTH: after whom they of BUDA (stirred vp with the crye of the fearefull women) sent out certaine of their garrison after them, but to no purpose, for why they were in safetie before got home. By continuance of this frost, by reason that victuals could not be sent downe the riuier, the souldiours in garrison at PRUTH were driuen to such wants, as that dogs and cats were accounted good meat amongst them.

E About this time also, the Ianizaries and Spahi, the Turkes best souldiours, perceiving the warres against the rebels in ASIA not to haue bene so well managed as they could haue wished, and as in truth they might haue bene, many of their captainies and commanders (as it was thought) secretly fauouring and furthering the rebels proceedings, whereby much of their blood had bene spilt, and many a good man through their carelesse lost, to the small good of their Sultan; rise now vp in a tumult, and so as men enraged, beset the house of the chiefe of the Visier Bassas: VVho much dismayed therewith, and vnderstanding the cause of their discontentment, went in hast vnto *Mahomet*, requesting him for the speedie appeasing of so dangerous a sedition to haue the hearing of the matter himselfe, and with exemple punishment to chastise such as were by those his worthie souldiours suspected. VVho forthwith called (as they were by them named) were without more adoe in their presence beheaded, and others placed in their stead: who with what fortune they haue for these five moneths last past managed the said warre, Time (which all reuealeth) shall in short time make knowne.

The Tartars also, beside the great harme by them before done, this moneth breaking into the lesser WARDENIA, ransacked and spoiled five and twentie countrey villages, carrying away with them

A great frost.

The Ianizaries and Spahis rising a sedition in Constantinople, againe appeased.

Great harme done by the Tartars in the frontiers of the Christians.

them a great bootie both of men and cattell, no man resisting of them. At which time also another companie of them at diuers intodes by them made into Countie *Serinus* his island, and so to *RACKENSVORGE*, carried away ten thousand men prisoners: For remedie of which mischiefs, *Collonitz* hauing gathered an armie of ten thousand strong, came at length into the frontiers of *HUNGARIE*, to haue a sight of these Tartars, and to welcome them: who not willing to come to any set battell with him, would in no place abide his coming; but went still picking vp and downe the countrey, as the manner of their seruice is; alwaies fitter to spoile than to fight. The dead time of this yeare (vnfit for great armies to keepe the field) thus passing, *Graninus* (one of the emperours great commanders) hauing before sent out diuers spies to *BELGRADE*, *TEMESVVAR*, and such other places, to take view of the Tartars forces, was by one of them (which was sent to *TEMESVVAR*, and had serued the Tartar three yeares) in March certainly enformed, That the Tartar *Han* had with him about fife and fortie thousand Tartars, beside others which lay here and there dispersed vpon the frontiers: and that *Zachell Mäffes* hauing requested of him fiftene thousand horsemen for the foraging of *TRANSYLVANIA*, could obtaine of him but ten thousand onely, the *Han* himselve purposing with the rest as occasion should serue to make an inrode into *AUSTRIA*, expecting still for the coming of a new supplye of threecore thousand Tartars moe, which he daily looked for.

Buda victualled.

This moneth also they of *BUDA* making shew as if they would haue made an expedition towards *ADOM*, vnder the colour thereof, receiued into their citie a conuoy of fife hundred waggons laden with victuals and munition. And thereupon in great iollitie with their thundering shot saluted their ouerthwart neighbours at *PASTREIN*; which doing, fire by chance falling into their powder, did themselues much more harme, than had they with their shooting done their enemies. And shortly after, the same garrison souldiours of *BUDA* going forth, thought to haue vpon the sudden surprised *PALOTTA*; but being in good time discouered, were deceiued of their hope, and with great losse enforced to retire: vnto whom the capitaine of the castle, by a countrey peasant before sworne to doe the errand, sent a saucer full of salt, and a botle of wine, willing them in derision with that salt to salt the flesh they had gotten at his castle, to keepe it from putrifying, and of that botle of wine in kindnesse to drinke an health vnto him. *Collonitz* also much about the same time, viz. the one and twentieth of March, going betimes in a morning with his armie towards *CANISIA*, lay close in a wood about a mile from the towne with his scouts, conueniently placed halfe a mile neerer; vpon whom fife of the *Turkes* coming out of the towne by chance lighting, were three of them slaine, the fourth taken, the fift by good hap escaping through the marshes backe againe into the towne: Who telling there what had happened, told withall; That they were but certaine stragling *Haiducks* that lay there in the wood in hope of some bootie: for the oppressing of whom, foure hundred of the *Turkes* there in garrison, going out, and entering into the wood, fell before they were aware, into the danger of *Collonitz* his armie, and were there two hundred of them slaine, and an hundred and thirtie of them moe taken, the rest by speedie flight sauing themselues.

Foure hundred of the *Turkes* got into *Canis* intercepted by the *Christians*.

The Conclusion.

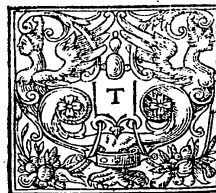
Thus with many sharpe skirmishes (the common exercises of the *Turks*, and those warlike people in *HUNGARIE* and the other frontier countries) passed the dead time of the yeare, with a good part of this last Spring also; no great armie either of the *Christians* or of the *Turkes* (more than the roaming Tartars, and such small forces as the *Christians* had, as is aforesaid, opposed against them) yet appearing in the field. Since which time what hath happened, especially in these two or three moneths last past; or what is euen at this present in doing (being the time of the yeare that the *Turkes* vse commonly to set forth with their great armies, and to vndertake their greatest exploits in) is not as yet come to my knowledge. So that hauing farre beyond my hope and the strength of my weak and sickly bodie, by the power of the Almighty passed through the Historie of this the greatest Monarchie now on earth, I must

A must now here needs make an end: beseeching his omnipotent maiestie, for his onely Sonne our Sauour Christ his sake, in mercie to turne the hearts of this mightie and froward people vnto the knowledge of his Sonne crucified, and the loue of his truth: or otherwise in his iustice, (for the more manifesting of his glorie) to root out their most bloud-thirstie and wicked empire, with all the rest of the blasphemous Mahometanes; so by prooffe to confirme the truth of that hath long agoe been foretold, and for many ages beleueed; as also by the *Turkes* themselves not a little feared, That the Mahometane superstition, by the sword begun, and by the sword maintained, shall at length by the Christian sword also be destroyed: in such sort, as that the name of *Gog* and *Magog* be no more heard of vnder heauen, but that all may be one blessed flocke vnder one great shepherd Christ Iesus: At the greatnesse of which worke all the world wondering, may with joy sing

Vnto him in Trinitie, and Trinitie in Vnitie, be all honour and glorie world without end.



C A brieue discourse of the greatnesse of the Turkish empire: as also wherein the greatest strength thereof consisteth, and of what power the bordering princes, as well Mahometanes as Christians are in comparision of it.



He Historie of the *Turkes* (being indeede nothing els but the true record of the wofull ruines of the greater-part of the Christian commonweale) thus as before passed through, and at length brought to end; and their empire (of all others now vpon earth farre the greatest) as a proud champion still standing vp as it were in defiance of the whole world: I thought it good for the conclusion of this my labour, to propose vnto the view of the zealous Christian, the greatnesse thereof; and so neere as I could to set downe the bounds and limits within the which it is (by the goodnesse of God) as yet continued, together with the strength and power thereof, as also in what regard it hath the neighbour princes bordering or confining vpon it, with some other particularities tending vnto the same purpose. All or most part whereof, although it be by the considerat well to be gathered out of the whole course of the Historie before going, yet shall it more plainly here together in the full thereof appeare, than by the long and particular consideration of the rising and encrease thereof be perceiued: not much vnlike the ouergrowne tree, at the greatnesse whereof euerie man wondereth, no man in the meane time either perceiuing or marking how by little and little in tract of time it grew vp to that bignesse, as now to ouertop all the rest of the wood. The imperiall seat of this so great and dreadfull an empire, is the most famous citie of *CONSTANTINOPLE*, sometime the glorie of the Greeke empire, but now the place where *Mahomet* the third of that name, and thirteenth of the *Othoman* emperours, acknowledging no man like vnto himselfe, triumpheth ouer many nations: a citie fatally founded to commaund, and by the great conquerour *Tamerlan* of all others thought to be the best seated for the empire of the world. In which citie (taken from the *Christians* by *Mahomet* the second, by the *Turkes* surnamed *Great*, and the Greeke empire by him subuerted) as the *Othoman* emperours haue euer since reared themselves, so haue they wonderfully euen to the astonishment of the world, out of the ruins of that so glorious a State encreased both their strength and empire, almost altogether fixed euen in the selfesame kingdomes, countries, and regions, as was sometimes that; though not as yet (God be thanked) able to attaine to the vitermost bounds that that empire sometimes had, especially

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Constantinople
the seat of the
Turke Empire.

A briefe Discourse of

especially in **EVROPE**; albeit that it haue oftentimes in pride thereof most mightily swolne, and in some few places thereof somewhat also exceeded the same. Amongst the rest of the *Othoman* emperours, this great Monarch of whom we speake (namely *Mahomet* the third, which now raigneth in that most stately and imperiall citie) hath at this present vnder his commaund and empire, the chiefe and most fruitfull parts of the three first knowne parts of the world: onely **AMERICA** remaining free from him, not more happie with the rich mines thereof, than in that it is so farre from out of his reach. For in **EVROPE** he hath all the sea coast from the confines of **EPIDAVRVS** (the vttermost bound of his empire in **EVROPE** Westward) vnto the mouth of the riuer **Tanais**, now called **Don**, with whatsoeuer lieth betwixt **BVDA** in **HUNGARIE**, and the imperiall citie of **CONSTANTINOPLE**: in which space is comprehended the better part of **HUNGARIE**, all **BOSNA**, **SERVIA**, **BVLGARIA**, with a great part of **DALMATIA**, **EPIRVS**, **H MACEDONIA**, **GRÆCIA**, **PELOPONESVS**, **THRACIA**, the **ARCHIPELAGO**, with the rich islands contained therein. In **AFRICA** he possesseth all the sea coast from **VELEZ** (or as some call it **BELIS**) **DE GOMERA**, or more truly to say, from the riuer **Muluia** (the bounder of the kingdome of **FUZ**) euen vnto the Arabian gulf or red sea Eastward, except some few places vpon the riuage of the sea holden by the king of **SPAIN**, viz. **MERSALCARI**, **MELILLA**, **ORAN**, and **PENNON**: and from **ALEXANDRIA** Northward vnto the citie of **ASNA**, called of old **SIENE**, Southward: in which space are contained the famous kingdomes of **TREMIZEN**, **ALGIERS**, **TYNES**, and **ÆGYP**, with diuers other great cities and provinces. In **ASIA** all is his from the straits of **Hellepontus** Westward, vnto the great citie of **TAVRIS** Eastward: and from **DERBENT** neere vnto the Caspian sea Northward, vnto **ADENA** vpon the gulf of **ARABIA** Southward. The greatnesse of this his empire may the better be conceiued by the greatnesse of some parts thereof: the meere of **MEOTIS**, which is all at the Turkish emperours command, being in compasse a thousand miles; and the **Euxine** or **Blacke sea** in circuit two thousand and seuen hundred; and the **Mediterranean coast** which is subiect vnto him, containing in compasse about eight thousand miles. But to speake of his whole territorie together, he goeth in his owne dominion from **TAVRIS** to **BVDA**, about three thousand two hundred miles. The like distance is from **DERBENT** vnto **ADENA**. From **BALSER** vpon the Persian gulf vnto **TREMISENA** in **BARBARIE**, are accounted little lesse than foure thousand miles. He hath also in the sea the most noble islands of **CYPRVS**, **EVBOA**, **RHODVS**, **SAMOS**, **CHIOS**, **LESBOS**, and others of the **ARCHIPELAGO**. In this so large and spacious an empire are contained many great and large countries, sometime most famous kingdomes, abounding with all manner of worldly blessings and natures store: For what kingdome or countrey is more fruitfull than **ÆGYP**, **SYRIA**, and a great part of **ASIA**? What countrey more wealthie or more plentifull of all good things than was sometime **HUNGARIE**, **GRÆCIA**, & **THRACIA**? In which countries he hath also many rich and famous cities, but especially foure, which be of greatest wealth and trade: namely **CONSTANTINOPLE**, **CAIRE**, **ALEPPO**, and **TAVRIS**. **CONSTANTINOPLE** for multitude of people exceedeth all the cities of **EVROPE**; wherein are deemed to be about seuen hundred thousand men: which if it be so, is almost equall to two such cities as **PARIS** in **FRANCE**. **ALEPPO** is the greatest citie of **SYRIA**, and as it were the centre whereunto all the marchandise of **ASIA** repaire. **TAVRIS** of late the royall seat of the Persian kings, and one of the greatest cities of that kingdome, from whom it was in this our age taken by *Amurath* the third, hath in it about two hundred thousand men. **CAIRE** amongst all the cities of **AFRICA** is the chiefe, leauing all others farre behind it (although that some make the citie **CANO** equall vnto it in greatness) being as it were the store-house not of **ÆGYP** onely and of a great part of **AFRICA**, but of **INDIA** also; the riches whereof being brought by the red sea to **SUBS**, and from thence vpon cammels to **CAIRE**, and so downe the riuer **Nilis** to **ALEXANDRIA**, are thence dispersed into all these Western parts: albeit that this rich trade hath of late time bene much empaired, and so like more to be, the Christians (especially the *Portingals*) trafficking into the East Indies; and by the vast Ocean transporting the rich commodities of those Easterne countries into the West, to the great hinderance of the Grand signior his customes in **CAIRE**.

The *Othoman* government in this his so great an empire is altogether like the government of the master ouer his slaue, and indeed meere tyrannicall: for the great Sultan is so absolute a lord of all things within the compasse of his empire, that all his subjects and people be they neuer so great, doe call themselves his slaues and not his subjects: neither hath any man power ouer himselfe,

the greatnesse of the Turkish Empire.

- A selfe, much lesse is he lord of the house wherein he dwelleth, or of the land which he tilleth, except some few families in **CONSTANTINOPLE**, vnto whom some few such things were by way of reward and vpon speciall fauour giuen by *Mahomet* the second, at such time as he wooon the same. Neither is any man in that empire so great or yet so farre in fauour with the great Sultan, as that he can assure himselfe of his life, much lesse of his present fortune or state, longer than it pleaseth the Grand signior. In which so absolute a souerainetie (by any free borne people not to be endured) the tyrant preferueth himselfe by two most especiall meanes: first by taking of all arms from his naturall subjects; and then by putting the same and all things els concerning the state and the government thereof into the hands of the Apostata or renegade Christians, whom for most part euery third, fourth, or fift year (or oftener if his need so require) he taketh in their childhood from their miserable parents, as his tenths or tribute children. Whereby he gaineth two great commodities: first, for that in so doing he spoileth the provinces hee most feareth of the flower, sinewes, and strength of the people, choice being still made of the strongest youths and fittest for warre: then, for that with these as with his owne creatures he armeth himselfe, and by them assureth his state: for they in their childhood taken from their parents laps, and deliuered in charge to one or other appointed to that purpose, quickly and before they be aware become *Mahometanes*; and so no more acknowledging father or mother, depend wholly of the great Sultan, who to make vse of them, both feeds them and fosters them, at whose hands only they looke for all things, and whom alone they thanke for all. Of which frie so taken from their Christian parents (the onely seminarie of his warres) some become horsemen, some footmen, and so in time the greatest commanders of his state and empire next vnto himselfe, the naturall Turkes in the meane time giuing themselves wholly vnto the trade of marchandise and other their mechanical occupations: or els vnto the feeding of cattell, their most auient and naturall vocation, not intermeddling at all with matters of government or state. So that if vnto these his souldiors, all of the Christian race, you ioine also his fleet and money, you haue as it were the whole strength of his empire: for in these fourt, his horsemen, footmen, his fleet, and money, especially consisteth his great force and power: whereof to speake more particularly, and first concerning his money, it is commonly thought that his ordinarie reuenue exceedeth not eight millions of gold. And albeit that it might seeme, that he might of so large an empire receiue a farre greater reuenue, yet doth he not, for that both he and his men of warre (in whose power all things are) haue their greatest and almost onely care vpon armes, fitter by nature to waite and delstroy countrey than to preserue and enrich them: infomuch, that for the preseruacion of their armies, and furtherance of their expeditions (euery yeare to doe) they most grieuouly spoile euen their own people and provinces whereby they passe, scarce leauing them necessaries wherewith to liue; so that the subjects despairing to enjoy the fruits of the earth, much lesse the riches which by their industrie and labour they might get vnto themselves, doe now no further endeavour themselves either to husbandrie or traffique than they must needs, yea theri very necessitie it selfe enforce them: For to what end aualeth it to sow that another man must reape? or to reape that which another man is readie to deuour? Whereupon it commeth, that in the territories of the *Othoman* empire, yea euen in the most fruitfull countries of **MACEDONIA** and **GREECE** are scene great forrests, all euery where wast, few cities well peopled, and the greatest part of those countreys lying desolate and desert: so that husbandrie (in all well ordered commonweales the principall greatest store) decaying, the earth neither yeeldeth her encrease vnto the painefull husbandman, neither he matter vnto the artificer, neither the artificer wares to furnish the marchant with, all together with the plough running into ruine and decay. As for the trade of marchandise, it is almost all in the hands of the Iewes, or the Christians of **EVROPE**, viz. the *Ragufians*, *Venecians*, *Genouaies*, *French*, or *English*; the naturall Turkes hauing therein the least to doe, holding in that their so large an empire no other famous cities for trade, more than the foure abouenamed, viz. **CONSTANTINOPLE**, **TAVRIS**, **ALEPPO**, and **CAIRE**: whereunto may be added **CAFFA** and **THESSALONICA** in **EVROPE**, **DAMASCVS**, **TRIPOLIS**, and **ADEN** in **ASIA**: **ALEXANDRIA** and **ALGIERS** in **AFRICK**. In our countries here in this West part of **EVROPE**, of the abundance of people oftentimes ariseth dearth; but in many parts of the Turkes dominions, for want of men to manue the ground: most part of the poore countrey people drawne from their owne dwellings, being enforced with victuals and other necessaries to follow their great armies in their long expeditions, of whom scarcely one of ten euer returne home

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The bounds of the Turkish Empire in Europe, Africa, & Asia.

The greatnesse of the Turkish Empire.

The foure chiefe cities for trade in the Turkish Empire.

The Othoman government meere tyrannicall.

The meanes whereby the Turkish Emperours preserue themselves in so absolute a souerainetie.

Four things wherein the greatest strength of the Othoman empire consisteth.

The Turkish ordinarie reuenues, and why they are so greater.

A briefe Discourse of

The Turkish casu-
alities more than
his ordinarie re-
uenues.

home to their dwellings againe, there by the way perishing, if not by the enemies sword, yet by G
wants, the intemperatnesse of the aire, or immoderate paines taking. But to come neerer vnto
our purpose, although the great Turkes ordinarie reuenues be no greater than is aforesaid, yet
are his extraordinarie escheats to be greatly accounted of, especially his confiscations, forfeitures,
fines, amercements (which are right many) his tributes, customes, riches and tenths of all preyes
taken by sea or land, with diuers other such like, far exceeding his standing and certaine reuenew:
his Bassaes and other his great officers like rauening Harpies as it were sucking out the blood of
his poore subjects, and heaping vp inestimable treasures, which for the most part fall againe into
the Grand signior his coffers. *Ibrahim* the Visier Bassa (who died but the last yeare) is supposed to
haue brought with him from *CATRE* to the value of six millions: and *Mahomet* another of the
Visiers was thought to haue had a farre greater summe. His presents also amount vnto a great H
matter: for no embassadour can come before him without gifts, no man is to hope for any com-
modious office or preferment without money, no man may with emptic hands come vnto the
presence of him so great a prince, either from the prouince he had the charge of, or from any
great expedition he was sent vpon; neither vnto so great and mightie a prince are trifles presen-
ted. The Vayvoods of *MOLDAVIA*, *WALACHIA*, and *TRANSYLVANIA* (before their late
reault) by gifts preferred themselves in their principalities, being almost daily changed, especi-
ally in *WALACHIA* and *MOLDAVIA*: for those honours were by the Grand signior still gi-
uen to them that would giue most; who to performe what they had offered, miserably oppressed
the people, and brought their prouinces into great pouertie. In briefe, an easie thing it is for the
great tyrant to find occasion for him at his pleasure to take away any mans life, together with his I
wealth, be it neuer so great: so that he cannot well be said to lacke money, so long as any of his
subjects hath it. Neuerthelesse, the late Persian warre so emptied the most couetous Sultan *A-*
murath his offers, and exhausted his treasures, that all ouer his empire the value of his gold was
beyond all credit enhaunfed, inso much that a Checcine was twice so much worth as before: be-
side that, the metall whereof his gold and siluer was made, was so embased, that it gaue occasi-
on vnto the Ianizaries to set fire vpon the citie of *CONSTANTINOPLE*, to the great terror
not of the vulgar fort onely, but of the Grand signior himselfe also. And in the citie of *ALEX-*
PO onely were in the name of the great Sultan threescore thousand Checcines taken vp in prest
of the marchants there, which how well they were repayed, we leaue for them to report.

The Turkish Ti-
marioris of great-
er value than
his reuenues.

Now albeit that the Turks reuenues be not so great as the largenesse of his empire and the K
fruitfulnesse of his countries might seeme to affoord, all the soile being his owne; yet hath he in
his dominion a commoditie of greater value and vse than are the reuenues themselves: which
is the multitude of the Timariots or pensioners, which are all horsemen, so called of *Timaro*, that
is, a stipend which they haue of the great Sultan, viz. the possession of certaine villages and
townes, which they hold during their life, and for which they stand bound for euery threescore
duckats they haue of yearly reuenew to maintaine one horseman, either with bow and arrowes,
or els with targuet and lance; and that as well in time of peace as warre: for the *Orthoman* em-
perours take vnto themselves all such lands as they by the sword win from their enemies, as well
Mahometanes as Christians, all which they deuide into Timars, or as we may call them Com-
mendams, which they giue vnto their souldiors of good desert for tearme of life, vpon condi- L
tion, that they shall (as is aforesaid) according to the proportion thereof keepe certaine men and
horses fit for seruice alwaies readie whensoever they shall be called vpon. Wherin consisteth
the greatest pollicie of the Turks, and the surest meane for the preservation of their empire. For
if by this meane the care of manuring the ground were not committed vnto the souldiors, for
the profit they hope thereof, but left in the hand of the plaine painefull husbandman, all would
in that so waile an empire lie wast and desolate; the Turks themselves commonly saying, That
wherefoeuer the Grand signior his horse setteth his foot; the grasse will there no more grow:
meaning, the destruction that their great armies bring in all places where they come. The institu-
tion of these Timariots, and the taking vp of the Azamoglan (for so they call those children M
which are taken vp from their Christian parents to be brought vp for Ianizaries) are the two
chiefe pillars of the Turkes empire, and the strength of their warres: both which seeme to be de-
uised vnto the imitation of the Romanes, as are diuers things moe in the Turkish government;
for the Romane emperours vsed their owne subjects in their warres, and of them consisted the
Prætorian armie, which neuer departed from the emperours side, but were still to guard his per-
son,

the greatnesse of the Turkish Empire.

- A son as doe the Ianizaries the great Turke. And in the Romane empire lands were giuen vnto
souldiors of good desert for them to take the profit of during their liues, in reward of their good
seruice and valour, which were called *Beneficia*, and they which had them, *Beneficiarij*, or as wee
tearme them, Benefices, and Beneficed men. *Alexander Seuerus* graunted vnto such souldiors
heires that they might enjoy those lands and commendams, vpon condition also, that they
themselves should serue as had their fathers, otherwise not. *Constantine* also the great gaue vnto
his captaines that had well deserved of him, certaine lands for them to liue vpon during the
tearme of their life. The like sees in *FRANCE* which they called *Fendes*, were of temporaries
made perpetuities by these their late kings. These Timariot horsemen in the Turkish empire
serue to two great and most notable purposes: whereof the first is, that by them the Grand sig-
nior as with a bridle keepeth the rest of his subjects in euery part of his great empire in awe, so
that they cannot so soone moue, but that they shall haue these his Timariots as faulcons in their
neckes; for to that purpose they are dispersed all ouer his dominions and empire: The other vse
of them (and no lesse profitable than the former) is for that out of them he is alwaies able at his
pleasure to draw into the field an hundred and fiftie thousand horsemen well furnished, readie to
goe whether soeuer he shall commaund them: with all whom he is not at one farthing charge.
Which so great a power of horsemen cannot be continually maintained for lesse than foureene
millions of duckats yearly. Wherefore it is to be maruelled, that some comparing the Turkes
reuenues with the Christians, make no mention of this so great a part of the *Orthoman* empe-
rours wealth and strength, seruing him first for the suppressing of all such tumults as might arise
C in his empire, and then as a most principall strength of his continuall warres, alwaies readie to
serue him in his greatest expeditions. The number of these Timariot horsemen is now growne
very great, taking encrease together with the Turkes empire. It is reported that *Amurath* the
third, father to this *Mahomet* that now reigneth, in his late warres against the Persian, subdued
vnto himselfe so much territorie as serued him to erect therein fortie thousand Timariots: and
appointed at *TAVRIS* a new receit, which was yearly worth vnto him a million of gold. These
Timariots are in all accounted to bee seuen hundred and nineteene thousand fighting men: of
whom two hundred fiftie seuen thousand haue their abode and dwelling in *EVROPE*; and foure
hundred sixtie two thousand in *ASIA* and *AFRICKA*. Beside these Timariots, the Grand signior
hath a great number of other horsemen also vnto whom he giueth pay, which are his Spahi,
D Vlufagi, and Carapici of his Court, being indeed the nurseries and seminaries of the great officers
and gouernours of his empire: for from among them are ordinarily chosen the Sanzacks, which
afterwards through their good deserts or the Sultans great fauour, become Visiers, Beglerbegs,
and Bassaes, the chiefe rulers of that so mightie a Monarchie. He hath also still in his armies a
great multitude of other horsemen called *Acanziz*, being indeed but rural clownes, yet for cer-
taine priuiledges which they haue are bound to goe vnto the warres, being euen of the Turkes
themselves accounted of small worth or value in comparison of the Timariots. He receiuech
great aid also from the Tartars in his warres, as also from the Valachians and Moldauians (vntill
that now of late by the example of the Translyuanians they haue to the great benefit of the
rest of the Christian commonweale reuolted from him): all which are to be accounted as the
E Romanes Auxiliarij, that is to say, such as come to aid and assilt him. And thus much for his
horsemen.
- Another great part of his strength consisteth in his footmen, and especially in his Ianizaries: The
in which two things are to be considered, their Nation, and Dexteritie in arms. Concerning their
Nation, such of the Azamoglan as are borne in *ASIA*, are not ordinarily enrolled in the num-
ber of the Ianizaries, but such as are borne in *EVROPE*: for they of *ASIA* are accounted more
effeminate, as they haue bene alwaies, more readie to flie than to fight: whereas the people of
EVROPE haue euen in the East bene accounted for better and more valiant souldiours, hauing
there to their immortal glorie set vp the notable trophees of their most glorious victories. The
souldiors of *ASIA* be called Turkes after the name of their nation, and not of their country (no
country being indeed so properly called) and they of *EVROPE* Rumi, that is to say, Romani or
F Romanes, as the country especially about *CONSTANTINOPLE*, is called by the name of *ROMANIA*. Now as concerning their Dexteritie, such
lonies therein, knowyn by the name of *ROMANIA*. Now as concerning their Dexteritie, such
male children are culled out from the Christians, as in whom appeareth the greatest strength,
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The great use of
the Timariot
horsemen in the
Turke Empire.

The number of
the Timariots.

The Spahi, Vlufagi, and Carapici,
cl, seminaries of
the great officers
in the Turkes
Empire.

The Acanziz.

The Ianizaries
the second
strength of the
Turkes Empire.

The two chiefe
pillars of the
Orthoman empire

A briefe Discourse of

strength, actiuitie, and courage: for these three qualities are in a souldier especially required. This choice is made every third yeare, except necessitie enforce it to be made sooner, as it happened in the late Persian warre: wherein not onely oftener choice was made, but they were glad to use the Azamogians also, a thing neuer before by them done. For those youths, the children of Christian parents, being by them that haue taken them vp brought to CONSTANTINOPLE, are taken view of by the Aga of the Ianizaries, who causeth to be registred the name of the youth, with the name of his father and countrey wherein he was borne: which done, part of them are sent into the lesser ASIA (now called NATOLIA) and other prouinces, where learning the Turkish language and law, they are also infected with the vices and maners of them with whom they liue, and so in short time become right Mahometanes. Another part of them, and those of the most towardliest, is deuoted into cloisters which the Grand signior hath at CONSTANTINOPLE and PERA, of whom the fairest and most handsome are appointed for the Serraglio of the great Sultan himselfe. All the time that these youths thus sent abroad, liue in the lesser ASIA or other the Turkes prouinces, they are not appointed to any certaine exercises, but still kept busied some at husbandrie, some in gardening, some in building, some in other domestick seruices, neuer suffered to be idle, but alwaies occupied in painefull labour; where after certaine yeares they haue bene thus euerted to labour and paines taking, they are called thence into the cloysters of the Azamogians (for so they are called all the time vntill they bee enrolled into the number of the Ianizaries) and are there deliuered vnto certaine speciall gouernours appointed to take charge of them: who keepe them still exercised in painefull worke and labour, entreating them euill ynough, as well in their diet, as in their apparell and lodging: they sleepe together in large roumes like vnto the religious Dormitories, wherein are lampes still burning, and tutors attending, without whose leaue they may not stirre out of their places. There they learne to shoot both in the Bow and Peece, the vse of the Scimitar, with many feats of actiuitie: and being well trained in those exercises, are enrolled amongst the Ianizaries or Spahi: of whom, the Ianizaries receiue not lesse than five aspers, nor more than eight for their daily pay, and the Spahi ten. Being recorded among the Ianizaries; they are either sent away into the warres, or into some garrison, or els attend at the Court. These last haue for their dwelling three great places like vnto three monasteries in the citie of CONSTANTINOPLE: there they liue vnder their gouernours, to whom they are deputed, the younger with great obedience and silence seruing the elder in buying of things for them, in dressing of their meat, and such like seruices. They that be of one feat or calling, liue together at one table, and sleepe in long walkes. If any of them vpon occasion chance to lie all night abroad without leaue, the next euening hee is notably beaten, with such nurture and discipline, that after his beating he like an Ape kisseth his gouernours hands that so corrected him. These Ianizaries haue many large priuiledges, are honoured, although they be most insolent, and are feared of all men, yea euen of the great Sultan himselfe, who is still glad to make faire weather with them. In their expeditions or trauell they rob the poore Christians cottages and houses, who must not say one word to the contrarie. When they buy any thing, they giue for it but what they list themselves. They can be judged by none but by their Aga: neither can they be executed without danger of an insurrection, and therefore such execution is seldome done, and that very secretly. They haue a thousand royalties: some of them are appointed to the keeping of embassadours sent from forraine princes: other some of them are assigned to accompanie strangers, traouellers, especially them that be men of the better sort, to the intent they may safely passe in the Turkes dominions, for which seruice they are commonly well rewarded. They haue made choice of their prince, namely of *Selymus* the first, his father *Baiazer* yet liuing; neither can any the Turkes Sultans account themselves fully instituted in their imperiall dignitie, or assured of their estate, vntill they be by them approued and proclaimed. Every one of their Sultans at his first comming to the empire doth giue them some great largesse; and sometime the better to please them, encreaseth also their pay. In euery great expedition some of them goeth forth with their Aga or his lieutenant, and are the last of all that fight. There is no office among the Turkes that moe enuieat, than at the office of the Aga of the Ianizaries, for the greatnesse of his authoritie and command: onely he and the Beglerbeg of GRACIA chuse not their owne lieutenants, but haue them nominated vnto them by the Grand signior. Vnto this great man the Aga of the Ianizaries, nothing can portend a more certaine destruction, than to be of them beloued, for then is he of the great Sultan straightway feared

What manner of children are taken up to make Ianizaries of.

The Azamogians are such untrained youths as are taken up to become Ianizaries, but yes are not of their order.

The manner of their bringing up.

The daily pay of the Ianizaries and Spahi.

The Ianizaries insolent.

Their great priuiledges and royalties.

the greatnesse of the Turkish Empire.

A red or mistrusted, and so occasion sought for to take him out of the way. The number of the Ianizaries of the Court is betwixt ten and foureteene thousand. This warlike order of souldiers is in these our daies much embased: for now naturall Turkes are taken in for Ianizaries, as are also the people of ASIA; whereas in former times none were admitted into that order, but the Christians of EVROPE onely: beside that, they marrie wiues also, contrarie to their ancient custome, which is not now forbidden them. And because of their long lying still at CONSTANTINOPLE (a citie abounding with all manner of pleasure) they are become much more effeminate and slouthfull, but withall most insolent, or more truly to say intollerable. It is commonly reported the strength of the Turkish empire to consist in this order of the Ianizaries, which is not altogether so, for albeit that they be indeed the Turkes best footmen and surest guard of the great Sultans person, yet vndoubtedly the greatest strength of his state and empire resteth nothing so much in them, as in the great multitude of his horsemen, especially his Timariots. Beside these Ianizaries, the Turkish emperor hath a wonderfull number of base footmen, whom the Turkes call Asapi, better acquainted with the spade than with the sword, seruing rather to the wearying of their enemies with their multitude, than the vanquishing of them with their valour: with whose dead bodies the Ianizaries vse to fill vp the ditches of townes besieged, or to serue them for ladders to climbe ouer the enemies wals vpon. But as the Romanes had both their old Legionarie, and other vntrained souldiers, which they called Tirones; of whom the first were the chiefe strength of their warres, and the other but as it were an aid or supplic: euen so the Turke accounteth his Timariot horsemen the strength of his armie, and the Acanziz (which is another sort of base and common horsemen) but as an accessorie: and so amongst his footmen he esteemeth of his Ianizaries, as did the Romanes of their Pratorian legions, but of his Asapi as of shaddowes. The Ianizaries are by none to be commaunded, more than by the great Sultan himselfe, and their Aga; as for the Bassaes, they much regard them not, but in their rage oftentimes foule entreate euen the greatest of them. The Asapi as they are but base and common souldiers, so haue they also their ordinarie captaines and commaunders, men of no great place or marke.

The whole state of the great empire of the Turkes is commaunded by the great Sultan, by the graue aduice and counsell of his Visier Bassaes, which were not wont to be in number aboute foure, so prouiding for his high designs or important resolutions, hardly by a greater multitude to be concealed: howbeit that the Sultans of later times haue had sometimes more, sometimes fewer, as their pleasure was. These men are of all others in that empire the greatest, and for their high places most honoured: vnto them euen the greatest princes that haue any thing to doe in the Turkes Court, sue and send their honourable presents. By their aduice the great Sultan taketh his warres in hand, neither without them concludeth he any peace. They giue the greatest honours and preferments (which are many in that so great and large an empire) are all by their meanes to be obtained: which maketh them of all others to be sought vnto. Some one or other of them are still Generals ouer the great armies of the Turkes, especially in these their late wars, their three last emperours neuer themselves going forth into the field (excepting once that this *Mahomet* which now reigneth for the maintenance of his credit with his men of warre, came downe into HUNGARIE, and there woon the citie of AGRIA:) which leading of such mightie armies is still with great emulation and ambition of the Visier Bassaes amongst themselves fought after, as well for the great profit thereby vnto them arising, as for the honour thereof, which is of all other the greatest. But leauing these great ones, the chiefe counsellours for his state: the whole bodie of his so large and mightie an empire (all in the hands of martiall men) is gouerned by other great Bassaes, whom they by a most proud barbarous name call Beglerbegs, that is to say, Lords of Lords, euery one of them hauing vnder him certaine Begs or Sanzackes, who are lords and rulers also ouer some particular cities and countries, with the Timariots there: in; yet all still at the command and becke of their Beglerbeg. In auient time there was wont to be but two of these proud Beglerbegs in all the Turkes empire: the one commaunding ouer all the prouinces the Turke had in EVROPE: and the other ouer all that he had in the lesser ASIA, now of the Turkes called NATOLIA: But the Turkish empire greatly augmented in ASIA by *Selymus* the first, and also afterwards much enlarged both in EVROPE and ASIA by *Solyman* his sonne, the number of the Beglerbegs were by him encreased, and in some part also changed:

The order of the Ianizaries in our time much embased.

The Turkes Asapi in what small regard they are had.

The great commanders of the Turke empire.

The great authority of the Visier Bassaes.

The great authority of the Beglerbegs.

A briefe Discourse of

ged: who although that they be all Beglerbeks, and that one of them (especially in time of peace) G
in the managing of his souldiors and affaires of his countrey, is not subject to any other, but is
onely at the commaund of the great Turke; yet notwithstanding in time of warre, where the
Beglerbek of ROMANIA is, all are obedient vnto him, as the chiefe of the rest: insomuch that
none of them but onely he and the Bassa of NATOLIA are called by the stately name of Begler-
beks, the others being then onely called the Bassas of such and such places, as of BVDA, ALB-
PO, and such like, although indeed they are in nature Beglerbeks, and so written in their records.
For the more manifesting of which their gouernment, as also that they which come hereafter,
may by comparing of that which is here written, with the state that then shall be, see how much
this great empire in the mean time encrease or diminisheth: I haue thought good here briefe-
ly to set downe all the said Beglerbeks with their Sanzackes and Timariots, and as neere as I H
could (either by reading or the credible relation of others well trauelled in those countries) toge-
ther, and as it were at one throw set forth the whole strength and power of this so mightie an em-
pire, as also in what countries and prouinces the same is especially placed.

The Beglerbeks or great Commanders of the Turkes Empire in EVROPE.

I The first and chiefe of all the Beglerbeks in the Turkish empire, is the Beglerbek of ROMANIA
OF GRÆCIA, called of the Turkes RVM-ILI (or as wee say, the Romane countrey) the
principall residence of whose Beglerbegship, is at SOPHIA, a citie of BVLGARIA; so appointed I
for the commodious situation thereof, for the better commaund of the rest of the prouinces of
EVROPE: howbeit that he for the most part or rather altogether abideth at the Court, which
the other Beglerbeks cannot doe, for that they are bound not to depart from the gouernment of
their prouinces: in which charge they ordinarily continue but three yeares only, the great Sultan
still changing and altering them at his pleasure. This Beglerbek hath vnder his owne ensigne and
commaund fortie thousand Timariots alwaies readie at his call, vnder the conduct of these one
and twentie Sanzackes following, namely, the

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|------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1 Sophia in Bulgaria. | 11 Prifrem | } all in Thesalia. |
| 2 Nicopolis. | 12 Salonichi | |
| 3 Clisse, or Quadraginta Ecclesia. | 13 Trichala | } of old called Sparta, in Morea. |
| 4 Vyza in Thracia. | 14 Misira | |
| 5 Kirmen | 15 Paleopatra, in the same prouince. | } both in Achaia. |
| 6 Silistria | 16 Ioannina in Aetolia. | |
| 7 Giustandill | 17 Deluina | } both in Achaia. |
| 8 Bender, neere vnto the Euxine. | 18 Elbassan | |
| 9 Aoherman, in the confines of Moldavia. | 19 Auelona or Aulona in Albania. | } both in Achaia. |
| 10 Vscopia. | 20 Ducagin in Epirus. | |
| | 21 Iscodra or Scodra in Albania. | |

2 The Beglerbek of BVDA, who there resideth in the frontiers of the Turkish empire, hauing
vnder his charge eight thousand Timariots, beside twelue thousand other souldiors, which in con-
tinuall pay lie still readie in garrison in the confines of HUNGARIE, CROATIA, STIRIA, and
other places bordering vpon the Christians, but especially the territories belonging to the house
of AVSTRIA. He had of late vnder his ensigne and commaund these fiftene Sanzackes, viz. the

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|-----------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1 Nouigrad. | 9 Simontorna. |
| 2 Filek. | 10 Copani. |
| 3 Zetschen. | 11 Muhasz. |
| 4 Zolnock. | 12 Zigeth or Saswar. |
| 5 Gran or Strigoniun. | 13 Pestschen or Quinqu Ecclesia. |
| 6 Segedin. | 14 Sirmium. |
| 7 Alba Regalis. | 15 Semendria. |
| 8 Sexard. | |

Of which, FILEK, ZETSCHEN, and STRIGONIUM are in these late warres woen from the
Turkes by the Imperials, and so yet by them holden: as was also ALBA REGALIS, which but
the last yeare was by the Turkes againe recovered.

the greatnesse of the Turkish Empire.

A The Beglerbek of TEMESVVAR in HUNGARIE, who there hath his abode, hauing vnder his
commaund seuen thousand Timariots, with these eight Sanzacks, the

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|--------------|---------------|
| 1 Temeswar. | 5 Wschitirni. |
| 2 Munda. | 6 Ifwornick. |
| 3 Vilaswar. | 7 Vidin. |
| 4 Tschianad. | 8 Lipa. |

The Beglerbek of BOSNA, who lieth at BAGNIALVCA, hath vnder him these Sanzacks, the

- | | |
|----------------|-----------------------|
| 1 Bagnialuca. | 6 Saeschna. |
| 2 Pischega. | 7 Giula. |
| 3 Clissa. | 8 Brifrem. |
| 4 Hertegonina. | 9 Allatschia chissar. |
| 5 Lika. | |

The Beglerbek of COFFE or CAPHA, who there resideth in TAURICA CHERSONESVS,
and beside the countrey thereabout, commaundeth ouer all the Sanzacks neere vnto the great
riuer Tanais, and the fennes of Mæotis. It was at first but a Sanzackeship, subject to the Beg-
lerbek of GRÆCIA, and is in truth rather a Beglerbeks place in name than in strength and
power.

The Beglerbeks or great Commanders of the Turkes Empire in ASIA.

- C Anatolia, who hath his residence in Cutaie, the metropolitall citie of the greater
Phrygia (called of auncient time Catyai) and hath vnder his ensigne and com-
maund thirtie thousand of the Timariot horfemen, with twelue Sanzacks.
- 2 Caramania who hath his abode at Caissaria (in auncient time called Celsaria) a
citie of Cilicia, and hath vnder him seuen Sanzackes, with twentie thousand
Timariots.
- 3 Sinas, who hath his abiding at Sebastia, a citie of the lesser Armenia, and hath vn-
der his gouernment ten thousand Timariots.
- 4 Tocatun, who resideth at Amasia, the metropolis of Capadocia, and hath vnder
him fiue Sanzackes.
- D Dulgadiv, sometime part of the kingdome of Aladenles, and commaundeth ouer
foure Sanzackes.
- 6 Halep commonly called Aleppo, a citie of Syria, and one of the most famous
marts of the East, who hath vnder his regiment fiue and twentie thousand Ti-
mariots.
- 7 Sham, otherwise called Damasco, a most famous citie of Syria, who commaundeth
ouer fortie thousand Timariots.
- 8 Tarapolos or Trapolos, commonly called Tripolis, another famous citie of Syria.
- 9 Maras, a citie vpon the great riuer Euphrates, betwixt Aleppo and Mesopotamia,
who hath vnder his commaund ten thousand Timariots.
- E Diarbekir, otherwise called Mesopotamia, who maketh his abode at the citie of
Amida, or as the Turkes call it, Cara-hemid; who commaundeth ouer twelue
Sanzackes, and thirtie thousand Timariots.
- 11 Bagdat (or new Babylon) where he resideth, not farre from the ruines of old Ba-
bylon, who hath vnder him fortie thousand Timariots.
- 12 Balsara, not farre from Bagdat vpon the Persian gulfes, who hath vnder his rule
or gouernment fiftene thousand Timariots.
- 13 Laxa, towards Ormus, and neere vnto the Persian, hath vnder his regiment ten
thousand Timariots.
- F Gemen and Aden, two famous cities in Arabia Felix, vpon the coast of the red
sea, who hath vnder him thirtie thousand Timariots.
- 15 Chebetz or Zebet vpon the coast of the Arabian gulfes, neere vnto the kingdome
of the great Aethyopian king Preianes, commonly (but corruptly) called Presbi-
ter Iohn.

16 Cyprus,

A briefe Discourse of

The Beglerbeg of

- 16 Cyprus, who lieth at *Nicosia* or *Famagusta*, commaunding ouer all that great G island, sometime of it selfe a kingdome.
- 17 *Scheherezul* in *Assyria*, bordering vpon the Persian, who hath vnder his gouernment ten thousand Timariots.
- 18 *Wan*, a citie in the confines of the greater *Armenia* towards *Media*, who hath vnder him twelue thousand Timariots.
- 19 *Artzerum* or *Erzerum*, in the borders of *Armenia* towards *Capadocia*, about foure daies journey from *Trapezonde*, who commaundeth ouer twentie thousand Timariots.
- 20 *Tiflis*, neere vnto the Georgians, erected by *Mustapha Bassa*, Generall of *Amurath* the third his armie against the Persian, in the yeare 1578.
- 21 *Siruan* or *Media*, erected by the same *Mustapha*, and at the same time, commaundeth ouer all that great countrey, sometime a famous kingdome.
- 22 *Temir-Capi* or *Derbent*, neere vnto the Caspian sea; taken by *Osman Bassa* the same yeare 1578, who hauing slaine *Schehemet Chan* his father in law, reduced that countrey into the forme of a Beglerbegship.
- 23 *Cars*, a citie of *Armenia* the greater, distant from *Artzerum* foure daies journey, by *Mustapha Bassa* made a Beglerbegship in the yeare 1579.
- 24 *Tschilder* or *Tzilder* in the confines of the Georgians, erected by the same Generall *Mustapha* the same yeare 1579.
- 25 *Fassa* or *Phasis* in *Mengrelia*, neere vnto the Georgians, erected by *Fluzales* the I Turkes Admirall the same yeare 1579.
- 26 *Sochum*, in the borders of the Georgians, erected by the great Bassa *Sinan* in the yeare 1580.
- 27 *Batin*, there erected also by the same *Sinan Bassa*.
- 28 *Reiman*, erected by *Ferat Bassa*, Generall of the Turkes armie, taken from *Tocmaz Chan* the Persian in the yeare 1582, whereof *Cicala Bassa* was the first Beglerbeg.
- 29 *Somachia*, in the countrey of *Media*, erected by *Osman Bassa* in the yeare 1583.
- 30 *Tauris*, a most famous citie of *Armenia* the greater, sometime the regall seat K of the Persian kings, but of late taken from them by *Osman Bassa*, and conuerted into a Beglerbegship in the same yeare 1583, as it is by them yet holden.

But these late erected honours; namely the Beglerbegships of *TIFLIS*, *SIRVAN*, *TEMIR-CAPI*, *CARS*, *TSCHILDER*, *FASSA*, and the rest gained by *Amurath* from the Persians and the Georgians, although they containe a great territorie, are not of themselves any of them worthe of those proud titles, or yet able to maintaine the same, *SIRVAN*, *REIVAN*, and *TAVRIS* onely excepted: but were by the great Bassaes; *Mustapha*, *Sinan*, *Ferat*, and *Osman*, *Amurath* his lieutenants, for their owne greater honour, and the encouraging of them which were to defend those their new conquests, erected; being indeede nothing either in power or strength comparable with the other more auncient Beglerbegs either in *EVROPE* or *ASIA*. But hauing thus passed through the great kingdomes and prouinces by the Turkes holden in *EVROPE* and *ASIA*, with their proud honours therein, let vs goe forward toward the South, to see what great kingdomes and territories they at this present hold in *AFRICKA* also.

The Beglerbegs or great Commanders of the Turkes Empire in AFRICKA.

The Beglerbeg of

- 1 *Misfir*, who still making his abode at the great citie of *Caire*, hath vnder his commaund all the kingdome of *Egypt*, with sixteene Sanzackes, and an hundred M thousand Timariots.
- 2 *Cefair* (in auncient time called *Iulia Caesaria*) but now commonly *Algiers*, where the Beglerbeg still residing, commaundeth ouer all that kingdome, wherein are fortie thousand Timariots.

3 *Tunis*.

the greatnesse of the Turkish Empire.

- A The Beglerbeg of
- 3 *Tunis*, where he still remaining as a Viceroy commaundeth all that great and large kingdome.
 - 4 *Tripolis*, the seat of his Beglerbegship, by *Sinan Bassa* taken from the knights of *Malta* in the yeare 1551.

There are beside these other two kingdomes in *AFRICKA* enrolled in the Turkes records as their owne, although they be not as yet by them brought into the forme of Beglerbegships: namely the kingdomes of *FAS* and *MAROCO*, but are as yet holden by them as their tributaries and vassales.

- But hauing thus as it were taken view of the greatnesse and forces of this so mightie a monarchs Empire by land, and so in some sort bounded it out: let vs consider also his power by sea.
- B With the great Ocean he much medleth not, more than a little in the gulfes of *PERIA* and *ARABIA*: most of his territories lying vpon the Mediterranean & Euxine seas, or els more inwardly into the heart of *ASIA*, neere vnto no sea. Now for these seas, no prince in the world hath greater or better meanes to set forth his fleets than hath he: for the ouergrowne woods of *EPYRVS* and *CILICIA*; and more than they, those of *NICOMEDIA* and *TRAPZONDE*, are so great and so thicke, and so full of tall trees fit for the building of ships and gallies of all sorts, as is almost incredible. Neither wanteth he store of shipwrights and other carpenters for the framing of that so great store of timber, large pay drawing euen the Christian skilfull carpenters and workemen into his Arsenals at *CONSTANTINOPLE*, *SINOPE*, *CALLIPOLIS*, and others. For prooofe whereof it is worth the noting, that *Selymus* the second in our fresh remembrance, the next yeare C after that notable ouerthrow by him receiued at the *ECINADES* (commonly called the battell of *LEPANTO*) rigged vp a fleet wherewith *Fluzales* his Admirall was not afraid to face the whole power of the confederat Christian princes at *CERIGO*. Neither hath the Turke euer wanted good store of expert seamen, after the manner of those seas: for beside those he hath in store at *CALLIPOLIS* and *SINOPE*, out of his gallies which he hath alwaies in readinesse in *LESBOS*, *CHIOS*, *RHODVS*, *CYPRVS*, and *ALEXANDRIA*, and from the pyrats which he continually receiue into the ports of *TUNIS*, *BUGIA*, *TRIPOLIS*, and *ALGERS*, he can and doth from them when need is chuse captaines, mariners and rowers sufficient for the manning and storing of his fleet. What he is able to do in those seas, was well seene in our time, by those fleets which he had at *MALTA*, *CYPRVS*, the *ECINADES*, and *GVLETTA*. He hath beside of all necessarie and D watlike prouision abundant store, and of great ordinance to furnish himselfe withall both by sea and land an infinit quantitie. Out of *HUNGARIE* he hath caried away aboute fise thousand great pieces, out of *CYPRVS* fise hundred, and few lesse from *GVLETTA*, not to speake what he hath more got from the Christians in diuers other places also. What store he hath of shot and powder, he shewed at *MALTA*, where he discharged aboute 60000 great shot; at *FAMAGUSTA*, where he bestowed 118000; and at *GVLETTA*, where in the space of 39 daies he by the furie of his great ordinance ouerthrew the fortifications which the Christians had been 40 years in building. So that to returne againe vnto our purpose, the great Turke so well provided of men, money, shipping, and great ordinance, and hauing done so great matters at sea as is before rehearsed, is not in reason otherwise to be accounted of than as of a most mightie and puissant prince, as well by sea as land: which to be so, the greatnesse of his *Denizi Beglerbeg* or great Admirall (commonly called *Captan Bassa*, of whom we haue not yet spoken) well declareth. This great man hauing charge of all the Grand signior his strength at sea, is alwaies one of the Visier Bassaes, not bound still to follow the Court, as the other Visier Bassaes be, but alwaies or for most part resident at *CONSTANTINOPLE* or *CALLIPOLIS*, so to be the neerer vnto his charge. He that now hath this honorable place, is called of the Turkes *Cigala Bassa*, descended of an honorable familie of that name in *GENOVA*: who commonly residing at *CONSTANTINOPLE* or *CALLIPOLIS*, hath vnder him foure- teene Sanzacks, all of them great commanders and men of great place, namely, the

- F Sanzacke of
- 1 Gallipolis, or Callipolis.
 - 2 Galata, or Pera.
 - 3 Nicomedia.
 - 4 Limnos, or Lemnos.
 - 5 Mytilene, or Lesbos.
 - 6 Chios, or Sio.
 - 7 Nexia, or Naxos.
 - 8 Negropont, or Embra.
 - 9 Rhodus.
 - 10 Canala in the frontiers of Macedonia.
 - 11 Napolide Romania.
 - 12 Lepanto, or Naupactus.
 - 13 S. Maura.
 - 14 Alexandria.

The

The great power of the Turke in the Mediterranean and Euxine seas.

From whence he hath his chiefe sea-men.

6 The Denizi Beglerbeg, the Turke great Admirall, so be accounted of the Beglerbegs in Europe.

A briefe Discourse of

The princes as well Mahometanes as Christians, upon whom the great Empire of the Turke consisteth, and of what power they be in comparison of the Turke.

The Persian too weak for the great Turke.

The Portugals too strong for the Turke in the East Indies.

Prester Iohn too weak for the great Turke.

The king of Morocco and the Turke both in doubt of the king of Spaine.

The greatnesse, wealth, and strength of this so mightie an Empire, as well by sea as land, thus in some sort declared: let vs now see vpon what princes it also consisteth, and of what power euery one of them is in comparison of it, so great and ouergrowne a State. The Turkes toward the East border vpon the Persians, according to a right line, drawne by imagination toward TAVRIS to BALSARA: vpon the Portingals at the Persian gulfe, and so there likewise toward the South: at the red sea, vpon the great Aethyopian king *Preianes*, commonly called *Prester Iohn*: towards the West, in AFRICK vpon the king of MAROCO: and in EUROPE vpon the kingdome of NAPLES, with some part of the Venetian signorie: towards the North vpon the Polonians, and the territories of the house of AVSTRIA. Now to begin with the Persian, the great Turke no doubt is in field too strong for him, as by prooffe hath bene oftentimes seene: For *Mahomet* the Great in plaine battell ouercame the valiant *Vsun-Cassanes*: *Selymus* the first, and after him *Solyman* his sonne, put to flight the noble *Hyfmaell* and *Tamas*, the two great and famous Persian kings: and now of late in our time *Amurath* the third by his lieutenants hath taken from the Persians all MEDIA, with the greater ARMENIA, both sometimes famous kingdomes, together with the regall citie of TAVRIS. That the Turke so preuaileth, is by reason of his footmen, which the Persian wanteth; and of his great ordinance, whereof the Persian hath neither store nor vse: and although the Persians by valour of their horsemen hath sometime in open field foiled the Turke, yet haue they still lost some part of their countrey, *Solyman* taking from them MESOPOTAMIA; and *Amurath* MEDIA and ARMENIA. Neither did the Persians alone feele that harme, and loose their owne, but vndid their confederats also: *Selymus* the first spoiling the Mamalukes of EGYPT and SYRIA, and vtrely rooting them from off the face of the earth; and *Amurath* by his lieutenants hauing brought to a low ebbe the warlike Georgians, both of them the Persian kings friends and confederats. Now is not the Turke so much too strong at land for the Persian, but that hee is as much too weak at sea for the Portugals: in those seas I meane where their forces haue more than once to the Turkes cost met together in the East Indies. The Portugals hauing in those rich but remote countries many sure harbours and ports, yea faire countries and territories abounding with victuals and all prouision necessarie for shipping, with some also of those great Eastern princes their allies and confederats: whereas the Turke on the other side hath nothing in the Persian gulfe strong, beside BALSARA; the sea-coast of ARABIA, which might stand him in best stead, hauing no more but foure townes, and those but weak and of small worth. So that there, as also in the red sea, it is a matter of exceeding charge and difficultie for him to set out any great fleet into those seas: for that those countries are vtrely destitute of wood fit to make ships of. For which cause, those few times that he prepared his fleets in the red sea (to haue cut off the Portugals trade into the East Indies) being not able to performe the same in the Persian gulfe, he was enforced to bring the timber for the building of his gallies out of the ports of BITHYNIA and CILICIA (out of another world as it were) vp the Nile vnto CAIRE, and from thence vpon cammels by land to SVBS, where he hath his Arsenall, a thing almost incredible. And yet hauing done what he could, as oft as he hath made any expedition against them, he neuer gained any thing but losse and dishonour: as in the yeare 1538 at the citie of DIVM; and in the yeare 1552 at the island of ARMVZ; and after that at MOMBASA, where foure of the Turkes gallies with one galliot which by the fauour of the king of MOMBASA had thought to haue staid in those seas, were by the Portugals taken: who still haue an especial regard and care that the Turkes settle not themselves in those seas, but as soone as they perceiue them to prepare any fleet, they forthwith set vpon them, and to that end oftentimes without resistance enter into the red sea. *Prester Iohn*, of whom although men speake much, yet is he nothing in strength to be compared vnto the Turke, but farre inferior vnto him both for commanders and souldiours, as also for weapons and munition: for that great prince hath a great kingdome without fortification, and a multitude of souldiours without armes: as appeared by the ouerthrow of *Barnagasso* his lieutenant towards the red sea; who hauing lost all that sea-coast vnto the Turkes, was brought to that extremitie, that to haue peace with them, he yeelded to pay vnto them a yearly tribute of a thousand ounces of gold. In AFRICK the Turke hath more territories than hath the king of MAROCO, otherwise called the Xerife: For he possesseth all that there lieth betwixt the red sea and the kingdome of FES; but the Xerife hath the better part, the richer, stronger, and more vnitied: yet dare neither of them well make war vpon the

the greatnesse of the Turkish Empire.

the other, for the neerenesse of the king of SPAINNE, enemy vnto them both. Now then there remaineth the rest of the Christian princes bordering vpon the Turke: and first the king of POLONIA. What these two princes can doe the one against the other, hath bene seene in former expeditions, wherein the Polonian had still the worse: Yet it should seeme that of late time the Turke hath not bene greatly desirous to moue the Polonian too farre: For that being prouoked by diuers occasions (namely in the raigne of *Henry* the third in the warres that *John* the Vayuod of VALACHIA had with the Turkes, many Polonian horsemen serued the said Vayuod, though not indeed sent from the king: and in the time of *Sigismund* the third, which now reigneth, the Polonian Cossackes haue with diuers incursions not a little troubled them: beside the late motions of *John Zamofski* the great Chancelour and Generall of the Polonian forces, for the staying of the Tartars by the Turke sent for; he hath bene content to com-pert the same, and not with his wonted pride sought to be thereof reuenged; as hee hath for farre lesse vpon some other princes. And on the other side the Polonians since the vnfortunate expedition of king *Ladislaus*, neuer tooke vpon them any warres against the Turkes: neither gaue such aid as they should vnto the Valachians their confederats, but suffered to bee taken from themselves, whatsoever they had towards the Euxine or Blacke sea: a thing imputed rather vnto the want of courage in their kings, than in the nobilitie of that kingdome. *Sigismund* the first being by Pope *Leo* the tenth inuited to the warres against the Turkes, answered him in these few words: Set you the Christian princes at vnicie amongst themselves, and I for my part will not be wanting. *Sigismund* the second so abhorred the warres, that he not onely declined the Turkes, but prouoked by the Muscovites, neuer sought to reuenge the same. King *Stephen* (by the commendation of *Amurath* chosen king of POLONIA) an indifferent esteemer both of his enemies forces and his owne, thought it a most dangerous thing to ioine battell with the Turke: and yet in priuat talke with his friends would oftentimes say, That with thirtie thousand foot joyned vnto his Polonian horsemen, he durst well to vndertake an expedition against the Turke: which hee was supposed oftentimes to haue thought vpon. The Emperour with the rest of the princes of the house of AVSTRIA, are by a longer tract of ground joyned vnto this great Empire of the Turkes, than any one other prince of the world, and be-slow in fortifications and the maintenance of their garrisons (wherein they haue continually aboute twentie thousand horse and foot) the greatest part of their reuenues euen in the time of peace, much more in these their long warres: and with the Germane forces joyned vnto their owne, are more carefull how to defend that they yet haue left, than how to recouer that they haue already lost, or to enlarge their Empire. The Emperour *Ferdinand* with greater force than successe vndertooke the vnfortunate expeditions of BUDA and POSSEGA: which so euill fell out, not for that his forces were not sufficient or strong enough; but for that they wanted agilitie and dexteritie. The truth is, those his armies were strong ynough, and sufficiently furnished with all things necessarie, but consisted for the most part of Germanes and Bohemians, slow and heauie people, vnfit to encounter with the Turkes, a more readie and nimble kind of souldiours. The Venetians also confontier the Turkes by many hundred miles both by sea and land, and defend themselves rather by peaceable policie than by force of armes: notably fortifying their strong holds vpon their frontiers, declining by all meanes the dangers and charges of warre, by embassages and rich presents; leaving nothing vnattempted (their libertie and State preserued) rather than to fall to warres. To say the truth of them, although they had both coynne and warlike prouision sufficient, yet want they men and victu-als answerable to so great a warre against so puissant an enemy. There remaineth onely the king of SPAINNE of all other the great princes either Christians or Mahometanes (bordering vpon him) the best able to deale with him; his yearly reuenues so farre exceeding those of the Turkes, as that they are also probably thought to counteruaile the greatest part of his Timariots: and his great dominions in SPAINNE, PORTINGALL, NAPLES, SICILIA, MILLAINE, SARDINIA, and the Low Countries (if they were with him at vnicie) able to affoord vnto him so great and powerfull a strength both by sea and land, as might make him dreadful euen vnto the Great Turke when he swelleth in his greatest pride: But considering how his forces are distracted for the maintenance of his warres at once in diuers places; as also for the necessarie defence and keeping of his so large and dispersed territories, not all

The king of Po-land, hauing to make warre with the Turke, and the Turke with him.

The Emperour with the rest of the princes of the house of Austria, together with the aid of the Germanes haue much ado to defend themselves against the Turke.

The Venetians by policie rather than by force maintaine their State against the Turke.

The king of Spainne of all other princes that border vpon the Turke best able to wage warre with him.

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A brieue Discourse of

the best of themselves affected to the Spanish government, he is not to be thought of himselfe strong ynough against the vnited forces of the great Turke, whensoever they should chance to be employed vpon him. So that by this we haue already said is easily to be gathered how much the Turke is too strong for any one the neighbour princes, either Mahometanes or Christians, bordering vpon him, and therefore to be of them the more feared. Yet least some mistaking me, might thinke, What is then the Turke inuincible? Farre be that thought from me, to thinke any enemy of Christ Iesu (be his arme neuer so strong) to be able to withstand his power, either quite to deuour his little flocke, rage he neuer so much about it. As for the Turke, the most dangerous and professed enemy of the Christian commonweale, be his strength so great, yea and happily greater too than is before declared (the greatnesse of his dominions and empire considered) yet is he not to be thought therefore either inuincible, or his power indeed so great as it in shew seemeth for to be: his Timariot horsemen (his greatest strength) dispersed ouer his whole Empire, being neuer possibly the one halfe of them by him to be gathered into the bodie of one armie: neither if they so were, possible in such a multitude long to be kept together, liuing vpon no pay of his, but vpon such store and prouision only as they bring with them from their Timari, neuer sufficient long to maintaine them. Besides that, the policie of his state hardly or neuer suffereth him to draw about a third part of his Timariots out of his countreies where they dwell, for feare least the rest of the people by them still kept vnder, should in their absence take vp armes against him in defence of themselves and their auntient libertie: whereafter the greatest part of those poore oppressed soules, as well Mahometanes as Christians in every province of his Empire awaiting but the opportunitie, most desirously longeth: so that more than two parts of them being alwaies to bee left at home for the necessarie defence of the spacious borders of his so large an Empire, as also for the keeping in obedience of so many discontented nations; it is a great matter, if hee euen in his greatest warres draw together of these kind of souldiours the full number of an hundred and fiftie thousand strong, making vp the rest of his huge multitude with his Acanzij, liuing of no pay of his, but vpon the spoile of the enemy onely, the fift part whereof they pay vnto him also. All which put together, what manner of men they be, and of what valour, not onely the small armies of the Christians vnder the leading of their worthie chieftaines *Huniades*, *Scanderbeg*, king *Matthias*, and others, haue to their immortal glorie in former times made good prooffe: but euen in this our age, and that as it were but the other day, the Transylvanian prince with diuers other valiant captaines and commanders yet liuing, haue done the like also: as well witnesse the late battell of *AGRIA*, wherein the Christians, in number not halfe so many as the Turkes, by plaine valour draue the great Sultan *Mahomet* himselfe (with *Ibrahim Bassa* his lieutenant Generall) out of the field, and had of him had the most glorious victorie that euer was got against that enemy, had they not by too much carelesnesse and vntimely desire of spoile, themselves shamefully interrupted the same. But thus to let his horsemen passe, the chiefe strength of his footmen are his Ianizaries, neuer in number exceeding twelue or foureteene thousand, yea seldome times halfe so many euen in his greatest armies, except he himselfe be there in person present in the midst of them: who beside the small number of them, in the time of these their late voluptuous and effeminate emperours corrupted with the pleasures of *CONSTANTINOPLE*, and for want of their wonted discipline, haue together with their auntient obedience and patience lost also a great part of their former reputation and valour: all the rest of his footmen filling vp the great bodie of his populous armie, being his *Asapi*, rather pioners than souldiours, men of small worth, and so accounted of both of the Turkes and their enemies also. So that all things well considered, his best souldiours being the least part of his greatest armies, and they also farre vnlike their predecessors, the sterne followers of the former *Othoman* kings and emperours, but men now giuen to pleasure and delight: it is not otherwise to be thought, but that he bringeth into the field farre more men than good souldiours, more brauerie than true valour, more shew than worth, his multitude being his chiefe strength, his supposed greatnesse the terrour of his neighbour princes, and both together the very majestic of his Empire. Which although it be indeed very strong (for the reasons before alleadged) yet is it by many probably thought to bee now vpon the declining hand, their late emperours in their owne persons farre degenerating from their warlike progenitors, their souldiours generally giuing themselves to vnwonted pleasures, their

Why the Turke
is not to bee
thought inuinci-
ble, neither his
power so strong,
as it in shew see-
meth to be.

The signes of the
declining of the
Turke Empire.

the greatnesse of the Turkish Empire.

Auntient discipline of warre neglected, their superstition not with so much zeale as of old regarded, and rebellions in diuers parts of his Empire of late strangely raised, and mightily supported: all the signes of a declining state. Which were they not at all to be feared, as indeed they be very pregnant, yet the greatnesse of this Empire being such as that it labourath with nothing more than the weightinesse of it selfe, it must needs (after the manner of worldly things) of it selfe fall, and againe come to nought, no man knowing when or how so great a worke shall be brought to passe, but he in whose deepe counsels all these great reuolutions of empires and kingdomes are from eternitie shur vp: who at his pleasure shall in due time by such meanes as he seeth best accomplish the same, to the vnspokeable comfort of his poore afflicted flocke, in one place or other still in danger to bee by this roaring lyon deuoured. Which worke of so great wonder, he for his sonne our Saviour Christ his sake, the glorie of his name, and comfort of many thousand oppressed Christians fed with the bread of care-fulnesse amidst the furnace of tribulation, in mercie hasten, that we with them, and they with vs, all as members of one bodie, may continually sing, Vnto him be all honour and praise world without end.

E. I. N. I. S.



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A TABLE OR INDEX, POINTING

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193 c. purchaseth the principallitie of
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tane prince his confederates. 196 g.
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a great part of Bulgaria. 199 a. in a
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and Beotia to become his tributaries. b.
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three eldest sonnes his hostages. l. op-
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embassadors of king Vladislaws. i.
sendeth Mesides Bassa to innade Tran-
sylvania. 267 f. grieved with the losse
of Mesides and his armie, sendeth
Abedin Bassa to reuenge his death.
270 l. in despaire about to haue slain
himselfe. 289 a. by the mediation of
the Despot of Seruia obtaineth peace
of king Vladislaws for ten yeares. b.
innadeth Caramania. d. wearie of
the world, committeth the government
of his kingdom to his sonne Mahomet,
and retireth himselfe vnto a monastice
life. c. at the report of those prepa-
rations of the Hungarians, and request
of his Bassas, forsaketh his solitarie
life, and raiseth a great armie in Asia.
296 k. by the Genowais transported
with his armie into Europe. l. voyneith
battell with K. Vladislaws at Varna.
297 b. about to haue fled, reproued of
cowardise by a common souldiour. c.
prayeth vnto Christ. c. in danger to
haue beene slaine. 298 b. witheth not
many times so to overcome as he did
at the battell of Varna. m. to performe
his vow, resigneth his kingdom to his
sonne Mahomet, which he shortly after
resumeth againe. 299 b. his crastie
letters to Scanderbeg. 300 g. his
passionate speech in his rage against
Scanderbeg. 302 i. breaketh through
the Hexamylum, & imposeth a yearly
tribute vpon them of Peloponnesus.
304 b. after three daies hard fight
with great slaughter of his men ouer-
commeth Humades in the plaines of
Cassoua. 309 b. innadeth the Despot.
310 k. his graue letters of aduice to
Mustapha concerning his innading of
Epirus. 311 c. commeth with a great
armie to Sefstigrade. 316 l. in vaine
with great swie giueth many a despe-
rat assault vnto the citie. 319 b. in
one assault loseth seven thousand and
his Turkes. 320 i. by great promises
seeketh to corrupt the garrison of Sefsti-
grade. l. by the practise of one man
hath the citie of Sefstigrade yelded
vnto him. 321 c. hauing lost thirtie
thousand

The Table.

thousand of his Turks at the siege of Sferigrade, returneth to Hadrianople. 322 b. with a great armie commeth againe into Epirus. and besiegeth Croia. 323 c. in two assaults looth eight thousand of his souldiers. 326 k. content to buy the life of one Christian with the losse of a twentieth of his Turks. 327 a. seeketh by great gifts to corrupt Vranacotes the Governour of Croia. 328 i. overcome with melancholie tormenteth himselfe. 330 g. by his embassadours offereth Scanderbeg peace. b. his last speech vnto his sonne Mahomet concerning such things as at his death grieved him most. k. dieth. 331. b. buried at Prusa. 332 g. Amurath the sonne of Achomates flieth vnto Elysmiel the Persian king. 504 k. marryeth his daughter. 505 a. spoileth Cappadocia, and for feare of his vnkle Selymus retireth. d. Amurath the third taketh vpon him the Turkysh Empire. 919 c. pacifieth the Ianizaries, and augmenteth their priuiledges. d. strangleteth his five brethren. e. his letters vnto the nobilitie of Polonia in the behalfe of Stephen Bathori Vayuo of Transyluania. 920 i. attentive to the slurs in Persia. 923 f. enforced thereof by Vlysses Bassa of Van. 924 m. resoluethe to take the Persian warre in hand. 925 d. by Mustapha aduertised of the successe of the Persian warres. 938 g. consulteth of his proceeding therein. 941 e. dischargeeth Mustapha of his Generallship, and calleth him home to Constantinople. 946 l. appointeth Sinan Generall for the Persian warres. 951 b. in despite of Sinan appointeth Mahomet Bassa Generall for those wars in his stead. 957 e. circumciset his eldest sonne Mahomet. 957 a. displaceth Sinan Bassa, and casteth him into exile. 962 l. appointeth Ferrat Generall for his warres in Persia. 665 d. sendeth for Osman Bassa into Sirum. 974 b. maketh him chiefe Visier and Generall of his armie into Persia. 976 k. in disposing himselfe with his Mutes, taketh with a fit of the falling sicknesse. 977 d. causeth great triumph to be made throughout his Empire for the winning of Tauris. 996 b. maketh choice againe of Ferrat Bassa to succed Osman Bassa, dead in the Persian warres. 999 b. concludeth a peace with the Persian king. 1005 b. his answer to the letters of Sigismund the third king of Polonia. 1004 b. glad himselfe to yeeld to the infelicie of the Ianizaries. 1005 f. his letters to Elizabeth Queene of England.

1006 k. perswaded by his Visier Bassa to take some new warre in hand. 1007 c. in doubt whom first to begin withall. 1008 k. resoluethe to make warre vpon the Emperour, with the reasons leading him therunto. 1014 k. giueth leaue to Hassan Bassa of Bosnia as it were without his knowledge to pick quarrels with the Emperour, and so to disturbe the peace. m. sendeth home the bodie of the Persian hostage dead in his Court. 1015 c. proclaimeth warre against the Emperour. 1023 f. the proud and blasphemous manner of his denuntiation of warre. 1024 b. he dreameth. 1028 l. sick of the falling sicknesse. 1048 h. dieth. 1053 d. Andrew king of Hungarie maketh an expedition into the Holy Land. 88 k. bathing himselfe in the riuer Jordan, returneth with all his power. l. Andronicus aspieth to the Empire. 43 d. overthroweth Angelus sent against him with a great power by Alexius the great President. 44 l. encampeth ouer against Constantinople. 45 a. taketh vpon him the government, and tyranniseth. 47 b. causeth Mary the daughter of Emannell the Emperour with her husband Casar to be payned. c. causeth Xene the faire Emperesse to be vniuistly condemned and strangled. 48 k. by his fauourits and flatterers ioynd in the fellowship of the Empire with Alexius the young Emperour. 49 c. depriveth Alexius of the Empire, and causeth him to be strangled. 50 b. despoileth the Nobilitie, to establish his estate. i. seeketh in vaine to appease the people, in a tumult risen vpon against him. 52 b. forsaken of his flattering fauourits, flieth, is taken, and brought backe in chaines to Angelus. 53 c. committed to the furie of the people, who with extreame cruelty put him to most shamefull death. 54. Andronicus Paleologus the younger exceedingly beloned by old Andronicus his grandfather. 158 b. by the perswasion of Syrgiannes conspireth against his aged grandfather. 159 f. being sent for, cometh vnto him secretly armed, with purpose to haue slaine him. 160 k. secretly flieth out of Constantinople. 161 b. proclaimed traitour, and proscribed. c. flieth vnto the people of Thracia to rebellion. d. reconciled to his grandfather. 164 i. crowned fellow in the Empire with his grandfather. m. againe conspireth against his grandfather. 165 b. his craftie speech vnto his grandfather's embassadours. 167 c. seeketh in vaine by night to haue

beene receined into Constantinople. 169 c. is receined into Thessalonica. 170 g. taketh in the greatest part of Macedonia and Thracia. m. by treason entereth into the citie of Constantinople. 171 c. forbideth his captaines and souldiers to violate the maiestie of the old Emperour or any about him. 172 i. humbleth himselfe vnto his grandfather. 173 a. enill perswaded, committeth him to straight keeping. 174 g. wounded in the battell with Orchanes at Philocrene. 180 m. by his owne departure from his campe discomfitteth his whole armie. 181 a. Andronicus Paleologus the old Emperour in restoring againe the Greke ceremonies, by his father before altered, fallethe into great troubles. 146 b. spurring to maintaine his name, weakeneth his Empire. k. suspicious of his brother Constantine. l. by taking him away, leaueeth the East side of his Empire to be spoiled by the Turks. 147 c. reposing more trust in some aide than in his owne subjects, greatly hurteth his state. 149 b. immoderately fauoureth his nephew Andronicus. 158 b. fettereth Syrgiannes to oblige his doings. 159 a. sendeth embassadours vnto him. 161 d. in his trouble as of an heauenly Oracle asketh counsell of the Psalter, and so maketh peace with his nephew. 164 b. enforced of the euill meaning of his nephew forbiiddeth him to come into the citie. 166 g. his notable speech vnto the Patriarch and the rest of the bishops and Nobilitie concerning the young Emperour his nephew. 168 k. forsaken of the Patriarch and some others of the Bishops. 169 b. repenteth his whole trust in God. 172 i. his pitifull request vnto the young Emperour his nephew. l. by him deprivd of his imperiall dignitie. 174 g. fallethe blind. b. against his will made a Monk, and called Antonie. k. his notable answer vnto the catching question of the proud Patriarch. l. enforced to sweare, neuer againe to resume vnto himselfe the Empire. 175 d. dieth. 176 g. his death by many prodigies forebode. b. Antioche described. 18 b. by the Patriarch betrayed to Saladin. 65 a. Apulia spoiled by the Turks. 671 f. Ares Chan hanged. 939 a. Artillerie of exceeding greatnesse made by Mahomet at the siege of Scodra. 418 g. Jam-Beg with his armie overthrowen & taken prisoner by Scanderbeg. 383 f. Ambe-

Ambebedi insly rewarded for his treacherie. 478 k. Assan Aga derideth the messengers sent vnto him from Charles the Emperour. 719 b. taketh the Spaniards to mercie. 724 k. Aivia with his fleet doth the Turkes great harme in Peloponnesus. 626 b. besiegeth Corone, and bath it yeelded vnto him. 627 a. taketh andransacketh Patras, with the castles of Rbium and Molycreum. c. returneth to Genua. c. troubleth the Turks fleet, and taketh twelue of their gallies full of Ianizaries and of Solymans other best souldiers. 672 l. by a wrech Barbarossa in the bay of Ambacia. 688 g. shamefully flieth with his fleet. 689 c. dieth. 787 c. Austria spoiled by the Turke. 616 i. Altenburg taken. k. Austria fore wasted by Cason. 621. Axalla a Christian in great fauour with Tamerlan, and his lieutenant Generall in his warres against the Turke. 214 b. taketh Baiazet the great Turke prisoner. 219 d. without resistance. a. keth Prusa. 221 b. overthroweth one of the Turke Basses with the slaughter of thirtie thousand Turks. 235 d.

B

Babylon taken and sacked by the Tartars. 113 b. with the countries of Mesopotamia and Assyria yeelded to Solyman. 651 a. Baiazet the first why surnamed Gilderun or lightning. 195 f. succedeth his father Amurath in the Turkysh kingdom. 203 b. innadeth Serua. c. by Ferises his lieutenant spoileth Valachia. f. oppresseth most of the Mahometane princes, the successors of Sultan Aladin in the lesser Asia. 204 k. innadeth Valachia, overthroweth the Vayvod, and causeth him to become his tributarie. 205 a. besiegeth Constantinople eight yeares. c. in a great battell at Nicopolis overthroweth Sigismund king of Hungarie with his confederates. 206 g. returneth againe to the siege of Constantinople. k. marryeth Despina, the faire daughter of Lazarus the Despot. 207 a. prettily reprooued by his iester. d. in battell overthroweth Aladin the Caramanian king, and deliuereth him prisoner to Temurkases his lieutenant. 208 m. subdueth the Caramanian kingdom. 209 a. hath the great cities of Amasia and Sebastia yeelded vnto him. a. oppresseth the Mahometane princes of

The Table.

the lesser Asia. d. vniuistly entertai- neth the embassadours of Tamerlan sent vnto him in the behalfe of the poore princes by him oppressed. 211. accounteth a shepheard more happye than himselfe. 216 k. ioynteth a great and mortall battell with Tamerlan. 219 b. forsaken of his owne souldiers. c. overthrowen and taken prisoner by Axalla. d. brought to Tamerlan. 220. shut vp in an yron cage like a wild beast. m. dieth miserably. 227 b. his issue, as also his immediate successor vncertaine. 231 c. his true posteritie. 232 g. Baiazet the second excluded from the succession in the Turkysh Empire by his sonne Corcutus, cometh to Constantinople. 437 c. by the mediation of the great Basses obtaineth the kingdom of Corcutus. 438 g. goeth against his brother Zemes, vpon rebellion against him. i. in doubt to haue been betrayed by his souldiers. 441 c. ruined by the Ianizaries. 444 b. putteth some of them to death. 445 a. purpo- seth their vnter destruction. b. glad to dissemble his purpose, and to reconcile himselfe vnto them. f. sendeth Dantius his embassadour to Alexander byshop of Rome. 451 d. glad to heare that diners of the Christian princes had combined themselves against the French king. 456 i. in danger to haue been slaine by a Demissar or Turkysh Monk. 463 c. Baiazet by nature peaceable. d. his children. 476 k. sendeth embassadours with presents vnto his sonne Selymus. 480 i. seeking to preserve Achomates his eldest sonne to the empire, himselfe yet lining, is mightily withstood by the souldiers of the Court, before corrupted by Selymus. 481 b. be forbiiddeth Selymus to come vnto him, and threateneth him. 482 b. fearing to loose Constantinople, departeth from Hadrianople. i. his resolute speech vnto the Ianizaries and other souldiers of the Court. 484 l. in plaine battell overthroweth his son Selymus at Tzurulum. 485 d. willing the second time to haue resigned his Empire vnto Achomates, is againe withstood by his men of warre. 487 b. his resolute answer vnto Mustapha and the other traitorous Basses, after that Selymus was by their practise by the souldiers of the Court saluted Emperour. 494 k. payned by Hamon his phisition a lew. 495 f. dieth. 496 g. Baiazet Solyman his younger sonne seeketh to aspiere vnto the Empire, his father yet lining. 768 b. fettereth by a counterfet Mustapha to make an bread

to his intended rebellion. k. the subtiltie and craftie dealing of the supposed Mustapha to deceine the people. l. forsaken of his followers, is taken and brought to Solyman at Constantinople. 770 g. secretly with his complaisance drowned. b. Baiazet sent for by his father, goeth vnto him in feare. l. in few words comforted by his mother. 771 a. sharply for his dishyaltie reprooued by his father, and so by him pardoned. b. returneth againe to his charge. d. after the death of Roxolana, his mother, raiseth new stirr. c. admonished of his dutie by his father. 772 b. unwilling to go to Amasia, the province appointed him by his father, seeketh declaries. 773 k. by a Chibius requesteth his father not to intermeddle betwixt his brother and him. 774 b. making shew as if he would go to Amasia, stayeth at Anyra, and there raiseth his forces. l. his quarrell generally sated of the souldiers. 775 b. his purpose. d. he goeth against his brother towne di Iconium. e. fighteth a blouodie battell with his brother Selymus, wherein were fortie thousand Turks slaine. 776 g. put to the worse, retirith, and so goeth to Amasia. b. more combed to the souldiers in his overthrow, than was his brother in his victorie. i. seeketh againe for his fathers fauour. 777 f. despairing thereof, flieth into Persia, deceiuing by the way the Basses of Sebastia and Erzurum. 778 k. at the first well entertained by the Persian king. 779 e. his followers by the cunning of the fewefull Persian disposed and slaine. 780 k. behimselfe with his sonnes imprisoned. l. his miserable estate in prison. 781 f. with his four sonnes at the instance of his father by the Persian strangled. 782 b. Baiazet Bassa sent by Amurath against Mustapha the rebell, forsaken of his souldiers yeeldeth. 255 c. vpon a false surmise executed. f. Baldwin Countie of Edessa, and brother to Godfrey second king of Ierusalem. 25 a. winneth Casaria from the Infidels. b. overthroweth the Turke hard by Rama. c. besiegeth Ptolemais, and in retiring thence is mortally wounded. e. besiegeth it againe, & hath it by composition yeelded vnto him. e. after many sharp assaults winneth Berythus. 26 b. taketh Sidon by composition, and in vaine besiegeth Tire. i. maketh an expedition into Egypt, and necre vnto Laris dieth. m. Baldwin

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Baldwin (surnamed Brugeois, countie of Edessa, besiegeth Carra, and there taken prisoner, after five years captiuitie redeemeth himselfe. 25 d. after the death of Baldwin the first chobsen king of Ierusalem, and called Baldwin the second. 27 a. overthroweth the Turks and ioyneith the principallitie of Antioch to his owne kingdome. d. by Balac the Persian Sultan overthrowne and taken prisoner: after eightene months captiuitie for the ranfome of an hundred thousand duckats set at liberte. 28 l. in three notable battels overthroweth the king of Damasco. 29 a. dieth. b.

Baldwin the third of that name crowned king of Ierusalem. 31 a. hardly distressed by Noradin the king of Damasco at the castle of Sucta. 35 f. falleth sicke and dieth. 36 b.

Baldwin the fourth of that name, seventh king of Ierusalem. 58 l. with a great slaughter overthroweth Saladin in a battle his kingdome. 59 d. putteth him with his great armie againe to flight. 60 k. resigneth the government of his kingdome to Guy Lusignan, countie of Ioppa and Ascalon. 61 b. fendeth embassadors vnto the Christian princes of the West, and immediately after dieth. 62 i.

Baldwin the fifth of that name, yet but a boy, was crowned eight king of Ierusalem, and within seven months after dieth. 62 i.

Baldwin countie of Flandres and Hainault, chosen by the Latins Emperour of Constantinople, and so solemnly crowned. 83 c. subdueth Thracia, and besiegeth Hadrianople. 85 a. overthrowne in battell by the Scythians, and taken prisoner, by the commandement of their barbarous king most cruelly put to death. d.

Baldwin the second of that name, fifth and last Emperour of the Latines in Constantinople. 97 a. pawneth his sonne vnto the Bruges marchants for money. 112 m. fleeth out of the citie of Constantinople, being surprised by Alexius Strategopulus sent from Michael Palaeologus the Grecke Emperour. 114 m.

Ballabanus sent by Mahomet against Scanderbeg. 395 b. put to flight, taketh diuers of Scanderbegs best captaines prisoners at Alcbria. 396 g. with his armie overthrowne at Oranbeyum. l. the thid time overthrowne in the battell at Sfeigrade. 397 b. overthrowne by Scanderbeg the fourth

time in the battell at Valcha. 389 a. left by Mahomet to continue the siege of Croia. 400 l. slaine. c.

Barbarossa succeedeth his brother Horruce in the kingdome of Algiers. 636 i. his wonderfull successe. k. sent for by Solyman. l. enuied in the Turks Court. 637 b. by Solyman himselfe reiecteth to Abraham the great Bassa. d. traueleth by land vnto him into Syria, and by him commended to Solyman. e. his speech to Solyman, to perswade him to invade the kingdome of Tunes. 638 g. he is made Solymans great Admirall. 639 d. spoileth the coasts of Italie. 640 m. passeth over into Affricke, and hath Biserta yielded vnto him. 643 b. cometh to Guletta, deceiveth the citizens, and is received into Tunes. f. discomfitteth the citifens risen vp against him. b. hath the citie of Tunes yielded vnto him. 645 c. is much discouraged with the coming of Charles the Emperour into Affricke. 656 b. in his rage executeth Aloysius Prefenda. i. encourageth his souldiours. l. his chiefe captaines. 657 b. the countie of Sarve his head and right hand by Salec sent vnto him for a present. 658 l. his fleet taken by Charles the Emperour at Guletta. 661 a. he rageb. b. calmed by Sinan the Jew. c. in field with his army against Charles the Emperour. 665 e. fleeth to Tunes. 666 g. dissuaded by Sinan the Jew from killing the Christian captives, who shortly after breaking prison, drine the Turks out of the castle of Tunes. 666 l. fleeth to Hippona, and there comforteth his souldiours. 668 k. escapeeth to Algiers. 669 b. sent by Solyman against the Venetians. 687 a. repulsed in Crete. b. reproued of cowardise by one of the Turks Eunuchs. 688 b. iustleth at the flight of Awia. 689 c. braweth the Christians at Corcyra. 690 g. sufficeth shipwrack vpon the Acroceramian rocks. k. with a great fleet sent by Solyman to aid the French king against Charles the Emperour. 735 a. burneth Rhegium, and taketh the castle. b. becometh amorous of the captaine of Rhegium his daughter. c. maketh them afraid in Rome. d. cometh to Masfeiles. f. for lacke of employment groweth discontented. 742 l. with the French besiegeth Nice in Prouence. 743 c. rageth against the French, and threatneth Polinus. 784 b. giveth succor the siege of the castle of Nice, and setteth fire on the citie. i. derided by the Turks captaines, sharply answereth their

taunts. 744 l. rewarded and discharged by the French king, departeth out of Prouence. 749 d. requesteth of Appianus Governour of Elbato hane a sonne of Sinan the Jewe there prisoner, delivered vnto him. e. spoileth the island, and hath the yong man delivered vnto him. 750 g. in his returne to Constantinople doth much harme vpon the coast of Italy. m. dieth. 751 c.

Barbadicus the Venetian Frontidour a notable man. 874 l. slaine in the battell of Lepanto. 680 g.

Barbarous crutchie. 909 e.

the Barbarous manner of the Turkish Sultans, to murder their brethren in the beginning of their raigne, when and by whom first begun. 201 a.

Bareblift for money. 345 e.

the Bassa of Bosna and his brother slaine. 1002 i.

the Bassa of Temeswar overthrowne by the Religians and slaine. 1138 k.

the Bassa of Buda taken prisoner. 1110 i.

the Bassa of Bosna slaine. 1110 k.

the Bassa of Nalota taken prisoner by the prince of Sarcan. 217 c. his stout answer to Tamerlan. d. by Tamerlan set at libertie, and rewarded. e.

the Bassa of Buda slaine. 1136 l.

the Bassa of Agria with ten thousand Turks overthrowne by Feriant Gonzaga, and chased to the gates of his citie. 1141 g.

Basiliscus a faithfull man vnto his prince. 170 b.

Battels.

Acruell Battell fought betwixt Solyman the Turke and the Christian princes going towards the Holy land. 16 l. an hundred thousand Turks slaine in the battell neare vnto Antioch, betwixt Corbanes the Persian Sultans lieutenant and the Christian princes. 20 b. an hundred thousand Turks and Sarafins slaine in the great battell not farre from Ascalon fought betwixt Godfrey of Brullen and the Turks and Sarafins. 24 l. the great battell betwixt Amurath the first and Lazarus the Despot fought in the plaines of Cosbousa. 200 i. the battell of Nicopolis betwixt Baiazet the first and Sigismund king of Hungarie. 206 g. the great and mortall battell betwixt Baiazet and the great Tamerlan. 219 b. the battell of Vascap betwixt Humiades and Abedin Bassa. 273 c. the wofull battell of Varna betwixt king Vladislavus and Amurath the second. 297 b. the great battell of Cosbousa fought three daies together betwixt Amurath & Humiades. 307 d. the

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the battell betwixt Vsun-Casanes the Persian king and Mahomet the great. 410 l. the battell of Tzurwalm betwixt Baiazet and his sonne Selymus. 485 d. the great battell betwixt Selymus and Elysmac. 510 m. the battell of Singa betwixt Selymus and Campson. 529 e. the battell betwixt Sinan Bassa and Gazelles. 535 e. the great battell of Rhodania betwixt Selymus and Tomombicus. 539 e. the great & dreadfull battell of Caire fought two daies together betwixt the Mamalukes and the Turks. 545 e. the battell of Mohatch, betwixt Solyman and king Lewis. 602 k. the battell of Toccia betwixt the armies of king Iohn and king Ferdinand. 606 b. the memorable battell of Lepanto betwixt Haly Bassa and Don Iohn. 878 b. the battell of Saucaran betwixt the Persian prince and the Turks, Osman their Generall then lying sicke. 994 m. the battell of Alba Regalis betwixt the Imperials and the Turks. 126 b. the battell of Strigonium. 1068 h. the battell of Agria betwixt Mahomet the third and Maximilian the Archduke the Emperours brother. 1097 d.

Bedredin the counterfeite prophet hanged. 251 d.

Begum the Persian queene made away. 941 a.

Belgrade besieged by Amurath the second. 263 c. notably defended by the Christians. 266 g. againe besieged by Mahomet the Great. 357 b. won by Solyman. 569 b.

Belgrade in the confines of Epirus besieged by Scanderbeg. 370 h.

Blondie precepts left by Selymus vnto his sonne Solyman. 563 b.

Bodo constant to king Iohn. 606 k.

Bosna of a kingdome converted to a province of the Turks Empire. 365 b.

Bosna with some part of Seruia taken from the Turks by Matthias king of Hungarie. 404 k.

Brigadinus governour of Famagusta encourageth his souldiours. 864 i. yieldeth vnto the request of the citifens of Famagusta, in time to deliver vp the citie, not now longer to be defended. 866 k. entred into parley with the Turks. l. coming to the false Bassa Mustapha vpon his faith for his assistance before giuen, as by him most shamefully and horribly murdered. 867 a.

Buda besieged by the lord Regendoff, king Ferdinand and his lieutenant. 702 i. surprised by Solyman. 710 k. besieged, and the lower citie taken by the lord Palsi. 1105 c. the castle by him

battered, undermined, and in vaine assaulted. 1105 c. the lower citie of Buda againe taken by the Christians. 1146 i. the upper citie and castle besieged. 1147 b. in vaine assaulted. f. the siege for feare of the Tartars giuen over by the Christians. 1149 c.

C

Affa with the country of Taurica Cherfonsus subdued by the Turks. 412 l.

Caire described. 542 m. taken by Selymus. 546 i.

Calo Ioannes after the death of Alexius his father succeedeth him in the Empire. 27 c. he taketh Tarsus in Cilicia, besiegeth Antioch, and vpon composition raiseth his siege. 30 g. wounded with a poisoned arrow dieth. k.

Calcis the chiefe citie of Euboea besieged by the Turks. 405 d. taken by the Turks. 406 b.

Callipolis taken by the Turks. 186 g.

Caly Bassa dissuadeth Mahomet from the siege of Constantinople. 344 l. Caly Bassa cruelly executed. 350 g.

Calybeus Bassa and Cherfocles after a long and mortall battell taken by Vfbeg, and sent prisoners to Caytbeus. 450 b.

Campson Gaurus with what causes mooued to fall out with Selymus. 522 g. his modrat and happie government. 524 l. his answer vnto the embassadors of Selymus. 525 a. perplexed. 527 b. slaine. 530 i. his dead bodie laid out to be scene of all men. 531 a.

Canalis the Venetian Admirall doth the Turks great harme. 405 a. with his whole familie exiled. 406 l.

Canisfa besieged by the Turks. 1131 c. cowardly yielded. 1132 b. besieged by Ferdinand the Archduke. 1137 b. the siege by reason of tempest and extremite of weather giuen over. 1138 k.

Capacpus Governour of Damasco reculeth from the Tartars to the Turks. 126 i.

Carafina yielded vnto Orbanes. 184 b.

Caragusa a Turke offereth a challenge vnto any of the souldiours in Scanderbegs army. 312 h.

Caragofes Bassa Beglerbeg of Asia, in a great battell overthrowne by Tebellis. 472 b. taken prisoner. 473 a. horribly empaled by the high waies side. 474 g.

Carmania by Baiazet united to the Ottoman Empire. 447 e.

Caracoza the famous pyrat slaine. 881 e.

Carayces Bassa slaine. 357 d.

Cardinall Barbor taketh vpon him the

principallitie of Transylvania. 1109 f. in a great battell overthrowne by Michael the Payud. 1113 c. his head sent for a present vnto the Emperour. e.

Cassan Bassa slaine. 510 m.

the Castle of Buda by the garrison souldiours without the consent of their captaine yielded to Solyman. 610 g.

Casanes the Tartar invadeth Syria. 125 c. in a great battell overthroweth Melcenafer the Egyptian Sultans lieutenant. d. repaireth Ierusalem, and giveth it to the Christians, bath Damascus yielded vnto him. e.

Castrounoum taken from the Turks, and by the Imperials vniuissly detained from the Venetians. 690 g. recovered againe by Barbarossa. 691 d.

the Catalonians entertained by Andronicus the Emperour, for want of pay spoile his subiects. 151 d. take the spoile of Callipolis, and there fortifying themselves, doe great harme both by sea & land. d. aided by the Turks, overthrow Michael the Emperour in plaine battell. 152 k. spoile a great part of Thracia. 153 a. seat themselves in the cities of Athens and Thebes. 154 g.

Caytbeus the Egyptian Sultan sendeth embassadors to Baiazet in the behalfe of Zenec. 440 l. dieth. 450 i.

Cayerbeus Governour of Comagena bearing a grudge to Campson, hath intelligence with Selymus. 528 k. plaith the cunning traitor. 529 d. by Selymus made Governour of Caire and Egypt. 554 b.

Cazianer Generall of king Ferdinand against the Turks. 677 e. besiegeth Exck. 680 i. to retire with more hast, would haue broken his great ordinance. 681 c. a generall scaerce in his campe. 682 i. his dishonorable flight. 683 e. generally hated. 685 f. breaketh prison. 686 b. shamefully murdered, and his head sent to king Ferdinand. i.

Cephalenia taken from the Turks by the Venetians. 460 k.

Chamuzes Bassa and Catabolinus the Turke secretarie hanged by Vladadus. 361 d.

Charles the French king invadeth the kingdome of Naples. 453 d. received into the citie of Naples. 455 d.

Charles the Emperour his great preparation against Solyman. 616 b. his power at Vienna. 622 l. after the departure of Solyman returneth into Italie. 626 g. his great preparation for the invasion of Tunes. 654 m. he passeth over into Affricke. 656 g. landeth his armie at Guletta. 657 e. deser-

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deseruet the Oken garland. 663 c. he marcheth towards Tunes. 664 i. content to be commanded by his lieutenant. 665 d. putteth Barbarus to flight. f. hath Tunes yielded unto him. 667 c. restoreth it to Muleass, now become his tributarie. 669 d. returneth to Italic. e. with the Venetians and the bishop of Rome entereth into a confederation against Solym. 686 l. inuadeth Algiers. 718 i. sendeth a messenger to Assan Aga Governour of Algiers for Barbarus. m. his messenger and message scorned by Assan Aga the eunuch. 719 b. his notable courage in staying the flight of his armie. 721 c. most part of his fleet lost by tempest. 722 b. the miserie of his armie. 723 a. horses good meat in his campe. c. raiseth his siege and departeth from Algiers. d. drowneth his horses of great price, to make room for his common soldiers. 724 b. after many troubles arriveth at length at new Carthage in Spaine. 725 d. resigneth his Empire unto his brother Ferdinand, and shortly after dieth. 783 a.

Charles counte Mansfelt sent by the king of Spaine out of the Low countries with two thousand horse and six thousand foot to aid the Emperour in his warres against the Turke. 1061 c. by the Emperour appointed lieutenant Generall of his armie in the lower Hungarie vnder Mathias the Archduke, and created one of the princes of the Empire. 1061 c. with furiouse appeareth the mutinous Germans. 1064 g. remoueth suddenly with his armie from Doria to Strigonium. 1065 b. in a great battell overthroweth the Bassa of Buda coming to the reliefe of Strigonium. 1068 i. dieth at Komana. 107 k.

Chars in three and twentie daies fortified by the Turke. 943 f.

Chusan Chelise and Schach-Culi, two hypocritical Persians, authors of the sect of the Cuselbassas or Red heads among the Turks. 465 c. stirre up a great rebellion. 469 c. Chusan Chelise slaine. 474 i.

Chendennis Bassa by many graue reasons dissuadeth Selymus from invading the Persian. 506 b. he is by the commandement of Selymus unworthily slaine. 507 b.

Chreogles Bassa what he was, and why he turned Turke. 484 g. a sinner of learning i. the only great man faithful to Baiazer, persuadeth him to give battell unto his rebellious sonne Selymus. 483 d.

Chios taken by the Turks. 819 c.

Chivoeche dissuadeth the Bassa Partau and Haly from giuing battell unto the Christians at Lepanto. 875 b. encountreth with Contarenius. 880 i. slaine, and his gallie taken. l.

Christians fight against Christians, to the confusion of themselves, and benefit of the Turke. 340 k. in seeking too greedily after the spoile, overthrowne and discomfited in the battell at Karesia. 1098 g.

Cicala Bassa by the appointment of Ottoman the Visier Bassa commandeth the Turke great armie after his death in the returne thereof from Tauria. 995 c. dischargeeth the armie at Van. 996 b. afraid to give aid to Giasfer Bassa at Tauria. 998 l. restoreth the battell before lost at Karesia. 1098. with a great fleet cometh to see his mother the ladie Lucretia at Mofina. 1107 b.

Columinus the Popes Admirall interposeth himselfe as a mediator betwixt Don Iohn and Venerius the Venetian Admirall, and so well appeaseth the matter. 874 g.

Comparison betwixt Baiazer and Tamerlan. 227 c.

Confederation hard to trust upon. 840 b.

Comrade Marques of Montfort slaine by two desperat russians. 71 d.

Comrade the third Emperour of Germanie taketh upon him an expedition into the Holy Land. 31 c. cannot be suffered to enter into Constantinople, but is treacherously dealt withall by the Greeke Emperour. 32. with a notable speech encourageth his souldiours to aduenture the river Meander. 33 a. with a great slaughter overthroweth the Turks. 34 g. besiegeth Iconium, and so returneth. b.

Constantine prince of Bulgaria with the Tartars invade the territories of Paleologus the Greeke Emperour, and spoileth Thracia. 117 b.

Constantine the Despot sent by the old Emperour Andronicus his brother against young Andronicus his nephew. 163 a. taken prisoner at Theffalonica, and miserably yfed. f.

Constantine the Greeke Emperour in vain craveth aid of the other Christian princes. 340 b. at the winning of Constantinople by the Turks, troden to death. 347 b.

Constantinople built by Pausanias, destroyed by Scuerus, redified by Constantine the Great. 341 a. how sacked. 340 a. taken and spoiled by the Latines. 83 a. recovered from the Latines by Alexius Strategopolus. 115 d.

betrayed unto the young Emperour Andronicus. 171 d. in vain besieged by Amurath the second. 257 f. again besieged by Mahomet the great. 340 k. assaulted by the Turke. 346 k. won. 347 c.

Contarenius the Venetian Admirall slaine. 413 e.

Corcutus saluted Emperour before his father Baiazer. 437 d. kindly resigneth the Empire to his father. 438 g. giuen to the Studie of Philosophie, and therefore not beloved of the Tanizaries. 478 k. cometh to Constantinople. 491 d. his notable speech unto his father, to perswade him to resigne unto him the Empire before the coming of his brother Selymus. 491 c. comforted by his father, and put in hope of the Empire. 492 m. flieth to Magnesia. 495 a. sought after by Selymus, bieth himselfe in a caue. 501 f. is found and taken. 522 g. by the commandement of Selymus strangled. b.

Cortug-Ogli the pyrat persuadeth Solym to besiege the Rhodes. 570 g.

Corone, Pylus, and Crissum, cities of Peloponnesus belonging to the Venetians, yielded unto the Turke. 460 b.

Corone besieged by the Turks. 627 f. relieved by Austria. 629 d. abandoned and forsaken by the Spaniards. 631 c.

Cornica and Serbellio two ancient Spanishe captaines perswade the giuing of battell unto the Turkes at Lepanto. 872 i.

Costly disbes. 745 d.

Cowardise punished. 1093 e.

Crete described. 868 b.

Croia besieged by Amurath the second. 323 b. in vain assaulted. 324 k. besieged by Mahomet the great. 400 i. relieved. 401 c. againe besieged by Mahomet. 402 b. the third time besieged. 413 d. yielded to the Turke. 417 a.

Cubates Selymus his embassadour cometh to Venice. 839 f. but homely entertained there. 840 f. his speech in the Senat of Venice. k. for feare of the people secretly conuied away. 842 g.

Curzolafon taken by the men defended by women. 869 c.

Cusabin Bassa of Caravama riseth up in rebellion against Mahomet the third. 1114 k. overthroweth the Sanzaker sent to haue oppressed him. l. at the coming of Mehemet the Visier Bassa sent against him, flieth. 1115 b. forsaken of his followers, is taken and tortured to death at Constantinople. d. the Cuselbassas, when and how they begun amongst the Turks. 465 f.

Cyprius described. 843 b. how that king-

dome came to the Venetians. c. taken from them by Selymus the second. 867 f.

Cyrene yielded unto the Turks. 852 i.

Czarnicuche corrupted, giueth the Turke passage over the Danubius into Valachia. 911 d. resolseth unto the Turke. 912 k.

D

Damasco betrayed to Saladin Sultan of Egypt. 58 m. taken and sacked by the Tartars. 113 c. yielded to Selymus. 532 m.

Damias, and the description thereof. 89 a. taken by the Christians, being before wreaped by the plague. 92 m.

Dandulus Admirall of the Venetian fleet. 85 a.

David and Alexius Comneni, nephews to Andronicus the Emperour, erect unto themselves a new Empire in Trapezond. 84 l.

David the last Emperour of Trapezond put to death by Mahomet the Great, and that Empire subuerted. 36 m.

Daur Chan for his good seruice rewarded by Amurath the third. 996 i.

Death in the Turke armie at Triana. 970 b.

Debricas slaine, and his armie overthrowen by Scanderbeg. 367 c.

Dedysmit the Georgian widow with her sonne Alexander submit themselves to Mustapha the great Bassa. 937 e.

Delimites with five thousand Persians perswade the Turke armie. 652 k. assaileth their campe by night, and maketh of them a great slaughter. m.

Demetrius submitte himselfe unto Mahomet the Great. 355 b.

Demetrius the Rhodian traitour slaine. 329 a.

Desfrot Governour of Scellusa to the terror of the Turks in Sfergrade before their faces executed. 287 a.

Didymotichum yielded unto the Turks. 189 c.

Diogenes the Emperour discomfisteth the Turks. 8 b. himselfe by the treason of Iohn Ducas by them againe overthrowne. 9 c. taken prisoner. 10 g. honourably yfed by the Turke Sultan. b. overthrowne and taken prisoner by Andronicus, hath his eyes put out, whereof he dieth. m.

Diffension among the Turks about the succession, after the death of Mahomet the Great. 437 b.

Diffension betwixt Don Iohn and Venerius the Venetian Admirall. 873 c.

Dium a, castle of the Venetians in the

The Table.

East Indies in vaine assaulted by the Turks. 670 l.

Dogames Aga of the Tanizaries whipt and displaced. 339 b.

Dotis taken by the Turke. 1099 c.

Dragut a most famous pyrat of the Turke, by Austria driven out of the citie of Africa in the kingdome of Tunes. 752 i. cometh to the siege of Malta. 797 b. his souldiours enforced shamefully to retire. 799 a. slaine. 801 b.

Dracula Vaynod of Valachia dissuadeth king Vladislav from farther proceeding in his wars against Amurath. 205 e. aideth him with his sonne and foure thousand horse. 296 b. his last farewell unto the king. i.

the Drusian people what they are. 982 i.

Dulcinie, Antuari, and Budua, strong towns of the Venetians upon the coasts of Epirus and Dalmatia yielded to the Turke. 869 a.

the duke of Muscouie his letters and presents sent unto the Emperour. 1071 a.

Duke Mecumie Generall of the Emperours forces in the lower Hungarie, cometh in vaine to relieue Canisla. 1131 c. in retiring loseth three thousand of his men with certaine pieces of great ordnance and his baggage. 1132 g. besiegeth Alba Regalis. 1134 m. winneth it. 1135 f. enforceeth Assan the Turke Generall with the losse of six thousand of his Turke to retire. 1136 l.

Dynbachium now called Durazo taken by the Turks. 461 c.

E

Earthquake most terrible in Constantinople. 476 b.

Edward, eldest sonne to Henry the third king of England, taketh upon him an expedition into the Holy Land, and arriveth at Tunes. 119 c. arriveth at Ptolemais. 120 g. taketh Nazareth, and putteth the Turks to flight. b. by a desperat Sarasin dangerously wounded with an enuomed knife. c. cured of his wound, maketh peace with the Sultan and returneth into England. 121 a.

the Egyptians diversly affected towards the Mamelukes. 542 i.

Eimases Bassa hath his eyes burnt out. 258 m.

Elpis the Egyptian Sultan besiegeth Tripolis and taketh it by force. 122 l. and winneth Sidon and Berythus, and raiseth them, taketh Tyre by composition, and winneth all the strong holds in Syria and Palestine from the Christians, except onely the strong citie of

Ptolemais. 122 m. maketh peace with the remainder of the Christians. m.

Emanuel the Greeke Emperour with a great power inuadeth the dominions of the Sultan of Iconium. 38 b. loseth a great part of his armie. 39 c. in danger to haue been taken, notably defendeth himselfe. 40 l. in his greatest distress hath peace offered him by the Sultan, which he gladly accepteth. 42 i. he vanquisheth Atapack the Sultans Generall. m. falleth sick and dieth. 43 a.

Emanuel the Greeke Emperour upon hard conditions obtaineth peace of Baiazer the Great Turke, and becometh his tributarie. 206 l. by his embassadours offereth his Empire unto Tamerlan, so to become his vassall. 221 d. cometh himselfe unto him at Prusla. 222 b. honourably entertaineth him coming in priuie ouer to Constantinople. i.

Embassadours sent from Tamas the Persian king to Selymus. 836 b. honourably entertained by the Turke at Hadrianople. 837 b. the Persian embassadour in going to visit Mustapha the Visier Bassa, in danger to haue been slaine. d. the rich presents by him giuen to Selymus. 838 g.

Emir Hamze the Persian prince cometh into Shiran. 939 c. killeth Caitas Bassa and recovereth Eres. d. overthroweth the Tartars, and taketh Adilcheyay. 940 g. recovereth Sumachia. i. returneth to Caibin. k. overthroweth the vanguard of the Turke armie. 990 l. in a great battell overthroweth Cicala Bassa and the Bassa of Caracmit. 993 b. dauidh Osman the Turke Generall battell. c. with his owne hand killeth the Bassa of Caracmit. f. killeth also the Bassa of Trapezond, with twentie thousand Turke moe. 994 g. overthroweth twentie thousand of the Turke in the battell of Sancaxan. 995 b. ouercometh the rebellious Turcomans, and executeth their leaders. 998 b. killeth Salmas. 1000 k. putteth the Bassa of Rgiun to flight. l. slaine by one of his Eunuchs. 1002 b.

Emir Chan having his eyes put out, dieth miserably in prison. 973 c.

the Emperour, the French king, and the king of Polonia entangled in their leagues with the Turks, refuse to give aid unto the Venetians against him. 842 k.

the Empire of Trapezond overthrowen and subuerted by Mahomet the Great. 361 a.

Ertogral with his brother Dunder and four

The Table.

four hundred families of the Turks stay in their retinue toward Persia. 133 f. by his good service obtaineth of Sultan Aladin a place at Suguta for himselfe and his Turks to dwell in. 434 k. taketh the castle of Caracchar from the Christians. 135 a Euboea taken from the Venetians by Mahomet the Great. 406 k Eusebios his rich present unto Amurath at the marriage of his sonne Baiazet. 193 b Eudocia the Emperesse contrarie to her oath desirous to marrie, dealeth cunningly with the Patriarch to displease with her oath. 7 d. marieth Diogenes Romanus, a prisoner condemned to die, and maketh him Emperour. f. he is deposed by the traitours, John Ducas, Pselus, and others, and thrust into a Monasterie. 10 i Eustace Governour of the kingdom of Jerusalem, discomfitteth the Saracens in a great battell nere unto Ascalon, and not long after dieth. 28 i

F

Famagusta besieged by the Turks. 832 k. hath a new supply put into it by Quirinus. 855 c. described. 863 b. the number of the defendants in it. c. twice assaulted and notably defended by the Christians. d. e. vndermined. 865 a. furiously by the Turks assaulted, and valiantly by the Christians defended. b. a great part of the wall blowne up, and the citie againe assaulted. 866 g. yielded up to the Turks. m. Famine in Scodra. 426 g Foulconers and Hunisimen in great number in the Turks Court. 338 k Ferat Bassa sent by Solymann against Alis Beg the mountain prince. 600 i. treacherously murdereth him and his sonne sonnes. l. Ferat Bassa by Amurath chosen General of his armie against the Persians in head of Sinan. 965 d. in the place of his decease buildeth a fort at Reiman, as he was by Amurath commaunded. 966 i. breaketh up his armie at Erzurum. 967 d. raiseth a new armie. f. fortifieth Lori. 968 k. buildeth a fort upon the strait of Tomanis. 969 a. reprooveth Veis Bassa of Aleppo. 970 k. is himselfe assaulted by the Lamizaries and Spahis. l. by them discomfited and threatened. 971 d. his stout answer to his mutinous souldiers. f. his tents overthrowne and he againe threatened. 972 g. disgraced,

breaketh up his armie at Ardachan. k. grievously complained of to Amurath. 973 e. by Amurath againe made General against the Persians. 999 b. cometh to Van. 1000 g. putteth succours into Tauris. 1001 d. taketh Genge. 1004 m. sent by Mahomet General of his armie into Hungarie. 1060 l. disgraced at his first coming to the armie. m. overthrowne in Valachia. 1062 b. sent to Constantinople, and there strangled. 1073 b. Ferdinand king of Bohemia laith claime to the kingdom of Hungarie. 605 b. taketh Buda. e. crowned king of Hungarie. 606 k. seeketh for the favour of Solymann. 608. is by him received and threatened. k. persuaded by the Hungarian fugitives to invade Hungarie. 698 g. dissuaded by Lascius. k. sendeth Lascius to Solymann and other embassadours to the queene of Hungarie to demand of her that kingdom. 699 b. he innadeth Hungarie. 700 g. taketh Pesth and Valachia, and besiegeth Buda. b. dieth. 791 d. Fidek taken by the Christians. 1027 c Foscina a grave Senator. 693 f. unworthily disgraced by the multitude. 694 g. Fourteen wagons loaded with the heads of the slaine Christians. 1017 c Francis the French king the more to trouble the Emperour, solliciteth Solymann to invade his territories. 725 c Francis Acciaiuoli duke of Thebes by the commaundment of Mahomet murdered. 354 l Fredericke the Emperour taketh upon him an expedition into the Holy Land. 66 b Fredericke duke of Succia the Emperours sonne, in his fathers stead chosen General of the Christians armie. 66 m. hath Antioch delivered unto him. 67 d dieth of the plague, and is buried by his father in the Cathedrall Church at Tivie. 68 g Fredericke the Germane Emperour undertaketh an expedition into the Holy Land. 98 l. crowned king of Jerusalem, which is by him repaired. 99 e the Frenchmen and wallons in mutinie at Pappa. 1116 k. compact with the Turks to deliver to them the towne. 1117 a. seeking secretly to haue fled, are most of them slaine, and the rest that were taken, put to most horrible tortures. 1119 b Friuli part of the Venetian territorie miserably spoiled by the Turks. 414 l. againe spoiled by Scander Bassa and the Turks. 458 b

the Frontiers of the Emperours territories grievously spoiled by the Turks. 1150 k. the Frugalitie of the Turks. 713 f Fulke Countie of Thuring. M. ynn. and Anion, taketh upon him an expedition into the Holy Land. 29 b. dieth of a fall off his horse in hunting, and is buried at Jerusalem. 30 m Fuscarinus in his absence by the general consent of the Venetian Senat chosen Admirall. 887 f. encourageeth the confederats to giue the Turks battell. 890 l. in vaine persuadeth the confederats to take the advantage of the Turks dispirited fleet. 893 c. earnestly dissuadeth Don John and the Spaniards from returning without giuing the Turks battell. 899 a

G

Galliey spoiled, and the castle of Burie taken by the Turks. 60 i Garzias of Toledo, Viceroy of Sicilia, after long delay at last setteth forward with his fleet to relieue the besieged at Malta. 814 k. by tempest driven into the island Regusa. 815 c. arriveth at Malta, and landeth his men. 816 i Gazelles his wholesome counsell unto Campfons, for protracting the war against Selymus. 527 c. coming to haue oppressed Sinan Bassa at Gazza, is by him himselfe overthrowne. 534 i. his notable speech in submitting himselfe to Selymus. 546 m. by Selymus made Governour of Syria. 560 f. rebelleth against Solymann. 568 b. slain. k. Gazza yielded unto Sinan Bassa. 534 g George the Despot of Serbia a man of no religion. 356 i. driven out of his kingdom by Amurath. 262 g. restored by king Vladislav. 289 b. denieth passage unto Scanderbeg through his country. 295 b. glad to craue aid of Huniades, whom he had before enill entreated. 310. his death. 356 i George bishop of Veradium a notable man. 697 c. murdered in his owne house. 756 i. Geordron the pbfition notably deludeth the Lamizaries and Spahis of the Court. 252 k. George Bassa by the Emperour appointed lieutenant General for his warres in the upper Hungarie. 1104 m. commaunded by Matthias the Archduke to giue aid unto Michael the Vayvod against the Transylvanians, aideth them against him. 1124 b. in a great battell overthroweth the Vayvod. 1126 b. his stout speech to the Chiks and

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and the rest of the nobilitie of Transylvania. 1129 b. his error. 1130 g. received by the Transylvanians as the Emperours lieutenant, until further order were by him taken for the government of that province. l. suddenly taken prisoner by the Transylvanians. 1139 c. set at libertie and aided by Michael the Vayvod, with a great slaughter overthroweth Sigismund the Transylvanian prince, and driueth him out of his country. 1140 i. conspireth the death of Michael the Vayvod. 1141 a. taketh in most part of the countrey of Transylvania for the Emperour. c. for feare of Sigismund and the Transylvanians fleeth. f. in battell overthroweth Zachell Moises the Transylvanian princes lieutenant, and bringeth that countrey againe vnder the Emperours obedience. 1143 c. Geruaise Rogers an Englishman commaunded for his good service at the siege of the Rhodes. 430 k Geranus the Patriarch dealeth faithfully with the old Emperour Andronicus. 161 b Giasfer captaine of the Lamizaries slaine. 659 f. Giasfer the Eunuch Bassa of Tripolis by Sinan Bassa with a garison of twelve thousand souldiers left Governour of Tauris. 994 i. besieged by the Persian prince. 997 e. prayeth aid of Cicada Bassa. 998 k. put to flight. 197 a. Godfrey duke of Lorraine with other the Christian princes with an armie of three hundred thousand fighting men undertaketh the first expedition into the Holy Land. 14 i. concludeth a league with Alexius the Greeke Emperour. 15 a. besiegeth Nice and taketh it. 16 g. in a great battell overthroweth Sultan Solymann with his Turks, taketh Antiochia in Pisidia, Iconium, and Hieraclea, winneth Cilicia, Armenia, and Capadocia. 17 a. c. putteth the Turks to flight at the river Orontes. 18 g. after long siege taketh Antioche in Syria. 20 m. winneth Jerusalem by assault. 22 d. is chosen king of Jerusalem. 23 i. his letters to Bohemund king of Antioche. 24 i. in a great & mortall battell overthroweth the Turks at Ascalon. 24 l. crowned king of Jerusalem, and dieth of the plague. m. the Governour of Alba Regalis taken. 824 k. his shawe answer vnto a Spaniard. l. Great treasure found by the Turks at the winning of Constantinople. 347 e a Greeke priest his notable speech persuading the Great Master of the Rhodes to yield up the citie. 594 b. with the most resolute answer of a common souldier to the contrarie. 595 a. and that his speech notably refuted by a Greeke, and the yielding of the citie urged. e. the Greeke Church by Michael Palologus the Emperour subiected to the Church of Rome, and why. 144 l the Greekes carelesse of the Turks first small footing in Chersonesus, least thereof. 185 f the Guise, Lord Grand Prior of the knights of S. Johns in Fraunce, Admirall of Malta, taketh certaine of the Turks gallies. 767 d Guletra how situated. 657 c. besieged by Charles the Emperour. 658 g. furiously battered. 660 k. assaulted and won. 661 a. besieged by the Turks. 914 l. taken from the Christians. 915 a. Guy Countie of Ioppa and Ascalon, the ninth and last king of Jerusalem. 62 l. in battell overthrowne and taken prisoner by Saladin. 63 c. set at libertie, besiegeth Ptolemais, and fighteth a great battell with Saladin. 65 f

H

Haalon, brother to Mango the great Cham of Tartaria with a great armie innadeth the Turks. 113 a. his great victories against the Turks. c. d. Hadrianople yielded unto the Turks. 189 f. by Amurath the first made the royall seat of his kingdom in Europe. 191 b Haider marieth Martha the daughter of the great king Vsun-Casanes by Despina, and hath by her Hysmaell, afterwards king of Persia. 464 l Haider murdered by Tacup the Persian king. 485 a Haly Bassa slaine. 881 c. his two sonnes taken in the battell of Lepanto. f. the Greeke that slew him honourably rewarded. 884 g Hamon the lew for his trecherie iustly rewarded by Selymus. 496 i Haredock Governour of Rab corrupted, yieldeth the citie unto the Turks. 1044 l. executed at Vienna. 1046 b Hasaan Bassa relieueth the distressed Turks in garison at Testis. 944 l. breaketh promise with Aleculi Chan. 945 c. rewarded for his good service. 946 g. sent by Ferat Bassa to therelief of Testis. 967 a. againe rewarded by Amurath. b. left by Ferat with a garison of eight thousand souldiers in the new fort at Tomanis. 970 b. General of Sultan Mahomet's armie and

in Hungarie, cometh out of season to relieue Alba Regalis. 1136 i Hasaan Bassa the queenes Eunuch sent Governour to Caire. 980 b. cast in prison at Constantinople, and his enill gotten goods confiscated. 981 d. his life spared at the intercession of the queene, and best at libertie. c. Hasaan Bassa of Bofna inciteb Amurath to make warre upon the Emperour. 1014 l. taketh Whitiz, the metropolitall citie of Croatia. 1015. lodeth six waggon with the heads of the slaine Christians. 1016 g. spoyleth Turopolis. l. decciebed by the Abbot of Sisse. 1021 c. his threatening letters vnto the Abbot. d. besiegeth Sisse. 1022 g. in a great battell overthrowne. 1023 a. drowned. b. Hatwan besieged by the Christians. 1093 d. taken by assault. 1094 g. againe forsaken by the Christians. i. Henry brother to Baldwin chosen second Emperour of the Latines in Constantinople. 85 f Henry duke of Saxony with a great armie sent into the Holy Land by Henry the first Emperour of Germanie, goeth accompanied with many great princes. 73 c. falling sick of a feuer, dieth. 74 b Henry the French king by his embassadour solliciteth Solymann to invade the king of Spaine his territories. 767 c Heraclius the Greeke Emperour by the helpe of the Arabians recouereth Siuria and the holy citie from Chosroes the Persian king. 22 g Hocata the Tartar by his captaine subdueth Armenia the greater, Cholebis, and Iberia. 76 i. succeeding his father Zingis, innadeth the East and west part of Asia, subdueth the East Indies, and buildeth Cambalu. 75 c. drineth the Turks out of Persia, and subdueth many countries. 76 g Horruccius and Haradenus how they of base pyrats aspired to the kingdom of Algiers. 635 c. Horruccius his success. f. slaine, and his head in triumph carried about in Spaine. 636 b Hungarie deuided into two factions upon the choice of Vladislav king of Polonia. 163 a. againe deuided upon the diffention betwixt king Ferdinand and king Iohn. 605 c. becometh a prey vnto Solymann, and by him conuered into the forme of a province of the Turkish Emper. 713 a Huniades by king Vladislav made Vayvod of Transylvania. 266 l. in a great battell overthroweth Is Beg Amurath his lieutenant in Serbia. 267 d. overthroweth Mestier Bassa and

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and killeth him with twentie thousand
Turks moe. 269 e. of the spoile of the
Turks fendeth a present vnto king
Vladislaus and the Despot of Seruia.
270 g. his most Christian speech to
encourage his souldiours against the
Turks. 271 d. in a great and mortall
battell ouerthroweth Abedin Bassa
with his armie at Vascape. 274 l.
with ten thousand horsemen ouer-
throweth a great armie of the Turks
by night. 277 f. eight times repulseth
the Turks pursuing him in his retreat
downe the mountaine Hemus. 279 d.
with a great slaughter discomfitech
Carambey the Bassa of Romania, and
takech him prisoner. 280 k. flying out
of the battell of Varna, taken prisoner
by Dracula Vayvod of Valachia.
298 i. by general consent chosen Go-
uernour of Hungarie in the minoritye
of king Ladislaus. 304 l. goeth a-
gainst the Turks. 305 b. with a nota-
ble speech encouragech his souldiours
against the Turks. 306 i. fighteth
three daies together with Amurath in
the plaines of Cossana. 307 d. ouer-
cometh. 309 b. falleth into the
hands of two notable theues. e. in
doubt of a shepheard, is by him relieu-
ed. 310 g. taken prisoner by the false
Despot. g. set at libertie, reuengech
himselfe vpon him. i. requested giuech
him aid against the Turks. 311 a.
his most Christianlike death. 338 l.
Hysmaell after the death of his father
Haider sleeth to his fathers friend Pyr-
chalis. 465 b. his behaviour in the
time of his exile. 466 g. recovereth
his inheritance. k. takech Sumachia. l.
obtaineth Tauris. 467 b. ouercometh
Eliam the Persian king and kil-
leth him. 468 g. peaceably receiued
into Scyras. b. preachech his fathers
doctine. i. putteth Moratchamus to
flight, and obtaineth the kingdom of
Persia. 469 b. the inscription of his
coyne. d. cometh to his army at Coy.
508 m. fendeth an horsaild vnto Se-
lymus. 509 b. with thirtie thousand
Persians giuech battell to Selymus
with three hundred thousand Turks.
510 i. wounded, retireth. 512 g.
the cause why he came with so small
an armie against Selymus. 517 d.
his large territories. 518 b. therefor
why he invaded not Selymus, wholly
busied in the Egyptian wars. 560 b.

I

Iscup Anant slaine, and his army dis-
comfited by Scanderbeg. 399 d

the Lanizaries first instituted by Amurath
the first. 191 e. stand vpon their
guard, and reuiling Baiazet their
Emperour, refuse to receiue him a-
mongst them. 445 f. in mutinie a-
gainst Selymus. 512 m. vp in armes
against Solymen for the vnworthie
death of the noble Mustafa. 764 i.
vnwilling to goe in the quarrell of Se-
lymus against his brother Baiazet.
773 f. their insolent and threatening
speech vnto Ferat Bassa their Gene-
rall. 970 l. in a tumult at Constanti-
nople. 1005 d. in an vpror with the
Spahis. 1104 b. threaten the deposing
of their Emperour. 1115 c. in mutinie
at Constantinople. 1142 k.
Lathimes Sultan of Iconium succedeth
his father Aladin. 86 i. besieging
Antiochia, is slaine by Theodorus
Lascaris the Greeke Emperour. 87 c.
Lathimes the second of that name Sul-
tan of Iconium, maketh great prepa-
rations against the Tartars. 109 b.
ouerthrowne, sleeth to the Greeke Em-
perour Theodorus for aid. e. maketh
peace with the Tartars, and yeeldeth
them a yearely tribute. 109 f. againe
by them oppressed, sleeth to Palaeologus
the Emperour at Nice. 114 l. dieth in
exile. 117 c.
Ibrahim Bassa by Amurath made Go-
uernour of Caire. 980 l. oppressech
the people, and enrichest himselfe.
981 e. goeth against the Drusians.
982 g. spoileth the country of Man-
Ogli the Drusian lord. 986 b. with
fire and sword destroyeth the country
of Seraphadin. 987 a. createch Aly
Ebnecarus Bassa of the Drusians. b.
therich presents by him giuen to A-
murath and the ladies of the Court.
988 b. in danger to haue been taken.
1095 d. sleeth out of the battell of
Agria. 1097 e. sent againe Generall
into Hungarie. 1104 l. cometh to
Buda. 1112 b. purposing war, entrea-
teth of peace. i. with a great armie
besiegeth Canisa. 1131 b. hath the
towne yeelded vnto him. 1132 b. his
letters vnto Countie Serinw. 1133 b.
returneth with his army to Belgrade. c.
dieth. 1134 l.
Imailer what men they be among the
Turks. 477 b.
Imirza slireth vp Solymen against his
brother Tamas the Persian king. 751 d.
betrayed to his brother Tamas, and
by him murdered in prison. 752 g.
Innocencie of great force. 782 i.
Iohn Batazes made Emperour of the
Greeks in Asia. 97 d. takech in many
islands of the Aegeum, and forageth
the country of Thracia euen to the

gates of Constantinople, being very
aged dieth. 108 g.
Iohn Countie de Brenne by Innocentius the
Pope appointed king of Ierusalem. 87 e.
in derision called, Roy sans ville. 88 g.
Iohn Castriot prince of Epirus forage-
teth his foure sonnes in hostage vnto
Amurath. 260 l.
Iohn Sepusius Vayvod of Transilvania
chosen and crowned king of Hunga-
rie. 605 a. after the battell of Toccey
sleeth into Polonia. 606 i. by Lascaris
his embassadour cranceth aid of Soly-
man. 607 e. cometh to Solymen at
Belgrade. 609 b. by him restored to
the kingdom of Hungarie. 614 l. in
his old yeares marieth Isabella the
daughter of king Sigismund. 695 d.
dieth. 696 k.
Don Iohn of Austria General of the con-
federat princes forces. 860 k. in a
terrible fight encountreth with Haly
Bassa in the battell of Lepanto. 881 b.
killeth him. c. delatech the Venetians.
889 d. in doubt whether to send them
aid or not. 890 k. fendeth word vnto
the confederats to meet him at Zacyn-
thus. 893 f. faileth them. 894 i. meet-
eth them at Corcyra. 895 a. offereth
the Turks battell. d. refusech to fol-
low the counsell of the Venetian Ad-
mirall. 896 k. breaketh promise with
him, and returneth to Messana. 901 a.
Iohn the Vayvod of Moldavia falleth into
suspition with the Turks. 906 g. his
notable speech vnto his nobilitie and
subiects concerning the Turks de-
maund. 907 a. in vaine cranceth aid
of the king of Polonia. 908 g. with a
great slaughter ouerthroweth the Pa-
latine and the Turks. 909 a. giuech
the Turks a second ouerthrow. 910 b.
betrayed by Czarnieuch. 911. ouer-
throwne by the Turks. 912 m. shame-
fully and perfidiously by them mur-
dered. 913 e.
Ionima, Ballabanus his brother and He-
dar his sonne taken prisoners by Scan-
derbeg. 401 b.
Ionisfes Bassa sent against Techellis, pur-
seth him to flight. 475 e. hurt at the
winning of Caire. 545 f. enuich at
the vnworthie preferment of Cey-
beus. 554 l. is himselfe secretly bated
of Selymus. 555 b. put to death. 556 i.
Irene the faire Greeke beebaded by Ma-
homet the Great. 353. 354 d.
Isa after the captinitie of his father Baia-
zet seizeth vnto the citie of Prusa. 232 b.
ouerthrowne in battell by his brother
Mahomet. 238 i. with a great armie
sent by his brother Solymen against
Mahomet. 240 i. burneth Prusa. d.
dieth in obscuritie. 241 c.
Ismell

last of the Isfendiaris yeeldeth his
principallitie of Castamona and Sinope
to Mahomet the Great. 359 f.
Ishender Bassa ouerthrowne by Aladeu-
les, taken, and sent prisoner to Cay-
beus to Caire. 383 f.
Isan of a prisoner made a King. 975 e.
Ismell the sonne of King Tamas saluted
King of Persia. 922 l. murdereth
eight of his younger brethren, altereth
the Persian religion, or tyrannisech. m.
by the deuce of his sister Periaconco-
na himselfe murdered. 921 b.
the Italians left by the Emperour for the
aid of King Ferdinand in his wars in
Hungarie arise in mutinie. 623 f.
eight thousand of them forsake their
captaines and returne into Italie.
625 d.
Iulia Gonzaga a faire ladie of Italie put
in great feare by Barbarossa. 641 c.
Iulian the Cardinall sent by Pope Urban
to appease the dissention in Hungarie,
and to stirre vp the Hungarians a-
gainst the Turks. 275 d. his effectu-
all speech in parliament to perswade
the warre. e. cunningly perswadeth
King Vladislaus to breake the honou-
rable and solemn league he had before
made with Amurath. 290 k. disa-
nulleth the league, absolving the King
and the rest from their oath before gi-
uen to Amurath. 291 i. himselfe
slirer. 298 k.

K

the Kingdom of Hungarie by Soly-
man conuerted into a province
of the Turkish Empire. 713 a.
the Knights of Malta craue aid of Gar-
zia the Viceroy of Sicilia. 805 a. his
cold answer. b.
Komara besieged by Sinan Bassa.
1045 b.
Koppas snarried by the Christians.
1002 l.

L

Ladislaus a child crowned King of
Hungarie at Alba Regalis. 263 a.
Lazarus Despot of Seruia becommeth
tributarie vnto Amurath the first.
193 e. purposing to make war against
Amurath, cranceth aid of the King of
Bosnia. 197 c. in a mortall battell
ouerthrowne in the plaines of Cossana
and slaine. 200 i.
Lepanto yeelded to the Turks. 459 c.
Lewis the eight of that name, the French
King, making an expedition into the

The Table.

Holy land, is by the mallice of Ema-
nuell the Greeke Emperour therein
much hindered. 34 m. he besiegeth
Damasco, where by the enuie of the
other Christian princes he was enfor-
ced to raise his siege, and so to retorne
home into his country. 35 b.
Lewis the ninth the French King making
an expedition towards the Holy land
arriveth at Damietta. 102 m. takech
the citie forsaken by the Turks. 113 b.
with his whole armie ouerthrowne,
and himselfe taken prisoner. 115 e.
yndertakech a second expedition to-
ward the Holy land with his sons and
most of his nobilitie. 118 k. ouer-
throweth the Moors, and besiegeth
Tunes. 119 a. falleth sicke of the
bloudie flux, and dieth. b.
Lewis the eleuenth the French King gi-
ueth aid vnto the Venetians against
the Turks. 461 c.
Lewis King of Hungarie with an armie
of fine and twentie thousand fondly
goeth against Solymen, being two
hundred and sixtie thousand strong.
602 b. ouerthrowne in his flight drow-
ned in a ditch. 603 a.
Liscanus the couetous Spaniard dealech
vncouctously with Perennus. 732 k.
is himselfe in like sort swayed and
merely stripped of his wealth by Ha-
lis captain of the Lanizaries. 738 l.
Lissa taken by the Turks, and the bones
of Scanderbeg digged vp, and by
them worne for trivels. 425 c.
Lodouicus encouragech his souldiers. 684 b.
icafted at by an old fouldier. k. slaine
and his head with the heads of two
other captaines in a silver bason pre-
sented to Solymen at Constantinople.
685 e.

M

Mahomet the first sendeth spies into
Tamerlan his campe. 232 l.
becommeth famous in Tamerlans
Court. 234 i. in battell ouerthroweth
his brother Isa. 238 i. honourably bu-
rieth the bodie of his father Baiazet at
Prusa. l. againe ouerthroweth his bro-
ther Isa, supported by his brother So-
lyman. 240 m. giuech him a third
ouerthrow, together with the other
Mahometane princes his confederats.
241 c. besieged by his brother So-
lyman in Amasia. 242 i. vpon report
of his brother Musa his euill govern-
ment, goeth against him into Europe.
246 k. ouerthrowne, sleeth backe a-
gain into Asia. 247 a. cometh a-
gain into Europe. 248 g. besiegeth
Ed h b b b y

Hadrianople. b. ouerthroweth his bro-
ther Mustafa in battell, and causech him
being taken prisoner to be strangled.
249 c. wholly possessech the Ottoman
kingdome both in Europe and Asia. d.
oppreth Orleans his brother Soly-
mans sonne, and putteth out his eyes.
250 b. takech the Caramanian King
and his sonne prisoners. k. enforseth the
Valachian prince to become his tribu-
tarie. l. dieth at Hadrianople. 251 f.
his death cunningly concealed by the
three great Bassas. 252 g. he worthi-
ly accounted the restorer of the Otto-
man kingdome, almost quite ouer-
throwne by Tamerlan. l.
Mahomet the second, surnamed the
Great, an Atheist, of new religion. 337 d.
murdereth his brethren. 338 g. enfor-
meth the Turks commonweale. i. sub-
dueth Mentezia. 339 b. winneth
Constantinople. 347 b. solemnisech
his seatts in Constantinople with the
bloud of the Grecian nobilitie. 348 k.
notably dissembleth his hatred against
Cali Bassa. 349 d. first Emperour of
the Turks. 350 i. amorous of the faire
Greeke Irene. l. with his owne hand
strikech off her head. 353 d. besiegeth
Belgrade. 357 b. wounded and caried
away for dead. 358 i. falsifieth his
saith with regard the Emperour of
Trapezond. 360 i. sleeth to entrap
Vladus prince of Valachia. 361 b. in
danger to haue been slaine by Vla-
dus Dracula his Ganymede. 363 b.
his letters to Scanderbeg. 384 k. iust
to Scanderbeg to haue the league re-
newed betwixt them. 390 b. com-
meth himselfe in person to the siege of
Croia. 400 i. forsakech the siege of
Croia. 402 i. breaketh his saith with
Paulus Ericus Governour of Chalcis.
406 i. he is no lesse troublesome vnto
the Christians. 408 i. cometh himselfe to
the siege of Scodria. 417 c. notably en-
couragech his captaines and souldiers
to a general assault. 418 m. melan-
cholie for the repulse of his men. 420 l.
blasphemeth. 423 d. cursech Epirus,
and so returneth to Constantinople.
425 e. by Messies Palaeologus, one of
his great Bassas, besiegeth the
Rhodes. 429 b. invadech Italie, and
by Achmetes his great captain takech
Otranto. 432 i. going against the Ca-
ramanian King, dieth by the way at
Gezinden in Bythinia, not without
suspicion of poyson, and lieth buried
at Constantinople. 433 a.
Mahometes one of the Visier Bassas by
the mutinous Lanizaries slaine.
437 c.

Mahome-

The Table.

Mahometes the sonne of Caybitius with
four Sultans moe one after another
slaine by the Mamalukes. 450 l
Mahometes Solyman's sonne, disguised
to see his brother Achomates. 477 c
as a sea-faring man commeth dis-
guised to Constantinople, and so into his
father's Court. e. by the condem-
ment of his suspicious father poisoned,
dieth. 478 i
Mahometes Gouverneur of Belgrade aided
by the other Sanzacks, maketh head
against Carzianer, Generall of King
Ferdinands armie. 677 f. wisely re-
fuseth battell offered him by Carzianer,
and by temporising, disstresseth the ar-
mie of the Christians. 680 k. troubleth
the Christians in their retreat. 682 g.
giveth them a great overthrow. 684 l.
commeth to the reliefe of Belgrade.
705 e. his vehement Oration unto
Solyman, to persuade him to take the
kingdome of Hungarie into his owne
hands, and so to unite it unto his owne
Empire. 711 c
Mahomet the Tartar King with his two
sons strangled by Osman Bassa. 975 f
Mahomet Bassa in despite of Sinan sent
Generall of his armie for the reliefe of
his garrisons in Chars & Tiflis. 957 e
discomfited by the Georgians, and his
provision of money and vittuals taken
from him. 959 a. he is discomfited
armie arriveth at Tiflis. he becometh
Orator in the castle of Tiflis. c. ma-
keth a puse for the reliefe of the dis-
tressed garrison. 960. plottereth the
death of Manuchiar the Georgian. m.
himselfe in danger to have been by the
Georgian slaine. 961 d
Mahomet the third saluted Emperour of
the Turks. 1056 i. murdereth his
brethren, and causeth certaine of his
fathers wives and concubines to be
drowned. k. with much adoe appea-
reth the mutinous Linnaries. l. sen-
deth embassadours unto the Transyl-
vanian prince. 1062. carefull of Strig-
onium, besieged by the Christians.
1066 b. perplexed. 1087 e. causeth
the continuance of his wars against
the Emperour and the Transylvanian
to be proclaimed in Constantinople.
1089 a. commeth to Buda with an
armie of two hundred thousand men.
1094 b. besiegeth Agria. l. furiously
assaulteth it. 1095 a. hath it yielded
unto him. 1096 b. with Ibrahim the
great Bassa flieth out of the battell of
Karesia. 1097 e. by the Transylva-
nians and Valachians troubled in his
returne to Constantinople. 1098 m.
his embassadour enill intreated by the
Persian King. 1134 b

the Mahometane princes of the lesser Asia
oppressed by Bajazet, disguised, flie
unto Tamerlan for reliefe. 210 b
Malta described. 795 b. innuaded by the
Turks. 796 k
Mamalukes the beginning of their king-
dome in Egypt. 524 g. their imperious
government in Egypt, Iudaea, and Sy-
ria. 523 c. their kingdome utterly
subverted by Selymus. 554 b. the
Mamalukes in prison at Alexandria,
by the commaundement of Selymus
murdered. 553 f
Manto cruelly slaine by her ielous hus-
band Ionuses. 557 d
Man-Oglis his letters to Ibrahim Bassa.
983 f. sendeth him prisoner. 985 b
Manuchiar his speech to Mustapha the
Visier Bassa. 931 f. with his brother
Alexander by Mustapha sent to A-
murath. 938 b. turneth Turke, and
hath his elder brothers principallie
given him. 941 l. in danger to have
been betrayed by Mahomet Bassa.
960 l. notably reuengeth himselfe of
the trecherie by the Bassa intended a-
gainst him. 961 c. reuoltereth from the
Turks, and doth them great harme.
667 a.
Marquesse S. Crucis taketh one of the
Turks gallies in sight of their whole
fleet. 897 d
the Messagers entertained by Andoni-
cus against the Turks, spoile his coun-
tries in Asia. 149 e. in their returne
homewards, themselves spoiled by the
Catalonians and Turcopuli. 152 l
Masut the Sultan of Iconium denieth his
kingdome amongst his three sons. 36 k
Matthias the Archduke, the Emperours
lieutenant taketh Nomigard from the
Turks. 1030 l. besiegeth Strigonium.
1033 c. raiseth his siege. 1037 d.
bravely put to flight by the Turks.
1043 b.
Matthias Cornutus of a prisoner chosen
King of Hungarie. 394 k. at the request
of the Senat taketh a great part of the
Venetian territorie into his protection
against the Turks. 394 m. relieueth
the Vayvod of Transylvania. 426 m.
no lesse dreadfull unto the Turks than
was his father Huniades. 404 l
Maximilian chosen King of the Romans,
and after crowned King of Hungarie.
789 a. he and Solyman both desirous
of peace. 829 a. he sendeth embassa-
dours to Solyman. f. presents given
by the embassadours unto the Bassa of
Buda. 830 k. his embassadours hono-
rably received by the Turks at Con-
stantinople. 831 c. presents given
by the embassadours unto the great Bas-
sa. e. presents sent to Selymus. 832 i

a homely feast given to the embassa-
dours followers in the Turks Court.
833 c. the embassadours brought in
unto Selymus, with the manner of
the entertainment of them and their
followers. 834 g. a peace concluded
betwixt Maximilian and Selymus.
835 c.
Maximilian the Archduke by the Empe-
rour his brother appointed Generall of
his armie in Hungarie. 1093 c. mar-
cheth but slowly to the reliefe of A-
gria. 1095 c. flieth out of the battell
of Karesia. 1098 i
Maylat treacherously taken prisoner by Pe-
ter the Moldavian. 716 i
Meligalus a notable traitour persuaded
Mahomet to beseege the Rhodes. 427 c
his worthe death. e.
Melchin Sultan of Egypt, and Corradin
Sultan of Damasco, send embassadours
for peace to the Christian princes at the
siege of Damiatra. 90 m. reuoltereth
Damiatra, before taken by the Christi-
ans. 95 c. overthroweth the Christians
and raiseth Ierusalem. 101. dieth. 103 c
Melchysala Sultan of Egypt overthroweth
Robert Earle of Artois the
French kings brother. 104 l. taketh
Lewis the French King prisoner, and
overthroweth his armie. 105 e. ma-
keth peace with the French King, and
is suddenly slain by two Mamalukes.
106.
Melch the Egyptian Sultan innuadeth
Syria, and winneth Damasco from
the Tartars. 114
Melchares the Egyptian Sultan deter-
mining to root out all the Christians in
Syria and the land of Palestine, is by
sudden death taken away. 122 k
Melchysala, Sultan of Damasco, by the
treason of his nobilitie dispossessed of
his kingdome. 58 m
Melites Bassa sent by Amurath to innuade
Transylvania. 267 f. he with twentie
thousand Turks moe slaine by Hunia-
des. 269 e
Michael Ducas the Greeke Emperour by
Nicephorus Botaniates deposed of his
Empire, after he had reigned six years
and six months. 111 e
Michael Palaeologus flieth to the Sultan
of Iconium. 109 a. called home again
by the Emperour Theodorus, and made
great Constable. f. aspreth, and by
common consent made tutor unto the
young Emperour. 111 e. himselfe pro-
claimed Emperour and crowned. 112 b
by Alexius Caesar his lieutenant sur-
priseth Constantinople. 115 e. repai-
reth the decayed citie. 116 b. causeth
the young Emperours eyes to be put
out. 117 a. his armie overthrowen by

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the young Emperours eyes to be put
out. 117 a. his armie overthrowen by

the Turks in Paplagonia. 118 g.
submitte the Greeke church unto the
Latins, and for what cause. 144 l.
persuadeth his subiects to accept of
the alteration of their religion and ce-
remonies. 145 a. raiseth persecution in
the Greeke Church. c. hindered by do-
mesticall troubles, hath no leisure to
attend unto the danger arising from
the Turks in Asia. d. obscurely bu-
ried. e.
Michael Cossi by Othoman taken priso-
ner, by him again set at liberty. 136 m
father of the honourable familie of the
Michael-Oglies among the Turks.
137 a. discometh unto Osman the
treason intended against him. 140 l.
enforced rather than persuaded by O-
thoman, turneth Turke. 144 b
Michael the young Emperour overthrowen
by the Catalonians and Turks, in
danger to have been taken. 152 k. a-
gain overthrowen by the Turks at
Chersonesus. 155 e
Michael Horvath by Amurath created
Vayvod of Valachia. 1051 a. persua-
ded by the Transylvanian prince, re-
uoltereth from the Turks, and killeth all
the Turks and Lewes in his country.
1052 b. killeth one of the Turks proud
Emirs with all his followers. 1053 b.
doth the Turks great harme. c. susse-
reth the Turks embassadours unto the
King of Polonia by his subiects to be
slaine. 1060 k. spoileth the Turks
frontiers. 1061 a. yeldeth his obedi-
ence againe unto the Turks, yet re-
fuseth to aid him against the Christi-
ans. 1099 d. weaveth the Turk sub-
mitteth himselfe with his people to the
Emperours protection. 1100 l. sacketh
Nicopolis. 1107 d. with a great ar-
mie entreib into Transylvania. 1112 l
in a great battell overthroweth the
Cardinal Bathor. 1113 c. sendeth his
head for a present to the Emperour. f.
hath the government of Transylvania
by the Emperour confirmed unto him.
1120 i. receiveth presents from the
Turks. l. in a great battell overthroweth
Sigismund the late Transylvanian
prince, with the Vayvod of Moldavia.
1122 i. tyrannizeth in Transylva-
nia. 1123 a. enforced by the Transyl-
vanians to flie, craveth aid of George
Bassa the Emperours lieutenant in the
upper Hungarie. b. by Bassa and the
Transylvanians in a great battell
overthrowen at Minslo. 1126 b. re-
concileth himselfe to Bassa. 1127 a.
for feare of being betrayed unto the
Polonians, taketh his flight into the
mountains. d. by Zamochie the great
Chancelour driven out of Valachia,
H b b b b iij

The Table.

and another Vayvod there placed in
his stead. 1128 b. submitte himselfe
unto the Emperour. 1139 b. returning
into Valachia, giveth aid unto Bassa
against Sigismund the Transylvani-
an. 1140 g. having with Bassa drive
the prince out of Transylvania, with
great insolenie yseth his victorie. k.
his presumptuous speech to Bassa. l.
suddenly slaine in his owne tent.
1141 a.
the Miserie of the captive Constantinopo-
litans. 348 b
Mitylene yeelded unto the Turks. 364 g
Modon taken by the Turks. 460 g
Moses Golemus corrupted, reuoltereth unto
the Turks. 372 b. with an armie of
the Turks by Mahomet sent into Epi-
rus against Scanderbeg. k. overcome
and put to flight by Scanderbeg. 374 g.
contemned of the Turks, flieth from
Constantinople, and againe submitte
himselfe to Scanderbeg. m. he with di-
vers others of Scanderbegs best cap-
taines by Ballabanus taken prisoners,
and by Mahomet slaine quick. 396 i
Mahamet and Partan, two of the Visier
Bassas, by the insulent Linnaries
frauley entreated. 823 f. Mahamet
for feare of them for a time refraine
to come into the Diano. 824 g. dis-
suadeth Selymus from the innuade of
Cyprus. 839 b. as a secret friend run
the Venetians putteth them in hope of
peace. 857 b. cunningly dissuadeth
Selymus from the massacring of the
Christians, filling his head with more
necessarie considerations. 886 b.
strangely murdered. 901 l
Mucasses King of Tunes cruel and un-
thankfull. 642 g. for feare of Bar-
baryssa flieth out of Tunes. 643 e.
sumptuous in his fare. 745 d. com-
meth to Charles the Emperour. 661 d
his speech unto the Emperour. e. his
behaviour. 662 b. his opinion con-
cerning the present warre. l. three things
by him especially lamented, in the
spoile made by the Christians in the
castle of Tunes. 668 b. fearing the
comming of Barbarus, departeth
from Tunes into Italie, to craue aid of
Charles the Emperour. 745 c. shut
out of his kingdome in the meane time
by his some Amida. e. returneth into
Africa to Guletta. 746 g. going to
Tunes, is by the way overthrowen, take
prisoner, and hath his eyes put out by
his vnnaturall son. 747 d. at the re-
quest of Tounares is sent to Guletta.
748 l. by Charles the Emperour sent
into Sicilie, there to be kept of the com-
mon charge. 749 b. refuseth to kisse
the Popes foot. c.

The Table.

Muslapha Bassa persuaedeth Solyman to the besieging of the Rhodes: 569 c. upon the euill successe of the siege falleth into disgrace with Solyman. 585 c. in danger with Pyrrhus Bassa to haue beene executed. 588 k. made Governour of Caïre. 589 d. by Solyman sent as Generall of his armie to Malta. 794 l. landeth at the port Marza Siroc in the isle of Malta. 796 k. besiegeth the castle S. Elma. 797 a. assaulteth the castle. e. in vain giueth a second assault. 798 g. with losse assaulteth it the third time. m. in most furiously manner batteth it by the space of eightene dayes. and assaulteth it the fourth time. 799 c. with great furie giueth the fift and most terrible assault vnto the castle. 801 a. with all his power giueth the sixt and last assault. 802 i. winneth the castle. 803 a. exerciseth most barbarous crueltie vpon the bodies of the slaine knights. b. in vaine assaulteth the castle S. Michael. 809 c. at one time assaulteth the new citie and the castle S. Michael. 810 i. he by messengers certifieth Solyman of the successe of the siege. 811 a. leaueth nothing vnattempted. 812 i. at once assaulteth the towne S. Angelo and S. Michael. and in both places notably repulseth. 813 a. giueth assest assault and entreteth the new citie. 814 g. with a great slaughter driuen out againe. i. desperately assaulteth the towne of S. Michael. 815 c. repulseth. assaulteth his siege. 817 a. put to flight by the Christians. c. hauing lost about foure and twentie thousand of his Tukes at the siege. departeth from Malta. d. he with Pïall Bassa impugnerth the counsell of Nubamcet. the chiefe of the Visca Basses. and persuaedeth Selyman to invade Cyprus. 839 c. for his hatred against the Christians made Generall of his armie for the invasion of Cyprus. 846 g. his letters vnto the Venetians in the isle of Cyprus. i. he landeth his armie in Cyprus. m. besiegeth Nicofia. 848 c. in vaine persuaedeth them of Nicofia to yeeld. 850 k. he encourageth his souldiers. and giueth a most terrible assault. 851 a. winneth the citie. e. besiegeth Famagusta. 852 a. assaulteth his siege. b. returneth againe to the siege. 862 m. after many assaults bath the citie by composition yeelded vnto him. 866 m. shamefully and contrarie to his faith before giuen murthereth the valiant Governour Bragadimus. 867 b. tyranniseth vpon his dead bodie. d. by Amurath made Generall of his armie

against the Persians. 929 d. commeth to Erzurum. c. mustereb his armie. in number an hundred and ten thousand strong. 930 g. relieueth his souldiers distressed by the Persians. 931 c. maketh a bulwarke of the heads of the slaine Persians. d. he suruayeth his armie at Archibelece. and lacketh fortie thousand of his men. 932 k. fortifieth Teflis. 933 a. loofeth ten thousand of his foragers. 934 h. reuengerth their death. l. his notable answer vnto his mutinous souldiers. 935 b. loofeth eight thousand of his men in passing the riuer Cannac. c. famine in his host. e. he fortifieth Etes. 936 g. sendeth Osman Bassa to take in Sumachia and Derbent. b. relieueth his distressed garrison at Teflis. m. his armie in great miserie in passing the straits of Georgia. 937 c. commeth to Erzurum. and dischargeth his armie. 938 g. maketh preparation for the next yeares warres. 942 k. assemblith his armie at Erzurum. 943 d. in three and twentie daies fortifieth Chars. f. sendeth succours to Teflis. 944 c. returneth to Erzurum. c. there dischargeth his armie. 945 d. discharged of his Generallship. and called home to Constantinople. 946 l. maligned by Sinan. 949 a. dealeth warily with the messengers sent of purpose to haue strangled him. d. appeaseth the displeasure of Amurath. c. dieth suddenly. 952 k. Muslapha. Solyman his eldest sonne. in great estimatiō with the people. 757 b. sent Governour into Caramania. d. maligned by Roxolana. c. in danger to haue beene prysoned. 760 k. sent for by his father. c. warned of his present danger. e. conserueth with his doctor. 762 g. troubled with his melancholie dreames. k. commeth to his fathers tent. 763 a. in the sight of his father most cruelly strangled. c. his son Mahomet strangled also. d. a pōnerbe taken from his death. 765 c. Mutius Tortona a Spanishe capitaine. assaulteth vnto the Christian fleet at Paxo. 873 c. Tortona and his Ancient banded. d. Murzalo by Theodorus the Emperour appointed Governour to his young sonne Iohn. 100 g. enuid by the nobilitie. is traitorously murthered in the Church. 111 a

N

Naupactum. otherwise called Lepanto. in vaine besieged by the

Turks. 413 b. yeelded to Baiazet. 459 c. Neapolis the first regall citie of the Ottoman kings. 143 b Negligence severely punished. 856 g. Newcastle built by Mahomet the Great. 339 d. Nervor. now called S. Maura. taken by the Venetians. 462 k Nice taken by the Turks. 142 k. recovered by the Christians. 180 g. againe surpriseth by the Turks. 181 c. by Orchanes made the regall seat of his kingdome. 183 e Nicholas Catalistius prince of Nizylen turneth Turke. and is executed. 364 k Nicholas Krefschien corrupted. betrayeth Giula to the Turks. 824 i. the traitor iustly rewarded. k. Ncephorus Batoniates displaceth his master the Emperour Michael Ducas. and taketh vpon him the Empire. 11 e Nicomedia yeelded vnto the Turks. 183 c Nonigrade yeelded vnto the Christians. 1030 l.

O

Thoman of greater courage and spirit than his other brethren. the sonnes of old Ertogryul. 135 d. amorous of Malbatana a country maid. in danger for his loue. 136 k. by generall consent chosen Governour of the Ogrizian Turks. 137 d. surpriseth the castle of Calce. 138 b. fighteth a battell with the Christians at Opsicum. k. winneth the castle of Cara-Chisar. and killeth the capitaine. m. feileth in order his little commonweale. 139 c. killeth the capitaine of Cypri-Chisar. e. his death contrived by the capitaine of Bilezuga. 140 i. turneth the treacherie deuised against himselfe vpon the head of the capitaine that deuised it. whom he killeth. and surpriseth his castle. 141 e. surpriseth the castle of Lar-Chisar. e. taketh the castle of Emeigoll. and cruelly executeth the capitaine. 142 g. by the good administration of iustice strenghteneth his gouernment. b. taketh the citie of Nice. k. taketh vpon him the honor of a King or Sultan. 143 a. maketh Neapolis his regall seat. b. in a great battell overthroweth the Christians. 143 c. besiegeth Prusa. d. whilest the Greeces are at discord among themselves. layeth the foundation of the great Ottoman empire that now is. 162 g. 166 k. dieth. and lieth buried at Prusa. 177 a. the wealth he left vnto his sons Orchanes and Aladin. 179 c Orcha

Orchanes his father Orthoman yet liuing. manageth the Turke kingdome. 179 c. surpriseth the castle of Izupri-Chisar. 180 g. fighteth a doubtfull battell with Andronicus the Grecke Emperour at Philocrene. m. surpriseth Nice. 181 e. hath Nicomedia yeelded vnto him. 183 c. committeth the gouernment thereof vnto his son Solyman. c. first of the Turks that built monasteries. c. subdueth the countrey of Carafina. 184 b. dieth. 187 b Orchanes & Mahometes two of Baiazet his nephewes overthrowne by Chelise and Tschellis the rebels. 471 c Osman Bassa by Muslapha made Governour of Siruan. taketh Sumachia. 936 h. hath Derbent yeelded vnto him. i. by the Persian prince diuinen out of Sumachia. flieth to Derbent. 940 b. killeth Sabamall his father in law. 941 d. is by Amurath sent for into Siruan. 974 b. laid in wait for by Mahomet the Tartar king. 975 b. overcommeth the Tartars lying in wait for him. c. by Amurath made chiefe Visier and Generall of his wars against the Persians. 976 k. raiseth a great armie. 989 c. wisely appeaseth his mutinous souldiers. unwilling to goe for Tauris. 990 g. commeth to Tawris. 991 b. taketh the citie. e. in thirtie daies buildeth there a strong castle. 992 i. giueth the citie to be spoiled by his souldiers. k. leaueth Giasser the Eunuch Bassa of Tripolis with a garrison of twelue thousand souldiers gouernour of Tauris. 994 i. dieth. 995 c. much lamented for at Constantinople. 996 b

P

Palaeopolis by Sultan Aladin giuen to Othoman. 138 l Palotta yeelded to the Turks. 1025 d Pantogles with the Turke fleet commeth to the siege of Constantinople. 342 l. displaced. 344 k Paphlagonia and Pontus. with a great part of Cappadocia won by Mahomet the Great. 360 l Parian the Visier Bassa sent by Solyman against the supposed Muslapha. bin geib him to Constantinople. 769 e sent by Solyman to haue brought Baiazet to Amasia. i. is by him with good words sent backe againe. 773 c. standeth indifferent for giuing or not giuing of battell vnto the Christians at Lepanto. 875 e. encourageth his souldiers. 876 i. flieth himselfe out of the battell. 879 c

The Table.

Paradiser executed for yeelding vp of Canisfa vnto the Turks. 1133 e Peace concluded betwixt king Vladislau and Amurath the second. 289 b. by the perswasion of Iulian the Cardinall unfortunately broken by Vladislau. 295 d Peace concluded betwixt Mahomet and Scanderbeg. 386 i. betwixt Baiazet and Cayrbicus. 450 i. betwixt Baiazet and the Venetians. 463 a. betwixt the Venetians and Solyman. 694 l. betwixt the Venetians and Selyman the second. 904 k. betwixt Amurath the third and Mahomet the Persian king. 1005 b Peloponnesia described. 353 e. made tributarie to the Turke. 354 b. subdued by the Turks. 355 e Pera yeelded vnto the Turks. 349 c Perenna the noble Hungarian vpon the suspicion of aspiring. apprehended. 732 k matters finished against him. 733 a. he. Valentinus. and Maylat. three of the chiefe of the Hungarian nobilitie unworthily kept in perpetuall prison. 734 b Persecution in the Grecke church for matters of Religion. 145 c Persians better horsemen than the Turks. 517 b. Pesh taken by Cason Admirall of the Turke fleet vpo the Danubius. 709 a. besieged by the marquisse of Brandenburg. 729 e. in vaine assaulted. 731 c. the siege giuen ouer. 732 b. taken by the Christians. 1146 e Peter a French Hermit going on pilgrimage to Ierusalem. obserueth the miserie of the Christians vnder the Turks and Saracins. 12 l. in the counsell of Claremont deliuereth his message in the behalfe of the poore oppressed Christians. 14 g. he with Gualter Sensatier the first that set forward in the great expedition of the Christians into the Holy Land. 14 k. loofeth greatest part of his armie. 15 d. disauaged. about to haue stolne home. brought back. and enforced to take a new oath for his fidelitie and perseuerance in the warre. 18 k Peter Damoyse Grand Master of the Rhodes a careful Governour. 427 c. his cheerefull speech vnto the rest of his knights and souldiers. 428 b Peter Emus for his barbarous crueltie beheaded at Venice. 978 l Petralba yeelded to Scanderbeg. 285 d Petrella yeelded. 285 c Peruinia taken by the Christians. 1074 k Philaretus the Grecke Emperours lieutenant put to flight by the Turks. 80 l Philadelphia taken by Baiazet. 204 b

Philes a deuout man. but no souldier. vnto taketh the disface of the Grecke Empire against the Turks. 156 i. in plaine battell overthroweth them. 157 c Philip the second of that name the French king in going towards the Holy land. suffereth shipwracke vpon the coast of Sicilia. 681 i. arriueth at Ptolemais. m. his speech vnto Richard king of England and the other Christian princes in his sicknesse. 70 i. he sweareth vnto King Richard. not to inuade his territories in France. and so returneth home. k. Phocas by killing of Mauritiu the Emperour with his children. possesseth himselfe of the Grecke Empire. 22 g. slaine afterwards by them of his owne guard. g. Pïall Bassa Solymans Admirall sent to remoune the Christians out of Zetbi. 784 b. in disgrace with Solyman. sunneth to come to Constantinople. 787 a. by Selyman the second sent against the Venetians. 845 c. in vaine attempteth the island of Tenos. 846 g. Pisanius the Venetian Admirall doth very great harme vnto the Turkes. 460 l. Plague and famine among the Turks. 1060 m. Plague in the Venetian fleet. 849 a Polinus the French embassadour with presents from Francis the French king. meeteth Solyman coming from Buda. 725 d. his request to Solyman. e. returneth into France. 726 g. sent backe againe to Solyman. by the way soliciteb the Venetians to take vp armes against Charles the Emperour. b. grieved. not to find the Turke soeadie to send his fleet in the aid of the King his master as he had before hoped. m. is sharply spoken vp by Solyman Bassa. 727 c. brought to the speech of Solyman himselfe. 728 i. by him reiecteth vntill the next Spring. k. setteth forward with Barbarissa. and the Turke fleet. 735 a. by his letters from Ostia conserueth the Popes Legat in Rome. d. Podolia and Ruscia inuaded by the Turke. 457 a the Pope and the King of Spaine fearing least the Venetians should make peace with the Turke. hasten their confederation with that State. long before by them delayed. 859 a. a perpetuall league concluded betwixt the Pope. the King of Spaine. and the Venetians. 860 b. the league proclaimed. m.

The Table.

the Popes letters vnto the king of Polonia,
so dissuade him from invading of Mol-
davia, to the trouble of the Transyl-
vanian prince. 1081 b
Preians cometh to the Rhodes. 581 c
Presents of great valour sent by the Per-
sian king vnto Selymus. 837 f
Prince Carcan slaine. 219 b
Princes of Germanie ioyne their forces
with king Ferdinand against the
Turke in Hungarie. 728 l
Prusa yielded vnto the Turks. 176 l
burnt by Isa. 240 l. repaired by Ma-
homet. 241 a. againe burnt by the
Caramanian king. 249 f

Queene Isabella with child. 695 e. de-
livered of a sonne. 696 i. that
sonne by the name of Stephen crowned
king of Hungarie. 697 a. her answer
vnto the embassadour of king Ferdin-
and, demanding of her the kingdome
of Hungarie. 699 d. invaded by king
Ferdinand, craveth aid of Solyman.
701 b. by the commaundement of So-
lyman departeth with her young sonne
out of Buda. 713 e. yeeldeth vp to
king Ferdinand all the right he had
in Transylvania & Hungaria. 756 b
Quinke Ecclesia yielded vnto the Turks
736 b.
Quincy in the province of Mangi, of all
the cities in the world the greatest. 75 f

Rab besieged by Sinan Bassa.
1041 b. battered and assaulted.
1044 b. by treason yeelded vnto the
Bassa. l. notably againe surprised by
the Christians. 1103 b
Rama forsaken of the Turks. 211
Ramadan Bassa slaine by the insolent
Tanizaries. 978 m
Rayshachius for sorrow of his sonne slain
by the Turks suddenly dieth. 760 k
Rhodes by the knights hospitallers recou-
red from the Turks in the year 1308.
162 b. besieged by Mesites Paleolo-
gus. 428 l. for feare of the Turks the
Rhodians destroy their suburbs and
places of pleasure without the cite.
578 l. the Rhodes described. 581 d.
besieged by Solyman. 584 g. in five
places at once by the Turks assaulted.
587 b. the distressed estate of the
Rhodians and their resolution therein.
592 g. the Rhodes yielded vnto So-
lyman. 600 i
Richard the first king of England, setteth

forward toward the Holy land. 68 b.
reuengeth the iniuries done to him by
the Cypriots, & taketh prisoner Isaac
Comnenus their king. 69 a. arriveth
at Ptolemais. c. causeth all the Turks
his prisoners in the sight of Saladins
armie to be executed. 71 a. giueth Cy-
prus to Guy in exchange for the tiu-
lar kingdome of Ierusalem. f. with
great slaughter overthroweth Saladin
in plaine battell. 72 b. returning
homeward, taken prisoner by Leopold
duke of Austria. 73 b
Rodolph the Emperour prayeth aid of the
Germane princes against the Turks.
1017 c. his embassadour shut vp
close in his house at Constantinople.
1018 l. his letters to Amurath.
1019 a. his letters to Sinan Bassa. d.
presented with the spoile of the Turks
overthrow at Alba Regalis. 1029 b.
requesteth aid of the great duke of
Muscovia, the king of Polonia, and of
the prince of Transylvania. 1031 b.
holdeth a Diet of the Empire at Ra-
tisbone for the withstanding of the
Turks. 1038 m. receiveth aid from
the Pope, the king of Spaine, and the
princes of Italie. 1134 k
Robert duke of Normandie by generall
consent chosen king of Ierusalem, which
honour heretofore. 22 f
Robert sonne of Peter fourth Emperour of
the Latines in Constantinople. 96 l
goeth to Rome, and in his return dieth
in Achaia. 97 a
Rogendoff his name terrible vnto the
Turks. 613 e. with king Ferdinands
armie entereth into Hungarie, and be-
siegeth Buda. 702 i. threatneth the
queene. k. devided by the bishop. l. in
vaine assaulteth Buda. 703 d. in vai-
ling of his siege by night receiveth a
great overthrow. 708 k. conveyed vp
the river to Konara, there dieth.
709 b
Ronzervius, sometime a notable pyrat, en-
tertained by Andronicus the Empe-
rour against the Turks. 150 k. reli-
queth Philadelphis. l. for lacke of pay
spoileth the Emperours territories in
Asia. 151 a. suddenly slaine. c.
Rofetes riseth against his brother Mule-
asses king of Tunes. 642 l. flieth to
Barbaryssa, and by him carried to
Constantinople. 643 a
Rouerius robbeth Dautius, Baiazer the
great Turks embassadour to Pope A-
lexander. 451 e
Roxolana conspireth with Russian Bassa
against the noble Mustapha, and sai-
neth her selfe religious. 758 g. sent
by Solyman to see if he cometh, i. plot-
teth the confusion of Mustapha. 759 f

bringeth him into suspicion with his
father. 760 g. she with Russian put
Solyman in feare of his life and Em-
pire by his sonne Mustapha. 761 a. lo-
ueth her younger sonne Baiazer better
than her eldest sonne Selymus. 768 g.
entreateth Solyman for Baiazer, and
obtaineth his pardon. 770 i. comfort-
teth him going in feare vnto his fa-
ther. 771 a
Russian Bassa a man of a mischievous
nature. 757 e. furthereth the devices
of Roxolana for the destruction of the
noble Mustapha. 760 g. sent by So-
lyman with an armie into Asia, to have
taken or slaine Mustapha. 761 c. re-
turneth in hast, and with false sugge-
stions stirreth vp Solyman himselfe a-
gainst his sonne. d. his exceeding tre-
cherie at the coming of Mustapha
to his fathers campe. 762 i. disgraced
by Solyman, flieth to Roxolana at
Constantinople. 765 a. by her means
restored againe vnto his former ho-
nours, dieth afterwards of a dropsie.
765 e.

Sahib after the death of Sultan Aladin
his master taking upon him the
government, is by the nobilitie thrust
out, and the Turks kingdome in Asia
went in sunder amongst them. 127 c
Sabamall the Georgian cutteth off the
head of Aider. 922 i. submitteth
himselfe to Mustapha the great Bassa.
936 k. slaine by Osman Bassa his
sonne in law. 941 d
Saladin the Turke chosen Sultan of Eg-
ypt killeth the Caliphe and all his pa-
steritie. 57 e. innadeth the kingdome
of Ierusalem, & by Baldwin suddenly
sallying out of Ascalon overthroweth
59 d. besiegeth Beritus both by sea
and land, taketh Edessa and Carras.
60 l. spoileth the holy land at his
pleasure. 61 c. in vaine besiegeth Pto-
lemais. 63 b. besiegeth Tiberias, and
by the treason of the countie of Tripo-
lis overthroweth Guy the king, com-
ing to the reliefe thereof, and taketh
him prisoner. 63 e. winneth Ierusalem
with all the other cities and townes in
the holy land, except Tripolis, Tive, and
Antioch. 64 g. besiegeth Tive, and
with the losse of his best souldiers and
of his tentz retireth. l. taketh Anti-
och, with all the provinces and townes
thereunto belonging. 65 a. putteth to
death the Christian captives. 71 d.
dieth, and forbiddeth any funerall
pompe to be vsed at his buriall. 73 e
Salma-

Saluagus a worthy knight. 797 c
Salazar a Spanish captain goeth as a
spie into the Turks campe at the siege
of Malta. 811 d
Sanguin the Turke overthroweth king
Fulke, coming to the reliefe of the ca-
stle of Mont Ferand, and bath the ca-
stle yeelded vnto him. 30 b. taketh
Edessa, and there vseth all manner of
crueltie against the Christians. 31 a.
besieging Cologn, is there slayed
by one of his own friends, and flamb.
Sarmentus slaine. 691 d
Sarungat Osman brother slaine, and ac-
counted of the Turks for a saint. 138 k
Scanderbeg with his brethren by their
father Iohn Castriot giuen in hostage
vnto Amurath. 260 l. wisely diffem-
bleth his desire for the deliuerie
himselfe and his countrey. 283 d. by
great policie recouereth the cite of
Croia out of the hands of the Turks.
284 i. bath the strong cities of Epirus
yeelded vnto him. 285 c. spyleth
Macedonia. 287 c. in a great battell
overthroweth Alis Bassa with two
and twentie thousand of his Turks.
288 l. going to the aid of king Vla-
dislaus, is by the faithlesse Despot de-
nied passage through Serbia. 297 b.
spoileth the Despots countrey, and so
returneth into Epirus. 299 c. his re-
solue answereth vnto Amurath his me-
lancholic letters. 301 d. putteth Peri-
ses to flight. 302 l. overthroweth Mu-
stapha the second time, and taketh
him prisoner. 313 b. carefully setteth
all things in order against the com-
ming of Amurath. 314 g. his effe-
ctuall speech vnto the souldiours and
citizens of Sferigrade to encourage
them against the coming of
the Turke. 315 b. cunningly entrapeth
some of the forerunners of Amuraths
armie. 316 l. troubleth his great
campe. 319 a. with his owne hand
killeth Feri Bassa. 320 g. troubleth
Amurath his great armie at the siege
of Croia. 324 l. in danger to have
been slaine or taken. m. deceiveth Ma-
homet the young prince in his own de-
vice. 326 b. flieth by night into Epi-
rus. 371 c. his answer by letters vnto
the letters of Mahomet. 385 e. his an-
swer vnto Mahomet letters con-
cerning the renning of the league. 391 a.
in danger. 398 b. Scanderbeg dieth.
402 m. buried at Essa. 403 a. his
bones digged up by the Turks, and of
them greatly honoured. 404 b
Scodra besieged by Solyman Bassa. 411 e.
relieved by Matthias king of Hun-
garie. 412 b. a yearely set appointed
by Mahomet to one, to put him daily

in mind of the siege of Scodra. i. Scodra
the second time besieged by Mahomet
the great. 415 e. sore battered. 418 i.
the fourth time assaulted. 419 e.
twelve thousand Turks slaine in this
last assault. 420 m. most furiously the
fifth time assaulted by the Turks. 421.
by composition yeelded vnto the Turke.
426 k.
the Scirvano rebelleth against the Turke
in Caramania, and giueth Mehemet
Bassa a notable overthrow. 1134 g.
in a great battell overthroweth him
againe the next year with an armie
of fiftie thousand Turks. 1142 b. ha-
ving overrun a great part of the Turks
dominions in Asia, dieth. 1150 g. his
younger brother steppeth vp in his
stead, and in a great battell over-
throweth Hassan Bassa, and killeth
him. 1150 b
Selymus ambitious and of a turbulent
spirit, and therefore of the Tanizaries
and men of warre better beloued than
his other brethren. 478 l. aided by
Mahometes the Tartar king, riseth a-
gainst his aged father. 479 b. colour-
teth his rebellious purpose with the in-
vasion of Hungarie. 480 g. marcheth
with his armie towards Hadrianople.
481 e. in a great battell overthroweth
and putteth to flight by his father Baiazer
at Tzurulum. 486 b. by the persua-
sion of the Bassas by his father sent
for home. 491 c. chosen General all by
his father to go against his rebellious
brother Achomates, is by and by after
by the Tanizaries saluted Emperour.
494 g. causeth his father to be pay-
oned. 495 d. putteth three of his fa-
thers pages to death, for mourning for
their master. 496 b. bountifully re-
wardeth the souldiours of the Court.
499 c. murdereth five of his brothers
sonnes. 500 g. causeth Corcutus his
brother to be strangled. 502 b. treason
intended against him, discovered.
503 a. craveth aid of Aladules and
the other mountaine princes against
the Persians. 507 c. Selymus perplex-
ed. 508 i. receiveth great losse in pas-
sing the river Euphrates. 513 c. he
and Hyssmaell compared together.
515 d. Selymus with a great armie
entereth into Armenia, and taketh
Ciamassum a city of the Persian kings
518 k. vanquisheth Aladules the
mountaine king, putteth him to death,
and converteth his kingdome into the
forme of a province. 520 l. innadeth
Hungarie. 521 b. sendeth his embas-
sadors with presents to Campon the
Egyptian Sultan. 525 f. encourageth
his souldiours to go against the Mema-

lukes. 526 b. passeth the mountaine
Amanus, and cometh into Cornage-
na. l. in the battell of Singa over-
throweth the Mamalukes. 530 g. in
doubt lest Sinan Bassa had been lost,
becometh exceeding melancholic.
536 k. meeteth with Sinan Bassa at
Gaza. 537 c. passeth the sandie de-
sarts, and meeteth with Tomombicus
at Rhodanus. 538 c. giueth him bat-
tell and putteth him to flight. 540 m.
encourageth his souldiours to the win-
ning of Caire. 544 l. fighteth a great
and mortall battell with the Mema-
lukes in the citie of Caire. 545 b. cau-
seth the citie to be set on fire. e. putteth
Tomombicus and the Mamalukes to
flight, and so taketh the citie. 546 i.
his embassadors sent to Tomombicus
slain by the Mamalukes. 548 k. over-
throweth Tomombicus againe at the
riuer of Nilus. 550 b. causeth him
being taken to be tortured and put to
death. l. cunningly reduceth the Ara-
bians to his obedience. 553 b. pur-
posing to turne his forces upon the Chri-
stians, is stricke in the backe with a
canker. 561 a. his death concealed by
Feris Bassa. 567 c
Selymus the second by the Tanizaries sa-
luted Emperour. 827 e. appeareth the
tumultuous Tanizaries. 828 g. sen-
deth Cubates his embassadour to Ve-
nice to demand Cyprus of the Senat.
841 c. rageth to have it denied him.
842 m. he innadeth the Venetians.
845 e. in his rage about to have put
to death all the Christians in his do-
minions. 885 f. sendeth out Vlazales
his Admiral with two hundred gallies
against the Christians. 888 l. desirous
of peace, concludeth the same with the
Venetians. 904 k. by his Bassas ta-
keth Guletta from the Spaniards, and
the citie of Tunes. 915 d. dieth. c.
Serinus Governour of Sigeth. 821 e. his
comfortable and resolute speech vnto
his souldiours. 822 g. burneth the
new towne, not now to be longer de-
fended, and retireth into the old. i. his
last speech vnto his souldiours. 823 d.
slaine, and his head sent to Countie
Salma. f.
the Serians in mutinie amongst them-
selves, are with a great slaughter over-
throwne by the Turks. 192 i
Seruis becometh tributarie vnto the
Turks. 192. wholly yeelded vnto the
Turks. 356
Sferigrade besieged by Amurath. 316 l.
in vaine diuers times by the Turks as-
saulted. 319 b. by the working of a
traitor Amurath bath the strong citie
yeelded vp vnto him. 321 f
Sigif-

The Table.

Sigismund King of Hungarie with the Christian princes his confederats with a great armie inuadeth the Turke dominions. 205 b. his proud speech vpon the greatnesse of his armie. d. in a great battell ouerthrowne by Baiazet at Nicopolis. 206 b. hardly escapeth himselfe by flight. i.

Sigismund prince of Transylvania in danger by his owne subiects to haue bene betrayed vnto the Tartars. 1046 l. the conspirators apprehended and executed. 1047 d. giueth his subiects leaue to spoile the Turkes. e. entereth into a confederacy with the Emperour. 1048 k. persuadeth Mirbachell the Vayvod of Valachia, and Aaron the Palatine of Moldavia to reuolt from the Turke. 1049 c. sendeth Aaron the Palatine with his wife and sonne prisoners to Prage. 1062 l. marrieth Maria Christina the late Archduke Charles his daughter. 1072 k. ouerthroweth thirtie thousand Turkes comming as vnbidden guests to his marriage. l. in a great battell ouerthroweth Sinan Bassa with his Turke. 1073 e. receiveth the Zaculians into his protection, and hath from them great aid. 1074 m. putteth Sinan Bassa to flight. 1075 d. by force taketh Tergousta from the Turke. f. taketh also Bucarest. 1076 i. goeth vnto the Emperour at Prage. 1088 g. besiegeth Temwar. 1092 g. with eightene thousand men commeth to the aid of Maximilian the Archduke going to haue releued Agra. 1096 l. doubting the power of the Turke, resigneth his principalltie of Transylvania vnto the Emperour. 1100 k. repenting himselfe, returneth again into Transylvania. and taketh vpon him the gouernment. 1106 g. by his embassadours offereth againe his principalltie vnto the Emperour. 1109 d. in a great battell ouerthroweth together with the Moldauian by Michell the Vayvod of Valachia. 1122 b. by the fauour of the Nobilitie recovereth his state againe in Transylvania. 1139 d. in battell ouerthrowne by Bassa and Michell the Vayvod, flieth out of Transylvania. 1140 i. by the fauour of his subiects and continuance of the Polonians recovereth againe his state. 1142 g. doubting how to be able to hold it against the Imperials, yeldeth it by composition vnto Bassa the Emperours lieutenant, and goeth himselfe vnto the Emperour. 1143 c.

Sigismund King of Polonia his letters vnto Amurat. 1003 e

Sinan Comite of Montfort sent by Philip

the French King into the Holy land, representeth the furie of the Turke, and so concludeth a peace with them for ten yecares. 74 k

Sinan Bassa the Eunuch ouerthrowne by Achomates. 503 c. restoreth Selymus his battell against Campson, before almost lost. 530 g. by Selymus sent before into Iudea. 533 c. hath Garza yelded vnto him. 534 g. discomforteth Gazelles, comming to haue oppressed him at Garza. 535 c. slaine in the battell at Rhodania. 540 g

Sinan the Iew his short answer to Barbarusa. 661 b

Sinan Bassa by Amurat chosen General for the Persian warres. 951 b. releueth Tefsis. 954 l. loseth seven thousand of his souldiours. 955 b. deuided of his own souldiours. 956 g. his proud answer to Amurat. 962 b. displaced, and cast into exile. l. againe receiued into fauour. 1003 d. ouerthrowne in the upper Hungarie. 1006 b. his letters vnto the Emperour. 1020 g. sent General of the Turke armie against the Emperour. 1023 f. taketh Vesprium. 1025 c. hath Palotta yelded vnto him. d. with an armie of an hundred and fiftie thousand men commeth againe into Hungarie. 1040 i. taketh Dotis & S. Martins. l. besiegeth Rab. 1041 b. in assaulting thereof loseth twelue thousand of his men. 1044 b. by corrupting of the Gouernour hath the citie yelded vnto him. l. besiegeth Komara. 1045 b. raiseth his siege, and breaketh vpon his armie. d. craftily seeketh to trie the Emperours mind concerning peace. 1058 l. sent for home to the Court. 1060 l. by Sultan Mahomet appointed General of the warres against the Emperour. 1073 b. inuadeth Valachia. d. in a great battell ouerthrowne by the prince of Transylvania. e. in flying in danger to haue bene drowned. f. with a great armie commeth againe into Valachia. 1075 b. seeing the generall feare of his armie vpon the comming of the Transylvanians, flieth. d. for feare delayeth his comming to Constantinople. vntill his peace were made, and there shortly after dieth. 1087 d

Sifig by the Turke besieged. 1022 g. notably relieved. 1023 a. againe besieged and taken by the Turke. 1024 l

Solyman, Orchanes his sonne, by his father made Gouernour of Nicomedia. 183 c. taketh the castle of Zombonie in Europe. 185 b. he the first that brought the Turke ouer into Europe, with purpose there to conquer and in-

habit. d. taketh the castle of Medius. c. winneth Calipolis. 186 g. dieth. 187 a

Solyman the vnfortunat, Baiazet his eldest sonne, by the great Bassas set vpon his fathers steed at Hadrianople. 221 b. goeth ouer with a great armie against his brother Mahomet. 241 c. by pollicie taketh the castle of Prusa. 242 i. besiegeth his brother in Amasia. i. returneth into Europe to appease the stirres raised by his brother Mustafa, and recouereth Hadrianople. 244 b. in his excessiue rage doth not the approach of his brother Mustafa forsake of his souldiours flieth. l. taken prisoner, is by the commandment of his brother Mustafa strangled. 245 a.

Solyman the Eunuch Bassa dealeth treacherously with the Kings of Arabia. 670 m.

Solyman hardly persuaded that his father was dead. 567 d. saluted Emperour by the Lamizaries. f. his letters to Valerius Great Master of the Rhodes. 571 b. his Oration to his men of war declaring his purpose for the besieging of the Rhodes. e. he maketh great preparation for the siege. 573 a. his threatening letters vnto them of the Rhodes. 578 b. commeth himselfe in person to the siege. 583 b. his bolliue Oration to his souldiours. d. displaceth his Admirall, and putteth him like a slave. 589 a. about to haue forsaken the siege. b. comforteth his discouraged souldiours, persuading them with patience to continue the siege. f. his letters to the Great Master and the Rhodians, sent by their own embassadours. 593 d. his speech vnto the Great Master at his comming to yeld vpon the citie. 598 l. he entrencheth into the Rhodes vpon Christmase day in the year 1522. 600 i. Solyman vpon the discord of the Christian princes and disordered state of Hungarie, taketh occasion to inuade that kingdom. 601 b. commeth into Hungarie against King Lewis with an armie of two hundred thousand men. e. ouerthroweth him in battell at Mohatz. 602 k. commeth to Buda. 603 a. Solyman in the quarrell of King John against King Ferdinand, cometh into Hungarie with an armie of an hundred and fiftie thousand men. 609 a. without resistance entrencheth into Buda, and besiegeth the castle. 609 d. laith siege to Vienna. 610 k. without succour releaseth certaine Christian prisoners. 612 g. loseth his great ordinance vpon the Danubius. k. burieth

eights

eight thousand of his Turke in the mines. l. having lost fourscore thousand of his Turke, raiseth his siege, and returneth to Buda. 614 i. he restoreth the kingdom of Hungarie vnto King John. k. returneth himselfe to Constantinople. 615 a. maketh great preparations for the subduing of the territories belonging to the house of Austria, as also for the conquest of Germanie, with the short time he prepared vnto himselfe for the performance thereof. 615 c. Solyman with a mightie armie commeth againe into Hungarie. 618 e. besiegeth Gunza. i. his proud letters vnto Charles the Emperour and his brother King Ferdinand m. bunneth to meet with Charles the Emperour at Vienna, and so turneth out of the way into Carinthia. 621 a. the causes mouing him so to doe. b. returneth towards Constantinople. 623 d. Solyman persuaded by Abraham Bassa, resoluth to goe against the Persians. 649 a. commeth with his armie to Tauris. f. followeth Tammas the Persian King into Sultania. 650 g. his armie strangely distressed by tempest. k. hath Babylon with the countries of Mesopotamia and Assyria yelded vnto him. 651 a. he raiseth Tauris. f. discouraged by the harme done him by Delymethers, giueth ouer his warres in Persia, and returneth to Constantinople. 653 c. he with a wonderfull charge prepareth a great fleet at Suetia against the Portugals in the East Indies. 670 b. Solyman by the French embassador incited to inuade Italie with an armie of two hundred thousand men, commeth to Aulona. 671 c. sendeth Lutiz Bassa and Barbarusa with his fleet before him into Italie. d. conuerteth his forces prepared for Italie against the Venetians. 673 b. in danger to haue bene slaine in his tent in the middle of his armie. 773 d. inuadeth Corcyra. e. carrieth away a booke fixtene thousand prisoners, and doth good iustice vpon such Turkes as had violated their faith at Castrum. 674 k. Solyman angry with the secret confederacy between King Ferdinand and King John. 693 c. prauiseth to protect the queene and her sonne. 701 c. with a great armie commeth to Buda. 709 b. sendeth for the young King into his campe. e. cowardly receiue him. 710 b. craftily surpriseth the citie of Buda. i. diuersly persuaded by his Bassas for the disposing of that kingdom. 711 b.

he sacrificeth after the Mahometane manner in Buda. 712 m. pronounceth the doome of Hungarie, and conuerteth it from a kingdom into a province of his Empire. 713 a. his proud answer vnto King Ferdinand his embassadours. 714 k. he returneth to Constantinople. 715 b. sendeth his fleet by Barbarusa his Admirall to aid the French King against the Emperour. 734 k. Solyman with a great armie commeth againe into Hungarie. 736 g. taketh Strigonium. 738 b. entereth into the citie, and there setteth vpon the Mahometane superstition. m. winneth Alba Regalis. 742 b. returneth to Constantinople. k. by the instigation of Dragut the pyrat sendeth out Sinan Bassa with a great fleet to reuenge the wrong done vnto him by Austria. 752 l. Solyman amorous of Rozolana. 757 c. manumisseth her. 758 b. marrieth her. l. by her persuasion, resoluth to put to death his eldest sonne, the noble Mustapha. 761 d. goeth himselfe with a great armie into Asia to kill his sonne. c. sendeth for Mustapha, who comming, is cruelly strangled in his sight. 763 c. his stout speech vnto the Lamizaries, vpon arms for the vnrworthy death of Mustapha. 764 k. he glad to yeld vnto the Lamizaries. m. Solyman desirous with as little stirre as might be to appease the grudges betwixt his two sonnes Selymus and Baiazet, sendeth Partau and Mehmet two of his Visier Bassas to bring them to the provinces by him appointed for them. 773 d. maketh preparation against Baiazet, and sendeth aid to Selymus. e. for countenancing of Selymus, goeth himselfe in person with his armie ouer into Asia. 776 l. dissembleth with Baiazet. 778 g. seeketh to stop his flight into Persia, decciued of his purpose, proceedeth to haue him and his sauour sonnes strangled in prison in Persia. 791 d. Solyman by his embassadour Abraham Strotz a confirmeth his league with Ferdinand the Emperour for eight yecares. 789 b. his proud letters vnto the Emperour Ferdinand. c. his presents sent vnto the Emperour. 791 d. he maketh preparation against the knights of Malta. 793 a. his Oration vnto his captaiues for the inuasion of Malta. b. his fleet arriueth at Malta. 795 a. with shame returneth. 817 c. Solyman purposing now the seventh time himselfe in person to inuade Hungarie, causeth a bridge of a mile long with incredible labor to be made ouer the great riuer Sauer and the deepe

fennes toward Sigeth. 821. l. besiegeth Sigeth. e. commeth himselfe with a great power into the campe. 822 b. winneth the old towne. l. fallett sicke and dieth of the bloudie flux at Quinquage Ecclesia. 822 m. his death by Mahomet Bassa concealed, and the siege continued. 813 a. his bodie with great solemnitie by his sonne Selymus buried at Constantinople. 828 b

the Spaniards reioicing at the ouerthrow of the Italians by Salces, are themselves foyled by Tabaces. 658 m

Stellusa with Desfahot the Gouernor thereof delivered to Scanderbeg. 285 f

Stephen Rozman in stead of Aaron by the Transylvanian prince placed Vayvod of Moldavia. 1062 l. thrust out by Zamotich Chancelour of Polonia. 1080 g. taken prisoner and put to death. 1081 a

Stephen Vayvod of Transylvania vpon the commendation of Amurat chosen King of Polonia. 921 a

Stiria forraged by the Turke. 1132

Strigonium in vaine besieged by King John. 616 k. besieged by Solyman.

736 i. diuers times by the Turke in vaine assaulted. c. the strength thereof by a fugitive Christian discovered. d. yelded vnto the Turke. 738 b. besieged by the Christians. 1033 c. five times in vaine assaulted, with the losse of five thousand men. 1034 l. the siege by Matthias the Archduke begun. 1037 d. besieged by counte Mansfeld. 1065 b. twice in vaine assaulted. e. the lower towne taken. 1070 g. yelded vnto the Archduke Matthias. 1072 b

Suguta by Sultan Aladin giuen to Ertoyn. 134 k

Sumachia taken by Osman Bassa. 936 b

recovered by the Persian prince. 940 i

Swartzenburg by two Italian prisoners flying out of Rab, is informed of the state of the towne. 1102 g. consulteth with the lord Palfi. b. surpriseth that strong town. 1103 b. in vaine attempteth to haue surprisid Buda. 1110 b. commeth to Pappa to appease the French and Wallons there in mutinie. 1117 a. besiegeth the towne. 1118. flaine. i.

Syrgianes appointed by Andronicus the Emperour to observe the doings of young Andronicus his nephew, treacherously discovereth the same vnto him. 159 c. cunningly coloureth his treason. 160 b. contented of the younger Andronicus, reuolteeth again vnto his grandfather. 162 l. apprehended, imprisoned, and his house rased. 164 l

Tamas

The Table.

T

Tamas the Persian King hearing of the coming of Solyman to Tauris, flieth into Eucania. 651 d. in feare of Baiazet, killeth his followers, and imprisoneth him with his sonnes. 780 l. sendeth embassadors with presents to Solyman. 781 a. the cause why he would not by any means let Baiazet goe out of his hands. d. his answer vnto the Venetian embassador, perswading him to take up armes against the Turke. 862 k
Tamerlan his reasonable and modest answer vnto the other Mahometane princes, craving his aid against Baiazet. 210 k. in their bechaffe sendeth embassadors with presents to Baiazet. l. provoked by the proud answer of Baiazet, the sollicitation of the oppressed princes, and the perswasion of Ascalla resoluneth to make war vpon him. 211 b his honorable parantage and announcements. 212 i. the causes why some report him to have bene a shepheard or herdsman. k. be himselfe not delighted in blood. m. marrieth the daughter, and heire of the Great Chan of Tartarie, the ground of his greatnes. 213 a. flieth forward against Baiazet. 214 k. his great campe still like unto a well governed citie. 215 b. the number of his great armie. k. taketh Sebastia, and bringeth all the people quicke. 216 b. flieth the coming of Baiazet. 217 a. disposeth of the order of his battell. 218 k. flieth a great and mortall battell with Baiazet. 219 b. taking him prisoner, causeth him like a wild beast to be shut up in an yron cage. 220 m. refuseth the Emperour of Constantinople, offered him by Emanuel the Emperours embassadors. 221 e. goeth privately himselfe to Constantinople. 222 i. much delighted with the situation and pleasures of that citie. k. spoileth the Turke dominions in Asia. l. restorith vnto the poore Mahometane princes oppressed by Baiazet all their ancient inheritances. 223 b. in a great battell overthroweth the Sultan of Egypt nere vnto Aleppo. c. winneth Damasco. d. commeth to Ierusalem. f. taketh Damata. 224 b. assaulteth Caire. 225 a. driveth the Sultan out of Caire. d. passeth him to Alexandria. 226 g. causeth him into Lybia, hleazeth Calibes to governe the countries of Egypt and Syria. l. conquereth Mesopotamia, and Babylon, with the kingdom of

Persia. 227 a. returneth to Samarcand. b. the great power he continually kept. 235 c. his death. e.
Tangolpux the Turke sent to aid the Persian Sultan. 4 g. by consent of the souldiours chosen Sultan of Persia. l. first Sultan of the Turke. m. having slaine Pisafirus Caliph of Babylon in battell igneth his dominions vnto his owne. 5 b. innadeth the Grecke Emperours dominions. f. putteth to death his brother Habramie. 6 i
Tancred created prince of Galliley, winneth Apamea and Laodicea. 5 c. after the death of young Bohemund created King of Antioch. 26 i
Taurus in Cilicia yielded vnto Baiazet. 446 m.
Tatar Han his letters vnto the King of Polonia. 1083 c
Tauris yielded to Selymus. 512 c. who contrarie to his promise exacteth a great summe of money from the Taurisians, and so departeth. 513 a. facketh by Solyman. 651 f. taken by the Turke. 991 d. hath a new castle therein built by the Turke in six and thirtie daies. 992 i. miserably spoiled. l.
Taurica Chersonesus, with the Tartars Precepenses and Desfences subdued by the Turke. 412 m
Techellisi innadeth the Turke dominions. 469 c. overthroweth Orchanes and Mahometes, Baiazet his nephewes. 471. discomfith Caragofes the Viceroy of Natolia. 472 i. killeth Alis Bassa. 474 l. flieth into Armenia. 475 e. robbeth a Caravan of marchants, and therefore burnt at Tauris. 476 b.
Temiswar taken by the Turke. 756 g
Temurtases, Baiazet his lieutenant in Asia, taken prisoner by Aladin the young King of Caramania. 208 k. againe set at libertie, hangeeth the Caramanian King. m.
Teisenbach taketh Sabatska. 1026 k. winneth Fidek. 1027 c. besiegeth Hatan. 1032 g. overthroweth the Bassa of Buda. b. giueth the same Bassa a second overthrow. 1037 f
Theobald King of Nauarre maketh an vnfurnat expediton into the Holy land. 99 f. with Lewis the French King goeth against the Moores. 118 k. in his returne dieth of the plague in Sicilia. l.
Theodoros Lascaris flieth into Byrhinia, and possessing himselfe of many countries, taketh vpon him the name of the Grecke Emperour at Nice. 84 l. he killeth Iatbatines the Turke Sultan. 87 c
Theodoros Lascaris, son to Iohn Batates, chosen Emperour. 108 m. aideth the

Sultan of Iconium. 109 c. falleth sicke and dieth. 110 g
Therapulus Earle of Paphos unworthily hanged by the faithlesse Bassa Masapha. 867 d
Thracia Spoiled by the Turke. 156 g
Tomombius by the generall consent of the Mahometanes chosen Sultan of Egypt. 533 d. maketh great preparation against the Turke, and seeketh to entrap them. 538 g. his deuices discovered. i. he flieth a great battell with Selymus, and is put to the worse. 540 m. raiseth new forces at Caire. 541 c. forfith Caire. 542 k. flieth a great battell in the citie. 545 b. overcome, flieth. 546 b. driven out of Caire, raiseth new forces in Segesta. 547 d. discomfith the Turke in passing the bridge made ouer Nilus. 549 b. giueth notable attempt to haue gained the bridge. f. repulset and put to flight. 550 i. taken and brought to Selymus. l. tortured, and shamefully put to death. m.
Trapezond yielded to Mahomet the Great. 360 k
Transilvania given by Solyman to the child King Iohn his sonne. 716 l
Tripolis in Barbarie besieged by Sinan Bassa. 753 a. battered. b. the weakest places thereof and fittest to be battered, by a fugitive Christian discovered to the Turke. d. vpon hard conditions yielded to the proud and faithlesse Bassa. 755 d
Times besieged by Lewis the French King. 119 a. yielded to Charles the Emperour. 667 c. by him vpon an easie tribute againe restored to Mulesa. 669 d. againe yielded to the Turke. 915 d.
Turks their originall beginning duely reported. 1 c. descended from the Scythians. 2 b. the causes why they left their auntries, and naturall seats in Scythia, to seeke for other in countries more Southerly. 2 l. where they first seated themselves in Asia, after their departure out of Scythia. 3 b. their first kingdom erected in Persia by Tangolpux their first Sultan. 4 l. the Turke first called into Europe by the Catalonians. 52 g. they differ not from the Persian about the interpretation of their law, but about the true successor of their false prophet Mahomet only. 462 i.
Turqueminus chosen Sultan of Egypt. 106 b.
Tzhangar refuseth the noble Mustapha his brothers wealth & treasure offered him by his father Solyman, and for sorrow killeth himselfe. 763 e
Valachia

The Table.

V

Valachia, when first spoiled by the Turke. 204 g. innaded by Mahomet the Great. 362 g. oppressed by the Turke. 1050 b. in great troubles. 1143 d
Valmies fortified by Mahomet the Great. 402 g.
Valetta the Grand master of Malia advertised of Solymans purpose for the inuasion of him & his knights. 793 f. his effectual speech vnto his knights. 794 g. his great preparation against the Turke comming. k. his whole strength. 796 g. he certifieth Garzias of Toledo, Viceroy of Sicilia, of his estate. l. sendeth a new supplie into the castle S. Elmo, twice before assaulted by the Turke. 798 g. disappointed of a supplie to haue bene brought him by his owne gallees. b. his letters to Garzias the Viceroy of Sicilia. 800 g. he sendeth three of his knights to know the state of them in the castle S. Elmo. 801 e. encountereth his souldiers after the losse of the castle. 803 c. his Christianlike letters to the Governor of the citie of Melita. c. his resolute answer to the messengers sent vnto him from the great Bassa. 804 i. he receiveth a small supplie from Sicilia. 805 f. maketh hard shifts to send newes of his distress to the Viceroy of Sicilia. 808 l. his comfortable speech vnto his souldiers, at such time as the Turke were entered the new citie. 814 b. his great carefullnesse. 817 e. his letters to the Grand Prior of Almaine concerning the manner of the Turke proceedings in the siege of Malta. 818 g
Venetius the Venetian Admirall and Barbadosus their providitor perswade the rest of the Christian confederats to giue battell vnto the Turke at Lepanto. 871 d. comming to the reliefe of Don Iohn, is encountered by Partau Bassa. 879 a. in danger. b. at the request of the Spaniards displaced, but not disgraced. 887 e
the Venetians with a great fleet spoile the coasts of Lycia, Pamphilia, and Cilicia. 19 a. in the deuision of the Grecke Empire amongst the Latines had for their share all the rich islands of the Aegeum and Ionian, with the famous island of Candie or Crete. 84 b. enter into confederation with other Christian princes against the Turke. 389 e. they with their confederates doe the Turke great harme. 407 d. receiue a great overthrow from the Turke at the

ruiner of Sontium. 414 k. their marchants in Syria imprisoned by Campson Gaurus the Egyptian Sultan. 471 b. their Senators diuersly affected towards the confederation with the Emperour and the French King against Solyman. 693 d. they refuse to yield vpon Cyprus vnto Selymus, demanding the same. 841 e. make great preparation for their own defence, and craue aid of the other Christian princes. 842 k. what princes promised them aid. l. wearie of the delays and crose dealings of the Spaniards their confederats, conclude a peace with Selymus without their knowledge. 904 k.
Veradinum besieged by the Turke. 1106 b. relieved by the lord Bassa. l.
Vesprimium taken by the Turke. 1025 c
Vsegi Bassa taken prisoner. 500 l. put to death. 501 b
Vicegrad taken by the Christians. 1072 i
Viceor Capella with a notable speech perswadeth the Venetians to take up arms against Mahomet the Great. 387 a
Vienna by Solyman besieged. 610 k. badly fortified. 611 a. the walls blown vp. 612 m. thrice assaulted. f. worthily defended. 614 g. Solyman glad to forsake the siege. i.
Villorum chosen Great Master of the Rhodes. 569 d. his letters to Solyman. 571 d. his carefull prouision for defence of his citie. 573 b. 575 e. his notable speech vnto the Rhodians. 576 g. his worthie commendation. 581. in vain craueith aid of the Christian princes. b. reconueth the Spanishe bulwark taken by the Turke. 588 g. his resolute opinion concerning Solyman demand for the yielding vpon of the Rhodes. 594 g. his answer vnto Solyman, offering vnto him most honourable entertainment. 599 b. he departeth from the Rhodes with his knights vpon New yeares day. 600 g
Vladislans King of Polonia chosen also King of Hungarie. 262 i. sendeth embassadors vnto Amurath lying at the siege of Belgrade. 263 e. goeth himselfe in person against the Turke. 277 b. taketh Sophia. c. spoileth Bulgaria. d. highly commendeth Huniades for his good seruice. 278 i. enforces for his good seruice of the passage of the difficultie of the passage of the mountaine Hemus, retrieveth with his army. 279 b. by the perswasion of Huniades and others retrieveth, and in vaine seeketh to haue opened the mountaine passage. 281 d. in his retreat much troubled with the Turke. 282 b. in great triumph returneth to Buda. m. vpon most honourable con-

ditions concludeth a peace with Amurath for ten yeares. 289 b. by solemn oath confirmeth the league he had made with Amurath. c. absolved of that oath by Indian the Cardinal of S. Angell, refused for the prosecution of his wars against the Turke. 292 i. by his embassadors and letters craueith aid of Scanderbeg. 293 a. flieth forward against the Turke. 295 e. flieth the great and vnfurnat battell at Varna. 297 b. is there himselfe slaine. 298 b
Vlaxales in the battell of Lepanto taketh twelue of the Venetian gallees. 882 i. seeing the rest of the Turke fleet discomfited, flieth himselfe. m. is by Selymus the next yeare sent out with two hundred gallees against the Venetians and their confederats. 888 l. meaning nothing lesse, maketh shew of battell. 892 b. cunningly retrieveth. i. flieth from Nauarrium into the bay of Modon. 895 c. returneth with his weak fleet to Constantinople. 902 m
Vranacotes by Scanderbeg appointed Governour of Croia against the coming of Amurath. 322 l. with chearfull speech encourageth his souldiers. c. receiveth Amurath his presents, and threateneth the Bassa by whom they were sent. 329 d
Vstref Bassa of Van inciteth Amurath to make war against the Persians. 925 a. by Amurath commanded to begin the warre, which he readily performeth. 926 b
Vim-Casanes the Persian King sendeth embassadors with presents to Mahomet the Great. 359 b. marieth Despinna, the daughter of Calo Iannes, Emperour of Trapezond. 409 b. in a great battell overthroweth Zenza the Persian King, and killeth Carisophilus his sonne, the last of the posteritie of the mightie Tamerlan. 409 g. in a great battell overthroweth by Mahomet the Great. 410 l. his death. 411 a
W
Walso treacherously yielded vnto the Turke, and the traitors iustly rewarded. 736 b
Wares by Amurath the third proclaimed against the Emperour Rodolph. 123 f
Wardwood, an old Lanizarie, his presumptuous speech vnto Mahomet the great Sultan. 1063 b. taken out of prison by the rest of the Lanizaries. c. 665 b
Water deare sold. 1015 e
Wibitz the metropolitall citie of Croatia taken by the Turke. 1015 e
William

The Table.

William King of Sicilia innadeth the tyrant Andronicus his dominions, taketh the cite of Myrrhachium, passeth through Macedonia, and spoileth the country, meeteth with his fleet at Thessalonica, which he also taketh by force and spoileth. 51 b

William Long-Espe Earle of Sarisburie with a band of tall souldiers goeth into the Holy land. 102 l. his flout answereth unto Earle Robert the French Kings brother. 104 k. valiantly fighting, is slaine. 105 a

Wladus prince of Valachia putteth Mahomet the Great in feare. 362 k. Wladus cruell, m. dieth in battell against the Turks. 363 e

Wine for a space running down the streets of Constantinople, as if it had bene water after a shower of raine. 1142 l

Wolfgangus Hoder vpon the Danubius doth good service against the Turks. 612 k

X

Xycus, paymaster of the Rhodes entrapped by the Turks, and sent prisoner to be tortured at Constantinople. 575 c

Xene the faire Emperesse, the young Emperour Alexius his mother maliciously accused of treason, and so wrongfully condemned. 407 f. by the commandement of Andronicus strangled in prison, and so poorly buried. 48 k

Xiphilinus by Alexius sent over to Andronicus, deadeth vnfaithfully in his message. 45 c

Y

Yoland daughter to king Iohn crowned queene of Jerusalem, and after by her father given in marriage to Fredericke the Emperour. 96 g

Z

Zacharias Groppa fighteth a combat with Abemaze a Turke. 373 a
Zachell Moyses the Transylvanian princes lieutenant in battell overthrowne by Bassa. 1143 c. flieth vnto the Turks. 1145 e.

Zacynthus, Neritus, and Cephalenia taken by Achmetes Bassa. 426 l

Zamojchie the great Chancellor of Polonia staith the Tartars from the invading of Moldavia. 1079 c. innadeth Moldavia himselfe. 1080 g. his letters vnto Clement the Pope that now is, in defence of himselfe and of that he had done in Moldavia. 1084 k. driueth Michael the Vayvod out of Valachia, & placeth another in his stead. 1128 b

Zanius the Venetian Admirall with a fleet of an hundred and seuentene saile cometh to Coreyra. 849 b. he with the confederats setteth forwards towards Cyprus, d. vpon the soule disagreement of the great commanders returneth. 853 c. discharged of his office and sent in bonds to Venice. 854 b

Zembenic castle the place where the Turks first began to settle themselves in Europe. 185 b

Zemes riseth in rebellion against his elder

brother Baiazer. 438 b. overthrowne in battell by his brother, flieth to Cayrbey the Sultā of Egypt. 439 b. he with the Caramanian King goeth against his brother Baiazer. 441 b. flieth to sea. 442 g. deliuered vnto Pope Innocent the eight. 446 b. by Pope Alexander deliuered to Charles the French King. 452 b. dieth within three daies after being before by the Pope poisoned, as is supposed, his dead bodie sent to Constantinople, and honorably afterwards buried at Prusa. 452 k

Zenka the Persian king in a great battell overthrowne and slaine by Vjun-Cafanes. 409 e

Zerbi island innaded by the Christian fleet set forth for the recouerie of the cite of Tripolis in Barbarie. 783 c. the castle of Zerbi yielded vnto the Spaniards, f. a great part of the Christian fleet oppressed at Zerbi by the sudden coming of Piali Bassa the Turks Admirall. 784 m. the castle of Zerbi besieged by the Turke. 785 b. yielded vnto the Turks, d. the Turks in triumph retourne with victorie to Constantinople. 786 g

Zirgis passing ouer the mountaines Caucasus and Taurus conquereth the Turks dominions. 75 c

Zogannus Bassa by the deuice of a wicked Christian bringeth seuentie of the Turke gallies eight miles ouerland into theauen of Constantinople. 343 f. persuadeth Mahomet to continue his siege. 345 a

Zolnock a strong fortresse of the Christians in the upper Hungarie taken by the Turks. 756 g

FINIS.

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The Errata.

Page 132. line 32. for and, read, or. page 133. line 46. for Turconians, read, Turcomans. page 133. line 54. for Arterum, read, Artzerum. 136. 18. liburn, r. liburn. 166. 12. citie, r. cities. 171. 41. they, r. he. 484. 51. great, r. dread. 192. 36. ouer Callipolis, r. ouer to Callipolis. 308. 15. there, r. other. 214. 30. Ozara, r. Ozara. 233. 1. Lyfia, r. Lycia. 244. 32. do not trouble, r. trouble. 248. 53. father, r. brother. 269. 28. in, r. into. 270. 12. this, r. his. 286. 23. diuers, r. aduers. 286. 26. preferibed, r. prescribed. 301. 39. to be able, r. not to be able. 302. 42. Mouea, r. Motre. 346. 11. eight, r. eightene. 364. 36. the, r. their. 388. 23. manner, r. manners. 405. 14. Nigrophonte, r. Nigropont. 407. 4. Alymbelus, r. Alymbicus. 411. 16. portion, r. pention. 468. 18. this, r. the. 479. 16. parts, r. ports. 487. 51. his, r. hic. 421. 52. his great Mahomet, r. his great knowledge in the Mahometane. 322. 5. eale and, r. to eale. 525. 39. citie Euphrates, r. ruer Euphrates. 536. 17. drawne, r. drinen. 568. 48. enuying, r. enuying. 619. 3. end quartell, r. end that quarrell. 628. 54. Hungarian fleet, r. Christian fleet. 629. 27. Iosuphus and old captaine, read, Iosuphus an old captaine. 630. 12. excepted, r. accepted. 631. 45. retorne, r. turne. 634. 28. homage, r. honour. 655. 16. Vifinus, r. Vifinus. 616. 25. token, r. taken. 664. 2. he, r. they. 710. 11. in, r. into. 714. 3. superstitious, read, superstitious. 717. 15. not so euill, r. not so well. 721. 19. were fled, r. were led. 736. 30. Soctofia, r. Soclofia. 750. 14. Tufconie, r. Tufcanie. 766. 37. peopled, r. people. 767. 15. Fauarum, r. lauarum. 769. 7. mischant, r. mischantments. 770. 2. readie, r. alreadie come. 770. 5. pretended, r. presented. 770. 49. father, r. fauour. 783. 42. As Genua me begat, r. As Genua did me beget. 788. 45. by force, r. my force. 793. 23. them, r. 820. 3. from Venice, r. to Venice. 862. 17. for, r. of. 863. 1. two thousand, r. two hundred thousand. 886. 12. carelesse, r. carelesse. 892. 1. gallies, r. galleasses. 903. 9. lying, r. dying. 909. 50. hands, r. heads. 911. 49. Veremias, r. Ieremias. 919. 23. September, r. December. 924. 16. Hari, r. Heri. 933. 8. Giusuf, r. Giusuf. 936. 31. Siruan, r. Siruan. 945. 16. pid, r. did. 953. 13. subfitted, r. subfitted. 994. 27. a Bassa, r. the Bassa. 1008. 10. being doing, r. he doing. 1008. 35. lefse, r. least. 1015. 41. Yna, r. Vna. 1018. 32. part, r. parts. 1035. 27. from the came, r. from the campe. 1064. 36. fat before, r. fat downe before. 1065. 17. with refistance, r. without refistance. 1074. 23. Varuinar, r. Varuiuar. 1079. 19. his, r. this. 1082. 25. vearying, r. hearing. 1093. 18. heart, r. Hart. 1122. 13. their, r. his. 1148. 54. towne, r. tower.

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1. The first and most important factor in the selection of a site for a new plant is the availability of raw materials. The plant should be located near the source of raw materials to minimize transportation costs. 2. The second factor is the availability of labor. The plant should be located in an area where there is a sufficient supply of labor. 3. The third factor is the availability of capital. The plant should be located in an area where there is a sufficient supply of capital. 4. The fourth factor is the availability of markets. The plant should be located near the markets for its products. 5. The fifth factor is the availability of transportation. The plant should be located near a major transportation route. 6. The sixth factor is the availability of utilities. The plant should be located in an area where there is a sufficient supply of utilities. 7. The seventh factor is the availability of government incentives. The plant should be located in an area where there are government incentives for new plants. 8. The eighth factor is the availability of a good location. The plant should be located in a good location for its business. 9. The ninth factor is the availability of a good climate. The plant should be located in an area where the climate is suitable for its business. 10. The tenth factor is the availability of a good community. The plant should be located in an area where the community is supportive of its business.

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